

### CHAPTER III

#### PEOPLE

Lying on the slopes of the Western Ghats, Kodagu District is full of hills and valleys. Obviously, the density of population is less in this hilly forest tract. When Tipu Sultan occupied Kodagu, many people deserted their habitations; some of them were taken away as captives by Tipu himself. As a result, during 1780-90, the population of Kodagu became very less. Many villages were also destroyed at this time. According to Lt. Conor, during 1817, the estimated population of Kodagu was 40,000. However, an official report puts the figures at 81,437 during 1839-40. Among them, 17,096 were Kodavas and the rest numbered 64,341. By 1854, the population of this district was estimated as between 125 and 135 thousands. By 1864 the population was estimated to have reached 1,19,118. According to the 1871 Census, the population of Kodagu was 1,68,312, consisting of 26,389 Kodavas, 1,28,085 Hindus excluding Kodavas, 112 Jainas, 11,304 Muslims, 2,410 Christians, ten Parsis and two Chinese.

They were distributed in the then existing six taluks as follows: Madikeri-32,132; Padinalku Nadu-32,350; Yedenalku Nadu- 31,104; Kiggattunadu-27,738; Nanjarayapatna-26,159; and Yelusavira Seeme-18,829. The population increased between 1871 and 1891 and in succeeding decades, and again, it showed a decline. However, a rising trend was noticed in later years. The population of Kodagu district for the years 1961, 1971, 1981, and 1991 are given in Table No 1.

This district with a provisional population of 4,85,229 in 1991 occupies the 19th position in area and the last place in population among the twenty districts of the state.

**Growth of population**

During 1839-40, an estimate puts the population of Kodagu District at 81,437; but when the first population Census was taken up in 1871, the population was 168,312. It rose to 1,78,307 in 1881 and declined to 1,73,055 in 1891. The Table No 2 gives the population of the district, decadal variation and the percentage of decadal variation from 1901 to 1991. The provisional population of Kodagu in 1991 was 4,85,229, an increase of 23,341 persons in the decade 1981-1991. It constituted only 5.05% of the decadal growth, and is far less than the State's increase of 20.69%.

**Table No 1**

| Taluk           |       | 1961     | 1971     | 1981     | 1991*    |
|-----------------|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Madikeri Taluk  | Rural | 65,087   | 76,880   | 93,002   | 97,753   |
|                 | Urban | 14,453   | 19,357   | 24,724   | 28,729   |
|                 | Total | 79,540   | 96,237   | 1,17,726 | 1,26,482 |
| Somvarpet Taluk | Rural | 94,689   | 1,15,540 | 1,38,327 | 1,56,345 |
|                 | Urban | 14,728   | 23,530   | 25,505   | 25,168   |
|                 | Total | 1,09,417 | 1,39,070 | 1,63,832 | 1,81,513 |
| Virajpet Taluk  | Rural | 1,20,364 | 1,27,180 | 1,58,896 | 1,53,224 |
|                 | Urban | 13,508   | 15,804   | 21,434   | 24,010   |
|                 | Total | 1,33,872 | 1,42,984 | 1,80,330 | 1,77,234 |
| District Total  | Rural | 2,80,140 | 3,19,600 | 3,90,225 | 4,07,322 |
|                 | Urban | 42,689   | 58,691   | 71,663   | 77,907   |
|                 | Total | 3,22,829 | 3,78,291 | 4,61,888 | 4,85,229 |

\* Provisional figures (Source : Census Reports)

**Table No 2**

| Year of Census | Males    | Females  | Total    | Decadal variation. | Percentage of decadal variation. |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1              | 2        | 3        | 4        | 5                  | 6                                |
| 1901           | 1,00,258 | 80,349   | 1,80,607 | -7,552             | -4.36                            |
| 1911           | 97,279   | 77,697   | 1,74,976 | -5,631             | -3.12                            |
| 1921           | 89,501   | 74,337   | 1,63,838 | -11,138            | -6.37                            |
| 1931           | 90,575   | 72,752   | 1,63,327 | -511               | -0.31                            |
| 1941           | 92,347   | 76,379   | 1,68,726 | +5,399             | +3.31                            |
| 1951           | 1,25,327 | 1,04,078 | 2,29,405 | +60,679            | +35.96                           |
| 1961           | 1,73,338 | 1,49,491 | 3,22,829 | +93,424            | +40.72                           |
| 1971           | 1,98,109 | 1,80,182 | 3,78,291 | +55,462            | +17.18                           |

| 1     | 2        | 3        | 4        | 5       | 6      |
|-------|----------|----------|----------|---------|--------|
| 1981  | 2,38,893 | 2,22,995 | 4,61,888 | +83,597 | +22.10 |
| 1991* | 2,43,977 | 2,41,252 | 4,85,229 | +23,341 | +5.05  |

\* Provisional figures;

Source: Census Reports.

The variation in population of the district during the period from 1871 to 1931 was due to the migration of labour force working in the estates and deaths due to epidemics like malaria.

During 1871-1931, the labour force from the neighbouring States or the nearby districts working in estates did not stay permanently. Since 1941 the rising trend in population may, perhaps, be attributed to a few factors like control of malaria, improvement in transport system and fixing of better price for spices.

There was an increase in population by 165.74 percent in the district between 1901 and 1981. The highest increase in the district was 40.72% during the decade 1951-1961. The development activities since Independence in this region might be responsible for immigration of people from outside. However, it should be noted, that during 1981-1991 period, the population of Kodagu had risen by 5.05 percent only; this growth was comparatively, lower than the rising trend of population as noticed generally in the State. Perhaps it was due to population control and people's migration.

### Density of Population

The density of population of a region refers to the number of people inhabiting every square kilometre. Generally density of population is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Kodagu being a hilly tract, is full of forests and valleys. There are coffee and cardamom estates in the rural parts. Hence, the density of population in these regions is much lower. According to 1981 Census the area of Kodagu is 4,102 square kilometres. Its population in 1991 was 4,85,229 (provisional). The average density of population of the district in 1991 was 118.29 for every square kilometre. The density of population in the urban areas was 1,957 and in the rural areas 100 only.

The Table No 3 shows the density of population for the year 1971, 1981 and 1991, with rural urban break-up for each taluk of the district. According to the provisional figures of 1991 Census, the density of population per square kilometre was 118; this was far less than 234, the density of population of the State. The district occupies the last place among the districts of the State in density.

Table No 3

| Taluks   |       | 1971  | 1981  | 1991  |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Madikeri | Rural | 51    | 65    | 68    |
|          | Urban | 1,437 | 1,707 | 1,968 |
|          | Total | 63    | 81    | 87    |

| Taluks         |       | 1971  | 1981  | 1991  |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Somvarpet      | Rural | 126   | 141   | 159   |
|                | Urban | 1,144 | 1,512 | 1,489 |
|                | Total | 148   | 164   | 182   |
| Virajpet       | Rural | 79    | 96    | 94    |
|                | Urban | 2,034 | 2,546 | 2,858 |
|                | Total | 88    | 110   | 108   |
| District Total | Rural | 79    | 96    | 100   |
|                | Urban | 1,404 | 1,802 | 1,957 |
|                | Total | 92    | 113   | 118   |

### Houses and Households

A Census house is a building or a part of a building having a separate main entrance and recognised as a separate unit. A household is a group of persons one or more, who commonly live together and take their meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevent any of them from doing so. Unrelated persons living in hostels, hotels, jails, etc., also constitute households and they are called Institutional Households. Some households do not have residential houses. Such households are called Houseless Households. In 1981, there were 92,267 residential houses and 94,795 households in the district. There were 1,024 households for every thousand houses. Table No 4 shows the number of houses and households, talukwise by residence in the district for the years 1971 and 1981 (1991 figures are not available).

*Institutional Households and Population:* People living in boarding homes, hostels, jails, Mathas, etc., are called Institutional population and such institutions are called Institutional households. Table No 5 shows the number of Institutional households and population by residence, talukwise in the district for the years 1971 and 1981 (Figures for 1991 are not available).

**Table No 4**

| Taluks         | 1971   |        |        | 1981   |        |        |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|                | Rural  | Urban  | Total  | Rural  | Urban  | Total  |
| Madikeri       |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| Houses         | 11,853 | 3,492  | 15,345 | 18,249 | 4,847  | 23,096 |
| Households     | 14,432 | 3,756  | 18,188 | 18,826 | 4,976  | 23,802 |
| Somvarpet      |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| Houses         | 18,537 | 3,974  | 22,511 | 26,794 | 5,120  | 31,914 |
| Households     | 22,652 | 4,831  | 27,488 | 27,219 | 5,269  | 32,488 |
| Virajpet       |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| Houses         | 20,272 | 2,858  | 23,130 | 33,324 | 4,233  | 37,557 |
| Households     | 24,973 | 3,362  | 28,335 | 34,182 | 4,323  | 38,505 |
| District Total |        |        |        |        |        |        |
| Houses         | 50,662 | 10,324 | 60,986 | 78,367 | 14,200 | 92,567 |
| Households     | 62,057 | 11,949 | 74,006 | 80,227 | 14,568 | 94,795 |

## Institutional Households and Population

Table No 5

| Taluku                | 1971 |       |       |       | 1981 |       |       |       |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
|                       | A    | B     | C     | D     | A    | B     | C     | D     |
| <b>Madikeri</b>       |      |       |       |       |      |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 81   | 255   | 31    | 286   | 63   | 495   | 72    | 567   |
| Urban                 | 76   | 535   | 239   | 774   | 267  | 1,354 | 655   | 2,009 |
| Total                 | 157  | 790   | 270   | 1,050 | 330  | 1,849 | 727   | 2,576 |
| <b>Somvarpet</b>      |      |       |       |       |      |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 309  | 723   | 153   | 876   | 39   | 541   | 132   | 673   |
| Urban                 | 122  | 576   | 122   | 698   | 125  | 725   | 152   | 887   |
| Total                 | 431  | 1,299 | 275   | 1,574 | 164  | 1,266 | 294   | 1,560 |
| <b>Virajpet</b>       |      |       |       |       |      |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 214  | 464   | 133   | 597   | 112  | 991   | 521   | 1,512 |
| Urban                 | 96   | 528   | 357   | 815   | 114  | 747   | 307   | 1,944 |
| Total                 | 310  | 992   | 490   | 1,482 | 226  | 1,728 | 828   | 2,556 |
| <b>District Total</b> |      |       |       |       |      |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 604  | 1,442 | 317   | 1,759 | 214  | 2,027 | 725   | 2,752 |
| Urban                 | 294  | 1,639 | 718   | 2,357 | 506  | 2,816 | 1,124 | 3,940 |
| Total                 | 898  | 3,081 | 1,035 | 4,116 | 720  | 4,843 | 1,849 | 6,692 |

A: Institutional Households B: Males; C: Females; D: Total.

*Houseless Households And Their Population:* Bus stands and public choultries, besides the roadside shelters are the dwellings of the nomadic people and the beggars. Such people belong to houseless households, and they constitute the population of houseless households. Table 6 shows the number of houseless households and their population in taluks of the district for urban and the rural areas according to 1971 and 1981 census.

Table No 6

| Taluk            | 1971 |     |     |     | 1981 |     |     |       |
|------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-------|
|                  | A    | B   | C   | D   | A    | B   | C   | D     |
| 1                | 2    | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6    | 7   | 8   | 9     |
| <b>Madikeri</b>  |      |     |     |     |      |     |     |       |
| Rural            | 63   | 82  | 25  | 107 | 194  | 586 | 234 | 820   |
| Urban            | 51   | 54  | 20  | 74  | 54   | 116 | 65  | 181   |
| Total            | 114  | 136 | 45  | 181 | 248  | 702 | 299 | 1,001 |
| <b>Somvarpet</b> |      |     |     |     |      |     |     |       |
| Rural            | 81   | 181 | 112 | 293 | 73   | 190 | 121 | 311   |

| 1           | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7     | 8   | 9     |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| Urban       | 97  | 145 | 124 | 269 | 87  | 142   | 107 | 249   |
| Total       | 178 | 326 | 236 | 562 | 160 | 332   | 228 | 560   |
| Virajpet    |     |     |     |     |     |       |     |       |
| Rural       | 120 | 125 | 46  | 171 | 131 | 444   | 234 | 678   |
| Urban       | 33  | 54  | 27  | 81  | 50  | 108   | 66  | 174   |
| Total       | 153 | 179 | 73  | 252 | 181 | 552   | 300 | 852   |
| Dist. Total |     |     |     |     |     |       |     |       |
| Rural       | 264 | 388 | 183 | 571 | 398 | 1,220 | 589 | 1,809 |
| Urban       | 181 | 253 | 171 | 424 | 191 | 366   | 238 | 604   |
| Total       | 445 | 641 | 354 | 995 | 589 | 1,586 | 827 | 2,413 |

A: Houseless households. B: Males C: Females D: Total

### Migration

The movement of people from one geographical area to another is called migration. It is rather an age-old phenomenon among people. Migration may be temporary or permanent. Temporary migration may be seasonal and it may be confined to a period in a year; also it may be for a definite duration. It is noticed, that the people from plains move to Malnad districts both during the sowing and the harvesting seasons and, later return to their houses. Migration to Kodagu has been for a long time both from neighbouring States and the near-by districts. Many of them have settled down here. There were instances when some classes of people from Kerala were temporarily migrating to Kodagu during the sowing and the harvesting seasons. The nomadic snake-charmers, Korachas, bear-tamers, fortune tellers, Dombars, Jangamas, etc., are seasonal migrants. Nevertheless, workers from neighbouring States have come in search of labour in the coffee and cardamom estates. Some have prospered and built their own houses. The people, who, migrated from Kerala in recent years seem to have created social problems to the original settlers of Kodagu. This development, has created an awareness among the Kodavas, who had left the place to some other parts of the State and made them come back to the native places in order to protect their properties and houses.

The despondency caused by Tipu Sultan in Kodagu, resulted in the Kodavas running away from their houses. The king of Kodagu at that time invited the people of neighbouring States to come and settle down in this region. He is believed to have even forcefully brought people to live here. The number of people who came in search of labour in the estates also increased in the long run. According to the Census of 1981, the population of Kodagu was 4,61,888. Of them 3,48,436 people had been born in the district, 56,657 persons were born in the other districts of the State; 54,638 people were born in other States and the Union Territories of the country. A small number of 3,846 people had been born in different countries of Asia. Among the people of other States 738 belonged to Andhra, 33,276 to Kerala (60.90%) and 20,088 to Tamil Nadu (36.77%). Among those born in Kerala, nearly 81.49 percent were from the rural areas of that State. Among the others born in different districts of the State but included in the Census of Kodagu 21,507 people (38.18%) belonged to Dakshina Kannada 15,344 persons (27.24%) belonged to Mysore district, 11,111

people (19.72%) to Hassan district and 2,337 (4.15%) to Bangalore district. Majority of the immigrants were Keralites. A considerable number of migrants were from Tamil Nadu according to the Census report. The wood-cutters in the forests and the garden labourers in the coffee estates and cardamom gardens, were invariably the immigrants. Table No 6 below shows the number of persons born elsewhere (outside the district) but enumerated in Kodagu district according to 1981 census.

Table No 6

| Birth Place                          | Rural    |          | Urban  |        | Total    |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|--------|--------|----------|
|                                      | Men      | Women    | Men    | Women  |          |
| 1. India                             | 1,98,887 | 1,88,329 | 37,918 | 33,598 | 4,59,732 |
| A. Karnataka                         | 1,73,512 | 1,68,624 | 32,512 | 30,406 | 4,05,094 |
| B. At the place of enumeration       | 1,28,097 | 1,00,748 | 17,738 | 15,799 | 2,62,382 |
| C. In the dist.                      | 25,866   | 46,708   | 6,774  | 6,706  | 86,054   |
| D. In other districts of the State.  | 19,548   | 21,167   | 8,041  | 7,901  | 56,657   |
| E. Other States & Union Territories. | 26,375   | 19,705   | 5,366  | 13,192 | 54,638   |
| Andhra Pradesh                       | 300      | 237      | 135    | 66     | 738      |
| Kerala                               | 16,070   | 11,048   | 3,901  | 2,287  | 33,276   |
| Tamil Nadu                           | 9,848    | 8,267    | 1,220  | 753    | 20,088   |
| 2. Asian Countries                   | 922      | 933      | 100    | 32     | 1,989    |
| 3. Srilanka                          | 882      | 894      | 65     | 18     | 1,857    |

### Sex Ratio

The sex ratio in a given area is the number of females for every thousand males. The ratio of the males and females of a region depends on migration, customs, and other factors. In addition to these, the ratio is influenced by the relative death rates of males and females, the death of mothers during delivery, and female infanticide practised by some hill tribes, etc. According to 1981 Census, the sex ratio in the rural parts of the district was 943, and in the urban areas 884 females for every thousand males. The average sex ratio was 933 for 1000 males in 1981. The sex ratio in Kodagu has always been lower than the sex ratio in the State. In the decade of 1981-91, the district ratio was 980 women for 1000 men. It was higher than the State ratio of 960. The sex-ratio is an important factor in population studies. The changing trend in ratio may perhaps be attributed to the factor of outsiders migrating to this region in search of jobs.

Table No 7 provides information about the ratio of males and females both in rural and urban areas of Kodagu from 1901-1991. The state figures are given in the brackets for comparison.

Table No 7

| Decades | Rural    | Urban    | Total    |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1901    | 808(984) | 703(976) | 801(983) |
| 1911    | 806(984) | 693(959) | 799(981) |
| 1921    | 840(974) | 674(941) | 831(369) |
| 1931    | 812(972) | 680(927) | 803(965) |
| 1941    | 831(962) | 772(947) | 827(960) |
| 1951    | 837(974) | 750(941) | 830(966) |
| 1961    | 872(973) | 803(913) | 862(959) |
| 1971    | 917(971) | 872(913) | 910(957) |
| 1981    | 943(978) | 884(926) | 933(963) |
| 1991    | 999(975) | 839(930) | 980(961) |

*Age Distribution:* Age is a factor in population studies. It provides information about the age wise population structure. It also provides information about the working and non-working population. Age-wise distribution generally consists of groups of 5 or 10 years. The age-wise classification of the people of the Kodagu district (with percentages) according to 1981 is given in Table No 8. The percentage of the population of the State in each age group is given for comparison. In Kodagu District children of the ages of 0-9 and 10-14 years constituted 1,63,541; People having crossed 60 years of age numbered 27,743. Generally children below 18 years of age and people above 60 years of age were not considered fit for working. Their population was 1,91,284 and it was 41.4% of the total population in the district.

Table No 8

## Age-groups in Kodagu District as per 1981 Census.

| Age Groups | Population of the district |        |          | District's Percentage to total population in the Dist. |       |       | State's Percentage to the total population of the State |       |       |
|------------|----------------------------|--------|----------|--|-------|-------|---|-------|-------|
|            | Men                        | Woman  | Total    | Men  | Women | Total | Men   | Women | Total |
| 0-9        | 54,518                     | 52,988 | 1,07,506 | 22.78  | 23.75 | 23.26 | 26.09   | 26.79 | 26.43 |
| 10-14      | 28,468                     | 27,870 | 56,338   | 11.87  | 12.48 | 12.17 | 12.99   | 13.29 | 13.13 |
| 15-19      | 24,854                     | 26,433 | 51,287   | 10.40  | 11.86 | 11.11 | 10.12   | 9.77  | 9.95  |
| 20-24      | 24,482                     | 24,422 | 48,904   | 10.25  | 10.96 | 10.59 | 8.83  | 8.85  | 8.84  |
| 25-29      | 22,296                     | 20,296 | 42,592   | 9.33   | 9.11  | 9.23  | 7.62  | 8.02  | 7.84  |
| 30-34      | 15,529                     | 12,984 | 28,513   | 6.54   | 5.83  | 6.18  | 6.17  | 6.26  | 6.22  |
| 35-39      | 14,236                     | 13,315 | 27,551   | 5.96   | 5.97  | 5.97  | 5.75  | 5.72  | 5.73  |
| 40-44      | 11,819                     | 9,526  | 21,345   | 4.96   | 4.27  | 4.62  | 5.20  | 4.76  | 4.93  |
| 45-49      | 12,348                     | 9,976  | 22,324   | 5.17   | 4.43  | 4.81  | 4.49  | 3.93  | 4.29  |
| 50-54      | 8,987                      | 7,039  | 16,026   | 3.75   | 3.16  | 3.47  | 3.91  | 3.69  | 3.89  |
| 55-59      | 6,564                      | 5,296  | 11,859   | 2.75   | 2.38  | 2.57  | 2.37  | 2.08  | 2.22  |
| 60-64      | 6,005                      | 5,010  | 11,015   | 2.15   | 2.25  | 2.39  | 2.71  | 2.79  | 2.75  |



| A-G        | M     | W     | T     | M    | W    | T    | M    | W    | T    |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 65-69      | 3,756 | 3,343 | 7,099 | 1.58 | 1.49 | 1.59 | 1.38 | 1.42 | 1.40 |
| 70 & above | 5,031 | 4,598 | 9,629 | 2.14 | 2.06 | 2.09 | 2.38 | 2.59 | 2.48 |

*Age Groups And Marital Status:* People can be classified into four groups on the basis of their marital status. They are, the married, unmarried, divorced and separated and widow or widower. In sociological studies, a classification based on age-group is important. Such a classification indicates child-marriage practised in the community, widow-marriage and many other social customs of the people. Besides, it also points out, the changes taking place in society. The Tables 9,10 and 11 given below refer to the marital status of age-groups in the population of the district, both in rural and urban areas as per 1981 Census. People within the age-group of 0-9 years are regarded as unmarried.

Table No 9

## Marital Status according to age-groups in Rural areas of Kodagu as per 1981 Census

| Age groups | Total Population |          | Marital Status |        |         |        |                  |        |                       |       |
|------------|------------------|----------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------|
|            | Men              | Women    | Unmarried      |        | Married |        | Widower or Widow |        | Divorced or Separated |       |
|            |                  |          | Men            | Women  | Men     | Women  | Men              | Women  | Men                   | Women |
| All ages   | 2,00,865         | 1,89,360 | 1,18,967       | 96,841 | 77,302  | 75,308 | 4,094            | 15,992 | 472                   | 1,173 |
| 0-9        | 46,026           | 40,823   | 46,026         | 44,823 | -       | -      | -                | -      | -                     | -     |
| 10-14      | 24,215           | 23,482   | 24,053         | 23,223 | 127     | 213    | 30               | 25     | -                     | -     |
| 15-19      | 20,880           | 22,011   | 20,534         | 18,378 | 321     | 3,521  | 15               | 40     | 5                     | 63    |
| 20-25      | 19,895           | 20,400   | 16,478         | 8,149  | 3,863   | 11,836 | 19               | 162    | 31                    | 249   |
| 26-29      | 18,274           | 17,186   | 7,860          | 1,720  | 10,261  | 14,888 | 87               | 352    | 56                    | 226   |
| 30-34      | 12,698           | 10,943   | 1,977          | 288    | 10,501  | 10,089 | 128              | 460    | 87                    | 166   |
| 35-39      | 11,798           | 11,496   | 705            | 89     | 10,849  | 10,402 | 187              | 862    | 56                    | 143   |
| 40-44      | 9,758            | 8,329    | 365            | 51     | 9,048   | 7,180  | 295              | 1,054  | 51                    | 94    |
| 45-49      | 10,610           | 8,675    | 277            | 69     | 9,871   | 6,957  | 416              | 1,544  | 46                    | 105   |
| 50-54      | 7,662            | 6,158    | 249            | 25     | 6,911   | 3,993  | 466              | 2,022  | 36                    | 68    |
| 55-59      | 5,868            | 4,670    | 106            | 20     | 5,332   | 2,815  | 401              | 1,810  | 29                    | 25    |
| 60-64      | 5,276            | 4,343    | 112            | 5      | 4,446   | 1,730  | 663              | 2,587  | 56                    | 20    |
| 65-69      | 3,296            | 2,800    | 46             | 15     | 2,794   | 957    | 446              | 1,818  | 10                    | 10    |
| 70 & Above | 4,430            | 3,947    | 69             | 5      | 3,401   | 681    | 942              | 3,256  | 8                     |       |

All ages include people of all age groups and those who have not mentioned their ages and marital status.

Table No 10

## Age and Marital status of Population in Urban areas of Kodagu District as per 1981 Census

| Age groups | Total Population |        | Marital Status |        |         |        |                  |       |                       |       |
|------------|------------------|--------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
|            | Men              | Women  | Unmarried      |        | Married |        | Widower or Widow |       | Divorced or Separated |       |
|            |                  |        | Men            | Women  | Men     | Women  | Men              | Women | Men                   | Women |
| All ages   | 38,028           | 33,635 | 23,509         | 18,400 | 14,072  | 12,307 | 408              | 2,702 | 12                    | 222   |
| 0-9        | 8,391            | 8,114  | 8,391          | 8,114  | -       | -      | -                | -     | -                     | -     |
| 10-14      | 4,152            | 4,338  | 4,132          | 4,296  | 19      | 37     | -                | -     | -                     | -     |
| 15-19      | 3,974            | 4,422  | 3,921          | 3,770  | 42      | 647    | -                | -     | -                     | 5     |
| 20-24      | 4,587            | 4,022  | 3,968          | 1,684  | 608     | 2,274  | 10               | 22    | -                     | 42    |
| 25-29      | 4,002            | 3,110  | 2,111          | 350    | 1,901   | 2,687  | 5                | 43    | -                     | 35    |
| 30-34      | 2,831            | 2,041  | 546            | 63     | 2,280   | 1,901  | -                | 61    | -                     | 17    |
| 35-39      | 2,439            | 1,819  | 109            | 27     | 2,315   | 1,682  | 15               | 99    | -                     | 11    |
| 40-44      | 2,060            | 1,197  | 95             | 9      | 1,936   | 919    | 24               | 222   | 5                     | 47    |
| 45-49      | 1,738            | 1,201  | 59             | 18     | 1,637   | 867    | 35               | 282   | 7                     | 33    |
| 50-54      | 1,325            | 881    | 30             | 9      | 1,239   | 561    | 50               | 298   | -                     | 13    |
| 55-59      | 696              | 625    | 44             | -      | 603     | 320    | 49               | 305   | -                     | -     |
| 60-64      | 728              | 668    | 41             | 24     | 626     | 204    | 61               | 430   | -                     | 10    |
| 65-69      | 460              | 543    | 20             | 15     | 401     | 141    | 39               | 382   | -                     | 5     |
| 70 & Above | 601              | 651    | 17             | 14     | 465     | 73     | 119              | 558   | -                     | 55    |

All ages include people of all the age groups and those who have not mentioned their ages and marital status

Table No 11

## Age and Marital Status of the Total Population in the district of Kodagu as per 1981 Census

| Age groups | Total Population |          | Marital Status |          |         |        |                  |        |                       |       |
|------------|------------------|----------|----------------|----------|---------|--------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------|
|            | Men              | Women    | Unmarried      |          | Married |        | Widower or Widow |        | Divorced or Separated |       |
|            |                  |          | Men            | Women    | Men     | Women  | Men              | Women  | Men                   | Women |
| All ages   | 2,38,893         | 2,22,995 | 1,42,466       | 1,15,241 | 91,374  | 87,614 | 4,502            | 18,694 | 484                   | 1,395 |
| 0-9        | 54,417           | 52,937   | 54,417         | 52,937   | -       | -      | -                | -      | -                     | -     |
| 10-14      | 28,367           | 27,820   | 28,186         | 27,520   | 146     | 249    | 30               | 25     | -                     | -     |
| 15-19      | 24,854           | 26,433   | 24,455         | 22,148   | 363     | 4,168  | 15               | 40     | 5                     | 68    |
| 20-24      | 24,482           | 24,422   | 20,446         | 9,833    | 3,971   | 14,110 | 29               | 183    | 31                    | 291   |
| 25-29      | 22,296           | 20,296   | 9,971          | 2,071    | 12,162  | 17,569 | 92               | 395    | 56                    | 261   |
| 30-34      | 15,529           | 12,984   | 2,522          | 292      | 12,781  | 11,989 | 128              | 521    | 87                    | 182   |
| 35-39      | 14,236           | 13,315   | 813            | 116      | 13,165  | 12,084 | 202              | 961    | 56                    | 154   |
| 40-44      | 11,819           | 9,522    | 460            | 60       | 10,984  | 8,100  | 319              | 1,226  | 56                    | 141   |
| 45-49      | 12,348           | 9,876    | 336            | 87       | 11,509  | 7,824  | 450              | 1,827  | 53                    | 138   |

| A-G           | TM    | TW    | UW  | UW | MM    | MW    | WM    | WW    | DM | DW |
|---------------|-------|-------|-----|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|----|----|
| 50-54         | 8,987 | 7,039 | 280 | 34 | 8,150 | 4,554 | 516   | 2,370 | 36 | 81 |
| 55-59         | 6,564 | 5,295 | 150 | 20 | 5,934 | 3,136 | 450   | 2,114 | 29 | 25 |
| 60-64         | 6,005 | 5,010 | 153 | 29 | 5,072 | 1,934 | 724   | 3,017 | 56 | 30 |
| 65-69         | 3,756 | 3,343 | 66  | 30 | 3,195 | 1,098 | 485   | 2,200 | 10 | 15 |
| 70 &<br>Above | 5,031 | 4,598 | 86  | 19 | 3,866 | 754   | 1,061 | 3,814 | 8  | 5  |

All ages include people of all age-groups and those who have not mentioned their ages and Marital Status

## RURAL POPULATION

People living in villages are called the rural people. This group includes those who live in villages, estates and places other than urban area. In the district there were 288 inhabited villages according to 1981 Census. The total population of these villages was 3,90,225. Table No 12 gives the total number of inhabited villages, the total rural population inhabiting them and the percentage of rural population to the total population of the district from 1901 to 1991.

**Table No 12**

|                         |          |        |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|
| 1901 - 479              | 1,65,358 | 91.56% |
| 1911 - 493              | 1,64,995 | 94.30% |
| 1921 - 377              | 1,54,997 | 94.60% |
| 1931 - 378              | 1,53,500 | 93.98% |
| 1941 - 301              | 1,57,508 | 93.35% |
| 1951 - 297              | 2,13,150 | 92.91% |
| 1961 - 277              | 2,80,140 | 86.78% |
| 1971 - 291              | 3,19,600 | 84.49% |
| 1981 - 288              | 3,90,225 | 84.48% |
| 1991 - not<br>available | 4,07,322 | 83.94% |

There were as many as 479 villages in the district in 1901, and, this number, however, had declined to 288 in 1981. The rural population according to 1991 Census was 83.94% of the total population of the district. It must be admitted that Kodagu is a rural district. This is, mainly, due to its geographical situation, natural vegetation and climatic conditions. The district is full of forests, and coffee and cardamom estates.

The villages are usually classified by their population size. They are villages with less than 200 population; between 200-499 population; between 500-999 population; between 1000-1999 population; between 2000-4999 population, between 5000-9999 population; and finally villages with more than 10,000 population. In the following Table (Table No 13) the classification of villages, the total rural population in each class, and its percentage to the rural population of the district are given as per 1981 Census.

Table No 13

## Classification of villages according to population size as per the 1981 Census.

| Size of the village (in population). | No. of villages | Population |          | Total    | Percentage to the total rural population of the District. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------|----------|---|
|                                      |                 | Males      | Females  |          |   |
| 1. Less than 200                     | 09              | 390        | 349      | 739      | 0.20  |
| 2. 200-499                           | 29              | 5,440      | 5,424    | 10,864   | 2.78  |
| 3. 500-999                           | 87              | 33,143     | 31,624   | 64,767   | 16.60   |
| 4. 1000-1999                         | 108             | 78,832     | 74,946   | 1,53,778 | 39.40   |
| 5. 2000-4999                         | 54              | 80,215     | 74,611   | 1,54,826 | 39.67   |
| 6. 5000-9999                         | 01              | 2,845      | 2,406    | 5,251    | 1.35  |
| 7. 10,000 and above                  | --              | --         | --       | --       | ---   |
| 8. Total                             | 288             | 2,00,865   | 1,89,360 | 3,90,225 | --  |

Table No 14

## Talukwise classification of villages in the district of Kodagu according to 1981 Census

| Size of the Villages according to population | Taluks          |                  |                 |                  |                 |                  |                 |                  |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
|  | Madikeri        |                  | Somvarpet       |                  | Virajpet        |                  | District Total  |                  |
|  | No. of Villages | Total Population | No. of villages | Total Population | No. of villages | Total population | No. of villages | Total population |
| Less than 200                                | -               | -                | 08              | 613              | 01              | 126              | 9               | 739              |
| 200-499                                      | -               | -                | 27              | 10,240           | 02              | 624              | 29              | 10,864           |
| 500-999                                      | 20              | 15,218           | 41              | 28,896           | 26              | 20,653           | 87              | 64,767           |
| 1000-1999                                    | 36              | 54,514           | 32              | 46,824           | 38              | 52,440           | 108             | 1,53,778         |
| 2000-4999                                    | 9               | 23,270           | 18              | 51,754           | 27              | 79,802           | 54              | 1,54,826         |
| 5000-9999                                    | -               | -                | -               | -                | 1               | 5,251            | 1               | 5,251            |
| 10000 & above                                | -               | -                | -               | -                | -               | -                | -               | -                |
| Total  | 67              | 93,002           | 126             | 1,38,327         | 95              | 1,58,896         | 288             | 3,90,225         |

**Table No 15**

This table provides the classification of villages and the percentage of rural population in each group for some decades from 1901 to 1981. The district has more villages with lesser population

| Year of population census | Less than 500 population |       | 500-999 |       | 1000-1999 |       | 2000-4999 |       | 5000-9999 |      | 10,000 & above |      |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|------|----------------|------|
|                           | A                        | B     | A       | B     | A         | B     | A         | B     | A         | B    | A              | B    |
| 1901                      | 73.73                    | 37.12 | 21.28   | 37.91 | 4.13      | 15.10 | 0.61      | 6.14  | 0.21      | 3.73 | -              | -    |
| 1921                      | 72.57                    | 45.49 | 22.16   | 35.37 | 4.75      | 13.75 | 0.26      | 1.93  | 0.26      | 3.46 | -              | -    |
| 1951                      | 39.13                    | 14.84 | 40.14   | 30.08 | 17.06     | 29.74 | 30.01     | 10.25 | 0.33      | 2.68 | 0.33           | 4.41 |
| 1961                      | 23.11                    | 6.93  | 37.55   | 27.55 | 29.96     | 38.85 | 9.38      | 26.67 | -         | -    | -              | -    |
| 1971                      | 20.62                    | 5.88  | 34.36   | 23.15 | 35.05     | 44.64 | 9.62      | 24.58 | 0.35      | 1.75 | -              | -    |
| 1981                      | 13.19                    | 2.97  | 30.21   | 16.60 | 37.50     | 39.41 | 18.75     | 39.68 | 0.35      | 1.34 | -              | -    |

A : Percentage of villages to total number of villages

B : Percentage of population to the total rural population of the district

The table No16 below shows the talukwise number of villages and the rural population in Kodagu according to 1971 and 1981 Censuses.

**Table No 16**

| Taluku    | 1971                      |                             |                        | 1981                      |                              |                        |
|-----------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
|           | No. of Inhabited villages | No. of uninhabited villages | Total Rural population | No. of Inhabited villages | No. of Un-inhabited villages | Total Rural population |
| Madikeri  | 73                        | 1                           | 76,880                 | 67                        | -                            | 93,002                 |
| Somvarpet | 120                       | 12                          | 1,15,540               | 126                       | 8                            | 1,38,327               |
| Virajpet  | 98                        | -                           | 1,27,180               | 95                        | -                            | 1,58,896               |
| Total     | 291                       | 13                          | 3,19,600               | 288                       | 8                            | 3,90,225               |

## URBAN POPULATION

Urbanisation is the social process of the 20th century. Some features of distribution between urban and rural areas have been developed. If the population of the place is at least 5,000 and at the least 75 per cent of the people follow non-agricultural occupations and the density of population is at the least 400 persons per sq.km, such a region may be regarded as an urban area. Generally, a municipal town or corporation, cantonment or a notified area is declared as an urban centre. According to 1981 Census, Kodagu district had 10 Urban centres. They are Madikeri, Virajpet, Kudumangalore, Somvarpet, Kushalnagar, Ponnampet, Shanivarasanthé, Gonikoppal, Kodlipet and Suntikoppa. In 1991 Census, Kudumangalore has been removed from the list of Urban centres

in the district. The following table (NO.17) gives the urban population of this district from 1881 to 1991 along with the decadal variation and the percentage of decadal variation.

**Table No 17**

| Decades | Urban population | Urban population as a % to the total population of the Dist. | Decadal variation. | Percentage of decadal variation. |
|---------|------------------|--|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1881    | 16,653           | 9.89   |                    |                                  |
| 1891    | 15,481           | 8.68   | -1,172             | -7.03                            |
| 1901    | 15,249           | 8.44   | -232               | -1.49                            |
| 1911    | 9,981            | 5.70   | -5,268             | -34.55                           |
| 1921    | 8,844            | 5.40   | -1,140             | -11.39                           |
| 1931    | 9,827            | 6.02   | 983                | 11.11                            |
| 1941    | 12,218           | 7.24   | 2,391              | 24.33                            |
| 1951    | 16,255           | 7.09   | 4,037              | 33.04                            |
| 1961    | 40,366           | 12.50  | 24,111             | 148.33                           |
| 1971    | 52,003           | 13.75  | 11,637             | 28.83                            |
| 1981    | 71,663           | 15.72  | 19,660             | 37.81                            |
| 1991    | 77,907           | 16.06  | 6,244              | 8.71                             |

The urban population of the Kodagu district in 1881 was 16,653; it had declined upto 1921 and, later, started rising steadily. Between 1881 and 1901 Madikeri, Virajpet, Kushalnagar, Kodlipet and Somvarpet had been declared as urban localities. From 1911 to 1951 Somvarpet Kodlipet and Kushalnagar had been removed from the list of urban areas. However, in 1961, together with those places dropped earlier, the other places like Gonikoppal, Ponnampet, Shanivarasanthe and Suntikoppa were declared as urban localities. Consequently, the urban population during this decade increased by 148.33. Hebbale and Ulugali were added on to the list of urban areas in 1971. But they were removed from the list of urban centres in 1981; and in their place Kudumangalore was newly included. During the same census period Kodagu district had 10 urban localities with a population of 71,663. It should be however, noted that the urban population of this district in the decade of 1971-1981 had increased by 37.81 per cent. During the same time, the general population growth in this district was 22.10 per cent. In other words, the urban population between 1971-1981 was believed to have consisted of 15.71% immigrants. The growth of urban areas in the district from 1901 is shown in the following Table No. 18.

Table No 18

Table showing the development of urban areas of the District since 1901.

| Urban areas         | 1901  | 1911  | 1921  | 1931  | 1941  | 1951   | 1961   | 1971   | 1981   |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. Madikeri         | 6,732 | 6,269 | 5,675 | 5,995 | 7,112 | 10,117 | 14,455 | 19,357 | 24,724 |
| 2. Virajpet         | 4,283 | 3,712 | 3,166 | 3,832 | 4,106 | 6,138  | 8,138  | 9,782  | 11,676 |
| 3. Somvarpet        | 1,745 | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 5,127  | 6,281  | 6,936  |
| 4. Kushalnagar      | 1,600 | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 2,902  | 5,000  | 6,936  |
| 5. Kodlipet         | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 1,667  | 2,059  | 2,254  |
| 6. Ponnampet        | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 2,621  | 3,265  | 4,367  |
| 7. Gonikoppal       | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 2,749  | 2,757  | 5,391  |
| 8. Shanivara-santhe | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 1,391  | 2,002  | 2,691  |
| 9. Suntikoppa       | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | 1,306  | 1,499  | 2,166  |
| 10. Kudumangalore   | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | -      | -      | 4,522  |

As far back as 1881 Madikeri, Virajpet, Somvarpet, Kushalnagar and Kodlipet had been considered as towns. The population of these towns in 1881 and 1891 was as follows:-

Table No 20

|      | Madikeri | Virajpet | Somvarpet | Kushalnagar | Kodlipet |
|------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| 1881 | 8,383    | 4,576    | 1,528     | 1,310       | 856      |
| 1891 | 7,034    | 4,417    | 1,510     | 1,710       | 810      |

### Handicapped people

The Census of handicapped population was stopped since 1941. The earlier censuses however, had included the blind, the deaf and the dumb people. But the 1981 census, once again, considered this population while enumerating the dwelling houses in Kodagu. The above mentioned handicapped people, along with the crippled are separately classified. This information, perhaps, might not give the real picture of the handicapped population, because most of these people found in the homeless beggars sector and hence, they are likely to have been omitted during house listing operation. The following table (No 21) provides the details of handicapped population in Kodagu district from 1891 to 1981. The next table (No 22) gives the talukwise figures of the handicapped according to the 1981 census. (see Chapter 16 for the welfare programmes of handicapped population).

**Table No 21**

| Decades | Deaf and Dumb. | Blind |
|---------|----------------|-------|
| 1891    | 126            | 86    |
| 1901    | 104            | 96    |
| 1911    | 87             | 81    |
| 1921    | 20             | 93    |
| 1931    | 101            | 100   |
| 1981    | 147            | 78    |

As per 1981 Census there were only 140 physically handicapped people.

The following table provides information about the blind, the deaf and the dumb and the physically handicapped population in different taluks of Kodagu district according to 1981 Census.

**Table No 22**

| Taluks         | Deaf  |       | Blind |       | Physically Handicapped |       |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------|-------|
|                | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural                  | Urban |
| Madikeri       | 51    | 9     | 26    | 4     | 40                     | 7     |
| Somvarpet      | 53    | 6     | 22    | 2     | 42                     | 7     |
| Virajpet       | 25    | 3     | 23    | 1     | 44                     |       |
| District Total | 129   | 18    | 71    | 7     | 126                    | 14    |

Source: 1981 Census reports.

## SCHEDULED CASTES AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

All castes, races or tribes or parts of, or groups within castes, races or tribes specified by public notification by the President of India under article 341 of the Constitution of India are called the Scheduled Castes. As regards Karnataka, the Indian Government brought out an amendment in 1976 to the order dealing with SCs and STs. The Census of 1971 puts the figure of the Scheduled Castes population at 36,971 in Kodagu district. There was an increase of this population to 48,752 within a decade (1981). Most of the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes lived in rural areas and their number was estimated at 43,224, and only a small population of 5,528 constituted urban group as per 1981 census. According to the same Census the population of the individual Scheduled Caste was as follows:

Adi Andhra-125; Adi Dravida-1,029; Adi Karnataka-18,639; Adiya-866; Ager-17; Ajila-72; Araymala-13; Aruntathiyar-30; Arwamala-1; Baira-1,814; Bakad-15; Bakuda-50; Balagai-4,371; Bandi-6; Banjara-226; Beda Jangama/Budga Jangama-3; Bellara-56; Bhangi-41; Bhambi-422; Bovi-1,017; Byagara-1; Chakkaliyan-16; Chandala-1; ChennaDasari/Holeyadasari-1;



Dohar, Kakkayya, Kankayya-10; Gantichor-1; Gosangi-13; Haleer-9; Halsar/Haslar/Hulasavara/Halaswar-1; Handijogi-7; Holaya/Holer/Holeya-6,322; Holeya Dasari-46; Jaggali-1; Jambuvulu-112; Kadaian-4; Kalladi-5; Kolpulvandu-6; Koracha-12; Korama-235; Kotegar/Metri-5; Kudumban-7; Kuravan-5; Lingader-1; Madari-1; Madiga-1,631; Mahar/Taral/Dhegumegu-5; Maila-10; Mala-6; Mang/Matang/Minimadig-2; Moger-192; Mukri-2; Mundala-175; Nadia/Hadi-5; Nalkedaya-14; Nalakeyava-98; Nayadi-43; Pale-10,260; Pallan-158; Panchama-31; Panniandi-17, Paraiyan/Paraya-293; Paravan-83; Raneyar-480; Sanagara-34; Sillekayatas-20; and Valluvan-5,245. The Scheduled Castes' population is 10.55 per cent of the total population of the district and it constitutes the largest group next to Kodava population. In the table given below are given Scheduled Castes population and its portion in the total population of the district and also its talukwise distribution by sex and residence, as per 1971 and 1981 Censuses.

Table No 23

| Taluku                               | 1971   |         |        | 1981   |         |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|---------|--------|
|                                      | Males  | Females | Total  | Males  | Females | Total  |
| <b>Madikeri</b>                      |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural                                | 3,464  | 2,982   | 6,446  | 4,707  | 4,025   | 8,732  |
| Urban                                | 523    | 515     | 1,038  | 870    | 825     | 1,695  |
| Total                                | 3,987  | 3,497   | 7,484  | 5,577  | 4,850   | 10,427 |
| <b>Somvarpet</b>                     |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural                                | 8,345  | 7,648   | 15,993 | 10,606 | 10,200  | 20,806 |
| Urban                                | 1,248  | 1,271   | 2,519  | 1,228  | 1,118   | 2,346  |
| Total                                | 9,593  | 8,919   | 18,512 | 11,834 | 11,318  | 23,152 |
| <b>Virajpet</b>                      |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural                                | 5,167  | 4,861   | 10,028 | 6,997  | 6,689   | 13,686 |
| Urban                                | 500    | 447     | 947    | 769    | 718     | 1,487  |
| Total                                | 5,667  | 5,308   | 10,975 | 7,766  | 7,407   | 15,173 |
| <b>Total population in the Dist.</b> |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural                                | 16,976 | 15,491  | 32,467 | 22,310 | 20,914  | 43,224 |
| Urban                                | 2,271  | 2,233   | 4,504  | 2,867  | 2,661   | 5,528  |
| Total                                | 19,247 | 17,724  | 36,971 | 25,177 | 23,575  | 48,752 |

### The Scheduled Tribes

The tribes are tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities specified by the Public Notification by the President of India under Article 342 of the Constitution of India are called the Scheduled Tribes. The population of Scheduled Tribes in the district in 1971 was 26,596 and it rose to 36,877 in 1981. The Population of individual Scheduled Tribe as per 1981 Census was as follows: Adiyani-1; Bavacha/Banacha -1; Bhil-90; Chodhar-4; Gamit-7; Gond-6; Gowdalu-46; Hakkipikki-16; Hasalaru-3; Irular-8; Jenu Kuruba-6,421; Kadu Kuruba-498;

Kathodi-3; Kattunayakan-5; Konda Kapu-1; Kota-3; Koya/Bhinekoya/Rajkoya-21; Kudiya/Malekudi-1,415; Kuruba(only in Kodagu)-4,595; Kurumans-12; Malaikudi-127; Malayekandi-1; Maleru-39; Maratha-1,844; Meda-601; Naikda-1,728; Palliyan-28; Paniyan-178; Sholaga-231; Soligaru-421; Toda-49; Varli-5; Vitolia Kotwalia/Barodia-4; Yerava-17,939; unclassified-526. Most of the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes live in villages and forests. Recently, the Government has built colonies and chalked out programmes for their development.

The following table (No 23) gives the distribution of Scheduled Tribe population in Kodagu district, by residence and sex separately as found in each taluk, according to 1971 and 1981 Censuses.

Table No 23

| Taluks             | 1971   |         |        | 1981   |         |        |
|--------------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|---------|--------|
|                    | Males  | Females | Total  | Males  | Females | Total  |
| <b>Madikeri</b>    |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural              | 1,575  | 1,246   | 2,821  | 2,288  | 1,983   | 4,271  |
| Urban              | 23     | 9       | 32     | 181    | 183     | 364    |
| Total              | 1,598  | 1,255   | 2,853  | 2,469  | 2,166   | 4,635  |
| <b>Somvarpet</b>   |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural              | 1,764  | 1,645   | 3,409  | 2,408  | 2,314   | 4,722  |
| Urban              | 77     | 61      | 138    | 165    | 175     | 340    |
| Total              | 1,841  | 1,706   | 3,547  | 2,573  | 2,489   | 5,062  |
| <b>Vrajpet</b>     |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural              | 10,352 | 9,734   | 20,086 | 13,672 | 12,979  | 26,651 |
| Urban              | 50     | 60      | 110    | 264    | 265     | 529    |
| Total              | 10,402 | 9,794   | 20,196 | 13,936 | 13,244  | 27,180 |
| <b>Dist. Total</b> |        |         |        |        |         |        |
| Rural              | 13,691 | 12,625  | 26,316 | 18,368 | 17,276  | 35,644 |
| Urban              | 150    | 130     | 280    | 610    | 623     | 1,233  |
| Total              | 13,841 | 12,755  | 26,596 | 18,978 | 17,899  | 36,877 |

The people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes in Kodagu district constitute 7.98 per cent of the total population; it is one of the districts having larger population of Scheduled Tribes; and Virajpet taluk has much larger Scheduled Tribe's population.

### Language

The total population of the district according to 1981 Census was 4,61,888 and among them 1,65,345 persons (35.80%) spoke Kannada at home. Similarly, about 22.59% i.e., 1,04,344 persons were speaking Malayalam; 17.66% of the people (81,564) spoke Kodava, 8.62% (39,814) Tulu, 2.60% (12,031) Urdu; and 7.13% (32,930) Tamil languages. Malayalam, Tulu and Konkani speakers are a sizable proportion in the population for the reason being Kerala State and Dakshina

Kannada district are adjacent to Kodagu. Although Malayalam speakers are more in Virajpet, they are also seen in considerable proportion in the other two taluks (somvarpet and Madikeri). Tulu speakers are found in Somvarpet and Madikeri taluks, whereas Tamil speaking people are in Virajpet and Madikeri taluks. Urdu speakers are spread out equally in all the taluks of the district; Kodava being the mother tongue of the Kodavas, it is being spoken by more people in Virajpet taluk; considerable number in Madikeri taluk; and less number of persons in Somvarpet taluk. The Kodava, language of the people of the district consists of words from Halegannada (ancient Kannada) Malayalam and Tamil. This language has not evolved its own script for writing. Therefore, Kodava is written in Kannada script. The cultural impact of Kerala State is more on south Kodagu because this part is adjacent to this state. Its linguistic influence is very commonly seen.

In the table No 24 is given the linguistic composition of Kodagu district according to 1981 Census.

**Table No 24**

| Taluks           | Kannada  | Kodava | Malayalam | Tamil  | Telugu | Tulu   | Urdu   | Konkani |
|------------------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| <b>Madikeri</b>  |          |        |           |        |        |        |        |         |
| Rural            | 30,655   | 22,821 | 18,397    | 3,688  | 612    | 13,030 | 994    | 564     |
| Urban            | 6,803    | 3,471  | 3,712     | 1,062  | 1,685  | 1,793  | 2,402  | 989     |
| Total            | 37,458   | 26,292 | 22,109    | 4,750  | 2,297  | 14,823 | 3,396  | 1,553   |
| <b>Somwarpet</b> |          |        |           |        |        |        |        |         |
| Rural            | 78,621   | 6,047  | 23,315    | 10,448 | 1,695  | 14,032 | 1,210  | 1,594   |
| Urban            | 13,766   | 772    | 2,252     | 1,792  | 1,178  | 945    | 2,912  | 430     |
| Total            | 92,387   | 6,819  | 25,567    | 12,240 | 2,873  | 14,977 | 4,122  | 2,024   |
| <b>Virajpet</b>  |          |        |           |        |        |        |        |         |
| Rural            | 31,758   | 43,386 | 50,108    | 14,513 | 1,806  | 9,259  | 1,711  | 1,889   |
| Urban            | 3,742    | 3,067  | 6,560     | 1,427  | 733    | 755    | 2,802  | 881     |
| Total            | 35,500   | 48,453 | 56,668    | 15,940 | 2,539  | 10,014 | 4,513  | 2,770   |
| <b>District</b>  |          |        |           |        |        |        |        |         |
| Rural            | 1,41,034 | 74,254 | 91,820    | 28,649 | 4,113  | 36,321 | 3,915  | 4,047   |
| Urban            | 24,311   | 7,310  | 12,524    | 4,281  | 3,596  | 3,493  | 8,116  | 2,300   |
| Total            | 1,65,345 | 81,564 | 1,04,344  | 32,930 | 7,709  | 39,814 | 12,031 | 6,432   |

Apart from the languages spoken above, there were 1,333 speaking Hindi, one person talking Assamese, 3,109 using Marathi, 22 communicating in Punjabi, 127 intercouring in Arabic and 36 speaking Nepali

## RELIGIONS

The major religions found in Kodagu district are Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Jainism had its hay day long time ago, in this district. According to the 1981 Census, the number of people belonging to various religions was as follows: Hindus-3,83,277; Muslims-61,649;

Christians-16,397; Buddhists-36; Jains-190; Sikhs-21; Other religious identity-295; a meagre number of 23 had not indicated their religious identity. Christians are found more in Somvarpet and Virajpet Taluks, and they are more in rural areas than in the urban localities. Comparitively, the Muslim population is more in Virajpet taluk than elsewhere. The tables given below (no 25 and 26) list up the various religious population and its distribution in rural and urban areas in percentages, according to 1981 Census.

Table No 25

| Religions                        | Rural<br>Population | Percentage to its<br>total population | Urban<br>Population | percentage to its<br>total population | Total<br>Population | % to the<br>total<br>population<br>of the dis. |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Buddhists                        | 5                   | 13.89                                 | 31                  | 86.11                                 | 36                  | 0.008  |
| Christians                       | 12,167              | 72.20                                 | 4,230               | 265.80                                | 16,397              | 3.55   |
| Hindus                           | 3,31,917            | 86.60                                 | 51,360              | 13.40                                 | 3,83,277            | 82.98  |
| Jains                            | 62                  | 32.63                                 | 128                 | 67.37                                 | 190                 | 0.04   |
| Muslims                          | 45,810              | 74.31                                 | 15,839              | 25.69                                 | 61,649              | 13.35  |
| Sikhs                            | 8                   | 38.10                                 | 13                  | 61.9                                  | 21                  | 0.005  |
| Other religious<br>denominations | 245                 | 83.05                                 | 50                  | 16.95                                 | 295                 | 0.06   |
| Religions not<br>stated          | 11                  | 47.83                                 | 12                  | 52.17                                 | 23                  | 0.005  |
| Total                            | 3,90,225            | 84.48                                 | 71,663              | 15.52                                 | 4,61,888            | 100.00   |

Table No 26

The table shows the population of different religious groups and their distribution in rural and urban areas in each taluk as per 1981 census.

| Taluks           | Buddhists | Chrisitans | Hindus   | Jains | Muslims | Sikhs | Other<br>religious<br>people | Religions<br>not<br>stated | Total<br>popu-<br>lation |
|------------------|-----------|------------|----------|-------|---------|-------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>Madikeri</b>  |           |            |          |       |         |       |                              |                            |                          |
| Rural            | --        | 1,835      | 77,908   | --    | 13,228  | 2     | 29                           | --                         | 93,002                   |
| Urban            | 03        | 1,800      | 17,753   | 18    | 5,150   | --    | --                           | --                         | 24,724                   |
| Total            | 03        | 3,635      | 95,661   | 18    | 18,378  | 2     | 29                           | --                         | 1,17,726                 |
| <b>Somvarpet</b> |           |            |          |       |         |       |                              |                            |                          |
| Rural            | 05        | 4,562      | 1,20,886 | 39    | 12,666  | 6     | 152                          | 11                         | 1,38,327                 |
| Urban            | 28        | 980        | 20,084   | 16    | 4,336   | 6     | 46                           | 9                          | 25,505                   |
| Total            | 33        | 5,542      | 1,40,970 | 55    | 17,002  | 12    | 198                          | 20                         | 1,63,832                 |

| Taluk                 | B  | C      | H        | J   | M      | S  | OR  | RS | Total    |
|-----------------------|----|--------|----------|-----|--------|----|-----|----|----------|
| <b>Virajpet Taluk</b> |    |        |          |     |        |    |     |    |          |
| Rural                 | -- | 5,770  | 1,33,123 | 23  | 19,916 | -  | 64  | 30 | 1,58,896 |
| Urban                 | -- | 1,450  | 13,523   | 94  | 6,353  | 7  | 4   | 3  | 21,434   |
| Total                 | -  | 7,220  | 1,46,646 | 117 | 26,269 | 7  | 68  | 33 | 1,80,330 |
| <b>District Total</b> |    |        |          |     |        |    |     |    |          |
| Rural                 | 5  | 12,167 | 3,31,917 | 62  | 45,810 | 8  | 245 | 41 | 3,90,225 |
| Urban                 | 31 | 4,230  | 51,360   | 128 | 15,839 | 13 | 50  | 12 | 71,663   |
| Total                 | 36 | 16,397 | 3,83,227 | 190 | 61,649 | 21 | 295 | 53 | 4,61,888 |

The following table (No.27) highlights the percentage figures of Population of various religions in the district for some Census Years.

**Table No 27**

| Religion   | Census year |       |       |       |       |       |
|--|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | 1911        | 1931  | 1951  | 1961  | 1971  | 1981  |
| Hindus   | 89.39       | 89.40 | 86.95 | 85.87 | 84.57 | 82.98 |
| Muslims  | 7.51        | 8.43  | 10.05 | 10.81 | 12.00 | 13.35 |
| Christians                                       | 2.03        | 2.10  | 2.96  | 3.28  | 3.89  | 3.55  |
| Jains  | 0.06        | 0.05  | 0.02  | 0.03  | 0.02  | 0.04  |
| Buddhists  | -           | -     | 0.01  | 0.01  | 0.01  | 0.01  |
| Sikhs  | -           | -     | -     | -     | 0.01  | 0.01  |
| other religious groups and Religions not stated. |             |       |       |       |       | 0.06  |

Census of India: 1981; Series 14-Mysore Part-1.A-vol.2

General report.

## HINDUS

In Kodagu district the population of the Hindus is about 82.98% of the total population as per 1981 Census. Nearly 86.60% of this population live in rural areas and the rest in urban areas. The same Census report enumerated the Hindu population at 3,83,277 and of which 95,661 lived in Madikeri taluk; 1,40,970 in Somvarpet taluk and the rest 1,46,446 people in Virajpet taluk. If we examine the population of Kodagu district over a few decades we observe, a declining trend in Hindu population. The Hindu population which had constituted 89.39% in 1911 in the district, had decreased to 82.98 percent by 1981. Although the Hindus are divided into castes, sub-castes and sects, their beliefs, values and the sacred books are the same and hence, they are the unifying force among them. The vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, the epics (Ramayana and Mahabharata) and the Bhagavadgita are all sacred books of the Hindus. The Hindus worship Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshwara and their incarnations along with their attendant deities. Besides, the Hindus worship 'Adishakti' in all her forms. Many of the local Gods of tribals have been identified with the Vedic Gods. The system of worship consists of 16 kinds of service (*shodashopachara*). The priests in

temples, while worshipping traditionally chant Sanskrit *shlokas* and Vedic hymns. 'Naga'(Nata) 'Povedi' (Parvathi or Bhagavathi) Puta (Bhuta or the spirit) and the *Sivaganas* or members of Siva's court find a place in all villages. The philosophical Hinduism comprises of Basavanna's *Shakti Visistadwaita* Sankara's Advaita (monism) Ramanuja's *Visistadwita* (qualified-monism) and Madhwa's *Dwaita* (Dualism). Another common practice in Kodagu is the worship of the ancestors.

*Shakti* worship and the worship of Mother Earth are much more ancient practices than other divine forms. Goddess Shakti is popularly called Maramma, Durgi, Chamundi, Bhadrakali and Bhagavathi in the district. Rice speaks of human sacrifices at some Bhagavati temples long time ago. In Kirindadu and Konanjageri (Madikeri taluk) between June and December, once in three years, there used to be human sacrifice to appease Bhagavathi. Similar practice of human sacrifice offered once a year is reported by Rice, at Kavalgeri of Kiggattunadu and Bellur of Murnad. As a part of sacrifice Kombata (horn-play) was a usual sight around the temple. Rice was of the opinion that the practice of Maranada Bali was the transformed version of human killing found in Kodagu in ancient times.\* Details of this practice were as follows:

A pit was used to be dug in the premises of the house or outside or in the agricultural land, as the occasion may require. A man would get into the pit and it would be covered with mud and rafters. A fire using jack-tree fire-wood would be kindled and into which butter, sugar and different kinds of grain are thrown. There would be a Panika to keep vigil over the place singing songs together with the one in the pit throughout the night. In the morning ashes and fire would be swept away. The pit would be opened and the man inside would come out. Sometimes a cock was to be caged in the pit and killed afterwards.

Whenever epidemics spread among the cattle, death and sufferings of villagers was evidenced, they were attributed to the designs of evil deities and they should be propitiated in order to spare the life of cattle and men. Hence, the people used to sacrifice animals. Such evil deities (their images) would be cursed to enter a flock of sheep and would be driven far away, outside the boundaries of Kodagu.

Goddess Kuttadamma is the most famous Shakti deity in Kodagu district. She is referred to as Kari Kali and Karingali. She has no temple of worth the name except an arena.(see chapter XVII, Kutta) She is recognised in the form of a stone; mostly the tribals worship this deity. People gather in thousands at the annual fair. Many offer gifts to the deity either on behalf of the suffering people or the dead persons. Every village has a temple of Shakti (Bhagavati). The people of Kiggattunadu associate epidemics with a deity called Maramma and she is also believed to curse people with famine. She is believed to reside in the dark corners of the dwelling houses and she must be driven away from the village. People in a village fix a day for this rite. The village drummer goes round the village on a certain day to collect the dirt from every house to fill a basket; Food is collected separately together with it. The villagers assemble on the river bank for a get-together and later disperse quietly to their respective places.

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\* Rice, B.L., *Mysore and Coorg* pp: 264-265.

There are places in the district called Botla Ayyappa which are centres of Ayyappa worship. After harvesting, *Kalipordu* festival is celebrated by the people of all castes. This festival at the Bhagavathi temple in Chambebellur assumes speciality in its own way. During the celebration the people impersonate, putting on fancy dress and move from house to house and utter abusive words as a tradition and collect money as well as grains which are taken to the temple.

The tradition of certain persons getting possessed by certain village deities is in vogue. The person who gets possessed of these deities interacts in Malayalam. Generally, the people of the Banna and the Paniya community get possessed. The mother tongue of these people is Malayalam. However, the Kodavas and others arrange *Kola* (festival in honour) of Vishnumurthy, Chamundi and Kuttichata, and other Bhutas and worship them. Episodes connected with the life of these spirits are enacted by people who appear in colourful dress and disguise of the Bhutas (spirits).

According to Kodava folklore Tadiyambeera is the creator of the Universe and his consort is Tadiyambirathi. They are also referred to as Tambiran and Tambirati, and Nerati (moon), Onatavva (Mother Earth), Banatavva (Banadevi) and Panaratavva (Plant deity) are all under the control of Tambiran. The other deities Neermuttachi (water nymph), Kathumuttachi (the aerial spirit) and Thimuttachi (goddess of fire) constitute deities, the trio, that are subordinate to Tadiyambeera. Pothechi (deity of birth), Nata (fertility deity or Naga) and Chata (deity incharge of death) are Goddesses related to life and death. In the village seven deities are locally mentioned. They are Chodale (deity who bring small pox), Karichodale (who causes herpiz), Bokke Chodale (who brings skabies), Neepali (who causes chicken pox), Angare (of measles), Aynachodale (of plague) and Yenechodale (of cholera). The attendents of these deities are called Chamudis or Chaundis. These seven deities are called Yevva Dubo and are worshipped in the forest meant for deities. They are identified symbolically through certain flora, and they are the neem tree, the wild jack (*hebbalasu*), *lokki* plant (*Vitex negundo* Linn), creeper Karibetha and *Nelli* tree (*Emblica officinalis*). In the grove containing these, platforms are raised around the trees and earthen lamps are lit and trees are worshipped.<sup>1</sup>

The life span of Nagas (a kind of snake) is one thousand years, according to Kodava beliefs. With half the age spent, the Nagas degenerate and shine like silver. They would be three or four feet in length after about six hundred or seven hundred years; they degenerate further to about a foot and glitter like gold. Finally, they assume the length of a finger and fly to the sky, but fall down to the earth, die and disappear. The location of their falling to earth is called Nata. People worship Naga by lighting lamp and offering coconut at this spot in Karthika (November)<sup>2</sup>

According to Kodava folklore, there came into being the system of the river Cauvery to their land; a temple of Mahadeva for each of the unit *nadu*; the Goddess Povedi for each village; Ayyappa for each Keri or street; Karona (ancestor) for the family Nata for the *odege* (cluster of houses): and Pooda (spirit) for the lane.

The hunting deity of the Kodavas is Ayyappa. He is also called Aynadeva. The fair of this deity is on the full-moon day in the month of January (Makara). He resides in the forest meant for

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1. According to the report of the researches Smt. Tulasi Devi

2. Rice. B.L., p. 263

gods, the *devara kadu*. He is installed under a tree which oozes out a white liquid if there is a cut in the stem. This God gets the offering of metal bow and arrow, clay dog or horse and weapons needed for hunting. Ayyappa is believed to go for hunting on Wednesdays and Saturdays with red-hounds. He is also the preserver of life and destroyer too. He is said to be under the direct control of Tambiran. His associate is a red-hound. The people who pray for his grace offer clay dogs before hunting on full-moon day of Makara called *bete hunnime*. The youths begin hunting on this day. When a man dies, the bow and arrow (with which he had hunted) would be buried with him, breaking it into pieces. In the past after this full-moon day (*bete hunnime*) the people used to go for hunting on Tuesday or Friday.

Guliga (Gulika) is an important deity among the local gods in Kodagu district. He is called Kuliya in Kodava language. He is believed to be the son of God Saturn (Shanideva). Guliga is usually worshipped in the form of a stone under jack-fruit trees. He is believed to protect the cattle. The people offer him only hens, that are sacrificed every year. The Paleyas (Ajjala Paleyas) arrange Kola festival to appease Guliga. When a person is possessed of the deity, the devotees offer arrack and coconut to him. He is also given puffed rice or *aralu* eaten at the time of trance. The people are obliged to worship another deity called Mrityugulika, when there are deaths and sorrows in the family. Another dreaded deity of the people is Pashana Murthy. He is always up to cause death and suffering. Hence, special care is taken to please this deity. He is believed to be satisfied with an offering of pig or hen. When the Paleyas are possessed of deities, they begin to foretell events. The Paleyas appear in fanciful dress and start dancing throughout the night under intoxication. Another deity is Vishnumurthy. People arrange *Kola* festival in villages in honour of Vishnumurthy and *Choundi*. When people are in trance under possession, they are given arrack and *Kurdi neeru* (water mixed with turmeric and lime) to drink. The practices of arranging *kola* and walking on the *konda* (fire pit) is common in the district.

In Kodagu, Bhuta worship and dancing are found in addition to the worship of local deities. They worship Bhutas (spirits) of Dakshina Kannada origin together with the local Bhutas of Achappa and Achanayaka.

There is a popular belief that one Kalichanda Ponnappa or Achappa hailed from Kerala many generations ago: He settled down in Naalku Nadu and married a Kodava woman. He practised black-magic. Near the taluk office of Naalku Nadu, Achappa was shot dead. Later, it was believed that his spirit would influence the other practitioners of black-magic. Achappanayaka belonged to Chikkamandur in Kiggatnad<sup>1</sup>. Every *bane* (forest) has its own related deity which would demand some sacrifice each year. In case, these deities are not pleased the forest god would not bless the live-stock and the people of the region. With the result animals and men suffer from diseases. There are *devarakadus* (sacred forests) in Kodagu district. Some of these forests are Chomamale forest of Padinalkunadu, the forest of Iggutappa, Irulibana forest of Kuyyangeri Nadu and Kotur deity's forest, etc. Hunting in these forests was forbidden in the past.

Although the priests in the Shaiva temples of the district are Vishnavite Sivalli brahmins, the Vaishnava cult was not popular in Kodagu; even the Vaishnava temples are not many. The

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1. Rice., *Ibid*, p.262



followers of this religious sect are the Dasas and the Namadhari Gowdas. Srirangapattana in Somvarpet taluk had a temple of Lord Ranganatha, perhaps, built during Hoysala period. Similarly, in the Bhagandeswara complex of Bhagamandala there is a Vishnu temple. There is a Lord Krishna temple at Ayyangeri.

Among the Shaivite centres of Kodagu the following are very famous. There are the Shiva temples of note at Irpu, Ramaswamy Kanive and Balamuri. The other noted Shiva temples are the Onkareswara temple of Madikeri, Bhagandeswar of Bhagamandala and the Agastheshwara at Talakaveri where the Cauvery originates. The Rameswara Temple at Irpu and Bhagandeswar in Bhagamandala are notable centres of pilgrimage. There was a Mallikarjuna temple of the Hoysala period (temple no more existing) at Siraha (Sirivura). It is believed that there was a Shiva temple for each nadu in Kodagu during ancient times. In fact Bhagandeswar temple is as old as the Ganga-Chola period. The Yeravas discharge *harake* (vows) at the Rameswara temple at Irpu on the day following the Maha Shivarathri. The Veeerashiva tradition in Kodagu may, perhaps, be traced to the Chengalwa period. This tradition came to be established during 14-15 centuries, specially in North Kodagu and it got wide popularity during the rule of the Odeyars of Kodagu. There were temples of Veeerabhadra at Madikeri and Nanjarayapatna also.

The family deity of Kodavas is Iggutappa of Nalku Nadu (Paadi). According to a local legend five brothers and a sister of a family established themselves here and there as deities. The Kodavas go to the Iggutappa temple for fixing auspicious dates for marriages and for fixing the naming ceremony. Sometimes, the people offer *tulabharam* in Sandalwood or ghee to this god. *Tulabharam* is weighing once weight in Sandalwood, ghee, rice, etc. In recent years both Sandalwood and ghee being costly, *tulabharam* at the temple has suitably changed. A piece of sandalwood and a little quantity of ghee are weighed together with rice. In this temple, every day food is served to devotees who visit. *Tambiran*, a brother of Iggutappa is worshipped at Somamale in Kadiyatnadu; the other brother Palurappa is worshipped as a local deity at Palur at Kuyyangeri. Their elder brother Peruma or Pemma has settled down at Baitur in northern Malabar; and the youngest brother is residing at Tirunelli in Vynad on the Kutta-Mandavadi Road. Their sister being an outcaste is residing at Yavakapadi in Padinalku Nadu: She is called *Pannangalathamme* and her priests are the Holeyas (a Scheduled Caste). In the temple of Pannangalathamme at Yavakapadi this deity is kept in a box which is kept at a height. Approach to the deity is through a ladder cut in a log of wood. Right above the box of Pannangalathamme on the roof, there is an opening for Iggutappa to see his sister uninterruptedly. This deity is worshipped only once in a month. April is the month of festival in her honour. Many Kodava families are the devotees of the deity in Baitur. These families offer cart-loads of rice to this deity each year. God Iggutappa is identified with Lord Subramanya.

### Jainism

Inscriptions state that some parts of the district were ruled by Jaina kings from 4 th Century to 11 th Century A.D. These inscriptions further indicate that lands were granted in Bilur in Kiggattunadu, Haruvanahalli, Arakanahalli and Nidtha villages in the Hobli of Sanivarasanthe to

\* D.N. Krishnaiah, *History of Kodagu*, Kannada, pp. 618-19

*basadis* and Jain *gurus* by the kings. During that period the Jain *guru* of Hanasoge had been in charge of the *basadis* from Talakaveri to Hanasoge. The Jain *gurus* of Hottagegachha Matha had established their authority on the *basadis* upto the region of Talakaveri during the period of the Chenglavas who were Jains in the beginning. The inscriptions in Kodagu bring out the fact that a Jainsa *basadi* was built in 1544 at Anjanagiri near Bettageri village in Suntikoppnadu. Even to this day, the building of the *basadi* is seen. There was another *basadi* at Tatangi near this place which was built in 12th century. It was on the banks of Harangi, and was submerged when the river was in spate. The business community of Tatangi had been Jains. The Kongalvas were Jains, ruling from Mullur (in Somvarpet taluk) and they constructed *basadis* at Mullur (See Chapter 2). A scholar by name Gunasena Pandita of the Nandisangha was a Jaina *muni* living in Mullur. There is also a *basadi* at Kalkandur near Somvarpet.

The Jains of Kodagu district belong to the Digambara Sect. Jains are living in places like Virajpet, Mallur, Kalkandur and at Devanageri in Virajpet taluk. There is a Jaina street in Virajpet. Anjanagiri is an ancient Jaina centre. Many Jains migrated from Virajpet to Mandya. People of the Gowda caste who appears to have been once Jains make offerings to the *basadi* at Kalkandur, even to-day. Many Jains perhaps have become Veerashaivas. The primary occupation of Jains in the district is trade. There were 190 Jains according to 1981 Census; 62 of them lived in rural areas and the rest (128) were in towns. In the three taluks of Madikeri, Somvarpet and Virajpet the Jaina population was 18, 55 and 117 respectively.

## MATHAS

Veerashiva *mathas* are in good number in Kodagu district. Rice mentions that there were 57 Jangama *mathas* in this district during 1866. These Mathas enjoyed the ownership of agricultural land of about 31,457 *battis* (a land measure); and the annual income was about Rs. 3,360. Among these Mathas which possessed comparatively more lands were Basavanahalli Matha (4,105 *battis*) of Yadavanadu, Abbi Matha (4,005 *battis*), Madapur Matha (2,643 *battis*) of Gananadu, Chadarahalli Matha (1,430 *battis*), Tanadi Matha of Ammathnadu (1,485 *battis*), Siddapur Matha (2,372 1/2 *battis*) of Herur Murokkalnadu, Chappada Katte Matha (1,888 1/2 *battis*) of Yadankadu, and Torenur Matha (1,100 *battis*) of Gadinadu. It is said that there were 64 Mathas in Kodagu district; but some of them could not be traced. A few of the Mathas are Pattada Mathas and others are Jangama Mathas. The Virakta Matha in Somvarpet is a flourishing Matha in the district. The present Swamiji of this Matha is Sriman Niranjana Pranava Swarupi Visweswaraswamy. He assumed the *peetha* in 1983. His predecessor Swami Sriman Niranjan Pranava Swarupi Gurusidda Swamy did his best to improve the Matha. Under the auspices of this Matha a high school for girls is being run; even a hostel was being run from 1937 to 1966 by this Matha. During the celebration of *aradhane* of Swamiji of the Matha, artistes and men of excellence are felicitated. In the same way, the other Matha of Shantavira Swamiji near Virajpet, is becoming popular and developing faster. A list of Veerashiva Mathas as existed in the past is given below: Kodli Kallu Matha (Kodlipet); Kallali Matha (Kodlipet); Changadahalli Matha (Sanivarasanthe); Abbi Matha (Yedur, Somvarpet taluk); Virakta Matha (Somvarpet); Chelur Matha (Somvarpet); Madapur Matha (Madapur); Torenur Matha (Suntikoppa); Virajpet Dodda Matha, Virajpet; Chikka Matha and Arameri Matha (both in Virajpet); Muppina Matha (Madakiebidu); Gutti Matha (Suntikoppa); Haragada Matha (Haraga); all these are Virakta Mathas (headed by *sanyasis*).

Hebbalase Matha (Sanivarasanthe); Kibbettada Matha (Somvarpet); Chaudlu Niranjayya's Matha (Somvarpet); Taltre Matha (Somvarpet); Gundalur Matha (Somvarpet); Aiguru Matha (Somvarpet); Kelakove Matha (Madapura); Tamralli Matha (Madapura); Chikkarji Matha (Madapura); Uddibana Matha (Suntikoppa); Bychanahalli Matha (Suntikoppa); Kallur Matha (Suntikoppa); Ranga Samudra Matha (Kushalanagara); Onipurada Matha (Madikeri); Nurambadi Matha (Napoklu); Kaveri Matha (Bhagamandala); Kullangudu Matha (Ammathi); Japada Katte Matha (Mayamudi); and Bematti Matha (Mayamudi). These are called *grihastha* mathas (run by family people). Records speak of Uru Matha (Kodlipet); Kirukodli Matha (Kodlipet); Chilume Matha (Byadagottu); Muddina Katte Matha (Shanivarasanthe); Heggadahalli Matha (Sanivarasanthe); Shidagalale Matha (Shanivarasanthe); Masagodu Matha (Somvarpet); Negalle Matha (Somvarpet); Baragalale Matha (Somvarpet); Yukunuru Matha (Somvarpet); Sherangala Matha (Tenur); Ramaswamy Kanive Matha (Suntikoppa); Madapattana Matha (Kushalnagar); Gutti Matha (Kushalnagara); Shivananda Swamy Matha (Nanjarayapattana); Chadaganahalli Matha; Haleri Matha; Siddapura Matha (Madikeri); Karkhane Matha (Madikeri); Siddapura Matha (Siddapura); Kannada Matha (Ammathi); Kuttada Matha (Kutta); Chinivarakote Matha (Titimathi); Edemane Matha (Gonikoppal); Chilume Matha (Virajpet); Taneeru Hallada Matha (Somvarpet); all these Mathas are in possession of somebody else.

The Harangi Matha (Somvarpet) and the Kamaralli Matha (Somvarpet) have submerged in water. (This list of Veerasiva Mathas is provided by the Virakatha Matha of Somvarpet).

Although the modern religious and spiritual fervour as a movement was not so much seen in Kodagu district, institutions and organisations like the Ramakrishna Mission, Siddarudha Swamy institution, Satya Sai Organization and the Brahma Kumari Eswariya Vidyalaya are a few working in this district to cater to the spiritual needs of the people.

### **Sri Ramakrishna Sharadashrama**

Sri Ramakrishna Sharadashrama at Ponnampet in Kodagu district was founded by Sri Nirmalanandji on Feb. 7th 1927. The following men viz., Achiyanda Kammaiah, K.G.Chengappa, and Dr.A.M.Muthappa took sincere interest in establishing the Ashram. Sri Kammaiah gifted away his three acres of land to the Ashrama; later he went to Kashi to receive *sanyasa* under the name of Subhodayananda. Swami Shambhavanandaji, a native of the district, a disciple of Swamy Nirmalanandaji himself became the first President of the Ashram. He started a student hostel at Virajpet and handed it over to a trust some time later. Swamiji toured the district and brought revolutionary reforms in controlling malaria. His interest in bee-keeping made him start a modern demonstration unit of bee-keeping in the premises of the Ashrama. He also founded a Society of bee-keepers and wax producers in Virajpet in 1936. Later, in 1940 Swamy Pranaveshanandaji became the President of the Ashrama. This Swamiji started a homeopathy clinic to treat people in 1942. Following him Swami Viswambharanandaji became the President of the Ashrama in 1943. He toured the district of Kodagu and spread the holy message of Sri Ramakrishna and Swamy Vivekananda to the people. He opened an Alopactic clinic for treating people in 1947. In the years to come, the clinic grew into a hospital having both in-patient and out-patient facility. In 1958 it was named as Sri Ramakrishna Sevashrama Hospital. During the same year, a library also came into being. Slowly, lodging accommodation and the kitchen unit

were added to meet the needs of Ashrama. The other two Swamijis namely, Swami Sridanandaji and Swami Vimochanandaji became the Presidents of the Ashrama in 1970 and 1976 respectively. At present Sri Swami Shaktanandaji is the President of the Ashrama. He has re-opened the students' lodging in the Ashrama.

### **Kaveri Ashrama, Virajpet**

Sri Appaiah, a venerable man, retired from Government service in 1939, on Ramanavami Day, in the month of April inaugurated Kaveri Ashrama, at Virajpet. It was known as Kaveri Bhakta Jan Sangha. Its foundation stone was laid in 1940 and the Ashram building was completed in about a year. Sri Appaiah Swamiji built another Ashrama on the bank of the Harangi near Kushalnagar. He named it as Sri Krishna Ashram. A philanthropist lady by name Aichetty Sectamma contributed generously for establishing the Sri Krishna Ashrama. A students' home was also set up in 1943 at Virajpet. Sri Krishna Ashram branched off to establish another Ashrama at Talakaveri, gradually. In the Ashram, celebration of birth days of great personalities, discourses on epics, *bhajans* and *harikatha* are the usual programmes. In Virajpet Ashram, there are about 100 student residents. Sri Krishna Ashram at Kushalnagar runs a high school for the students of the locality.

### **Prashantha Nilaya**

Prashantha Nilaya near Ponnampet was founded by Sadguru Sai Sankara in the year 1971. His earlier name was A.K.Kariappa. He was born in Kodagu in 1935 and educated upto S.S.L.C. He was working in a Coffee estate and in the year 1962 his marriage took place. This man was of pious nature from the beginning. Since 18-9-1967, Kariappa became Sadguru Sai Sankara; he then founded Prashantha Nilaya in the year 1971. This organisation was registered as Sai Sankara Trust in 1977, which was incharge of the activities of Prashantha Nilaya. Prashantha Nilaya is a secular institution in the sense that it works for the uplifting of the *Dalits* (the SCs and STs) through social service, rural education, medical attention and Yoga training; besides, it disseminates Sanatana Tatva (Vedic and philosophical knowledge). With the demise of Sri Sai Sankara in 1986, P.G.Kuttappa of Nalakerigrama was installed on *gurupeetha*. He is managing the responsibility of Prashantha Nilaya since then. He is called Guruswamy by the devotees. This Swamiji holds a post-graduate degree in agriculture. But, his spiritual inclination made him give up his job in order to become a disciple of Sadguru Sai Sankara. Since 1971, he is leading a life of spirituality. *Prashantha Nilaya* claims a band of 127 service minded workers. Every day, morning prayers, *bhajans* and *abhisheka* (holy bath to deity) are the routine activities which start early in the morning at about 4.30 and continue upto 8 p.m. in the night. Feasts and festivals like Sivarathi, Christmas, Sai Sankara's birth day celebration and other holy days are observed every year. This institution among other things, is known for its social services activities which include providing food and clothes for the Scheduled Castes and the Tribes, provide medical service to them, and to teach day-to-day cleanliness and also spirituality. All this is the primary task of the social workers of this institution; with the result a sense of awareness is created in the people of Srimangala, T.Settigeri, Kokre Hosalli (Periyapatna taluk), Alalur, Muddanahalli, Uttenahalli, and Bhadravola villages. In the premises of Prashantha Nilaya, a hospital with 30 beds is established. It

also commands a prayer hall, cattle shed, library and the temples of Lord Vishnu and Ganesha within the precincts; houses for the workers' families are also constructed. Its branches are in Holland, Belgium and United States of America. Gifts and offerings from the people within the country and abroad make up for the income of this institution.

Among other spiritual centres in Kodagu district, Vedantha Sangha in Madikeri should also be taken into account. Having been established in 1917, it has been doing good work in the sphere of spirituality. Another Ashrama by name Siddharudha Ashram is also meeting the religious need of the people with its two branches at Cherambani and T. Settigeri. Shirdi Saibaba Organization at Haisodlur is one more institution committed to enhance the spiritual fervour in the district. The Brahma Kumaris Eswareeya Vidyalaya which imparts spiritual knowledge had its first centre in Gonikoppal during 1976. Its aim is to spread spirituality through friendship, exhibitions and lectures. This Organisation has established a few branches in Virajpet, Madikeri, Gonikoppal, Kushalnagara and Somvarapet. In these Kendras about 200 people are participating. There are Bhajan Centres of the devotees of Swami Ayyappa in many places in the district. Similarly, a branch of Kailasa Ashrama is at Talakaveri, which has the main centre at Kenchenahalli near Bangalore. There is a branch of Kashi Matha at Bhagamandala of the Gauda Saraswath Brahmins.

### ISLAM

During the rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan Islam spread more widely in Kodagu. Thousands of Kodavas had been taken as captives to Srirangapattana during the Third Mysore War by Tipu and he converted them into Islamic religion. Some of these Muslims escaped to their native regions. The King Virarajendra of Kodagu rehabilitated them at a few places in groups by granting them fallow lands. According to Rajendra Name, about 12,000 people returned to Kodagu from Srirangapattana. Having been established in Kodagu, these people depended on the Mapilles (Moplas) of Malbar who knew the religious observances of Islam much earlier. Consequently these people are referred to as Jamma Mapille by the rest of the people in the district. They are found more in the following regions: Nelagi, Yemmemadu, Kunjila, Kolakeri, Kadiyatnadu, Beppunadu, Nariyandada, Kettoli and Mytadi, Aimangala of Yedanalkunadu, Halagunda and Nalavattoklu of Ammattinadu and Begur of Srimangala nadu. The fact that they were originally Kodavas, can be established by referring to their Kodava Family names, still in use.

Some of the family names of the Muslims of Kodagu are as follows: Chembaranda, Chakkara, Sannachembaranda, Kalera, Kundanda, Cherumani, Karada, Kuvelara, Pudiyanda and the like. The social life of Jamma Mapilles is like that of Kodavas. D.N. Krishnaiah holds that the Kodavas rendered assistance to the Muslims to construct Pallis (Mosques). According to Krishnaiah, the Jamma Mapilles used to participate in Huttari festival like the Kodavas having dressed themselves traditionally and carrying the drums. The Kodavas used to respect these people who came to the Nadumandu (doneing arena). This tradition was rather popular at the Beliyani Mandu of Kadiyatnadu and Nadu Mandu of Beppunaadu till nearly 75-80 years ago. It has completely stopped now. Perhaps, one could see till the beginning of the century, the Kodava practices and social customs in Muslim marriages. They were wearing the traditional Kodava dress (*kuppasa*).

Another class of Muslims is also in Kodagu who came from Cannonore and settled down at Virajpet. Krishnaiah is of the view that these Muslims were originally Bengalis; they came to South after the Battle of Plassey; settled down at Cochin on the coast. But some of them proceeded to Cannonore and later arrived in Virajpet when it was built in 1792. The people cleared the forest and constructed houses for their settlement in the place, presently, called Bengali Bidi (locality)\*. We find other categories of Muslims also in Kodagu. They are as follows: Urdu speaking Dakhani Muslims; Malayalam speaking Mapilles (Moplas) of Kerala; Tamil speaking Labbes; Konkani speaking Navayaths of Uttara Kannada; Byari (mixture of Tulu Kannada and Malayalam) speaking Muslims of Dakshina Kannada etc. Dakhani muslims are concentrated primarily in Madikeri and Virajpet area. Mapilles are to be found more in Virajpet taluk. Dakhani Muslims belong to the Hanafi sect whereas Mapilles and Navayaths belong to the Shafi sect. According to the 1981 Census there were 61,649 Muslims in Kodagu district. Their population was 13.35% of the total population in the district. Further, majority of them 45,810 lived in rural areas and the remaining 15,839 population were in urban areas. The same census (1981) enumerates the figures of Muslims in the different taluks as follows: Madikeri taluk-18,378; Somvarpet Taluk- 17,002; and Virajpet Taluk-26,269. The local people say that the Muslims of Kerala who came for trading, settled down as immigrants in Kodagu. Belief in Kalima (Allah, the only God; and Mohammed is his prophet), praying five times a day, making offering to the poor, fasting during Ramzan month and visiting Haj (Pilgrimage to Mecca) are the religious obligation of the Muslims. The Muslims essentially believe in Allah, His messengers, the Holy Quran, and the Prophets; they also believe in Lord's justice, hell and heaven, and Divine Decrees. (Details on mosques of Kodagu can be seen in the Chapter XVI). The Muslims of Kodagu are mostly Sunnis of Hanafi and Shafi sects.

## CHRISTIANITY

An important religious group, settling down in Virajpet in the early days was the Konkani Catholic Christians. The Catholics of Dakshina Kannada, being the captives of Tipu Sultan, during the Third Mysore War, were brought to Srirangapattana. Some of them escaped through Kodagu to their native land. The king Virarajendra of Kodagu, having noticed this development, decided to stop those passing through his territory and encouraged them to settle down in this region. He obliged them by getting a Goan priest by name John De Costa for their liturgical purposes. He also gave a citation in which the grant of land for agriculture to these people was mentioned. The king was very generous to help them; he got them sites for building houses, seeds for sowing and foodgrains for day to day living. Money was advanced to these people for the purpose of business and, tax was waived for a period of three years. He got a Church built in 1792 for their worship. The Church was a small one. The king made arrangements to pay for the maintenance of the priest 84 *battis* (a local measure) of paddy per year, oil to light the lamp and the candles from the palace stores. He also gave a pair of bronze lamps to be lit in front of the Lord and a brass box, a gold crown to the image to Jesus Christ. Many years later the old Church was demolished to build a new one. The Madikeri Church is older than the Virajpet Church. This Church was built for the Christian soldiers, who served Hyder Ali by Fr. Joachim Miranda who was the friend of Hyder. The Church was completed in the year 1768. From the records in the possession of Christians, it is learnt that Tippu Sultan who succeeded his father (Hyder Ali) had been furious about the coastal

\* Krishnaiah D.N., *History of Kodagu*, p. 249

Christians, suspecting them that they had supported the British in Anglo-Mysore War II and for which he took vengeance on these people by demolishing the Churches in his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> When he demolished the Madikeri Church in 1784 many of the Christians of the place were captured and many others ran away into hiding. There are Catholic Churches in Pollibetta, Siddapura, Ammatti, Somvarpet, Gopalapura (Shanivarasanthe), Suntikoppa, Kushalnagara, Mullur and Kutta. These Churches are running nursery schools, primary schools, high schools, convents and hostels in Madikeri, Pollibetta, Siddapura, Ammatti, Somvarpet, Suntikoppa, Kushalnagara, Kutta, Kadamullur and Virajpet.

The Catholic Christians in Kodagu speak Konkani, Tamil, Tulu and Malayalam languages. As we already know, the Konkani Christians had settled down in the district during the rule of Kodagu Kings. Tamil Christians arrived during the British times. Whereas Malayali Syrian Christians of Kerala migrated to this region mostly between 1930 and 50. Tulu speakers came to work in the estates from Dakshina Kannada.

The Protestant Christian activities in Kodagu dates back to 1834. During that year the Basel Missionary Society of Mangalore started its activities in the district. They used to keep contact with Madikeri and Virajpet. Protestant activities commenced in 1852 in Kodagu with Dr. Moegling who baptised one Somaiah of Alamanda into Protestant Church in the following year (1853). Somaiah was the first Kodava Christian and his wife joined him later. He gifted away some land for constructing a Church building. The persons who built the Church had to maintain it also, for about six years. The Chaplin of Church of England, belonging to Mangalore, had been transferred to Madikeri in 1854. Prayer sessions in this Church used to be attended by military officers, Estate owners and Tamil Christians who were to be around 100 in number. In later years about 130 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes were converted into this religion. They all got the grant of government lands at Ammathinadu for their livelihood. Subsequently, this came to be called Anandapura (after the name of Rev. Ananda Kaundinya). Many others like Kittel, Stokes, Kaufman, Koundinya and Richter continued the work at Dr. Moegling's Protestant Mission. By 1870 only nine Kodavas had become Christians. Among the Protestant Christians in Kodagu, during the last century, there were some Kodavas and Jamma-holeiyas. Some others must have migrated from Dakshina Kannada.

According to 1981 Census the Christian Population was 16,397 in the district. Among them, 3,635 lived in Madikeri taluk; 7,220 people in Virajpet taluk; 5,542 people in Somvarapet taluk. At present the Christian population is larger in rural areas than in urban towns.

## CASTES AND TRIBES

With the British taking over Kodagu, more information about life and living of these people was available. One can find certain groups of people, living away from modern influences and the others enjoying all the conveniences of our time, both at far ends. There are tribal groups and their different sub-groups; the outsiders settling down here and observing the local customs and philosophy and also the people who retained their original identity, socially and culturally amidst

1. Copies of these records are in the Gazetteer office.

\* vide Krishniah, pp. 591-93; Moegling, p. 207 onwards

others. Some tribal groups constitute a meagre population and are seen only in Kodagu district. Each tribe is characterised by its own language, god and culture. Obviously, Kodagu district lays the natural canvas for a colourful design of a variety of languages. Many customs and traditions of people are very unique in themselves. Kodava is the link language throughout the district for all people except in the Somvarapet Taluk. The dress of the people is also distinct from the rest in the State.

The tribes which are identified as local ones (native) possess customs and practices which are more or less similar. "Master-Servant" distinction is an outstanding character among the people and, servants seem to have acquired some of the qualities of 'Master' in their customs and rituals. Therefore, it is rather common to see the influence of the 'Master' throughout Kodagu. The original forest dwellers among the tribes have been displaced from their environment as more and more coffee estates came into existence in the forest areas. These people who depended on the forests for their living could no longer do the same; similarly, the strict enforcement of the Law regarding reserved forests ultimately pushed the tribals out to the plains. These developments have disturbed the basic inclinations and living pattern of the tribes. There has been a world of difference in life and living of people between pre-independence and post-freedom days in Kodagu district. The Government is making efforts by launching programmes (plans) to improve the living style and life of people. Formerly, the houses were in circular pattern and, at the centre, the people used to keep the burning fire all through the night, warming up themselves against severe cold weather. The people spent the night in singing and dancing, which reflected their joys and sorrows. All that has changed. The Government under its rehabilitation plan has built colonies with houses in lines; but securing fire-wood has become a problem to the people. There is no social homogeneity among the tribals, now as was once seen when they lived in the forests, hunting without restrictions. Having been forced to give up the old ways of life, the tribals are trying to adjust themselves to the new ways of earning their livelihood and new occupations. Dress and customs also have undergone a sea change. Many of them have taken to cattle breeding, and that has given them some sort of economic freedom. Not many knowledgeable people about the traditional ways of life of the tribals are to be found. Hence, one has to depend on the old published works to learn about these people. But it is not advisable to try to corroborate the information on these people on the basis of Westerners' writings, mostly meant for entertaining the European readers, and accept them as authentic. The tribal people have slowly adapted themselves to modern ways of life.

All the tribes in Kodagu worship their own deities; they are formless. Kuttadamma of Kutta in Southern Kodagu is a popular goddess. She is the goddess of the Jenu Kuruba, Betta Kuruba and the Kadu Kuruba communities. Leaving out Tampiratti of Pania, the Bhutas or spirits worshipped by them are from Dakshina Kaunada and Kerala. The Kodavas regard the lamp at Nellakki Nadubade as God and worship it both in the morning and the evening. They also light the lamp in the name of the family ancestor (*karona*) and worship him. The lighting place of lamps is god's dwelling in every Kodava home; but otherwise the river Cauvery is the primary goddess. In Kodava sentiment the river and goddess Cauveri is everything and more important than one's mother. The Bhagandeswara temple at the confluence of the Kaveri and the Kannika in Bhagamandala and Iggutappa at Padi are their major deities. Worship in the temples of Kodagu is a matter to be decided by Tantris of Manjeswara (in Kasaragode dt of Kerala). Therefore influence



of Kerala in this regard is conspicuously seen. The Kaveri is the part and parcel of the life of Kodavas whose sentimental attachment to her is deep and lifelong.

The speakers of the Kodava language are in many groups. They are the Amma Kodava, Agasa, Peggade, Meda, Kumbara, Koyava, Airi, Barber (Hajama), Golla, Kembatti Holeya and the like. All these sub-divisions still exist. But their food and customs are more or less uniform. They enjoy the ownership of land in the district; however, the Kodava agriculturist and some of the sub-castes have their own differences. The Kodavas, traditionally do not treat these groups as their equals in status socially. Some of these sections work as '*kudi*' (a servant in the house) in Kodava families; otherwise, they pursue their traditional vocations. It is observed that during the rule of the Odeyars in Kodagu, many Kodavas became Veerashivas; nevertheless, Veerashaivism cannot be said to have had its impact on the Kodava tradition. The major concentration of Kodavas is in Virajpet taluk.

Among the outsiders who settled down in Kodagu during the rule of the Kodagu Odeyar (Rajas) were the Gowdas of Dakshina Kannada, Veerashaivas in northern Kodagu and the Vokkaligas of Mysore. The Gowdas of Dakshina Kannada origin are in greater number around Bhagamandala. These people have changed their customs considerably and, they follow Kodava practices. Only the language difference separates the Gowdas from the Kodavas; but their dress and food are generally similar to those of the Kodavas.

The immigrants in Kodagu formed several groups at the time of Haleri Kings and these immigrants had accepted the customs, and practices of the Kodavas. They were granted Jamma land for agriculture. We may mention the following sections among them viz., the Hegde, and the Kavadis (both farmers), the Kollas (black-smiths), Tattas (Gold-smiths), Koleya (who used to build mud walls), Koyavas, Bannas (Bhuta performers), Kania (fortune-tellers), Binepattar (singing mendicants), Maleya and the Panika (Bhuta performers), the Ganigas (traditional oil extractors) and the Golla (Cattle breeders).

We may examine the different castes in broad outlines as they are found in Kodagu district.

### Adiya

The Adiyas are found in and around Bhagamandala in Madikeri taluk. They are also called Yeravas in some parts of Kodagu according to A.A.D.Louis. These people speak Kannada consisting of words of Tulu and Malayalam. The Adiyas are a caste group coming into being due to *pratiloma* or marriage between one Sivadwija and a brahmin girl, according to a legend. They claim that their forefathers were priests in Bhadrakali temples. Their sub-sects or *mandas* are based on the places they inhabit.

The Adiyas live in hutments near the gardens where they work. They were using earthen pots for domestic purposes. They are mostly agricultural labourers, and they gather honey from the forests: They are also craftsmen, making baskets (*kukke* and *goraga*). They were taking part as pipers on occasions marriage and at death. Their women have tattoo marks on the forehead. When they wear sari, the *seragu* (free end) is taken over the right arm and tied with a knot. It is known as *Sindhakattu*. In the past women were not wearing blouse. Adiya girls are married only after their

maturity. Either a brahmin or the priest in the temple of village goddess officiates at Adiya marriage. Tying of the *Tali* is the essential part of an Adiya marriage. The boy's family should pay *tera* (bride price) to the girl's family and it is a common practice with them. Cross-cousin marriage involving mother-brother's daughter or father sister's daughter is generally practiced among the Adiyas. Divorce is recognized; and the widows and the divorcees can remarry. The headman of a village is called *Peruman*. He helps in marriages and also at death. The Adiyas celebrate Hindu festivals. Their gods are Kottali Kuruman; Mand and Yellamma. Even ancestral worship is practised by them. The Adiyas believe in omens and sooth saying. They follow the customs and practices of the Kodavas. The dead bodies are buried.

### Agasa

The Agasas are washermen and are the immigrants to Kodagu. They speak Kannada, Kodava and Malayalam. According to the I Backward Class Commission, the total population of this caste group in the district was 3,622 in 1972 but the II Backward Classes Commission put the figures of these people at 3,142 in 1984. The participation of the Agasas in the Kodava marriage makes one believe that people of this caste perhaps migrated to Kodagu long time ago. The Kodava washermen speak Kodava language and own Jamma lands. They are in larger number in the following regions: Srimangala, Bhagamandala, Hudikeri, Napoklu, Balamuri, Uddur Paluru, Betur, Kannangala and Bittangala. But the Kannada-speaking washermen must have migrated from Mysore, Hassan and Dakshina Kannada. Their customs and practices resemble the people of the respective regions. However, Kodava culture has been imbibed by them to a considerable extent. Malayalam speaking washermen are a few in number. The Kodava washermen are divided into different kin-groups called *bali* and they do not entertain marriage relations with families of the same *bali*. These people identify the ancestral family like the Kodavas. They worship Gurukarona or the ancestor. Their festivities are Huttari, Kail Poldu, Kaveri Sankramana, Subbaraya Shashti, Bisu (Vishu) Yugadi and others. The ritual of tying of *tali* (*mangalya*) is not a practice with them. *kudavali* (marriage of widow or divorced women) seems to have been in practice. Their main occupation was to serve as washermen in Kodava families. Many of these people used to be *Kudis* (servant doing domestic service) in Kodava families. The Agasas are obliged to decorate the marriage pandals and spread the cloth for people to walk on (*Nademadi*) in Kodava marriages. They are usually paid in kind or in cash for their service. They are the torch-bearers in the processions of Mariyamma and Bhagavathi festivals. Kodava Agasas cremate and the others bury the dead body.

### Airis

The Airis are the original settlers like Kodavas in the district. Their customs, culture and ways of life are not very different from that of the Kodavas. They speak the Kodava language. Perhaps, these people were working as skilled persons in the palace during the rule of the kings. Jamma land was also given to them. They are found in large number on southern Kodagu. Their population in the district is about four or five thousand. The Airis were decking *peeche* swords with gold, silver and pearls. Now, they are working as carpenters. Some of them are blacksmiths. The family gods are Kaveri and Iggutappa. Non-vegetarianism is a later practice and they were vegetarians and

were also once invested with the sacred thread. These people have hereditary family names like the Kodavas. Some of the family names are Kameyanda, Dugyanda, Annambiri, Ekolanda, Ammananda, Ajenira, Babbara, Ponnira, etc.

### **Amma Kodava**

The Kodavas with the prefix Amma or Ammaiah are believed to be the original priests of Kodagu region. These people are in large number in parts of South Kodagu-Ponnampet, Kanur, Kothur, Mattur, Galigatta, Mayamudi, Napoklu, Cherambane, Kambibane etc. Their population in the district is said to be about 5,000. Rice traces the origin of Amma Kodava to Malabar. According to a mythical story, the family of Amma Kodava flourished due to a relationship of a Kodava with a brahmin woman. However another version of the story narrates that one Thambikat Thambiran of Vynad was unable to celebrate his daughter's marriage before she attained puberty. He left the girl in the forest where she met a Kodava young man who was prepared to marry her. They progenated the families to be known as Amma Kodava. In the last days of Kodagu king these people were referred to as Kaveri brahmins: Their customs and dress are not different from those of Kodavas and they observe all Kodava feasts and festivals (except Kailpold). Amma Kodava women dress themselves in sari with pleats arranged together in front. *Mangalya dharana* is an important ritual in their marriage. There was an accountant by name Thimmappaiah in the King's treasury. He was instrumental in allowing the Amma Kodavas to wear the sacred thread (*yagnopaveetha*) in 1834 at Balamuri. These people are the followers of Ramachandra Matha in Shimoga district. Some time later, the authorities of the Udipi Mathas gave the *upanayana* right to some Amma Kodavas by investing them with the sacred thread at the Irpu temple in Kiggattnad. The others who did not belong to these two groups, later, became the followers of the Subramanya Matha in Dakshina Kannada. Traditionally Amma Kodavas are vegetarians. No one could certainly say as to when these people lost the priesthood. There are two clans (*gothra*) among them-Bharadwaja and Viswamitra. They hold that they possess the religious right to perform *thrikarma* viz., Vedic studies (*adhyayana*) charity (*dana*) and sacrifice (*yagnya*). The Amma Kodavas render *Hariseva* to Lord Venkataramana. Every day they make offering to Karona (the ancestral deity). The bridegroom's party go in search of a bride. *Mangalya dharana*, *dhare* (pouring to indicate gifting) etc., are Vedic traditions among these people. Amma Kodavas like other Kodavas have particular ancestral family names as for example Puttaamane, Ayyechanda, Baananda, Gumbeera, Mannikamane, Hemmachimane, etc. These people conduct obsequies in the brahmanical tradition on the death of a person and perform *masika* (monthly ceremony) and *varshika* (annual ceremony). The population of Amma Kodava was 666 in 1931.

### **Banajiga**

The People who sell traditionally auspicious items like bangles are generally called Banajiga or Balija. Now they are engaged in different occupations. The Second Backward Classes Commission reported that Balija population in Kodagu was 2,809 in 1984. There are both Kannada and Telugu speaking groups. Some of the sub-sects are Yele Banajiga, Dasa Banajiga, Setty Banajiga, Dudi Banajiga, Punaivalu Banajiga, Gandudi Banajiga, Naidu, Bale Banajiga, etc. The Yele Banajigas grow betel leaves; they are businessmen also. Bale Banajiga sell bangles. In some

parts Bale Banajiga are referred to as Telugu Banajiga. Another group called the Sadu Banajiga, were once Jainas and later at the time of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala, became Vaishnavas. Therefore, these people are also known as Ramanuja Dasa-Vanijakshatriyas, and were JainaKshatriyas once. There are many lineages and *gothras* among Banajiga people. Some of them like Dasa Banijiga cremate the dead, but most of Banajiga groups bury the dead. They worship Vaishnava gods. Banajigas of Virajpet, however, identify themselves as Sadu Settys. They are small business people, mostly betel leaf vendors. They are involved in other kinds of business also. Some of their gods are Lord Venkateshwara, Angala Parameswari and Maramma. They have as many as 24 *gothras*, like, Madya and Guruve. Their mother-tongue is a mixture of Tamil and Telugu. The ancestors of these people, perhaps, migrated from Coimbatore region during the rule of Dodda Veerarajendra and must have settled down in Virajpet and Channayyanakote. In their marriage invitation, they print that they are "Telugu 24 Desais Chettiar family".

### Bannaru

the Bannaru and Panikaru are migrants from Malabar to Kodagu. They speak Malayalam at home. They dress themselves like *karona* of the family while *kola* is offered at the instance of the Kaniyas (fortune tellers). They get possessed of some deity or *bhuta* or a deceased ancestor. They offer solutions to the riddles of life of a man or his family by talking under trance to people. They answer the queries in Malayalam. They arrange *kola* during the festival of village deities. On such occasions they partake liquor(toddy). The Bannaru are usually the drum-beaters. The Panikas (Panikaru) kill the sacrificial animal and also disguise themselves as *bhuta*. This is called *terekattu*.

### Bant

The Bants migrated from Dakshina Kannada and Kasargod to Kodagu. It is said that Haleri kings sent for these people from Manjeshwara, Kumble, Bantwala and Puttur to come and inhabit in Kodagu region. In Kodagu, they are divided into two groups. The Masadika Bant and the Parivara Bant. They speak Tulu. They practise two kinds of marriages viz., *Kaidhare* and *budare*. The former is usually between a maiden and an unmarried boy; the latter is for the widowers and widows who become life partners by just holding each others hand. The Masadika Bants are matriarchal and the Parivara Bants are patriarchal. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission Bants' population in kodagu was 4,409 in 1984. The Bants bury the dead bodies..

### Besta

The Bestas are also called Gangakulas. Their mainstay of life was fishing and its marketing. These people are referred to as Parivaradavaru in Mysore region and as Thorayas in Tamilnadu. The Second Backward Classes Commission has estimated their population as 1,475 in 1984 in the district. Among the Bestas of the district there are the Mogers from Dakshina Kannada, the Thoreyas from Tamil Nadu, and the Mukkavaṣ from Kerala. A sub-sect of the Bestas called Boyi are known by a few names-the Pathoreya, Parathoreya and the Andoliyas. During the rule of the Kodagu Kings, these people were the palanquin bearers. The Boyis are found only at Ibbanavalavadi. Most of the Bestas have settled down in agriculture.

### Betta Kuruba

The Bettakurubas are found in all the taluks of the district. Virajpet taluk claims a larger population of these people. The Bettakurubas of Ponnampet and Srimangalanadu have not changed much and they are still retaining their original characteristics. Betta Kurubas by implication are from the hills is the opinion of Louis. They are differently called- Betla Kuruba, Bettu Kuruba, Botlu Kuruba, Botta Kuruba, Bettha Kuruba, Botladi, Katali, Katkuruba, Kadukuruba, Mullu Kuruba, Punde Kuruba etc. They use rattan, *vate* (thin bamboo) and bamboo split for making baskets and mats and it is called *botla iduuo* in Kodava language. This is the primary occupation of the Betta Kurubas. They are competitive in spirit. It is said that these people used to practice black magic. A Badaga tribal being alone, fears Betta Kuruba as the latter is believed to practice magic to invoke evil in others. Urali Kuruman and Urali Kurumban of Kerala and Tamilnadu and Betta Kurubas are all said to be the same. It is said that like the Jenu Kurubas, these people were driven to forests by the Kongas, the Cholas and Chalukyas; they are described as of the Pallava ancestry. They are short in stature, dark in complexion, long headed (length more than width in percentage) with prominent cheek-bones and flat-nose. The locality of these people is called *haadi*. At the centre of the *haadi* the Betta Kurubas build *chavadi* (common place for community activities). This *chavadi* is known as *ambala*. The *chavadi* is a sacred place for these people. They keep a burning fire at the centre of the *chavadi*. Around the *chavadi* there are huts with walls made of bamboo split, which are plastered with mud. These huts have thatched roofs. The Betta Kuruba women cover themselves upto the chest with some coloured cloth. A loose white apparel hangs down the shoulders from back. These people are usually identified by their dress itself. There are two sub-groups among the Betta Kurubas-Mondapadi (three huts) and Elapadi (seven huts). They actively move about; they do not get tired at all. They can identify animals and their pugmarks easily. In the earlier days they were a nomadic tribe and were living by hunting. Now, they have settled down at various places and are living as workers in estates and as forest labourers in the Forest department. These people practised *Kumri* (shifting or slash and burn) cultivation. The Betta Kurubas split the bamboo to make baskets and holders which are needed by the agriculturists and others. They are worshippers of *bhutas*. These people have practised totemic worship also. According to a popular belief, the unmarried people on their death are likely to become *bhutas* and to keep such *bhutas* in good humour they offer some food for them in red cloth packing. They worship Bettada Chikkamma and Bhairava. Once in three years, Kari Kaliyamma in Kutta is also worshipped by these people. They have their own priests among themselves.

Girls are married only after their maturity. *Thera* of Rs. 5 should be paid to the girls' family. The elderly person in the *haadi* officiates at the marriage. *Mangalya dharana* is also in vogue among the Betta Kurubas. A girl on her first menstruation is kept in a hut, constructed exclusively for this purpose. Even the birth of a child would cause pollution to the mother and hence, she would live in a separate hut. Divorces are rather common among the Betta Kurubas. Widows and the divorcees among them may marry again.

The Betta Kurubas bury the dead; some times cremation is also practised. According to a belief, a man's material possessions are his part and they are usually the implements which should necessarily be buried with him when he dies. Such a practice is uncommon now, but here and there it is still in vogue. If a good man dies, he is believed to become a blessed spirit. On the other hand,

if a bad man dies and if he was unmarried, he is likely to become a spirit causing harm to the people. The Betta Kurubas are now agricultural labourers. Their women, while attending to house-hold chores, also work as labourers in the forest department. The Betta Kuruba men, mostly, are employed on daily wages in the forest department.

### Brahmins

It appears that they were Nambudri Brahmins of Kerala in Kodagu earlier to the Haleri kings. Many brahmin families arrived in this region at the time of the Haleri kings. Among these people were Kannada speaking Smartha Havyaks and Shivalli (Tulu Madhwa Brahmins) that came from Dakshina Kannada; whereas the other categories of brahmins arrived from Mysore, Hassan and Shimoga. It is stated that Brahmins migrated to Kodagu in the beginning of the Christian era. These brahmins were priests in temples. There are three distinct traditions among the brahmins-the followers of Shankaracharya, Madhwacharya and Ramanujacharya. In Kodagu we find only the Smarthas (followers of Shankara) and the Madhwas followers of Madhwacharya. The Smarthas include Havyaka (from Dakshina Kannada) and also those who came from Mysore and Hassan. The Havyaks in Kodagu are generally gardeners. They are affiliated to the Ramachandrapur Matha in Shimoga district. In all the temples of Kodagu, mostly Shivalli brahmins officiate as the priests.

The Brahmins follow *gothra* and *pravara* system to identify themselves and their family ancestors. The *gothras* are Kashyapa, Vishwamithra, Bharadwaja, etc. They practice *gothra exogamy*. There are sixteen *Samskaras* (religious Sacraments) for these people; *upanayana* being the very important one. It enables a person to get the religious right to Vedic studies. Wearing a sacred thread after this rite (*upanayana*) is common to all brahmin males. In everyday life, a brahmin is governed by many rituals. He is supposed to eat twice a day, once in the day and once in the night. Traditionally, a brahmin must be observing *shatkarmas* or six-fold duties, and they are *yajna* (performing sacrifice), *yajana* (officiating to perform sacrifice), *adhyayana* (studies), *adhyapana* (teaching), *dana* (gifting) and *pratigriha* (receiving gifts). A brahmin marriage is called Brahma type. Girl's parents approach the Boy's family to seek consent for their daughter's marriage. The brahmins do not make any payment as bride-price. But, the practice of *salankrita kanyadana* (girl being bedecked with jewels and proper clothes to be gifted) has given way to dowry system in modern times.

Brahmins were broadly classified into *Vaidikas* and *Laukikas*. The *Vaidikas* are given to priestly duties and Vedic learning; whereas the *Laukikas* were more involved in the worldly affairs like taking to jobs or trade, etc. A *Vaidika* was supposed to be observing *shatkarmas*. On the other hand the *Laukikas* used to be *karanika* (village accountants), *dewan* (administrators), and they also worked in various official cadres. The Brahmins do not traditionally approve of divorce and even widow marriage. Widows among them used to have their heads shaven which was once a tradition. Now, it is rather uncommon. Orthodox brahmin never used certain vegetables like Onion, garlic, brinjals, etc.

The dead bodies are cremated. Exception to their practice is to conduct a burial if dead ones are either small children (who have not cut teeth), *sadhus* or *sanyasis*. A ten-day pollution is observed by the cousins in case of death. Ashes and bone pieces are collected from the

crematorium on the second or the third day of death and immersed in a holy river. The *shradha* ceremony starts either on the 5th, 7th or 9th day of death and ends on the 13th day with Vaikuntha Samaradhana with a feast to the near and dear ones. *Masika shraddha* to mark the death of the person is also performed each month. Finally, *varshika shraddha* (annual ceremony) will be conducted after completion of one year, and it is performed annually afterwards.

There is a changing trend towards a liberal attitude regarding marriage involving the different sects of brahmins. Brahmins are now engaged in various kinds of occupations. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, there are 7,570 brahmins in 1984 in Kodagu district.

Generally, the Havyak and the Shivally brahmins happen to be the priests in the temples throughout Kodagu. Now-a-days, the Havyaks are coming out of this occupation; they are engaged in agriculture and maintaining estates. It is said that no Havyak is functioning as a priest in the temples in the district. There are also about 20 families of Saraswath brahmins, speaking Konkani in Madikeri and Virajpet.

A brahmin sub-group known as a *Balavalikars* is inhabiting Betoli, Heggala, Kottoli and Hatur of Virajpet taluk. They are believed to have migrated from Mangalore to Kodagu about 150 years ago. These people constitute about 150 families at present. They speak Konkani. They are the followers of Sringeri Matha. The Balavalikar originally belonged to Konkan (Ratnagiri district). Their family names are as follows: Lotalikar, Wagale, Borkar, Bokade, Addonkar, Sinkar etc. They are agriculturists and are not much educated. The Balavalikars get the priests from Goa for religious ceremonies like *upanayana* and marriage. Their family deities are Kavaleswara, Ravaleswara and Lord Ventakataramana. These people in Virajpet started the Kodagu Balavalikar Brahmins' Co-operative Society in 1942 to assist the community members. The society grants a sum of Rs. 200 to the family of the dead to enable them to conduct the funeral.

### Byras

The Byras say that they are called Hanneradu Bannada Balagai Rani Kula. They arrived in Kodagu from Dakshina Kannada about two hundred years ago. They speak Kannada. The people have inhabited the following places: Koragunda, Bettageri, Chirangala, Chettimane, Siddapura, Murnad, Madikeri, Suintikoppa, Bhagamandala, etc. Their staple food is boiled rice (*kusubalakki*). Its preparation is called *ganj (kongi)*. They worship deities like Guliga, Kallurti, Karichowdi and Byra and also Guru Karana (ancestor). The Byras observe Navaratri, Huttari and Tula Sankramana festivals. The parents of the boy go in search of a bride. Their marriage pandal is erected with twelve poles. *Thera* of Rs. 14.50 is a customary payment to the girl's family. *Mangalya dharana* (tying of *tali*) is a marriage practice among Byras. *Dampati muhurta* is also in practice. The marriages are managed by the maternal uncles of both the bride and the bridegroom. Serving meat preparation on marriage occasion was a taboo in the earlier days. But now only the married couple are not served meat at the marriage feast. The dead were used to be buried in the earlier days but now the dead bodies are cremated. They collect ashes from the crematory and fill it in a pit and cover it with earth. A feast is arranged to the friends and relative on the sixteenth day of death. They were making baskets and holders using rattans and bamboo splits. But now many of them are agricultural labourers.

**Christians: See Christianity**

### **Darji**

The Darjis are tailors by profession. There are a few castes whose occupation is tailoring. They are Bhavasara Kshatriya, Shimpi, Rangare, Chippiga, Namadeva Shimpi, etc. The Second Backward Classes Commission estimated their population as around 279 in Kodagu district in 1984. But the opinion of men of this caste puts their figure much higher. The Namadeva Shimpi are found at Madikeri, Somvarpet, Shanivarsanthe and also at Kodlipet; whereas Bhavasara Kshatriya are at Virajpet. These people have the custom of wearing the sacred thread. The Darjis mostly do tailoring in Kodagu. Some of them sell garments in weekly fairs. They have built a temple for Sri Panduranga at Kodlipet. Rangares, a sub-caste among the Darjis dye the thread to be used for weaving. The Bhavasara Kshatriya and the Namadeva Shimpis speak Marathi at home. The Darjis worship gods and goddesses like Vithoba, Jyothiba, Khandoba, Ambabhavani and Yellamma. Some of the *gothras* of the people of the Darji caste are Kolekar, Korada, Jathne, Sherkar, etc. Their religious ceremonies are conducted by brahmins. Occassions like marriage and occupying a newly constructed house (*grihapravesham*) should take place only after the ceremony of *gondala* (a special worship of Ambabhavani with devotees dancing around in an excited mood holding *kakada* i.e., burning torches). But, these people in Kodagu are not practicing this custom. They follow Vedic rituals and ceremonies. They go on a pilgrimage to Pandharapura during the lunar month during Ashadha. The Darjis cremate the dead. There are others who practice tailoring by choice and are not included in this caste group. Now-a-days, the Namadeva Shimpis and the Bhavasara Kshatriyas negotiate marriage relations. They are non-vegetarian by food habits

### **Devanga**

The people belonging to the Devanga Caste came to Kodagu during the rule of Haleri kings. Their mainstay of life is weaving. They are found in this district in Somvarpet taluk, adjacent to Mysore district in great number and also at Madikeri, Kodlipet, Shanivarsanthe, Shirangala, Gopalapura, Thorenuru and Hudikeri. The Devangas linguistically belong to two groups Kaunada and Telugu speaking. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, their number was 3,071 in 1984. Kannada Devangas are sub-divided into those of 18 families and of the Sirya families (Shira in Tumkur dt). They possess the following lineage groups called *kulas* : Ambale, Arivina, Banna, Bale, Belli, Mande, Macche. On the other hand, Telugu Devangas have Bandi, Banta, Onte, Uddhu, Goduna and other *kulas* or clans. The Devangas wear the sacred thread. Their family gods are Ramalinga, Chowdeshwari and Banashankari. There is a temple of Chowdeshwari at Virajpet. Differences and Caste issues of these people are referred to *kattemane* for solving them. The Devangas in Kodagu mostly belong to Kannada speaking sect. They are classified into 108 *gothras*. These people in Shirangala are mostly continuing weaving, their traditional occupation; but in Thorenur they have taken to agriculture and in Kushalnagar these people are engaged in petty business. In Kodlipet and Gopalapura, they work as agricultural and garden labourers. The dead in the Devanga community is buried.



### Ganiga

The Ganigas migrated to Kodagu district from Mysore and Dakshina Kannada. They numbered about 646 as per the estimate of the Second Backward Classes Commission. Among the Ganigas from Mysore region the following sub-groups are found: The Hegganiga, Kiruganiga, Jyothi-phana and others. The people add the suffix Setty after their names. *Thera* (payment to the girl's family) is a custom with them. They arrange *mane seve* (a custom of making offerings to Dasayya at the time of the procession of a deity). Kannada speaking Ganigas in the district of Kodagu are found in Shanivarasanthe and Somvarpet regions. They call themselves to be of the Sivajyothi Sect. These people are believed to have related themselves to the Kiruganiga sub-group. There are many clans among them; and they are identified through totemic deities. People of the same totemic groups cannot marry. Some of their gods are Venkataramana and Veerabhadra. They are non-vegetarians. The dead among the Ganigas are usually buried. The traditional process of oil extraction has become a rarity and in these days some of the Ganigas use rotary machine for the purpose of oil extraction. Tulu speaking Ganigas are found in Shanivarasanthe, Somvarpet and Madikeri. These people have *gothras* like Sreyanna, Bangeranna, Karmaranna etc. also are non-vegetarians. It is said that the Tulu and the Kannada speaking Ganiga groups have not established marriage relation till to-date. The dead among the Tulu-speaking Ganigas are cremated. Tulu-speaking Ganigas do not have *kattemane* (a headman of the clan or group who decides the internal quarrels or affairs of the group) but the Kannada speaking Ganigas have *kattemane*.

### Golla

The Gollas are also called in Kodagu district, as Gowli, Gavuli, Attekali and Mepadi. They are also referred to as the Yadavas. These people are believed to have come to Kodagu from Mysore region. The Golla of Mysore are sub-divided into *Paitala*, *Punagu*, *Beegamudre*, *Bokkasa* and many other sections; two more sub-divisions of the Gollas are the Ontichapparadavaru and the Ronduchapparadavaru. These people in Kodagu are in a few places like Kunjila, Bettageri, Iyangeri, Perror, Chettimani, Bengoor, Kallala, Bethu, Galibeedu and Madikeri. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, Golla population was 1,534 in 1984 in the district, but a recent report estimated their population at 880 in 32 families in the entire Kodagu district. These people speak Kodava language at home. They have *aynmane* (32 in number) like the Kodavas. Some of the family names are Ponnakanda, Achera, Kyblara, Pattiyunda, Biddiyunda, Chidanda and others. Some of these people enjoy Jamma lands. The Gollas are no longer cattle breeders. Most of them are now working as farm labourers. Some of them are agriculturists. The Gollas of Kodagu are the worshippers of Lord Krishna at Ayyangeri. *mudipu* a religious obligation implying some offering to Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati is customary among these people. The Gollas observe Yugadi, Subramanya Shashti, Sri Krishna Janmashtami and Gowri-Ganesha festivals in addition to the Kodava festivals. The brahmin priests officiate at Golla marriages. Except the married couple, all others attending a marriage are served non-vegetarian food. Birth and death cause 16 days pollution to the family members. The dead bodies are disposed off either by cremation or by burial.

## Gowda

The Gowdas in Kodagu are of ten families with 18 *gothras*. Their population was 14,016 in 1931 and it rose to 30,000 by 1961. They must have migrated to Kodagu from Dakshina Kannada. Historically, it is surmised that the Gowdas moved out of Vijayanagar empire after its destruction to Ikkeri province and proceeded to Kodagu, through Dakshina Kannada. They came to Kodagu from the regions of Puttur and Sullya in Dakshina Kannada. These people as immigrants to Kodagu at the time of the king Doddaveerarajendra, settled down around Bhagamandala, Napoklu and Madikeri. The migration of Gowdas is believed to have taken place between 1799 and 1808. There is also a belief that the king Doddaveerarajendra wanted these people to come to Kodagu. Kannada language spoken by the Gowdas in this region is called Are Bhashe. Their family deity is Lord Venkataramana; but some families have deities like Durgi and Subbamma (Sharvambe) the last being specially venerated. A few of these people offer worship to the *bhutas* also. The other deities they worship are Mallaiah, Mallavva, Kallappa, Kallavva and Kalamma. The Gowdas take vow or *harake* to invoke the grace of these goddesses during marriage. These people were believed to have been the followers of Shaivism, but embraced Vaishnavism at the time of Ramanujacharya. Some families render *hariseve* to Lord Venkataramana every year. *hariseve* is rendered usually on a Saturday. They invite devotees and Dasayyas on this occasion. Sometimes, Dasayyas get into trance and get possessed by the gods; hence they are called *darshanakara*. Some families worship Kencharaya (Bhairava), the messenger of Lord Venkataramana. The Gowdas in Kodagu cultivated paddy over years, but now they have estates in which they grow coffee, cardamom, orange, cashew, etc.

The Gowda family lineages in Kodagu are about 350. They are characterised by their own names; The ancestral home of the Gowdas is called *aynamane*. The Kitchen is known as *umbolage* which belongs to all the members of the family. The family sitting room is called *buda* and *padasale* (meant to receive the outsiders) is referred to as *kayyale*. These people arrange the offering of *yede* to ancestors in the *umbolage*. In the *kayyale*, *aimara* is an important portion where women are not supposed to sit. The elderly man in the family is referred to as *pattadara*. *Jamma* land was also granted to the Gowdas of Kodagu. Some of these people have taken the family names of the Kodavas whose land they occupied. Some Gowda families had established marriage relations with the Kodava women during the rule of kings. Since then women in such families used to dress themselves in the Kodava style till recently; they were also speaking Kodava language at home. The Gowda girls are married off after attaining puberty. *Dhare muhurtha* is their practice in marriage; even *mangalya dharana* is an important marriage ritual. *Thera* is the practice and the amount is Rs. 10.50 at present. It is expected that a boy's family should go in search of a bride for their boy (see details under social life). The Gowdas of Kodagu region observe festivals like Yugadi, Vishu Sankramana, Kail Muhurtha, Cauvery Sankramana, Huttari and others. During the celebration of Diwali, these people in some families offer *avulu* (parched rice) to the dead ancestors if death had occurred in the near past. February is the month of Keddasa festival observed with others in the village to mark paddy harvesting.

The Gowdas cremate the dead but their children (on their death) are usually buried. When an unmarried person dies, he is helped to tie a *tali* to a plantain tree, a ritual believed to enable him to be regarded as married. In the case of death of an unmarried woman, the ritual demands that she

should be regarded as married before her disposal and it is enabled by a practice of a symbolic custom. An image of a man made of hay is prepared to marry the deceased by tying the *tali* to the dead woman. The dead are carried in a bier to the grave yard (see for details: Social life). Pollution relating to birth and death in a family is observed for five days and eleven days respectively. There used to be two headmen in the villages. One was known as *grama gowda* and the other was called *gottu gowda*.

### **Namadhari Gowda**

The followers of Sri Ramanujacharya practised Vaishnavism among the Gowdas; hence they are called Namadhari Gowdas. The term Namadhari generally qualifies (not only Gowdas) all the people of Vaishnava tradition of all castes who sport a vermilion *nama* (a vertical mark) on their foreheads. Namadhari Gowdas in Western Ghats have many customs and practices. There are *kattemanes* which guards or act as the custodians of the *namadhari* tradition. Ostamaiahs are the people who purify the house and family members undergoing pollution with holy water sprinkling. They also help the Namadharis to offer oblation to the manes. The Namadharis observe Ramanavami and perform *hariseve* and *kencharayanaseve* in a very special way. They do not eat meat and drink alcohol in the lunar month of Shravana (August). It should be noted that the Namadhari Gowdas of Kodagu are vegetarians. Having performed *hariseve* they worship Bhairaveswara at a little distance from their homes. This practice is understood to indicate the possibility of Namadharis being Bhairava devotees long time ago. Namadharis, are found in Nallur, Shirangala, Hebbale, Kudlur and Kudumangalaru in Kodagu district. These people are in larger number in the neighbouring Krishnarajanagar taluk of Mysore district. Agriculture is their traditional occupation. Bridegrooms' family chooses the bride for marriage. Now-a-days the Namadhari Gowdas have established marriage relation with the Jain Gowdas. Their family deities are Tirupati Thimmappa and Nanjundeswara of Nanjangud. These people celebrate Yugadi, Gowri-Ganesha, Diwali and other feasts and festivals. They have the practice of burying the dead; but some are cremated. Pollution caused by death lasts for five days generally; but some observe it for nine days. Divorce is not a custom with them. Widow marriage is rather uncommon. Issues relating to caste, among the Namadhari Gowdas, are solved by *kattemane*. Their population in Kodagu district is approximately about 8,000.

### **Devara Makkalu**

The Devara Makkalu constitute a sub-group among the Gowdas of Kodagu district. They are in Dundalli (Somvarpet taluk), Kagekodi, Neeragunda, Santapura and Ulugutti. These people are largely found in the taluks of Alur and Sakleshpur in Hassan district. Even Mudigere taluk in Chikmagalur district has large population of Devara Makkalu. They speak Kannada at home. *mangalya dharana* and *dhare* are two marriage customs among these people. They take non-vegetarian food. A brahmin officiates in their marriages. Tying of the *tali* by the groom to the bride and *dhare* are the important customs in marriages. They are the devotees of Lord Venkateswara. Devara Makkalu are primarily agriculturists. Celebration of Agemarihabba shows concern for good-health of their cattle. On that day all the people of the village or town make the

offerings to Karikallu at the main entrance of the village. Birth and death require them to practice pollution. The dead bodies of elders are cremated and that of children are buried.

### Vokkaliga Gowda

The Vokkaliga Gowdas, a sub-sect among the Gowdas are in Madaravalli, Kundalli, Kole, Shanthalli, Gowdalli and other places of Somvarpet taluk. There were no marriage relations among the Vokkaliga Gowdas and the Gangadikara Gowdas. Their main occupation is agriculture. Their language is Kannada. The people make offerings to manes in all feasts. The Vokkaliga Gowdas participate in the Doddaijah Jatre during Makara Sankranthi in Sakleshpur taluk. The family gods of these people are Doddaijah, Chennakeshava of Belur and Kumaralinga of Shantalli. They do not observe *mahalaya amavasya* called *paksha* in remembrance of the ancestors, but a separate feast known as *mala festival* is performed one month after the Gowri festival. Twelve days after Diwali, the Vokkaliga Gowdas celebrate Children's Feast; it is time for worshipping agricultural implements and the manure pit (Thippamma). This feast has a special significance for people of northern parts of Somvarpet taluk because the entire village would participate in it. On that day the people adore the cattle with *belagumbala* creeper rings. In Marriages two kinds of *tali* are tied to the girl *yeletali* and *akki tali*. The Vokkaliga Gowdas had the custom of paying *thera* of Rs. 12 to the bride's family. Now-a-days payment of dowry to the bridegroom has become rather common among them. Divorce is very uncommon; *kudavali* (a system of union without traditional marriage customs) is in practice. The usual way of disposing the dead among them is burying. The Gangadikaras are also a sect among the Gowdas. They are believed to have migrated from Mysore, Hassan and Chikmagalur and inhabited in the Gonikoppal region in Kodagu district. There was no marriage connection in the past among Gangadiars and Gowdas of Dakshina Kannada, or the Devara Makkalu of Somvarpet taluk or the Vokkaliga Gowdas. The Gangadikaras are divided into two groups of *pettigeyavaru* and *bujjanigeyavary*. These groups possess a few clans like *Ane* (elephant), *Aavi* (Cow), *belli* (Silver), *chandra* (moon), *chinna* (gold) etc. These people speak Kannada. All the Hindu festivals and also the Kodava feasts are celebrated by these people. Their customs and practices are not different from that of their counterparts (the Gangadikaras) of the neighbouring districts. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission the total district population of Vokkaliga Gowda group was 77,855 in 1984.

### Holeyas

The Holeyas (Scheduled Castes) are one of the earliest settlers in Kodagu district. They are also known as Poleyas in this region. They used to serve as agricultural slaves (*Jamma* servant) in Kodava families. With a view to enable the soldiers and government employees to function without family botheration, the king had donated to the Jamma donees slave workers and among whom Holeyas were also included. The Slaves were grouped into *honnu* (attached to a family) and *mannu* (attached to a land) categories. The former group of slaves could have been transferred from master to master. If they ran away, they used to be chased, brought back and punished. The latter category of slaves were committed to a land, and could be transferred only together with it. The masters were supposed to protect the family members of these slaves. The masters, according to official records, were taking care of Holeyas very well. The kings in Kodagu had appointed

many of these people at the Palace lands (about 1,750 Holeyas were in Chikka Virarajendra's custody). With the conquest of the British, there came several changes in Kodagu. Some Jamma slaves immediately ran away from the district. Many started working in coffee estates. The masters, consequently, were unable to get these run-away slaves and punish them in case they were working in the estates of an English man. Slavery in Kodagu was abolished in 1843 by an all India Act. The Holeyas constitute eight different sub-groups in Kodagu, according to K.L.Anatha Krishna Iyer. They are Kembatti Holey, Kapala Holey, Left Hand Holey, Martha Holey, Malaya, Adiya, Marangi and Right Hand Holey. Apart from these, there are also castes like Mundpatti, Mari and Kukka. Of all these groups, Kembatti Holey originally belonged to Kodagu; but the others like the Kapala, Marangi and the Malaya have migrated from Kerala to this region. They speak Kodava and follow customs, habits and dress of these people. The Left and Right Hand Holeyas arrived in Kodagu from Mysore and Hassan districts, and hence, they speak Kannada. Whereas Marthas speak Malayalam. The Holeyas worship Maramma. There are leather workers among them. Some of these people are also living as agricultural labourers. The other deities and goddesses are Kutta Karingalimma, Chamundi, Siddeshwara, Parindra, Kolappa and Someshwara. An elderly head of the Holey community functions as the priest. Burying the dead is their practice.

In different places of Kodagu district there are people called Adidraida who are included under the Scheduled Castes. They are Telugu speakers. No marriage connection either with the Adikarnataka or the Holeyas is ever established by them. These people have extended relationships with families in Hunsur, Mandya and Mysore districts. *Dhare* is their marriage practice. *Thera* should be paid to the girl's family. Usually the Adidraida marriage is arranged at the girl's residence. They worship Maramma. Many of them are government employees. Some of these people are working as garden labourers. Some others are engaged in road construction works. Death in their families cause 11 days pollution to the members. Burying the dead is their custom.

### Idiga

The Idigas are the traditional toddy tappers from palm and *bagini* trees. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission in Karnataka there were 25,405 persons belonging to this caste, in 1984 in Kodagu. The Idigas of this region hail from Mysore areas but the Thiyas and the Billavas belonging to this caste group are said to be migrants from Kerala and Dakshina Kannada regions respectively. Similar are the Nadars from Tamilnadu.

Idigas are generally distributed in Kushalnagar, Kudige and also in and around Somvarpet. Kannada Idiga population in Kodagu is very small, numbering about 50 families. Among Idigas there are Maddi Idiga (Sacha Idiga), Bellada Idiga (Jaggery makers from palm juice), Eni Idiga (Ladder users), etc. Further, the Maddi Idigas have the following clans (*gothra*); Karunya, Vatsalya, Kaundinya, and Kamandala. Besides, there are two more groups of Samsthe and Bodde among them.

The Idigas are the worshipers of Katameswara, Yellamma, Surabhandeswari, Matangi etc. Kannada is their mother tongue. The Thiyas and the Billavas have occupied all other areas in the

Kodagu district except the northern parts of Somvarpet. The Nadars are a small group found around Kushalnagar. All these sub-groups are endogamous. These people bury the dead bodies.

**Jains :** See Jainism.

### **Jenu Kuruba**

The Jenu Kurubas are found in all the taluks of Kodagu district, but they are in larger number in Ponnampet, Sreemangala, Ammattinad and Somavarpet regions. They are honey collectors from trees and tree-pouches. These people are also called Ane Kuruba, Kavadi and Pome Kuruba. During the Kings' rule in Kodagu, the Jenu Kurubas tamed the elephants and they used to be in charge of royal elephants. Kuru implies Hill and hence, Kuruba means a hill-dweller, in the opinion of Louis. The people who live in the neighbouring States of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, belonging to Jenu Kuruba creed are called Kattanayaka, Sholanayaka, Thenkuruma, Jenukoya and Kuruva. Different terms like 'Kuruba' in Kannada, 'Kurumba' in Tamil and 'Kuruma' in Malayalam indicate the people of different regions but of the same tribe, according to 1891 census. These people are of dark complexion. Both men and women sport long hair with locks and a knot at the nape. Now-a-days, the Kuruba men get fashionable hair-cut to sport neat crop. These people speak a dialect of Kannada language.

Madras Census Report of 1891 mentioned that the Jenu Kurubas were of the Pallava ancestry originally. They were perhaps, driven to the forest in the early years of 8th century A.D. by Chola, Konga and Chalukya kings. A Tamil folk tale narrates that these people are descendants of Kamakoteraya, an ancestral deity. The Jenu Kurubas are divided into endogamous and exogamous groups based on territorial differences. They were not a settled tribe till recently, and used to be nomads. Their huts would be small but long enough to meet their living needs. Jenukurubas would be wandering in the forests for the whole day and would sit in front of fire, warming themselves up during night. They build a hut with wooden poles, rafters and bamboos to provide the roof structure, so that, it could be covered by using *noje* hay or tree leaves.

The Jenu Kurubas have taken up other kinds of occupations even though their original occupation of honey collecting is still practised. They collect bamboo sticks and a kind of wild hay. They hunt smaller animals with the help of their dogs. They eat tubers and roots; also they collect some edible greens like *kolike* and *kaage* to meet their needs of existence. They cook rice to be eaten with some paper. Ragi is also a major item in their food needs. It is cooked in a thick consistency to make balls and also to bake it into cakes. Raw pumpkin pieces are also eaten by them with a pinch of salt. The Jenu Kurubas are experts in following the foot prints of animals in the forests. In the past they used to marry girls by snatching them away. Mother's brother's daughter is generally a match for a Jenukuruba. *Thera* must be paid to the bride's family. Some times a couple might elope like the Soligas, in case they find disapproval from the elders. It is customary to exchange betel leaves as a mark of agreement between the families. Now-a-days, the Jenukurubas conduct marriage like many other villagers, organizing it in a better way. They erect pandals. They follow rituals like tying *kankana* and *mangalya*. Divorce, remarriage and widow marriage are in practice. Totemic worship is an institution with them; Bhuta worship does not seem to bother them so much as the Betta Kurubas. Their gods are Siddarama, Surya (the Sun), Chandra

(Moon) and Bhairava. Having belief in black magic and *tantra*, the Jenu Kurubas spend most of their precious earnings on it, expecting something good to happen. Some of those having contact with the villages and towns celebrate Dasara and Diwali. In the week days, Monday and Friday are regarded as auspicious. *Bunde* feast is quite special for them. It is a day to treat any one with slang and abuses. They appear in fanciful dress and colour to go from house to house collecting rice and clothes. *Kolata* (Dancing in groups with small sticks in hands) is a popular folk art. In distress and difficulties, the Jenu Kurubas pray for the grace of Baragu deity and also Oditere deity in Kutta.

Burying the dead is a practice among the Jenu Kurubas. A dead man is buried near the hut when he dies; but later the hut is also burnt. They move to another place. Very poor Jenu Kurubas might dispose of the dead body, wrapping it in a mat to be left on a rock for birds and vultures to make a meal of the same. Both birth and death are events of pollution for the family members.

### Jogi

The Jogis in Kodagu district are found in Bhagamandala, Kushalanagar and Somvarpet. Earlier, these people used to live by begging. They belong to Nath Pantha. They do not practice begging any more. The family-god of the Jogis is Kalabhairava; they do not get the services of brahmins in their marriage. These people say that they do not have any *gothra* or family lineages. They observe pollution at births and deaths in the family. They bury the dead. There used to be a caste elder called Kotwala. This institution is no more in existence. They are non-vegetarian by food habits. The Jogis have settled down as agriculturists. Some of them enjoy Jamma land grant. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, their population was about 125 in 1984.

### Kaniya

The Kaniyas are believed to have hailed from Malabar. Their original occupation was fortune telling (*iyotishya*). Although they are found in large numbers in Ponnampet, Virajpet and Kunjila, they are almost everywhere throughout Southern Kodagu. These people were originally Malayalam speakers, but now are used to Kodava in their interaction. They worship Iggutappa and Cauvery. The Kaniyas used to fix the auspicious timings for conducting religious ceremonies in the houses of the Kodavas; hence, they were being respected. The Kodavas used to pay for this service of the Kaniya in kind once a year, some measures of paddy called *poome*. Usually, Kaniyas establish marriage relations with people in Tellycherry and Cannanore. Those who come from those places to Kodagu learn Kodava language. The Kaniyas now are agriculturists, and also work as cooks, besides practicing their traditional fortune-telling occupation.

### Kapala

The Kapalas served as orderlies in the Palace of Nalkundu in Kodagu, at the time of Kings' rule. Now, they are seen in Yavakapadi only. They constitute a very small group of about 160. They must have migrated from Malabar. Having been frightened by the Baidamale Bhuta, the Kapalas escaped to the Chole Someswara and served there as treasury guards, says one tradition. Hence, the name Kapala (*kavalkara*) was given to them. These people must have migrated to Kodagu somewhere in the last phase of the 17th century. The king Doddavira got these people as

labourers for palace construction at Nalkunda. Later, he granted them land to settle down in the region. These people were the body-guards of the king. Besides, they acted as executioners on whom death sentence was served. The term Kavalkar is the Kodava expression. Kodavas call Lord Ganapathi as Kapalin. Perhaps Kapala is derived from Kapalin is one view. Further Kapala must have been associated with Kappala a locality of Cherangod in Gudalur taluk of Nilgiri hills, and this should be the original settlement of these people is another view. With the passage of time they moved to Kodagu and came to be called the Kapalas, after their original place. The Kapalas constitute many *kudis* or groups. Some of them are Bolladada, Arangad, Muttu, Kole Kutti, etc. They marry within their own caste but outside their *kudi* (*kudi* exogamy). Marriage customs of the Kapalas resemble that of the Holeyas of the region. Bhuta worship is popular with them. The Arangadas worship Parinda, Kolappa and Someshvara, the Bolladadas serve the deities Chole and Powadi and the Muttu Kolekuttis worship Karingali, Powadi and Chamundi.

The Kapalas possess normal stature and dark complexion. They were believed to be covering themselves with leaves and barks of trees long time ago. They were not regarded as untouchables; but their conditions and status were not different from those people. They speak a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. In old Kodagu province, the Kapalas had been included among the Scheduled Castes. They visit the deities in Kerala to fulfill *harake* (a religious vow). Poverty is proverbial with them and they live in small huts. Now they work as agricultural labourers. Once, the Kapalas were governed by a headman, but not now. Child marriage was never a practice. They have now accepted the Kodava rituals and customs. Polygamy is rather common; a married woman is identified by the rings in her toes. In recent years, the Kapala girls are marrying Kerala boys and also local Maratha boys. One Kapala boy and a girl are the first generation of educated persons studying upto ninth standard in the high school. Some of them still possess lands granted to them by the Kodagu kings. On the first day of menstruation, the girl is supposed to observe fast. Both birth and death are matters of pollution to the Kapalas. Usually, the dead among the Kapalas are buried; if a very old man dies he will be cremated. They arrange *kola* in honour of the Bhutas. Kuliya and Chowdi are deities worshipped by them. Records may show that these people were once matriarchal but are essentially patriarchal at present, according to A.A.D. Louis.

### Kembatti Holeyas

The Kembatti Holeyas are a sub division of the Holeyas. They are found only in Kodagu. These people are also regarded as one among the original settlers of Kodagu. They speak Kodava language. These people have a number of sub-sects like Padu Kutta Pada, Chetta Kutta Appu, Kadu Kutta Kalu, Ponna Kutta Kalu, Belli Kutta Ayya, Kakka Kutta Kutta, Kutta Kutta Kutta, Chayagi Kutta Somu, Chayi Kutta Kutta, Kali Kutta Kuja, Pachi Kutta Thenu, Chengi Kutta Panju, Ponda Kutta Bagu and Gadda Kutta Beli. People of the same sect do not marry. They work in the paddy fields and the estates belonging to the Kodavas, as agricultural labourers. Most of the social customs of the Kembatti Holeyas resemble that of the Kodavas. Delayed marriage is rather common among them. Paying bride price (*thera*) to the girl's family is a traditional custom. A marriage pandal (*chappara*) in the past used to have seven poles, the central pole being *halukamba*. The Kembatti Holeyas cut the plantain tree like the Kodavas. On menstruation, a girl (for the first time) is supposed to be housed in a separate hut for seven days because she is polluted. Two months after the child birth the baby is put into the cradle. Both cremation and burial of the dead are customs



with the Kembatti Holeyas. Pollution to the family members for a period of eleven days is associated with both birth and death among these people. During the kings' rule Kembatti Holeyas had been the Jamma servants in the Kodava lands. These people worship Maramma and also Bhutas (spirits). Their women have attractive features.

### Kodava

The Kodavas constitute the most important portion of population in the district. We come across an early reference to the Kodavas (Kodagaru) as far back as 1174 A.D. in an inscription found in Hunsur taluk. Therefore, one can conclude that these people had occupied Kodagu region a few centuries earlier. According to Moegling, the population of the Kodavas in 1839-40 was about 17,096 in the entire district and it must have raised to 25,000 by 1854. But the Census report of 1871 estimated Kodava population at 26,389. In the following Census (1881) the population of these people in Kodagu district rose to 27,033. The Census in subsequent decades (1891 and 1901) showed the rising trend of Kodava population to 36,611 and 36,091 respectively. But, the first and the second Karnataka Backward Classes Commissions (in 1972 and 1984) put the Kodava population figures at 86,266 and 70,193 respectively in the district.

Many theories are put forward about the origin of the Kodavas. Hutton, an anthropologist thought that during the glory of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, the Kodavas came to Indus valley from the north-western region; and for an obvious reason, these people must have moved to Kodagu along the west coast. Herbert Risley, another anthropologist classified the Kodava into the Indo-Scythian group, but Rice believed that Kodavas were Scythio-Dravidians. Henry Heras subscribed to the theory that the Kodavas migrated from Mohenjodaro to settle down in Kodagu. Richter believed that the people belonged to Dravidian ancestry. Ghurye echoed Risley's opinion. According to B.D.Subbaiah, the Kodavas happened to be Kurds of Iraq who fled the Middle-East in the past. The Kannada Dictionary of Mangaraja written in 1398 A.D. describes the Kodavas as foreigners (*Mlechhas*), given to hunting.\* Most researchers hold the view that Kodavas being a race came from northern India. According to *Skanda Purana* the king Chandra Varma, a Kshatriya, is considered as the ancestor of Kodavas. It is also surmised that these people are of Kadamba origin; they are also described as the offsprings of the Pandavas.

The ancestors of the Kodavas must have come to Kodagu between the fifth or sixth centuries. Later, the people who came from Vynad might have mingled with the Kodavas. Both Moegling and Richter express the view that during the British rule (19th century), people of other castes could have mingled with the Kodavas and assimilated themselves with the Kodava community.

D.N.Krishnaiah writes in the 'History of Kodagu' (Kan) that according to Lingarajendra the Kodavas did not know anything about their ancestry or origin. Smt. Tulasidevi of the Kodagu Regional Research Centre (Kodagu Pradeshika Samshodhana Kendra) thought that the word Kodava must have had its root in *Kodake*. *Kodake* in Kodava language implies hunting region. The term *Kodayi* means a born hunter. According to her own view, the primary occupation of Kodava women was agriculture; their men did hunting. The Kodavas practised matriarchy till the end of

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\* Mangarasa *Abhidana Vastukosha*, Ed:M.Mariyappa Bhat, Madras University 1951, p.112 poem 4.

the rule of King Dodda Viraraja (Moegling also suggests this). This matriarchy system of earlier Kodavas slowly disappeared and Kodavas turned patriarchal as they mixed with migrants who were already practising patriarchy. In the process of getting converted into Kodava there were the Nambudris of Kerala and Kasaragod, Bants, Gowdas and others of Dakshina Kannada, and Lingayats from Mysore and Hassan districts. There was another set of people who followed Kodava customs, traditions and language without mixing with Kodavas as such, and these people are the Amma Kodavas, Madivalas, Barbers, Kumbaras and the Airis (these are the views of Smt. Tulsi Devi).

At the time of making law to govern Kodava property in 1871, Captain Cole expressed that there were four major groups among Kodavas.\* They were- Amma Kodavas, Malla Kodavas, Sanna Kodavas and Jamma Kodavas. It is believed that in the long run the Sanna Kodavas and the Malla Kodavas constituted a single group. The Kodava families are identified either from ancestors, occupations, places or through family lineages. Every family lineage belongs to a clan and the members cherish sibling relation; in such cases, they do not marry with one another. But some families with common lineage names do not belong to the same lineage.(ex. Nayakanda). Similarly, the families with different names may also belong to one single family stock and hence, their members do not inter-marry. (The names of Kodava lineages are given as Appendix at the end of the volume). There is a view that earlier to the rule of the Lingayat kings, marriage relation between Amma Kodava and Kodava had been liberal; but later differences between these groups widened. A unique Kodava character is to live with others amicably and it is an art known to all Kodavas. They accept the best even from others. These people possess attractive features-tall stature, long straight nose, good physique and fair complexion; they are strongly built. Obviously, Kodavas are outstanding both in appearance and dress from others. If there is dignity and decency coupled with respectability in the dress of Kodava man, there is beauty and decency in woman's traditional attire. Kodava hospitality is proverbial. Being a warrior race, these people possess soldierly inclination by blood.

There was role separation of Kodava men and women and also separate apartments for both the sexes. Some portions of the house were meant for them. It was primarily due to the existence of Kodava joint family. The man who killed a tiger and also a woman who delivered ten babies, were honoured by a ceremony of special marriage. Men and women danced in groups in the temples and the special arena (*mandu*) during festivals.

Kodava, as a language comprises a mixture of Kannada and Malayalam words. The Kannada script is used for writing the language. Kodava customs, practices, taboos, feasts, festivals, marriages and other ceremonies (rituals) are all expressed in songs in the Kodava language (Ref Ch.14).

Kodavas lived in joint families each of which used to have an ancestral home and such homes are called *aynmane* or *balyamane*. These houses are square shaped structures on a raised platform. Generally, they are huge in size, consisting of many apartments, with artistic designs in front of the house. *Aynmane* is believed to represent the ideals, culture and decency of Kodava life. The main door is always eastwards. Both auspicious and unhappy events are conducted at the *aynmane*

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\* History of Kodagu, p. 621

(Details can be had from section on family life of the Kodavas). Most of the Kodavas are landlords. According to Richter some forty families of Kodavas did not have Jamma land in 1870. There used to be *jamma* servants attached to Kodava families. This system resembled slavery in a way; but these servants were treated as an integral part of the family. The family members used to be more considerate to the servants and on occasions of festivals and feasts they were served *battikul* (different kinds of rich food preparations). It was also a part of the duty of the family-head to find a bride for his *jamma* servant. The Kodavas regard eastern direction as sacred. The practice of lighting the lamp in this direction is a common sight in the Kodava house. If the white colour symbolises sacredness, red is treated auspicious. Marriage and other happy events are characterised by red colour. Betel leaves and nuts are presented as an auspicious gift on religious and other happy occasions. *Harake* (religious obligation - keeping some money, a coconut, rice or jewels in the name of God) is a common practice. Ceremonial occasions, both happy and inauspicious, are marked by playing the musical instruments in different modes. Rice is an important part of traditional festivities. The people use plain rice during happy events, whereas turmeric rice (*manjalakki*) during inauspicious events in the family.

The centre of social activities of the Kodavas is the *vakka*. Members of the *vakka* used to live in joint family during the early times. A family was identified through an original ancestor who is called *karona*. The generations after him constituted a *vakka*. The elderly man in the family is known as *koravukara* and his wife *koravakarathi*. The couple were mainly responsible for all happenings in the family. The other members of the family are referred to as *kikkaras*. The *vakkas* have carried the culture and tradition of the Kodavas through the ages without hindrance. All the members contribute to this process. It was not strange or unusual to a joint family in the past to have members ranging from 100 to 150 in number; now, such families are rarely found. All men in a *vakka* were permanent members, whereas women became the members of the family of their husbands. Elderly people among the Kodavas are highly respected. The others touch their feet as a mark of regard. As the *Koravukara* is for a family, so is the *thakka* for a village which is a traditional institutional arrangement.

Another distinct feature of the Kodavas is to have an *aruva* family. Every Kodava has a friendly family compulsorily either by some relationship or through friendship. Such a family is known as *aruva* family. The *aruva* family is an invariable partner with the other family both in times of distress due to death or happiness as on occasions like marriage.

The birth of a male baby in the Kodava family is heralded by a gun shot to outsiders. On the other hand the birth of a female baby is made known by ringing the bell or by beating on the metallic lunch stand. Child birth for the Kodava family brings pollution for 12 days. The baby is given a name and cradled on the 12th day. Post-natal nursing for the mother is continued for two months.

The Kodava names show some peculiarity. Some of the names of men are Uttappa, Changappa, Karumbaiah, Kariappa, Thimmaiah, Subbaiah, etc. Women are called Kaveramma, Bollamma, Dechamma, Muthamma, Parvathi etc. These people add a prefix to their names which indicates the family lineage such as Koravanda Machaiah, Biddanda Muthanna, Mandepanda

Somaiah and the like. Kodava Community has accepted into its fold two families from outside in recent years and has given separate family names to them.

There is a unique custom called *balebirudu* mostly held to welcome a bridegroom. Usually plantain (*bale*) tree is cut at the trunk to a height of one yard and tied to a shaft firmly on the ground. A few arrows are fixed at the top of the plant and they are covered with plantain bark; and it is decorated with flowers. When a deserving relative arrives, the family people with the *aruva* welcome him and he is shown the way to the spot with the accompaniment of *battepat*, being played by musical instruments; nearby a mat, a vesselful of water, betel leaves, and betel nuts are placed for welcoming an honourable person. Having sat on the mat, the *aruva* friend gives some three or five leaves and the same number of nuts to the visitor. He receives the leaves and returns them to *aruva* with some money. The *aruva* should give a sword (*odi*) to the relative. This man prays God and takes the turban off his head; going round the plant the relative in a swish, removes the arrows and the flowers from the plantain tree; the trunk is cut by a master stroke into pieces, one by one; then the relative is shown the way home to the accompaniment of musical instrument playing *dudipat* tune. Again *battepat* is played by the *dudipat* instrumentalists. In the premises of home, the washerman spreads the white cloth for the relative to walk on *nademadi*. A maiden washes his feet. The relatives make monetary presents to the maiden and the washerman in return. As he goes up the steps to enter the house, maidens standing on either side in front of the relative hold lamps (lights) called *taliyakki bolicha*.

Kodava marriages may be grouped into four types - *kannimangala*, *kudavalimangala*, *okkaparije* and *makkaparije*. The latter two are referred to as *kattik nippad* and *pachadak nadapad* respectively. More popular type of marriage is *kannimangala*. If a couple did not have a male issue *okkaparije* and *makkaparije* were the answer for it. (For details, see Social life of the Kodavas). Gifts, money and jewels given to the girl in marriage may be claimed back by her parents in the event of her death without issues. A Kodava widow may stay with her parents but has no right to property in the parents family. Rings in toes of a Kodava woman suggest her marriage. It is said that there used to be some distinction in the dress of the married and the unmarried women among the Kodavas.

Although the Kodavas worship all the Hindu gods, the most special feature of their religious life is ancestral worship. Near the premises of every *aynmane* there is a *kaimada* (a small temple meant for ancestral worship, *kaimatha*). The *kaimada* usually faces east. The Kodavas call their elders and the early ancestor as *karona*. He is known as *guru karona*. During the first ten days of the Solar month Tula (November), each year the *karona* is worshipped in the Kodava family. Special food preparations are offered to the *karona* at marriage and other feasts. This is called *meedi*. The occasion is termed as *karona barini* when it calls for a celebration of a special feast. If *kola* is arranged, it is referred to as *karona kodappa*. In these rituals the Panika and the Banna (who also disguise as the *bhutas*) play a major role. Such persons would get into trance and invoke the ancestors. They imitate the behaviour of elders and are able to appear like them in dress and speech. This ritual is known as *tere*. When the Panika or Banna is in trance, he praises the courage of the elders and tell about the life of these people. The person who gets into trance or possessed in the *kola* is called *tiruvala kar*. In this *karona kodappa* celebration a pig is sacrificed and is followed by a special feast. Though it is primarily a ritual meant to offer oblation to ancestors, sometimes even

Bhuta worship is also associated with it. Such a celebration of *karona* and Bhuta are the customs found in both Dakshina Kannada and Kerala. The families paying respects to *naripuda* do not conduct *karona* ritual (worship).

The Kodavas observe all the Hindu festivals, besides *karona* worship. The Hindu gods find a place in Kodava religious celebration. Some of the very important gods are Iswara, Ganesha, Subramanya, Iggutappa and Ayyappa. All these are worshipped together with Goddess Cauvery. Lighted lamp as a symbol of Agni finds an important place in all the auspicious and inauspicious occasions of the Kodavas. It is indicated by a custom called *telneer*. It implies a practice of collecting a burning charcoal from the kitchen in a plate; some cooked rice is dropped on it and water is poured to extinguish the fire. The water mixed with ash is called *telneer*. Being holy or sacred this water is sprinkled on the people to purify them on returning from graveyard, or the daughters-in-law coming home after delivery with the new-born, or the people coming back from hunting with their game. The Kodavas do not have any traditional *mathas* to pay respects. The Kodava religious customs and practices are being conducted without the presence of a brahmin. They believe in ideas like heaven (*swarga*) and hell (*naraka*) and have concepts of *papa* (evil deed) and *punya* (meritorious act).

Mango leaves are used for sprinkling water on auspicious occasions; pipal tree and goose-berry (*nelli*) plant are considered sacred by the Kodavas. To them, the pipal tree represents Lord Iswara, whereas the gooseberry plant symbolises his consort Parvathi. The two are planted together and their marriage is later performed. No auspicious event goes without betel leaves. As a belief and a practice Kodavas do not pluck the plantain bunch from the tree in the afternoon.

The impact of Vedic tradition is conspicuously seen on the Kodavas. In addition to it, beliefs of the neighbouring States and districts are also seen. Mother Cauvery is the unique deity of Kodavas. Praying both in the morning and the evening is their custom. Mother Earth is regarded as sacred and hence, the people show their respect to her. The deities from Malbar and the Lingayat tradition of the days of the rule of Haleri Kings had influenced the religious practices of the Kodavas adequately. The Kodavas call Naga as Nata. They have faith in Beera (a supernatural force), Puda (Bhuta), Kuliya or Gulika.

The Kodavas bury and also cremate the dead bodies (for details see social life). The news of the death of a person is spread by firing twice, one shot after the other.

### Koyava

The Koyavas are also considered the original settlers of Kodagu. Their population in the district is about 3,700. They claim to be different from the Kodavas. Their mother tongue is Kodava. These people enjoy Jamma land grant. They have some family lineages like the Kodavas. There are about 34 family names and 34 *aynmanes*. The customs, practices and traditions of the Koyavas are similar to that of the Kodavas. They have taken up agriculture in recent times, but they also live by basket making and *goraga* manufacturing. According to one estimate, there are about 57 families in Madikeri taluk; 13 families in Somvarpet taluk; and about 119 families in Virajpet taluk.

## Kudiya

The Kudiyas are found in large number on the borders of Dakshina Kannada. They are also found around Bhagamandala, Napoklu and Virajpet. They are also called Malai Kudiya. These people are among the original settlers of Kodagu district. In the past, the Kudiyas lived in forests. They used to tap toddy from the *baine* trees (Indian sago palm, *Caryota urens* L). Their mother tongue is Tulu, but they speak both Kodava and Kannada. They possess normal stature with complexion being dark. The Kudiya women wear jewels like the Kodavas. There is an opinion that these people had migrated from the Godavari district in Andhra to the Western Ghats. They are not treated as untouchables in Kodagu. They live in huts or sheds, the walls of which are of bamboo splits, strengthened with mud plaster. They provide space on a side of the shed for the domestic animals like pigs and hens. A kitchen garden is a part of the Kudiya house. The family names of Kudiyas denote the place of their original living, some hills or the names of some ancestors or the family deity. There are two major sects among Kudiyas. The Pane Kudiyas and the Theme Kudiyas. The Pane Kudiya is also called by different names-Bayne Kudiya, Gejje Kudiya, Bolle Kudiya, Acche Kudiya, Pumale Kudiya and Neerali Kudiya. Similarly Theme Kudiyas are also called Themeya, Themethanda, Themaleya, Theme Kudiya, Thekkudiya, Møle Kudiya, Thora Kudiya and Malepalia etc. The main occupation of Pane Kudiya is to tap toddy from the *baine* tree and to ferment it. This tapping is done by Kudiya women; their men engage themselves in agriculture. The main occupation of the Theme Kudiyas is to collect honey from forests; mat-making and baskets with the rattan cane, *vate* and bamboo splits are the secondary occupations of these people. The two sects of the Kudiyas practised restrictions regarding taking food and contracting marriage with each other.

The Kudiyas traditionally prefer mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter in marriage. It is called cross-cousin marriage. The boy's family has to make a payment of Rs. 8 as bride-price. They do not marry within the same *gothra* or clan. Their marriage resembles that of the Kodava. Marriage rituals consist of *dhare* tying of *thali* and showering of handful of rice on the heads of each other by the couple. The Kudiyas resort to divorce, remarriage and widow-marriage. These people are believed to have once practiced polyandry, but it is not in vogue. Girls in this community are married after attaining maturity. Attaining puberty was a matter of pollution and a girl was being kept in a separate hut for 16 days. Later, she would be given a purificatory bath. The hut where she stayed during pollution period would be burnt. Theme Kudiyas used to observe 40 days of pollution while attaining puberty in olden times but now, it is reduced to 16 days. Even the birth of a child, renders a woman (mother) to observe separation from others as she is polluted by giving birth. It lasts for 16 days. During the 3rd or the 4th month, the cradling and naming ceremony follows. They usually cremate if the dead is an old man, but a deceased young man is buried. The Kudiyas collect ashes on the third day of the death of a person and pile it up under a tree. Practicing pollution for 16 days on death in a family is common. On the final day, a feast is arranged.

Ancestral worship is rather a common practice among the Kudiyas. They have the temples built for worshipping the two spirits, *Thammaiah* and *Malatampuran*. The Pane or Pumale Kudiyas work in coffee and cardamom gardens. Their food is rice and *ragi ambali* (thick preparation of liquid ragi). The Pane Kudiya families are patrilineal. The Theme Kudiyas are distributed in the

following places - Kolake, Chumale, Niddemale, Pongamale and Kanadanda - all hilly regions. They have clans or *kulas*. Some of the clans are Yalamalakkur, Yedapalakkur, Sullikar, Kemmadikar, Ponginker, etc. They marry outside their *kula* or clan. The Theme Kudiyas are matrilineal and hence the property rights go to the daughters.

The Kudiyas believe in totem worship also. Images carved in wood or stone, weapons and instruments (made of iron) are also kept in their temples in forests. Kallurti is like Kali, a deity they worship. The Kudiyas worship Cauvery, Bhairava and Pandava deities and also Panjurli and Gulika.

### **Kumbara**

The Kumbaras are one among Ayagars those who were regular village servants, paid in kind for their services during the harvest) in the rural community. These people in Kodagu hailed from Kerala and Dakshina Kannada. Kannada speaking Kumbaras from the Mysore region and the Malayalam speaking Kumbaras from the Kerala region are called the Koyayris. There are also a few other names for these people. They are Kundola, Mambola and Chova. The main occupation of the Kumbaras is making pottery. They prepare even dolls which are offered to various deities for religious obligation(vow). Mysore Kumbaras are sub-divided into Gundabhaktas and those of the Shalivahana lineage. The Gundabhaktas are also called Chakrasales. Among these three are Kannada and Telugu speakers. The Kannada speakers have sub-sects or *kulas* like Kasturi, Nagara, Sampige, etc. The Kumbaras from Belthangady and Ujre of Dakshina Kannada have settled down at Murnad, Kolageri near Napoklu and Bettageri. These people are said to have migrated to Kodagu district at the time of the King Doddaveerarajendra. They worship Lord Venkateswara. Many among them are fair-complexioned and blue eyed. The Kumbara women dress like the Kodava. They follow Makkala Kattu (descent through sons). The headman of the Kumbara community is called Patadari. Even now, these people establish marriage relation with Kumbara community in Dakshina Kannada. Kumbaras of this region make red pots. The total Kumbara population in Kodagu, according to the Second Backward Classes Commission was 2,099 in 1984.

### **Kuruba**

The Kurubas, who are different from the Betta Kurubas and the Jenu Kurubas are also found in Kodagu. They are called Halumathadavaru or the Halu Kurubas in the district. They are included among the Scheduled Tribes in the district. Their population was 4,595 according to 1981 census. Their migration to Kodagu district dates back to an early period. Some of these people are small land holders; others work as labourers in coffee estates. The traditional occupation of the Kurubas was sheep breeding and blanket weaving. They are found in Thorenur, Shanivarasanthe, Basavana Are, Hittalageri, Hebbale, Kodlipet, Kudlur and Velnur of Somvarpet taluk and Titimathi, Badragola, Koppa, Gonikoppal, Ontiyangadi, Argigrama, Ponnampet, Panchavalli, Ankanahalli, Kutta and Maldare in Virajpet taluk. They are less in number in Madikeri taluk. The Kurubas are divided into a few sub-sects, like Hatti Kankana, Unne Kankana, Ande Kuruba, Jade Kuruba, Sunday worshippers (Adityavaradavaru), Thursday worshippers (Brihaspathivaradavaru) and Monday worshippers (Somavaradavaru). The Unne Kankana section constitute a greater number in Kodagu; even Monday worshippers are in large number. These

people are divided into a few clans like Basara Kula, Belli Kula, etc. and *gothras* like Havita. The Kurubas of Kodagu worship Bettada Tunga, Biredevaru, Chikkaiah and Doddaiah (of the Tuppada Matha in Nagamangala taluk) of Gannahalli, Mylara Linga. The other deities of worship are Honganuramma, *matangi* and *masamma*. We do not find the *odeyars* or the family of *gurus* and the Goravas (the devotees of Mylara Linga who wear woolen togas and bear skin caps) in Kodagu region. *Dollu kunita* (a kind of drum dance) a Kuruba folk art is also not seen in this region. The officiating priest is a brahmin in religious ceremonies of the Kurubas. They allow widow marriage as a customary practice. They establish marriage relationship with the Kurubas of Mysore. Burying the dead is common among these people.

### Lingayats

The lingayats are also called the Veerashaivas. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, there were 16,621 Lingayats in the district in 1984. The term Veerashaiva does not indicate any caste. There are many groups among them depending upon different avocations they pursue. Though Veerashaivas had settled in Kodagu since the time of the Chengalvas, they are believed to have migrated in larger numbers only during the rule of the Haleri Kings in Kodagu. It is also believed that Veerashaiva traders entered Kodagu from Periyapatna during the Third Mysore War as they had incurred the displeasure of Tipu Sultan. Some of these people moved to Virajpet also. The king of Kodagu constructed a Basaveshwara temple and a Jangama Matha in Virajpet. The Veerashaiva population in Kodagu is more in Somvarpet taluk, which is the border region of Mysore and Hassan districts. These people constitute a meagre number in Virajpet. The Veerashivas of Somvarpet are mostly Shetties (Banajigas) and Gowdas (agriculturists). There are some Kumbara Veerashaivas in this region. Kodlipet and Shanivarasanthe claim more Veerashaiva population in Kodagu district. The customs and practices of the Veerashaivas of this district are not different in any way from that of the Veerashaivas elsewhere. According to an opinion, there were 64 *mathas* in Kodagu, at one time (see under *mathas* for details). Kunchitiga Lingayats are found in Torenur of Somvarpet taluk and Jangamas in Beekalli, Hebbalase, Kittur and Nakalagod.

**Malai Kudiya:** See **Kudiya**.

### Maleya

The Maleyas are found in Kodambur, Heravanad, Biligeri, Maragodu, Paloor, Kalageri, Bommanje, Ballamavaty of Madikeri taluk and Kirundadu, Kaikadu, Parane, Marandodu, Konanjageri, Srimangala, Balele and Nemmale of Virajpet Taluk and at other places. There were about 300 persons in the district in 1991. They speak Kodava Language. The Maleya customs are much similar to that of the Kodavas. Their traditional occupations are arranging *Kola*, practising native medicine, and also magic (black)\* and *tantra*. They are arranging *kola*, for Vishnumurthy, Ajjappa, Kuttichata and other *bhutas*. The Maleyas arrange *kola* even now in some temples at Bhagamandala, Makki, Napoklu, Kanthuru, Biligeri, Maragodu, Hodduru, Heggala and other places. They claim that they treat patients suffering from piles, hysteria, sprain, stomach ache, fever, constipation, liver problem and lung congestion with native medicines. They also offer talismans to ward off evils like *balagraha* (in children) and make Srichakra and Lakshmi Chakra



(*tantric*) to help people come out of their difficulties and to have better life. Some of these people work in estates and gardens as labourers.

### **Marangi**

Marangi is a sub-group of the Holeyas. They are found in Annathi Nadu. These people used to carry Maramma Idol on their heads and go about from house to house asking for alms. Hence, the name Marangi. Some of their exogamous lineages are Padukutta, Ambalakutta, Pondikutta, Kochakutta etc. They do not marry within the same lineage. Marangi customs and practices are very much the same as the Kembatti Holeyas.

### **Maratha**

The Marathas of Kodagu are migrants from Dakshina Kannada. They are different from Shivaji's Kshatriya Maratha caste. When the Portuguese had attacked Goa, these people fled to Dakshina Kannada. They are called Marathinaika in Dakshina Kannada. The Second Backward Classes Commission enumerated the Maratha population in Kodagu to be around 1,291 in 1984. These people are known as 'Kadu Marathi' according to A.A.D.Louis (Tribes of Mysore,p.145). At the beginning of the century(1901) their population in Kodagu was 2,457, but by 1930 it had declined steeply to a meagre number of 540. The Marathas have normal stature. They live in forests. Their huts are quite large. There are many portions in it. Kitchen apartment, cattle shed, fowl pen, and fuel corner are all separate parts of the hut. The Marathas grow long hair and tie the locks behind the head. Men among them were wearing ear rings. Though these people are Marathi speakers, their language consists of Kannada words also. They are included under the Scheduled Tribes list in Kodagu district.

The Marathas possess 96 lineages called *devaks*. Each *devak* has a *gothra* and a family deity. On occasions of marriage and entering a newly constructed house, they arrange *gondala* dance. They worship Panjurli *bhuta*. Brahmins are invited to officiate in their marriage celebrations. The Marathas cremate the dead bodies of very old people and bury the dead bodies of the rest. They observe 10-day pollution on death. Either on the 3rd or the 5th day, ashes and bones are collected to be buried in a place. Mahalaya Pasksha is the time for offering oblation to the ancestors. In addition to these Marathas who belong to the Scheduled Tribes, there are Marathas (of Shivaji's caste) who are migrants to the urban centres of the district. Their main occupation is business. These people do not belong to the Scheduled Tribes.

### **Martharu**

The Marthas or Martharu came to Kodagu during the rule of kings of Kodagu. They used to come in the harvesting season as crop-cutters and remain till June and then would go back to Kerala. Some of these people stayed back in the district and worked as estate labourers. There are about 100 families in Bittangala, Ammatti and other places. They are a group among Holeyas. Marthas are meat eaters. They speak Malayalam at home. They worship Subramanya, and go on pilgrimage to Palani. The boy's parents propose to the girl's family for marriage. Usually the marriage is arranged at the girl's residence. Neither *thera* nor dowry is a custom with them.

*Mangalya dharana* is a ritual in Maratha marriage. The elders of the clan officiate and conduct marriages. The important rituals of marriage would be conducted around 11 a.m. after the boy's party reaches brides residence. *Dampati muhurtha* is the practice in their marriage custom. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted. The Marthas observe cradling and naming of the baby after 28 days of its birth. Some of their feasts are Onam, Vishu Sankramana and Kakkada Amavasya. It may be said that most customs of Kerala are practised by them. Both cremation and burial are practised to dispose of the dead. If an old man dies, he is cremated, whereas a deceased young is buried. The Martha men have names like Payadi, Karumbaiah, Kotta, Subramanya etc. and women are named as Yashoda, Madhavi, Rohini, Pittai etc. Although the Marthas and the Marathas are two different groups, they have been given the same caste identity by the district administration in Kodagu.

### Meda

The Medas(Myadas) in Kodagu district are included in the Scheduled Castes list. They speak Kodava. They are found in Bhagamandala, Napoklu, Katageri, Virajpet and other places. There may be about 500 people in the district. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, the population of the Medas was 616 in 1984. These people claim that they are one of the original settlers of Kodagu. All their customs and practices are very much like the Kodava social life. The Medas do not possess lineage or *gothra* systems. Their marriage practices also resemble Kodava customs. They make baskets, sieve, cradle etc., Some of these people enjoy Jamma land. They also work as agricultural labourers. Both burial and cremation are customs to dispose of their dead. Their family deity is Chamundamma. The Medar women dress like the Kodavas. The Medas mostly live in huts. These people weave baskets needed by the Kodava families during feasts and festivals. They dance and also beat the drum during the Kodava festivals.

**Musalman: See Islam.**

### Nayinda

The First Backward Classes Commission in 1972 put the population of the Nayinda caste at 1,757. Whereas, the Second Backward Classes Commission estimates their number in the district as 1,955. They are known as Hajams in the district following the barbers profession. Among them, we may find Kannada, Telugu and Kodava speakers. The Kodava speakers among the Nayindas are found at Kaikeri, Echur, Begur, B.Settigeri, Nadakeri, Mythadi, Gonikoppal and a few other places. In recent years Tulu, Tamil and Malayalam speaking barbers have migrated to Kodagu. Those who own lands also engage themselves in agriculture. The Kannada speaking barbers also work as drummers and pipers in temples. Some of the Kodava speakers enjoy Jamma land grant. These people are distributed to seven lineage groups like the Kodavas. The Nayindas are paid for their service usually in kind, once in a year, at harvesting season. This system is known as *adike*. Formerly, these people used to receive from each family in villages, four bundles of paddy and some measure of rice during the festivals. Now-a-days, they receive 25 kg of paddy. Their family gods are Cauvery and Lord Venkataramana. They worship *guru karana* like the Kodavas; they also have *aynmane* and *kaimada*. There are three *aynmanes* among the Kodava Hajamas. All their

dress, appearance, marriage and ceremony and food habits resemble those of the Kodavas. They arrange *kola* and worship *gurukarana*. The Nayindas perform *shraddha* and offer *pinda* to the ancestors like the Kodavas. They play an important role in marriage and death ceremonies of the Kodava families. Now, the different sects of Nayindas are mixing with each other.

### **Neygeyavaru**

The Weavers of cloth are called Neygeyavaru or Sale. Some of the castes among the weavers are Padma Sali, Swakula Sali, Patte Sali, Kuruhina Shetty or Bilimagga, etc. Their traditional occupation is weaving. Padma Sali speak Telugu; Swakula Sali are Marathi speakers; whereas Pattesali speak Kannada. Their ancestor is believed to be one Bhavana Rishi. These people are divided into many lineage groups. Their religious ceremonies are conducted by brahmins. Kuruhina Shetty among the Neygeyavaru are mostly found in Somvarpet, but less in Madikeri taluk and some are in Virajpet taluk. It is surmised that these people used to weave white cloth and hence, the name Bilimagga is associated with them. These people follow the customs and traditions of Veerashaivism. They are grouped into 60 *gothras*, which are equally divided into Shiva and Parvathi groups. They invite the Jangams for their religious ceremonies. Burying the dead is their practice. Some of these people own coffee and cardamom estates. The others are engaged in business. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, there were about 4,564 belonging to this group in 1984 in the district.

### **Paleyaru**

One estimate of Paleya population puts the figure well over 10,000 in Kodagu district. They are found more in Madikeri taluk. They possess Jamma land grant. Some of them work in Kodava estates. Tulu Paleya wear the cap made of areca leaf stem called *muttale*. Some of the sub-sects of Paleya are Myla, Kari, Aramane, Bakuda and Ajjala. These people do not raise a pandal in marriages. Their marriage customs are similar to the Kodava practices. Widows in the Paleya community are remarried with simple rituals. They perform *Kola* for the Kodava and the Gowda families. Ajjala Paleya take part in *bhuta* dances; some times they act as priests during *Kola* celebration. In the festival of Pashanamurthy, the Paleyas foretell future. When a Paleya is possessed of a deity, he would be in a special dress and dance all through the night. During dancing he keeps drinking liquor. The Paleya speak Tulu. They are supposed to have migrated to Kodagu from Dakshina Kannada.

**Panikaru:** See **Bannaru**.

### **Peggade**

The Peggades are also called Heggade in Kodagu. They are believed to have come from Malabar long time ago. They speak Kodava. These people are found in Ponnampet, Kiragur, Mattur and Mythadi in Virajpet taluk, and at Halgunda, Bettageri and Kuruganda in Madikeri taluk and at other places. Peggade population, according to one estimate, was 5,954 in 1990. They are primarily agriculturists. There are 64 family lineages. Peggade customs, practices and traditions are

not different from that of the Kodavas. But no marital relation is established between the Peggade and the Kodava families and the Kodavas do not treat them as their equals. Bhagavathi and Vishnumurthy are regarded as the family gods of the Peggades. Girls in their houses, prior to marriage, are addressed with the suffix Amma, and after marriage Avva together with their names. Some of the Peggades are small land- holders. Every name of the lineage had the suffix 'De' long time ago. Now it is given up. Family names found among Peggades are not seen among Kodavas. These people also enjoy Jamma land grant.

### Uppara

The Upparas a caste, is otherwise known as the Sagaravamsas, Melusakkares, Karebandis and also as Bharat Vamsa. They speak Kannada. Formerly making salt and selling it was the profession of these people. Hence the name Uppara. When the Britishers put restriction on the manufacture of salt, these people, shifted to other occupations like stone-cutting and dressing, agriculture, masonry and lime making. There are sub groups identified on the basis of their respective occupations like mason Uppara, lime (*sunna*) Uppara, stone-dressing Uppara etc. They have clans (*kulas*) like Agila, Aane (Elephant) Ale, Arasa etc. Some of the gods they worship are Lord Venkataramana, Ankamma and Harukatheshwari. Caste issues are settled by the *kattemane* (a caste committee with a headman) meant traditionally for this purpose. The Upparas are found in Bychanahalli near Kushalnagar, Beeruga near Somvarpet and also at Ponnampet. Some Upparas in Beeruga are Coffee estate owners; the others among them are labourers and flower vendors. These people establish marriage relation with Upparas of Mysore and Hassan districts. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission the Uppara population was estimated at 834 in the district. These people practice the custom of burying the dead.

### Viswakarma

The Viswakarmas in Kodagu belong to a varied social milieu. Among these there are Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu, Konkani, Tamil and Tulu speakers. They have arrived in Kodagu from Hassan and Mysore and Dakshina Kannada districts, and from Kerala and Tamilnadu. The Second Backward Classes Commission estimated the Viswakarma population at 5,356 in 1984. These people are also called the Panchalas. There are five types of craftsmen among Vishwakarmas, and they are Akkasali (working on gold and silver), Kanchugara (working in brass and bronze), Kammara (black smith), carpenters and sculptors. According to a legend five children were born to Viswabrahma from his five faces and they were the sages Manu, Maya, Twashta, Shilpi and Vishwagna. Their sons Sanaka, Sanandana, Ahabuvana, Suparna and Pratnasa are the lineage ancestors or *gotrakaras* of the Panchalas. These five *gothras* are further developed into 125 *gotras*. Their tutelary deity is Goddess Kalika Devi. They undergo initiation to the religious fold through *upanayana* and wear the sacred thread.

Those who speak Tulu among them came from Dakshina Kannada. They are establishing marriage relation with the Kannada speaking Vishwakarmas. These people are divided into five *gothras* mentioned above. The boy's parents approach the girl's parents with the intention of seeking their girl in marriage. In recent years, dowry system has come into vogue. Some of the Vedic rituals of marriage like *dhare*, *mangalya dharana*, *homa* and *saptapadi* are in vogue. There

is a priestly class in their group. Their priest hails from Mangalore. The Vishwakarmas in Kodagu celebrate the local feasts and festivals in addition to other celebrations like Yugadi, Diwali and Sankranti. *Upakarma* (annual celebration of sacred thread ceremony) is observed by the Vishwakarmas every where. These people visit the Kalikamba temple at Mangalore which is an important religious centre. Cremating the dead is a custom among the different groups of the Vishwakarmas. They collect the ashes and bones on the third day of the cremation to immerse the same in a river. They observe 10 days pollution due to death in the family. Obsequies follow on the 12th day. Annual death ceremony is a part of family expectation. The Vishwakarmas offer oblation to the ancestors during Mahalaya Paksha. They follow lunar calendar for all their religious and auspicious celebrations. The authorities of the Kalika temple at Mangalore appoint a person called Muktesar to settle issues pertaining to their community. There is not any spectacular change in the occupations of these people. Their craft is not so much exacting now as it used be because of the use of machines. Kannada and Tulu speaking Vishwakarmas have started an Association of their own in Kodagu district.

Persons working on gold and silver are called Thatta in Kodava language. This term is only a reference to their occupation and not to their caste. Among Vishwakarmas, there are Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil speakers. Malayalam carpenters among them are called Thachheris. Persons speaking this language and working in iron are known as the Kollas and Irambuthatti. Apart from these groups, there are people who work on metals and repair the old and used vessels. They are called Chenbukuttis. These people are largely Christians in Kodagu. It should be noted that Airis used to be the smiths working on gold and silver in Kodagu district. The Airis follow the Kodava customs, practices and language; and hence, their culture resembles greatly that of the Kodava (See details under Airis).

There are people called Daivajnya Brahmins working as gold and silver smiths in Madikeri and a few other places in Kodagu. They speak Konkani. These people originally belonged to Goa. They have started their own Association in this district. Daivajnya Brahmins are classified into *gothras* of sages like Vasistha, Vishwamitra, Kashyapa, etc. They are the followers of Rigvedic tradition. They are affiliated to Ashwalayana Sutra and Shakala branch. These people have developed their own priestly class for conducting religious ceremonies.

### Vaishyas

The Vaishyas, otherwise known as Komatis and Settys are found more in Kushalnagar (must have hailed from Periyapatna). These people may be seen in Madikeri, Ramaswamy Valley, and Somvarpet. Their population was 2,077 in 1984. There are about 85 Vaishya families in Kodagu district. Most of the people are traders and businessmen. Some of them are owners of coffee, cardamom and orange estates. They are Telugu speakers. Kanyaka Parameshwari is their tutelary deity. The Vaishyas are distributed into *gothras* like brahmins. They invite brahmins for religious celebrations. They follow Vedic customs and practices. The people add a suffix Setty or Gupta to their names. Some of the lineages of the Vaishyas are Vendlie, Paidu and Yella Shetlu, etc. Now, the Vaishyas have their own priests who help them perform religious ceremonies. These people have started a Vedic School of their own at Bangalore. There may not be any difference between Kodagu Vaishyas and the Vaishya elsewhere.

## Yerava

The Yeravas constitute a larger number in the tribal population of Kodagu district. It should also be noted that these people are about 5.94% of the total population of the Scheduled Tribes of the entire state. Their major concentration is in Virajpet taluk in Kodagu. It is surmised that the Yeravas perhaps, migrated to this district owing to unstable conditions in Vynad during the 17th century. The Lingayat kings in Kodagu used to get the Paniyas for agricultural activities and assign some of them as Jamma servants (agrestic slaves) in families. The very people are the Pani-Yeravas according to one view. The Yeravas now live in colonies built by the Government. It is suspected that the Yerava population is on the decline, as per the latest population studies. The Yeravas belong to the hill tribes like Kuruba, Irula, Peniya, Kadira, Kola, Gonda, etc. They are characterised by short stature, dark complexion, thick lips, woolly hair, long foot and long fore-hand, according to Holland who studied these people in 1897-98.\* There is sparse hair growth on the body and face of the Yerava men. Yerava population in 1871, in this region was 11,148. Among them the Panjiri Group was about 10,516; whereas Pani Yeravas constituted 632 people. Surprisingly, after two decades, in 1891, Yerava population was 14,209. Of these, Paniyeravas developed into a larger group with a population of about 10,003. Yerava population in various decades, during this century was as follows; 1901-14,586; 1911-15,338; 1921-14,008; 1931-12,810; 1941-12,674; 1961-15,296; 1971-13,743; 1981-17,939.

The Yerava beliefs do not so much vary from that of Hindu beliefs. Besides worshipping their own deities, these people have become devotees of Lord Venkataramana, Nanjundeswara of Nanjangud, Mahadeswara, Siddappaji, Kuttadamma, Chamundi, Dandu Maramma, Peria-pattnadamma, Kuntur Maramma and many others.

The Yerava couple start an independent family soon after their marriage. Girls are married after their puberty. The marriage season of the Yeravas commences in February and continues for about three months. These people consider Tuesday, Friday and the new-moon day as inauspicious for marriage. Now-a-days, they consult the priests for fixing the day and time of marriage. The boy's parents approach the girl's family to fix a match. Polygyny was rare among Yeravas. Polyandry was never practised. Paying of bride price (*thera*) is in practice. Marriage by elopement into the forest was an earlier practice, which is still found here and there. Divorce and widow marriage are in practice. (For details see social life in Kodagu). Although the Panjiri and the Pani Yeravas are distinct groups, there may occur some times marriage relations between them. Both these groups are, socially regarded equal in status. They have established decent relationships with other caste groups in Kodagu. The Yeravas had not possessed any definite territory in the forests long time ago. These people are believed to be trust-worthy, truthful and hard working. Even though there may not be any necessity of brahmin participation in Yerava religious ceremonies, the brahmins are treated with respect. Burying the dead is the custom very much in vogue even at present. The Pani Yeravas conduct obsequies from the seventh day; whereas the Panjiris, start these ceremonies from the Eleventh day (Details: Under Social Life). There are four groups among Yeravas-Pani Yerava, Panjiri Yerava, Badaga Yerava and Kage Yerava.

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\* Census of India, 1981 - Series 9, Part X 1 - p. 3, *The Yeravas of Kodagu*

**Pani Yerava:** The Pani Yeravas call themselves Paniyas. They are distributed in large number in the villages of Virajpet taluk. They live on the lands of their masters (landlords). There are evidences to show that Pani Yeravas are the Paniyas of Vynad.\* These people are patriarchal; and they are supposed to have migrated to Kodagu from Kerala in 1792 and after. The Pani Yerava family is a simple family consisting of parents and unmarried children. Some times the widower father or the widow mother also lived in the family of children. Being patrilineal, the elderly male is the family head and he continues the family line through his male children. These people use the word *pattole* or *tharana* to indicate the lineage of families. Marriage within the *pattole* or *tharana* is restricted and they are exogamous. The Census of 1981 accounted for 35 *tharanas* among the Pani Yeravas in Kodagu. They are the following: Achhiriya, Ammangaaliya, Animalai, Angiliya, Bainadu, Bengeriya, Boottyaadi, Cherottoniyam. Cherika, Chingapache, Chingaarimaaru, Chulodu, Chundepattiye, Evilathyu, Ideyode, Ayanjeriye, Kidechula, Karumattai, Kirimattai, Kiyakkai, Kothaliyam, Kottepatteya, Koyimuttai, Kundaniyam, Kuttachcheriyai, Madathile, Malaikodu, Moothhottai, Muchaliyam, Mundachiya, Nagaratte, Pakattai, Paappaliyai, Pathuboodu, and Thandiyodeli. But all these lineages (*tharana*) exist only to restrict marriage practices among the pani-Yeravas. It may be interesting to note that these people have not developed, even now, a well organised social life.

In the events of marriage and celebration of death rituals, the local headman viz., *chammakara* and *attali* (the priest) takes leading part. They also act as liaison between the people and government officials in their regions. Besides *chammakara* there are leaders like *thammadi* who are also their local elders.

The Pani Yeravas trace their origin to Manathur Makka the two demons and their children. Being a brother and sister, they had to marry in captivity of *Tambiran* of Ippimalay. Thus, they lived as a couple. The Pani Yeravas are believed to be continuing their lineage. Their deities are Tambira of Ippimalai and Thambiratti; Anjalattu, Appemutti, Peppalatti, Ammemutti, Neeramalai Muttachi, Ippimalai Muttachi, Kalimalai Muttachi and Ponnamalai Muttachi. Of these deities, *Tambira*, *Anjalattu* and *Appemutti* are male deities, the rest are female ones. All the deities are believed to be in Kerala. But their places are not known exactly to the Pani-Yeravas. These deities may appear in houses and, during community worship, at the instance of the *attali*. Community worship is called *thera*. The Pani-Yeravas have installed these deities in hut temples near their localities and forests. The deities are invariably in the form of shapeless stones. They also keep a sword, a spear, a bell, a lamp and portraits of gods by the side of stone deities.

**Panjiri Yerava:** The Panjiris must have come to Kodagu from Mysore region. The two groups among them are Ippumale Yerava and Karatti Yerava. The former have occupied places like Sreemangala and Ponnampet area and the latter are found in Parattimalai near Beitur on the Kerala border. The Panjiris trace their origin to a pair of male and female clay figures. It is believed that certain high caste persons (two of them) made clay figures (male and female) and the figures got life at God's instance. Their progeny became the Panjiri Yeravas. It is a myth traditionally handed down to people. The Panjiris are matrilineal. There is a clear distinction between the speeches of the Panjari and the Pani Yeravas. There is an opinion that the Panjiri and

\* Census of India, 1981-Series -9 Part - XI. p.14 (*The Yeravas of Kodagu*)

the Adiyas of Kerala are mostly of the same stock.\* The Panjiris identify their native land to Thirnell and the ancestry to Achchai and *ithi*. The Adiyas and the Panjiris have established marriage relations with each other. Their traditions being mostly the same both these people had, perhaps, common ancestry according to the Census Survey. (Earlier, it was thought that the Pani and the Panjiri were of the same origin, but N.P.Shankaranarayana Rao of the Census Commission dispelled this notion and stated that the two groups, the Pani and the Panjiri were distinct stocks). The Adiyas in Kodagu are included into the Scheduled Castes list (in Dakshina Kannada the Adiyas are in Scheduled Tribe group). At the same time the Panis and Panjiris are said to be treated as two different groups in Vynad. Once, the Panjiris had owned agricultural lands, and when overpowered by others, they lost their lands. Later they served as agrestic slaves. Their native localities were Northern Vynad and also South-East Kodagu. The family system of the Panjiris is simple like that the Panis. Most of the Panjiris are living in Government colonies. Having been matriarchal, Panjiri reckon the progeny through their daughters. Therefore, Panjiri children belong to the mother's lineage. Marriage of a Panjiri does not change the lineage identity of a man or a woman. They both continue to cherish the lineage of their mother's families respectively. It is noteworthy that the Panjiris have not practiced matriarchy. But father is the master in the family of these people still the lineage of the Panjiri consists of a few families having a woman as the common ancestor. The elderly man in all these families is regarded as the head. He assumes the responsibility of arranging events like marriage and death rituals. In these matrilineal families, in recent years, changes are witnessed. Family property is shared among the male issues only; sister's children are denied the property right in their mother's share. The Panjiri lineages are known as *chamma* or *kudi*. Children among these people came under mother's *chamma* (lineage). According to the folklore of the Panjiris, there are 33 family names. They are Anjila, Badakmanju, Balepathera, Bellichalu, Bainaattu, Chainde, Chalumbedu, Chegadi, Cheruvalla, Evila, Idemale, Kacchele, Kademale, Kaalakottai, Kallumaani, Kalya, Karyela, Kottai, Kuppethoda, Maadacheri, Mammattla, Marengavla, Mudrila, Mudungutthu, Naalappaadi, Panneli, Paavade, Podarmanju, Poodari, Puducheri, Puduru, Thirumanje and Ulaanguttu. Panjiri do not marry within the same family groups (lineage). The elderly man in the *chamma* is called *chammakara*. Earlier the *Chammakara* used to collect some measure of paddy from the affiliated Panjiri families and worshipped ancestors. The 33 *chammas* consist of 13 exogamous groups. Further, they are grouped into 3 main divisions (*manjus*). These three are *Badaak*, *Podar* and *Tirnelly*. Their deities are Pukkarimage, Karichathai Maliyammai and Pakathayya respectively. All *chammas* are of equal status. Pukkarimage of the *Badaak* Manju enjoy the vegetarian offerings. Panjiri village is known as *kunja*. Each *kunja* is managed by *kunjakar*. The *Panjiri Yeravas* had transformed their food collecting habit into Kumri agriculture. Now they have become agricultural labourers. Poultry keeping and fishing in streams during the rainy season are also the occupations of the Panjiris. Mostly, these people work in paddy fields and coffee estates. Their marriage celebrations are not very different from that of the Pani-Yeravas. These people practise divorce, remarriage, and widow marriage. Marriage by elopement is also seen among them. Burying the dead is a custom with the Panjiris. *kunjakara* supervises death ceremonies. The Panjiris perform obsequies from the eleventh day. Six months later, a gathering is got up to feed the people. The *Chamma* families gather each year in February or March to offer oblations to ancestors in order to get their blessings.

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\* Census of India, 1981, Series-9, Part XI, P.14 *The Yeravas of Kodagu*



Panjiri Yeravas worship their original ancestors viz., Mel Arachai and Keel Arathi, together with the Hindu gods. The ancestors have their abode in Vynad. There are stones in a ruined temple at Kudurekode near Thirunelli, which are regarded as their deities. It is a pilgrimage centre for the Panjiri Yeravas. *kunjneladi*, the priest for the Panjiris invoke the presence of the three Manju deities and worship them. Panjiri temples resemble that of the Pani Yerava's in structures. These people worship only ancestors at home. They take part in the car festival of God Muttappa at Ponnampet, Gonikoppal and Thitimati. They also attend fares at Kutta and Irpu. (See details for marriage and funeral under social life).

**Badaga Yeravas:** The Badaga Yeravas are found in Kutta and in North-Eastern part of Virajpet taluk. These people are divided into two groups. One of them hailed from Heggadadevanakote region calling themselves as the Soligas and have settled down in the North-Eastern parts of Virajpet taluk. The other group is found around Kutta. Those from Kutta have maintained relationship with the people of Heggadadevanakote taluk. Some opine that the Badaga Yeravas came to Heggadadevanakote and mingled with the local population under the nomenclature Yerava Gowda. However, for reasons of benefit they dropped the suffix Gowda from their names in order that they be included under the Scheduled Tribes category. They speak Kannada. They constituted a branch of the Yerava group and possess many lineages based on the locality. Two major sub-groups are Kattemane and Gadimane. The Badaga Yeravas are patriarchal. Mother's brother's son or daughter is a preferential match customarily in marriage among the people. Bride price (*thera*) varies from Rs.20 to Rs.25. Some of the important marriage rituals are betel leaf ceremony, invoking the deity for blessing the marriage, and *kankana dharane* (tying a thread around the wrist of the couple), etc. No meat or drink is served in a marriage of the Badaga Yeravas. Like other Yervas, these people bury the dead. Lord Mahadeswara is their god; besides they believe in village deities like Desada Maramma, Dandu Maramma and Chikkadevamma. The Badaga Yeravas are now engaged in work in the paddy fields and coffee estates.

The Badaga Yeravas in the North-Eastern part of Virajpet taluk have considered themselves to be related originally to the Soligas of the Biligiriranga hills. They believe to have come to Kodagu with the army of Mysore Kings. These people are patrilineal. Their traditions resemble that of the people from Kutta to some extent. *dhare* happens to be the primary ceremony of the Badaga Yerava marriage. Widow marriages (*kudavali*) are also in practice. They worship many deities and gods like Guliga, Chowdi, Basava, Madaiah, Veerabhadra, Biligiriranga, and Siddeshwara. Ancestral worship is rather common among these people. They celebrate Yugadi and Diwali. Burying the dead is the custom of the Badaga Yerava. They are working as agricultural labourers and forest labourers as well.

**Kage Yerava:** The Kage Yeravas are also called Kake Paniyas and they are found in Hebbale and Devarakad in Central Kodagu. They constitute a small population in Kodagu district. Perhaps, the name Kage Yeravas is derived from their habit of eating crows. These people resemble the Pani Yeravas. Their women dress like Kodava womenfolk. The Kage Yeravas may be about a hundred to two hundreds in the region.

### Other Sub-castes

There are Ambalavasis and Padarthis serving in temples of Bhagamandala, Padi and Irpu. They are vegetarians. Traditionally Ambalavasis clean the precincts of the temples. Among them the light carriers are called Mukkatis, whereas the flower garland makers are called *male* Mukkati. They are Tulu speakers. The Padarthis are the drum beaters in the temples. The Padarthis are also called Maraya. They speak Tulu at home. Among the recent immigrants, the Nayars of Kerala are fairly in large number. According to the Second Backward Classes Commission, the population of Nayars was 11,270 in Kodagu district in 1984. Such immigrants have settled down in this region, having bought garden lands in different parts. The Mudaliars are also immigrants from Tamil Nadu. They are generally business people. Some of them are employed in different kinds of jobs. Their population was about 2,043 in 1984, according to the Karnataka Second Backward Classes Commission.

The Bedas, a small group, arrived from Mysore region to settle in Kodagu. Originally, they were hunters. There are a few sub-groups among these people. There are seasonal migrants into the district. Among these people, there are the Koramas, selling medicine extracted from certain animals, snake-charmers (Pakonga), Kadi Konga (exhibiting a show of the tamed ox in public) Karadi Konga (bear tamers), Monkey trainers, Domba (Tumblers), Budbudike, Bunde Besta, Durgamurgi, etc. There are also some Dasa families in Bhagamandala. They are the followers of Vaishnava tradition. They make their living by getting alms from people. The Gowdas in Kodagu district invite the Dasas for performing *Hari Seva* and *Mane Seva*. The Telugu speaking Kalloddaru (rock breakers) and Mannoddars (earth diggers) are migrants from Mysore and Hassan districts. They constitute a meagre population in Kodagu. The First Backward Classes Commission of the Government of Karnataka has listed some castes having a meagre population in Kodagu. They are : Agnani (132), Aryan (60), Basavi (16), Binappata (90), Chambukutti (4), Padarthis (133), Pandava Kulam (6), Panneekara Konkani (4), Pullavan (40), Kaanan (7), and Tuluva (19). The numbers in the brackets indicate their population according to 1931 Census.

### SOCIAL LIFE

In Hindu marriages, wife is generally younger than her husband. A Hindu woman traditionally would not address her husband by his name. When she conceives, her first delivery would be in her parents' home. An expectant mother should follow many restrictions. She is not supposed to cross the threshold of the front door after sunset. The desires (*bayake*) relating to food of such women are readily fulfilled by the family. Persons who come to enquire about her health bring some fruits. During the fifth or seventh month, girl's parents arrange a function called *seemantha* which marks the recognition of womanhood through motherhood. She is presented a green sari on the occasion. It is rather a usual practice among the women of all castes to observe three days pollution, during the menstruation period every month. The Veerashaivas are a singular exception to this practice. In the villages, when a girl attains puberty, she would be kept in a separate hut for reasons of pollution for three days and later the hut would be destroyed and burnt. During this period, the elders in the family would provide the girl with nutritious food. Each evening she would be made to sit on a wooden plank and her *sari seragu* (free end of the *sari*) would be filled with *mangala dravyas* (auspicious ingredients). This function ends with performing *arathi* (waving of a pair of

lighted lamps in front of the girl). Maternal uncle of a girl has an important role both at the time of first menstruation rites and her marriage. The former event demands the mother's brother to raise the hut to keep her there and to destroy and burn the same after three days. He would buy new clothes for the girl. Similarly, at the time of marriage, mother's brother would be required to erect *halugambha* (a pole of a tree oozing milky juice) at the place of marriage. He should escort the girl to the pandal for *dhare* ceremony. He would do a few minor things like tying a *basinga* to the forehead and to help wear rings in the toes. He would thus, be instrumental to the girl losing her *kanyahood* (virginity). Such traditional rituals are the prerogatives of a bride's mother's brother. In his absence, his son would be required, to fulfil these obligations. The role of a mother's brother, perhaps, reminds of matriarchy, once practised by the people. The above mentioned practices have mostly remained with people as the relics of the ancient time.

Muslims have a number of customs. The messenger breaking the news of a child-birth would be given presents. The child would be named on the sixth day of its arrival to this world. *Akika* custom would take place either on 7th, 14th or the 21st day of the child-birth. *Namakchasi*, a ceremony would come about when the child would be four and half month old. Four years and four months and four days later, the child would undergo *bismilla* ceremony. Seventh year of the child would mark conducting a ceremony known as *sunmath* (religious initiation).

The Kodavas being the natives, constitute a major portion of the population. Their customs, practices and traditions have influenced others of the region including hill-tribes. Even the immigrants in Kodagu have been influenced by Kodagu ways of life.\* The Kodavas have a peculiar way of heralding to the outsiders the arrival of a male child (a gun shot would do this job). If the child is a girl they ring a bell and or beat a metal plate. According to an earlier custom, the Kodavas used to present a bow and an arrow of castor stem to the male child. Having given a bath to the child, the people in the family would smear a mixture of jaggery, ghee and pepper powder, on the lips of the baby. A castor oil lamp is kept burning in the room where the mother and child are accommodated. As soon as the child is born, the Kodava place the baby on a plantain leaf. On birth in the family, members observe pollution for twelve days. Members of such a family would not take part in the rural festival. They do not visit temples during this period of pollution. End of pollution due to birth is got over with a purificatory bath on the twelfth day, followed by sprinkling holy water on persons as well as things in the house. The child is cradled and named on that day. There is also a custom of tying a black thread to the waist, hands and feet of a male child (to hands and feet only in the case of female child). Before the child is cradled, a grinding stone is placed three times into it, which implies a wish that the child be strong like the stone through its growth. Child's name is called out when it is in the cradle. Post-natal care of the mother extends for sixty days. Before she assumes normal functions, the mother is expected to perform Gangapuja (offer worship to water drawn from the well). She would drop some rice into castor-oil lamp at *Nellakki Nadabade* and show her regard to the elders in the family. The Kodavas used to conduct a ritual of child-marriage called *kodi mangala* for small children as a token of affection. It is not in vogue now-a-days. Boring (piercing) the lobes of the ear of a male child is known as *Kemi kutti mangala* in Kodava. It is an important function in the family. This custom is not observed when the ears of a female baby are pierced. If a person died without his ears being bored, his funeral would take place

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\* Kodava Social life - Ref: B.D. Ganapathi's Kodagu of Kodavas  
(Information here is mostly based on this book)

after the boring is done. If a man had killed a tiger, he was deserving a function called *Narimangala* (tiger marriage).

Smt. Tulasidevi of Kodagu Regional Research Centre has given the following information about the Kodava social life. The Annual community worship of *pattalodi* for elders is performed during the first ten days of the Tulamasa. Some of the following elders worshipped then by the Kodavas are *kanitayi* (ancestral mother); *eltaleyakkitayi* (ancestral mothers of each lineage for over seven generations); *kodachitai* (who lost their lives for a cause); *kudibeerang* (men who gave up their lives for a cause); *nurpadivandiya* (*kodachi* and *mupa centenarians*); *mupang* (village elder or headman) and *kooliya* (the other deaths in the village), etc. Dead children are not worshipped. At the time of worship, persons who should fulfill vows (*Harake*) to ancestors might arrange *kanitai there* and *Kodachital there*. *There* is to appear in the disguise of the person invoked. If a mother and a baby suffer from illness, the parents in the family make up their mind to arrange *there* of *Kanitai* and *Kodachitai*. Kodavas were arranging *Kodachi Kaithere* in the past when people and cattle were dying due to famine, epidemics and war. Now it is not practised. In case there was any kind of vow (*harake*) the Kodavas used to arrange (invoking) *naripuda* (*bluta*) during ancestral worship.

The Kodavas used to erect a bamboo pole in front of the *Kaimada* near their *aynmane*. It was meant for suggesting happy and inauspicious occasions in the family at different times. The erection of this pole was called *Kodimara*. It measures 10 feet in length. It used to be a straight and neat stick. This pole was being decorated in many ways; and each of which suggested to others the nature of occasion in the family. The symbol of wishing a happy meeting was indicate by tying a bunch of pepper and a twig of green leaves to the *Kodimara* and it was called *santhanavriksha*. Similarly a victory in war was indicated by tying colourful quill of birds to the *Kodimara*, and at the top of it a white bed-sheet flew fluttering. If the cloth was torn at the centre, it implied that good relations between two localities were affected. It was called *Kudukitavo*. If the individual good relation was at stake the bunch of pepper was split and tied to *Kodimara*. If lovers lost their concern to each other, Kodavas used to split the betel leaves and tie them to the pole (*Kodiyele kituvo*). Similarly the dry bald pole indicated death in the family. Likewise, if bunches of *lokki* leaves and neem leaves had been tied to the *Kodimara*, it indicated an attack of epidemics like small-pox in the family.

The Kodavas made the girl live at the place of pollution (*holedana*) on her first menstruation for nine days and they nursed her. She would take holy bath on the tenth day and rest for two months. Later, the family was arranging *pookol nerpo* (a game for girls, using sticks). Smt. Tulasidevi is of the view that Kodava families were matrilineal in the past and at the time of Doddaveeraraja, they gradually became patrilineal and *swayamvara* system of marriage was prevalent among them.

There is a custom of cleaning the front portion of the house every day morning and decorating it with *rangoli* among the other Hindus, but the Kodavas after cleaning, do not draw *rangoli*. They keep the premises of the house clean and neat by spilling cowdung mixed with water all over. They also sprinkle water in which *tulasi* leaves are immersed. They light the lamp at *nellakki nadubade* and pray to Mother *Cauvery*. The Kodavas take bath after attending to all day-to-day chores either

in the evening or at night. Moegling writes that Kodava men used to sport a tuft in the past. Wealthy people among them became Westernized thoroughly. Even social clubs are the British contribution to people in Kodagu.

The Kodava social activities rally round *vakka*. This institution is an original family. Its head is called *Karanava (Karorna)*. The ancestral home is known as *aynamane*. The eldest male of the *vakka* is *Koravakara* and female *Koravakarti*. They are responsible for all family matters. Long ago some *vakka* used to be an extended family consisting of 100 - 150 members. According to Rice, there were 20-30 people in a *vakka* by 1870. It was no matter of surprise to find members of three to four generations in a *vakka*. Every younger member was getting the necessary social environment in a *vakka*. Similarly the headman of a village is called *thakka*. But *thakka* had been an institution; Hence it had not relationship to an individual attached to the *vakka*. Larger than a village, was *naadu* and its head was *naduthakka*. In Kodagu, there were 35 *naadus* and 12 *komboos*. Every Kodavas family has another close and friendly family to be one with them in times of joy and sorrow. Such a family is referred to *aruva family*. *Aynamane* is an integral part of Kodava social life. All members of a *vakka* gather at the *aynamane* to worship the *karona*, on both happy and inauspicious moments in life. It is said that the community life in Kodagu is a well-organised system comprising the Kodavas on the one hand and their followers like Bannaru, Panika, Holey and others. Formerly, the immovable property of the *vakka* was never divided and shared among the members. But it was allowed during the Lingayat kings (Odeyars), to be distributed among the members. However, the British administration at the instance of the Kodavas, in 1858-59, made law to keep in tact the *vakka* property.

The Kodavas have certain auspicious ceremonies which they call *mangala* including the marriage. (1) *Narimangala* was performed in case a man killed a tiger; (2) *Manemangala* at the time of entering a newly built house; (3) *Kannimangala* or the usual marriage, (4) in case a man's two wives have died in succession, before his third marriage *balekmangala* or a marriage with plantain tree is performed; (5) when ears are pierced to put ornaments, it is celebrated as *kemmikuttimangala* (6) on first menstruation of a girl, the rite *polkandamangala* is held; and (7) the first conceived housewife is honoured with *kuliyammemangala*.

The Gowdas in Kodagu observe five-day pollution on child birth. The washer-woman will give bath to the baby on the seventh day and purify by conducting the *ame* (pollution) ritual. On the sixteenth day, the baby is named and cradled. *Anna Praashana* (initiating the baby to normal food) is also conducted on the same day. Mother of the baby is purified after worshipping Ganga on the fortieth day. When a girl attains puberty, the Gowdas purify the house by sprinkling holy water all over. It seems that they were observing formerly *rutushanti lagna* on a grand scale. The expectant mother would be specially required to participate in a function meant for her, during the seventh month of pregnancy. It is called *seemantha*. This function is known as *bayakeya maduve*. In recent times Satyanarayana Puja is performed on the following day.

The Yerava and other hill-tribe families are simple families. These people toil from dawn to dusk. Their womenfolk attend to domestic chores in a short period of two hours from 6 a.m to 8 a.m. in the morning. Having returned home, men relax for some time in the evening. Around 9 p.m., the people eat their supper and go to sleep. Casual interaction with one another on their way

to work and way back home will provide recreation to the people. On a weekly holiday, the people do shopping in fairs and thus meet the family requirements. Sometimes their participation in folk songs and folk music brings some recreation. Among the Panjiri Yerava, only men take part in such dances; but the Pani Yeravas do not have such inhibitions. Hence, both men and women enjoy folk dances and songs. The Yerava custom expects that the new-born baby should be cradled after naming on the eleventh day. Ancestral worship is a must before the cradling ceremony. The Yeravas have no preference to a male child. The Panjari Yeravas would be happy if the first child is a female. A girl on her menstruation is kept away in a hut for 16 days and she becomes pure after *Ganga Pooja*.

People in Kodagu regard infertility as a curse on a woman like others elsewhere. If a woman does not conceive, the people perform religious ceremonies to invoke the grace of deities and sacred trees. They consult even the astrologer to know the cause of infertility and to suggest remedies. On conceiving, the first delivery shall take place in the girl's parents' family. It is a general practice with people of all castes in Kodagu. After a few months (during the odd month) mother and child are escorted to husband's family. Piercing the ear lobes of the child and going on pilgrimage for tonsorial ceremony are found among many castes.

During the rule of the kings, the army men and the government servants were supposed to be at the palace for work for 15 days in a months. The common man always walked the distance to various places. Rich people used horses and palanquins for their movement. There were no routes even for carts. Soldiers and others participating in war, were entitled to a share in the war booty (cattle, grains and captives). The lands belonging to armymen were being cultivated by Jamma slaves. The villages and the forest dwelling tribes used to sell forest products (cardamom, pepper, medicinal plants, roots and sandalwood) to the palace. With the advent of the British, coffee estates were developed.

Of late, many changes have come about in Kodagu district. The previous extended family of Kodavas is much on the decline. The development of road transport enabled even the agricultural labourers to move from village to village and also to attend to their day-to-day affairs in far of places. The employees in service coming from different parts of Kodagu are benefited by transport service and can travel everyday from their residence to the working spot. Another important development in Kodagu, in recent times, is that many traditional occupations are disappearing. People now have resorted to new ways of life and living which are the consequences of developing estates in forest areas, migration of people from neighbouring States and political developments after independence. It may be interesting to notice that the tribals of the region have ceased to be nomadic because the Government has built colonies for their accommodation in many places. Attacks on the Scheduled Castes by the rest of the people have considerably declined. It is also a fact, that the traditional hunting spree of some castes in the forests has disappeared, and there is also legal restriction on hunting. A host of other developments like communications media at community level, improved transport facility, Government programmes like providing drinking water, a few kinds of loan to people, grant of land for agriculture, supplying people with domestic animals like cattle, pig or fowls, which help them earn their livelihood, opening hospitals, starting school and free legal consultations have all created a new awareness in the people. Many hill-tribes are inspired by the above-mentioned programmes and are making efforts to improve their living

conditions. The education facilities are very extensive in Kodagu. This was contributed to a better literacy rate in the district. The government has opened hostels and Ashram schools for the Scheduled Tribes (For details see Chapter 16)

The Kodavas have given up many old social customs and practices to involve themselves in modern competitive economic activities. In response to social changes, their women have suitably adjusted and they could be seen conspicuously in public life. They wear sari in un-Kodava fashion also, like the others. According to I.M.Muthanna nearly 80% of Kodava marriages would be over in one day and about 45% of the marriages now are just *dampati muhurthas*. Traditional customs and songs, which, once characterised the Kodava marriage are not to be seen in the celebrations conducted at the choultries or the *Kalyanamantapas*.

Nadakeriyanda Chinnappa in his work *Pettole palame* identified a system of stratification among the native castes. The castes like the Nayars, Bants, Vokkaligas and Vellalas had the same status as the Kodavas. But, the caste groups like the Theeyas, Billava, Madivalas and Heggades (Peggades) were placed next and were not supposed to enter the kitchen, *Kannikombare* and *Nellakki Nadubade* apartments in Kodava houses (families). Similarly, the Yeravas, Kuruba and the Paleyas had been considered inferior and were placed next to the Theeyas, Billavas etc. These people could go to the raised platform of the Kodava houses, whereas the Holeya and the Medas were expected to wait in the premises of the Kodava houses.

There was poverty in Kodagu in the past and the poorer sections suffered on account of it. According to a report of 1910, the poor families during the rainy season could not have more than a meal a day. It was even worse by the end of the rainy season. There used to be no food in the families of the poor people. They used to pawn the harvest in advance that is expected in August-September months to a higher rate of interest and get grains to meet their immediate needs. Sometimes, the interest rate was about 250%, the report adds.

## MARRIAGE

The Kodava marriage has a few distinct features. The marriage rituals of the bridegroom are conducted at the groom's residence and those of the bride at her residence separately. The parents of the boy with other relations visit the girl's family and accompany the bride to their house. There was no custom of *mangalya dharana* among the Kodavas in the past; it is a recent custom. Girl's mother or *sumangalis* (elderly married women whose husbands are alive) help in *mangalya dharana*. The earlier practices of tallying the horoscope and seeking god's consent through a falling flower from the idol are becoming less common at present. Now-a-days, people hold the view that the boy and the girl should be consulted and their consents would suffice. The Kodava marriage was always a post-puberty celebration. Always it is the bridegroom's family which takes initiative to go to the bride's parents (with an *aruva* family member) and express its inclination to receive the girl as the bride for their son. The girl's family might agree for the alliance. Their agreement is called *kuri*. When the decision on marriage is taken, it is known as *mangala kuripa*. It is an occasion for the relatives and friends of the groom's family to arrive at the residence of the bride to fix the *lagna* for celebration of marriage. It is followed by writing the marriage invitation. Both the parties stand on either side of the *taliyakki bolicha* (burning lamp) in the *nellakki*

*nadubade* and bow to the *taliyakki bolicha* respectfully. The groom's party offers some money or jewels as a mark of trust to *taliyakki balicha*, whose witness for marriage agreement is a matter of a good-will. It is known as *ead*. Invitation will be printed and distributed later. The day meant for erecting a pandal is called *karikmuripa*. Both the marriage parties in their respective places erect pandals and they are decorated with plantain tree, leaf buntings, and white cloth canopy. Since that day, in their homes dishes like plantain curry, cake and *payasa* (prepared out of green-gram in liquid consistency with sugar and milk) are prohibited. The women folk make preparations for the dinner. The pandal consists of odd number of poles, one of the poles being *halugamba* (tree oozing juice when cut). On the day of the marriage, the bride-groom is dressed in white *kuppaya*. A red cloth adorns his forehead. He enters *nellakki nadubade* and drops some grains of rice to the burning lamp and respectfully bows down to the elders to seek their blessings. Similarly, at the bride's place, the girl in her new clothes seeks the blessings from elders and ancestors. In the respective houses of the boy and the girl, *therana* (a ritual) is performed at the *neallakki nadubade* (*Therana* is smearing turmeric mixture to the hands and legs by three elderly married women to the bride and bridegroom). It is followed by a dinner. Later, the head of the family offers *urupatti* (betel leaves, arecanut, plantains, coconut piece, and some eatable) at the *nellakki nadubade* to the invites. At bride's place, in the night, presents given to her, would be arranged in a box (bride's new clothes, jewels, vessels including the *ead*, etc), at the *nellakki nadubade* and, it is a ritual involving women folk in the family.

The washerman (Madivals) on the marriage day must come with white cloth to decorate the pandal's canopy till the *nellakki nadubade*. The white canopy will have a red silk lace lining on the border of the white cloth, at the spot of *muhurtha* celebration. The four corners of the pandal at the place of *muhurtha* are decorated with big bunches of Plantains, coconut, *belluri nut*, *betel leaf*, arecanut and *hombale*, one item at each pole. The bride-groom dressed in a special attire (described earlier) appears with a belt around his waist and after dropping some grains of rice to the burning lamp at the *Kanni Kombare*, gets the blessing of the elders. Then, he is given a shave, and the hair is collected in a milk vessel. The barber pours it down at the bottom of a tree which generally oozes out liquid. At least two more persons get shaven together with the bride-groom. The barber receives rice, coconut and bananas in *puttari pacche* (a small basket). Even the red cloth tied to the bride-groom's forehead, is given away to him. The bride-groom takes his bath and dresses himself in white or red-silk blouse and red-silk *chale* (waist band). He wears a *pani mande thuni* (head cloth). He is also adorned with the typical sword, dagger and ornaments. The bride-groom arrives at the spot of *muhurtha* having worn a gold necklace. At the bride's place *sumangalis* help the bride to wear bangles and the girl is dressed in bride's attire after her bath. The bride's dress consists of red silk sari, red sleeved blouse, black-beads, necklace, ear rings (*ole*), gold chain, bracelets and toe-rings. At the auspicious moment (*muhurta*) in their respective houses, the bride groom and the bride are escorted by the *bojakkara* (boy's brother-in-law or a member of *aruva* family) or *bojakarathi* (girl's sister-in-law or father's sister) respectively to the *muhurtha* pandal. The washerman spreads the white cloth (*nademadi*) all along the path. A tripod (wooden stool) is meant for the bride and the bride-groom to sit on. They go round the *muggali* (tripod) three times and occupy the seat. The family members bless the bride or the groom and give some milk for them to drink. Gifts are made to them in cash or kind. The *bojakara* and the *bojakarti* escorts the groom and the bride to an interior apartment where they receives *teertha prasada* (offerings



brought by a priest). The invitees to the marriage are honoured with *balebirudu*. All these ceremonies are held separately at the marriage partner's houses. A special dinner will follow. The next ritual to follow, as a part of marriage, is filling the *poli*. *Poli* is an artistically woven small bamboo basket with a lid. It contains three or five measures of rice. For each measure a coconut, jaggery, a bunch of plantains and a bundle of betel leaves and a measure of areca nuts are filled into the basket. There will be a milk-pot also. This ritual is called filling the *Poli*. The milk is to be filled by the woman of the *aruva* family. The *poli* is to be carried to the bride's place by a girl of the *aruva* family, and at the *dampathi muhurtha* the bride-groom should hand over the milk to the bride. Seven days after the *dampathi muhurtha*, *Poli* should be returned to the bride-groom's family with seven types of dishes.

The bride-groom's family will be ready (after food) to proceed to the bride's place. The boy being accompanied by the *bhojakara*, pours some rice to the lamp at *nellakki nadubade* and invokes ancestral blessing. He also visits *Kaimada* to show his regard to the deity. As the bride-groom's party reaches the bride's house, the elders among them receive the people and they are welcomed with *bale birudu*. The bride-groom will be seated at the *nellakki nadubade* on *aymara*. After washing hands and feet, food and drinks are offered.

The *Dampathi muhurtha* takes place at the *nellakki nadubade* (usually it is an event between 7 and 8 P.M.). Wooden tripods provide seats for both the bride and the bridegroom. Presents in kind and cash are offered by the friends and relatives. The *bojakaras* help the bride-groom to get up from the seat. The bride-groom pours out some rice over the bride's head and gives her milk to drink. (Taking out the milk-pot from the *poli* brought from his residence). He presents a purse to her. The bride receives it and extends her hand to the bridegroom. He gracefully holds the hand of his bride and helps her get up from the seat. Then follows the custom of *sambandh paraje*. As the couple move out, they are stopped on the way by girl's maternal uncle's son, or father's sister's son, and later the *Yerava* or the *Poleya*, the servant of the family. The bride-groom consoles them by offering presents. The couple is taken in a procession to boy's residence. On reaching the bridegroom's house, when the *bale birudu* rite is performed, the bride should cover her head and face with a red cloth. The *bale birudu* honour extended to the girl is accepted by her relatives. As she is received in the house of the boy, she will sit on the *aymara*. Then the couple pour some rice to the lamps at the *Kanni Kombare* and at *nellakki nadubade* and bow down in respect to them. Food is offered to them. Following these customs, the bride will collect some dung manure from the cattle pen to drop it in the farm (This is out of practice now). She is also expected to draw water from the well to perform *Gangapuja*. The girl will get a new name at her in-law's place. Now-a-days, Kodava marriages take place at Kodava Samaja having retained the important customs and rituals only, and the Kodavas finish the marriage event at the shortest time possible. The songs and other gay practices have vanished. It may be seen in recent marriages that girl's mother ties the *tali* (black beads) to her daughters at the *muhurtha*.

There are three more types of marriages of the Kodavas. They are *kudavalli mangala*, *vokka pariye* and *makka pariye*. *Kudavalle* enables a divorcee or a widow to marry again. It is of three types. The widow can remarry her husband's unmarried brother or any other relative. Secondly, the widow might prefer to marry an outsider (not related to the husband's family). Thirdly, a divorced woman can marry another person. Of all these, in the first type, the bride-groom will be honoured

with *muhurtha* celebration, but the bride does not get this privilege. In the other two types, there is a ritual of breaking away of the old alliance of the first husband's family.

*Vokka pariye* is otherwise known as *kutthinippo*. It is a device to avoid a family going without lineage heirs, when there are only daughters and no sons in the family. Usually, a man getting married through this custom will shift his residence to the woman's place. He gets the name of his wife's family. His children continue their mother's family name and lineage. *Makka Parije* is a different type of marriage. It is also known as *pachhadaknadapad*. It is an alternative system to *vokka pariye*. It enables a woman to marry with a view to beget a male issue to continue the lineage. According to the general practice, the woman might marry a person who is already married, in order to fulfill the purpose of having a male issue. But, in this case, the man continues to stay in his original family (does not change his residence). However, all his requirements are attended to by his new spouse. He will have no right to her property. The children born out of this union will continue their mother's family name and lineage. The above mentioned marriage customs are uncommon now-a-days; only *kannimangala* is the most popular system to-day. *Makkaparihe* is, perhaps, completely out of existence.

The Gowdas in Kodagu celebrate *dhare* marriage. These people once had the custom of performing cradle marriage (girl babies were tied *thali* in the cradle). Now-a-days a Gowda marriage is post-puberty celebration. The boy's family approaches the girl's family to seek their daughter in marriage. *Thera*, payment of bride-price is in practice. Decision of marriage some times, involves consent of the deity through the fall of flower from the idol. Some are still continuing this practice. Some of the important rituals of marriage are *veelaya sastra*, erecting the pandal, *dhare*, *mangalya dharana*, *nagoli*, etc. For *veelaya sastra* the boy's family goes to girl's family. In the verandah, on a wooden tripod plank a lamp is installed and by its side some betel leaves, arecanuts, money and rice are placed. Both the families sit across the tripod (*mukkali*) and agree to celebrate the marriage of their children. The boy's family presents as token of consent. *Salavali veelya*, *veelyasastrada veelya*, *banna bangarada veelya*, *maduve kuri veelya* and *guru veelya* to the girls family (*veelya* being betel leaves). With the day of marriage being finalised, invitations are distributed. On the previous day of the *muhurtha*, the Gowdas erect a pandal with twelve poles. The top of the poles are covered with a pot upside down. At the bottom of the poles, one small pot each are kept. *Dhare mantapas* is decorated with flowers. The assembled are entertained with a feast. In the respective houses of the bride-groom and the bride, a ritual called *enne arishina sastra* will be conducted when the marriage partners are given a bath after smearing them with turmeric powder and oil. They put on new dress after the bath. On the day of the *muhurtha*, in the *dhare pandal*, *enne arisina shastra* (smearing oil and turmeric powder to the hands and feet of the boy and girl) is held. The boy gets a shave and takes his bath. He wears a long shirt, dhoti and a turban. A *basinga* (*tiara* of gold colour) is tied to his forehead. The bride wears a new sari and a blouse with short sleeves. A *basinga* decorates her forehead. Under the pandal in their respective houses *aarathi* is waved to them and they walk on *nademadi* into their houses and offer *harake* to the family deities. They come back to the pandal and sit for the *muhurtha* celebration. The relatives and friends make gifts to the couple. Later, a dinner is arranged to all the people. The bride-groom's party moves to bride's place in the evening. All of them rest at the place.

Girl's mother offers milk and ghee to the bride-groom. Womenfolk of the boy's family will come to the pandal with *kalasa kannadi* (filled pot and mirror) and *banna, bangara* (vermilion and jewellery); they fill the sari *seragu* of the bride with the ingredients marking auspicious sentiment. At *dhare mantapa* the man who leads the bride-groom's party would make the payment of *thera* (Rs. 10.50) by putting it into a bronze vessel. The details of *thera* are as follows: A sum of Rs. six and a quarter is towards the girl's *muttaide- thana*; 50 paise for her expenditure on betel leaf and nut; Rs. 1.25 in honour of the locality; (*sthala maryade*). Rs. 1.25 to be kept apart at the bottom of *halemara* (one of the polls of the pandal); Rs. 1.25 towards performing *aarathi* (auspicious ritual with lighted lamps waved in front of the girl). Later, they honour the father's lineage, mother's lineage and Mahanadu *gothra* of the girl's family by presenting *veelya* separately. The priest hands over the *kalasa* to the bride's father. The bride-groom is led to the *dhare mantapa* (after duly respecting him with *aarathi*); whereas the bride is usually escorted by her maternal uncle to the *dhare mantapa*. As she enters the pandal the bridegroom remains behind a cloth screen called *antharapata*. The couple stretch their palms facing one another, and the holy water is poured on the joined palms. The bride-groom ties *mangalya* to the bride. Both of them with their hands locked are expected go round the *mantapa* three times. The bride-groom accompanies the bride to her house and returns to the *dhare mantapa*. Then, a dinner for all will be served. The procession of the bride- groom's party along with the bride reaches back home. The boy's maternal uncle is to be honoured before the *dampati muluria*. The following day, the *nagavalli* ritual is performed. It consists of the following activities. The bride carries the basket of manure. The bride-groom plants a *halugambha* plant sappling in the rear yard of the house. The bride provides manure to its growth. Later, the couple have their bath and wear the new clothes. With other formalities *nagavalli* comes to an end. The couple enter the house. On the fifth or the seventh day of the bride's arrival at her in-law's place, a ritual called *tuppada kattale* (carrying a pot of ghee) is performed. The groom carries ghee and *nellakki* to the bride's home and dine there with the blessings of the elders. The solar month Karkataka being inauspicious (July 15 to August 15th) the newly wedded couple are not supposed to see each other for a month. The bride goes to her parents. It is known as *Aati kuruvudu*.

The Yeravas establish the new family soon after marriage. The marriage season lasts about three months, commencing from February. Tuesday, Friday, and new Moon-day are regarded as inauspicious for holding marriage. The Yeravas have practised post-puberty marriage. The boy's family goes in search of a bride. The Yerava marriage, in many cases, is a matter of mutual agreement between a boy and a girl, because each of them would have known the other while working as agricultural labourers in the rice fields and the estates. The marriageable age of girls and boys will be 17-18 and 22-28 years respectively. The traditional marriage with all its customs (like erecting pandal) is of one kind; but elopement is another type; and it is not so common these days. Every now and then, one may hear about it. Such marriage is very inexpensive. Elopement of a boy and a girl may be due to the delay caused by the parents in celebrating the marriage. The couple run away to some forest hide-out and return after some days. Parents on both the sides gather and the guilty will be fined. In an arranged marriage, having got the consent of the girl's family, the boy's parents will fix a day for *veelya sastra*. The boy's mother will present a sari to the girl on the occasion, which marks the agreement reached between the two families. The girl is also presented with a ring made of silver (formerly a bracelet was offered). The boy's mother will tie

*mangalya* to the girl. Then, a dinner is hosted to bride-groom's family. This ceremony grants permission socially for the boy to visit his fiance. He carries some dishes to his in-law's family. He will fetch fire-wood from the forest. He will serve them like a member of their family. Now-a-days, the bride-groom may not do the traditional jobs at the residence of the girl. This custom is replaced by the payment of money. In fact, the Panjiri Yeravas are making a payment of Rs. 200-300 as *thera* to the bride's family. It should be paid to the bride's maternal uncle or the lineage elder of the family. But, this practice varies slightly with the Pani Yeravas, *Thera* is received by the bride's parents themselves. According the custom among the Yeravas, besides *thera* some money should be paid to the girl's mother, which is called *padipalambu*. In recent years, the Yeravas go to a brahmin or a temple priest to fix the date of marriage. The Yerava marriage has three important parts: *muhurta*, *dibbana* and *dampati mulurtha*. Marriage among these people is a two-day celebration. The *Kunjakara* among the Panjiri and the *Chammakara* among the Pani Yeravas shoulders the responsibility of the marriage. The first day of marriage at the boy's place (also at girl's place) is marked by erecting a pandal with 12 poles. One of which will be *halugamba*. It is decorated with flowers and mango leaves. The bride-groom will get ready by the after-noon to come and sit down on a mat in the pandal. The relatives present him with money. They all bless him. A dinner is hosted to the relatives. Similar function will be held at the bride's place. The next morning the bride-groom's party proceeds to the bride's residence and it is called *dibbana* (marriage procession). They reach the bride's place early in the morning. The procession halts under a tree-shade and rests. The pipers and drummers provide music. The bride's family approaches the bride-groom's party and leads them to their residence. A little treat with food and drink is served to the *dibbana* party. A gay atmosphere rends the air as both the bride-groom's and bride's parties start dancing separately for some time. Then the bride's parents officially invite the bride-groom's relatives and escort them to the marriage pandal. The bride-groom is dressed in a dhoti, white shirt, and the white turban. The turban is covered with a red cloth. (The boy wears a garland among the Pani-Yeravas). Whereas the bride will dress in red sari and a red blouse. She covers her head with a red cloth and wears a garland. As the bride-groom arrives at the *mantapa* he is treated with honour by performing *aarati*; he is given *veelya*, coconut, a lamp and a bamboo piece (*ande*) with some grains in it. He is shown the way to a mat and the bride joins him. They sit together on the mat. The invitees make gifts to the couple. The bride-groom helps the bride to wear the *mangalya* (black-bead chain). It consists of a *thali* to be tied by the bride-groom to his bride. The couple, thereafter, enter the house and respectfully bow down to gods and the ancestors. (among the Pani Yeravas, the girl's maternal-uncle ties a *thali* with a white bead necklace). The bride-groom's people will leave for their residence after dinner with the bride. At this place, the couple are received by performing *aarati* and they get inside the house. The bride is supposed to worship Ganga near the well. She will carry water in three pitchers. The relatives of the bride return after dinner. Among the Yeravas, the marriage expenses are more for the bride-groom's party.

The marriage celebration among the other original settlers in Kodagu is the same as Kodava marriage customs and traditions. However, there may be some differences in marriage based on people's beliefs and their way of life.

The immigrants in Kodagu have retained their original practices. But there may be some changes in customs and traditions which are due to the influence of the Kodavas. Whatever

changes are noticed due to modernization in other parts of Karnataka, are common to Kodagu also. As a case in point, the Kodavas now prefer to celebrate marriages in the Kodava Samaja hall. Their marriage, now, is of a short duration. The absolutely important customs, practices and traditions are followed.

*Brahma* type of marriage is the most common among the Brahmins. The girl's parents approach the boy's family to give their daughter in marriage as a *salankrita kanya* (fully adorned and bedecked maiden). There is no *thera* among the brahmins. Dowry has developed into a serious social evil in this community; but it is declining to a little extent. The brahmins do not marry within the same *gothra*. A brahmin marriage is arranged usually at the bride's residence. The following are the customs regarding a marriage in the brahmin community. A day previous to marriage, is meant to worship the home-god of the family and *Naandi* is held to invoke the ancestor's blessings. On the eve of the marriage ritual, treating the bride-groom (*vara pooja*) and his relatives is an important custom. He is given gifts by the girl's father. The following day, marriage commences with *Kashiyatra*, the *mangalashataka* (auspicious singing in praise of the Lord to bless the occasion), *dhare* (pouring rice in handfuls over each others' head by the couple), *mangalya dharana*, *laajahoma* and *saptapadi* (a symbolic walk around the *agni kunda* or *homa* (fire) altar) follow in order. The other customs like *nagavalli* and *griha pravesham* are also essential parts of a brahmin marriage.

In olden times, marriage preparations used to take away a lot of time. In fact, a few months in advance, the girl's family was getting ready with works connected with marriage. But, now all the customs are pruned to be over in a day with just the basic and important rituals being observed. The marriages mostly take place at choultries and temples, at present. Dowry, which was once prevalent among the brahmins has affected all the castes and classes of the society. No more, the people are confined to endogamous relations. They are now establishing marital connections even with other castes and religious groups.

The Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages Act, has made it compulsory to have marriages registered. During 1988-89, about 10 marriages were registered; and 1989-90, 18 marriages were reported to have been registered at the Office of the Sub Registrar (Marriages), Madikeri Taluk, Madikeri.

Recently, mass marriages have become rather common. This system has reduced marriage expenditure. Gifts and money from individuals and charities are very much useful to the couples. Many such mass marriages are conducted by reputed institutions and social workers. Many aspiring persons to get married will participate in mass marriages conducted at Dharmasthala.

The Muslim marriage is a contract between the parties involved in it. They allow the paternal cousins' children also to marry. The boy's parents approach the girl's parents with the help of a middle man to seek their girl in marriage to the boy. If the girl's parents are willing, the boy's parents go to their residence and the girl would be engaged to the boy. The parents on either side discuss and agree to conditions on *mehar* (valuables and money to be paid to the girl as the marriage expectation) and other presents to be exchanged between the two parties. The boy appears in a special attire on the day of marriage with *sehra* (flowers suspending through strings to cover his face) on horse back or in a car to the bride's residence. The Khaji or the Muslim priest

would make sure that both the parties have fulfilled their obligations, (according to the contract) specially regarding the payment of *mehar* and conducts the marriage in the presence of witnesses. The event is recorded with all their signatures obtained in the marriage register. He reads out the contract loudly to all those present in the function. This event is known as *nikha*. The Khaji prays for the couple and their well-being. The moment of happiness is shared by one and all by distributing sugar, almond, dates, betel leaf and arecanuts. He hands over the black bead (*lecha*) to the boy's mother. The other elderly women join to tie *lecha* to the girl. He also declares that the girl has married the man. The bride-groom enters the room with friends and relatives to see his bride. A few other customs relating to marriage like carrying *sihara* to the bride-groom's residence will be performed. The holy *Quoran* makes it imperative of three important aspects of a Muslim marriage. They are :agreement of both bride-groom and bride's families, signature of the witnesses and contracts of the marriage. The boy, after marriage, joins the girl's family to have food on the first Friday. Such family treats among the close relatives are arranged in honour of the bride-groom during the following three Fridays in the month. The Muslim call this practice as *Charjama*.

The Christian families of the boy and the girl meet at the latter's residence to discuss the details of marriage proposal and arrive at an agreement through the engagement ceremony at the Parish Church of the bride-groom's party. On this occasion the couple exchange rings with each other. The engagement ceremony is followed by either a dinner or tea. After the date of marriage has been fixed, the Parish Priest at every mass on Sundays announces the proposal of the two families and calls for any objection or reason for impediment to such marriage from among the congregators. This procedure is called *baans* or weekly announcements (three weeks preceding the marriage). Later, on the day of the marriage, the parish priest officiates and brings about the religious ceremonies required to bless the couple. Now-a- days, even the Christians have accepted *Mangalya dharana*. Exchanging rings is an important custom. The couple sign the marriage register in the presence of the witnesses. The celebration ends with some music followed by dinner.

### Dissolution of Marriage

Dissolution of marriage or divorce among the brahmins, Vaishyas, Kodavas and many other groups is very uncommon. According to Hindu marriage Act, divorce can be granted by the Court only under certain conditions. It should also be noted, similarly, that the Catholic Christian religious norms have not approved dissolution at all. The hill-tribes and others socially permit divorce to a couple. The elderly person or the leader of the tribe or the group would inquire into the problem and would punish the guilty for his or her lapse in married life. The Muslims also have practised divorce under religious sanction. When marriage fails, divorce is effected and the bride's people would have to return the bride-price completely or a portion of it to the bride-groom.

The widows and the divorcees are allowed to marry in most of the castes. It is known as *kudavali*. This custom is in practice among the Kodavas also. If a Kodava widow is inclined to marry again, she can do so in the same family where she is married to, she may choose to marry her husband's brother (younger) or even an outsider. *Kudavali* is a simple function. It would take place in a temple during the night. The man who is marrying a widow would make presents of new clothes to the woman and would host a dinner to all gathered on the occasion. If *thera* is in vogue

in their community, the man is obliged to pay half the usual payment of money (bride-price) to the woman. A woman married through *kudavalli* has no religious rights (unlike the woman married in the regular way) to take a leading part in both social and religious functions. It is believed that the person marrying a widow, would normally be a widower. If he was not one, he was expected to tie a *thali* to a plantain tree or milk weed (*Calotris; ekkadagida*) which would mean that the man is rendered a widower and hence the marriage. All sections of people in Kodagu regard monogamy as ideal. Polygamous relationships may not be seen in Kodagu. It is believed that the Kodavas practised a custom of keeping a woman as mistress by presenting a sari to her. Such a woman was called *pacchada ponnu*. The man could have discontinued the relationship with her whenever he wanted. The king Lingarajendra II abolished this practice.

### Funerary Practices

When a man is about to die, he is generally removed to the large premises (*baade*) in Kodava families; and by his side is kept a coconut, *tulasi* leaves, a bunch of grass and a gold coin. During the last moments of his breathing, a few drops of coconut water is poured into his mouth by wetting *tulasi* leaves and grass. His relatives put the gold coin in his mouth and drop some water. If the dead man is either married or elderly, every now and then, the Kodavas sport a pair of gun shots, and a single shot for the unmarried. The servants are sent for giving the death news to the nearby relatives. The dead body is made to lie on an inverted mat. Even the clothes on the body are also reversed. The Kodavas put *tulasi* garland around the dead man's neck. The Holeyas come and start beating *chavupare* on their drum till the funeral is conducted. The relatives take a dip in the water. Men usually cover their body while taking bath with white cloth tied around their waist. The Kodava women wear white sari to mark the death in the family. Having bathed, the men will take into their hands a plantain leaf on which a little boiled rice is served; a burning wick and a piece of coconut are kept. The men leave the plantain leaf or *koolu* at the corner of the lane and shout three times *Kettaro* by taking the name of the dead man. It is followed by a pair of gun shots. The men who have bathed remove the cloth covering their head and keep the right hand on the chest of the dead man and say *Kettaro* three times. In case the dead body is to be preserved over night, the Kodavas turn it upside-down with face in a bronze platter. The body is covered with white cloth. Later, four men and four women render the death song after the *koolu* is served in the lane. The dead person is given a bath and his face is shaven. The body is draped in white cloth. The body will be seated on *aymara* or a cot. If the dead person were a woman, she would be lying down on the mat. The Kodavas keep *taliyakki* near the dead person and light the lamp with cow's ghee in a coconut shell. This lamp is taken away with the dead person to the funeral ground. If the body is cremated, the lamp is thrown into the fire; if it is buried, the people pour out the rice and put the lamp in the pit. Women-folk in the house usually sit by the side of the dead body in a Kodava family. The relatives coming to see the dead person bring a rifle, white cloth and the musical instrument. These items are called *kellati*. The white cloth is *muri*, which is used to wrap the body. On the death of a woman, people from her parents house bring with them a coconut, some coconut oil, fried meat and egg curry; also turmeric rice and three delicacies baked in castor oil. These ingredients constitute *sameya*. The dead body is taken to the graveyard in the afternoon after *rahukala*. Men change shoulders while carrying the corpse. The Kodavas had a custom called *anga muripa* in the past. It is not in practice now. According to this custom, besides the castor lamp, on a

wooden plank, in a *puttari pacchi*, they used to keep some measure of paddy, a basket full of rice and on the top of it a coconut and small iron arrow. These are placed in the front yard. A Holey wearing the new *dhoti* given to him by the Kodava family stood waiting in *deeksha*. It is to observe their Mengathe. Other Holeyas used to beat their chest expressing sorrow in tune with the music and dance round the wooden plank. The funeral site is referred to as *kekala* or *tutangala*. A member of the *aruva* family fetches fire-wood for cremation. The dead body will be seated on a chair or cot to be carried to the funeral spot. Small bunches of pepper leaves will be tied to the wooden frame on all corners of the chair. The relatives pour some water into the mouth of the dead man by wetting *tulasi* leaves and *garika* (Brahma) grass. Then, the funeral procession begins. On the way, the accompanying men keep throwing turmeric-rice and coins on the corpse. Shade with an umbrella covered with white cloth is provided to the dead body. During the funeral rites, the body would lie with head towards the south.

In the grave yard the dead person's husband or wife and children and the other relatives take a bath to perform the rites. The spouse (man or woman) carries a water pot on his/her head. His/her eldest son carries a coconut and the nephew carries a pitcher on his head. (All these rituals are performed by some relatives, in case the dead person does not have any one of the family members). While going round the dead body in the anti-clock direction the water-pot and the coconut are poked to have holes; the water pours out from the pot and also from the coconut. The spouse, then stands at the head and the children at the feet of the dead; the son-in-law stands on the right side of the corpse. Some water from the pot is collected in a bronze container little by little. Again, they go round the body and break both the pot and the coconut. It is followed by pouring water into the mouth of the dead in drops by wetting *tulasi* leaves and *garika* grass. If cremation is the practice, a stick with the burning flame (*terangolli*) is used to light the funeral pyre. This ritual is the religious duty of the living spouse. Like cremation, a burial is followed by many rites. Prior to burying the dead, the people gathering at the funeral, drop hand-full of earth on the dead person three times. While returning from the grave-yard, member of the *aruva* family leaves the food packet behind, near the head direction where the dead had been placed. The way leading homewards would be blocked, with a bunch of thorny twigs while returning. All of them bathe again and reach home. Until funerary rites are over, food is not cooked in the family. The family members are supposed to eat pieces of raw banana (after funeral) cut from the bunch of a plantain tree, given by the *aruva* family. It is called *chatapukkava*. The bones of the cremated are collected and immersed in the river on the third day of the funeral. There is also a practice of burying the bones in a pit under a milk-oozing plant. Some paddy and mustard seeds are sown and watered at the spot. If a person dies in some other town or village, he/she may be cremated or buried in that place itself. But, the funeral ceremonies are conducted at the person's home town. Some bones, nails and locks of hair and some earth from the place of burial of the dead person are brought to his town for a proper religious funeral. The rites are conducted and it is called *chavavole*. The family of the dead person observes pollution for eleven days.

There are two kinds of *deeksha*, in performing the death rites- *mengathenippa* and *kuliknipa*. Those who observe rites for eleven days are *mengathenippa*, the others who observe rites completely from the day of the death of the person, till going to a pilgrimage centre to offer pinda in his/her name are referred to as *kuliknipa*. The spouse of the dead person must observe *kuliknipa deeksha*.



Persons observing *kuliknipa deeksha* feed fishes with rice in wells and tanks during the first three days of funeral rites. It is known as *neerbali*. From the commencement of the fourth day, some rice is cooked outside the house and served on a plantain leaf; it is called *karebali*. From the seventh to the eleventh day of death, boiled rice is offered to the crow out of the food the person conducting the rites partakes (before he eats) on a pole (*belimara*) erected in front of his house. It is called *kakek koolbeppa*. The eleventh day marks the celebration of obsequies. They are *pannand*, *kulichumbad* and *maada*. Till the funeral rites are completed the dead man's family is referred to as *theeke mane*. With obsequies coming to an end, after dinner at noon, some four men beat *dudi* and praise the dead. It is called *Polichipaduva*. In the case of death of an unmarried woman, a ritual marriage by garlanding the corpse by a hay man (a mock hay figure), and in the case of an unmarried man the rite of garlanding a plantain tree by the dead, symbolic of his marriage, are performed.

The Gowda families in Kodagu mark the death of a person by a pair of gun shots. When a person is dying, 'Ganga water' (holy water) is poured into his mouth. Sometimes, it is also a practice with these people that some rice and water are kept in a container and *tulasi* (basil) leaves are dipped in it to wet the lips of the dead person by a few drops of water. Relatives also pour water into the dead man's mouth. The message is sent to all the relatives. The funeral will be arranged in the forest region. Oil and turmeric mixture is smeared with *garike* grass over the body and a bath is given. The persons who are supposed to do the rituals connected with death, take bath and go round the corpse three times. Later, the body is carried on a bier with the accompaniment of instrumental music. Midway, while carrying the corpse, the bier is placed on the ground, food is offered to the corpse and the bier carriers change their positions and carry it to the cremation ground. The body is kept on the ground when the pyre is arranged. The carriers of the body go round the pyre three times and place the corpse on it. The pyre is lit and the flames consume the body. The unburnt fire-wood is properly arranged and it will be burnt again the next day. Some portion of these remains are later immersed in the river. It is called third-day purification ritual (*murara shuddhi*). Relatives and married daughters send rice and coconuts, etc. for the expenses of the funerary rites and is called *saraku kaluhisuvudu* (supplying the materials). Besides, there are many other customs and rituals associated with obsequies like erecting the pandal, preparing the *jaalagudu*, *shuddhi* (purification), helping to get into the heaven (*swarga sallike*), *bojja*, *hadinarara kolege serisuvike* and offering oblations (*pinda*), etc. On the eleventh day, a dinner in honour of the dead is arranged. On the day of purification, the man observes *deeksha* will have his head shaven and go to the pilgrimage centre to offer oblations (*pinda*). During Diwali, in remembrance of the dead, the family members offer *avulu*, a ritual commonly observed. On the first day of the lunar month Kartika, the deceased men get offerings; whereas the deceased women get the offerings on the last day of the Aswija month (on *amavasya*). The offering is made to women before dawn which consists of beaten rice, jaggery, plantain and coconut peels served on a plantain leaf. Every year during the solar month of Mithuna, the Gowdas in Kodagu offer oblations (*pinda*). They observe pollution for 11 days on death. The dead children are buried.

The Yeravas bury the dead person. The Pani-Yeravas send for the *Chammakara* if some one dies in the family. He sends people on different tasks to meet this contingency. The Pani Yeravas generally bury the dead in the evening. The dead body is bathed and is lied on a mat. The body is carried on a bier to the grave yard, with *chammakara* leading them. The *attali* (the Pani-Yerava

priest) holds some money and grains in his hand and informs the ancestors about the death of the person. At the place of funeral, the grave yard is purified with cow-dung water before the bier is placed there. They break a pot as a part of ritual and wrap the corpse with a white cloth. The people who have gathered there go round the dead body three times in order to show their last respects. When the burial pit is ready the corpse is carried round the pit three times, before its burial. The body rests with its head southwards and its face eastwards. The man's wife removes *thali* and bangles as a mark of widowhood; she puts these things on the dead body. The *chammakara* is the first man to throw three handful of earth on the corpse; the others follow suit and the body is buried. Thorny twigs are spread over the tomb. The priest leaves a brass bangle on the mound near the head and stands silently for a minute at the feet of the dead to invoke the ancestral spirits and to request them to guard the corpse, not to frighten the dead person and promise that after seven days funeral rites would be performed promptly. Later, the mourners return home. Among the Pani Yeravas, the *rites-de-passage* continue upto the ninth day noon. The seventh day rites are called *eayi*. On this day, the children of the dead person, *chamma* and *attali* (with a few relatives) go to the burial place to perform certain rites. The priest (*attali*) picks up the brass bangle and calls the spirit of the dead man into it and goes back home; and the death rites continue. During the eighth month a ritual called *panderu* is performed to enable the dead person's spouse to end the period of mourning and to set him/her free for a remarriage. The Pani Yeravas gather again in July to please their ancestors through a dinner which is known as *shattavarang undicheyi*.

Among the Panjiri Yeravas, the *kunjakara* assumes the responsibility of conducting the funeral of the dead. If the dead person is a man, his brothers and children perform the rites. If a woman dies, her mother's relatives are involved in the rites. The corpse is bathed and wrapped in white cloth and then shifted on to a bier; four brass bangles are tied to the four corners of the bier. Coconuts (one each) are broken at the head and the feet of the corpse while lifting it to the burial ground. Midway, the bier is put down on the ground to sprinkle some water on the corpse and to make the wife of the dead to take the *thali*, which is given to the *chamma*. Then, the womenfolk return home. The others proceed to the burial ground. After the Chamma prays the ancestors to guard the dead from the wild beasts, the body is buried. The pit is covered after *kunjakara* pours a handful of earth on the corpse. On the mound, a branch of *sivani* (*Gmelina arborea* Linn) is planted. At the centre, a brass bangle is kept. Thorny twigs are spread over the grave. The Panjiri Yeravas bury the dead body before evening. The funeral rites commence on the eleventh day in the evening. A pandal is erected in the premises of the house and it is covered with *nerale* (*jambolana*) tree branches. The eldest son of the dead person, *kunjakara*, *karmi* and other relatives go to the burial ground, lay food offerings near the grave and invite the ancestors to come and partake the same. Some remaining food (after the rituals) called *pitrushesha* is shared by all who are present. Meanwhile, the *Kunjakara* invites the spirit of the dead person to enter into the brass bangle. They come back to the place of death, offer food to all the ancestors. They erect a small pandal of plantain tree trunks to keep the brass bangle there, sacrifice an animal and pray. In the premises of the house, the Panjiri Yeravas draw the figures of the ancestors and sing the death songs. The womenfolk come out crying and fall on the drawings, when the singing ends. It marks the end of the death rites. It will be around midnight by then, and a dinner is served to all. Once again, the mourning songs continue upto the following day. Only after feeding the crows with turmeric rice,

all others eat. The relatives go back home when all the rites are completed. It is interesting to find that the Panjiri Yeravas being matrilineal, allow their sons to perform *rites-de-passage*. Finally, the mother's relatives (brother) of the dead man and the head of their *chamma* join to arrange *kuta* for the family members of deceased. Usually, such a gathering will be arranged six months after the funeral rites. The spouse of the deceased will then be entitled to marry again. Till such time (arranging the *kuta*), the Panjiri-Yerava widow or widower cannot re-marry, eat meat and drink liquor, and has to observe mourning. Rites on this occasion are much the same as those on the 12th day. The head of the *chamma* makes a gift of clothes to the spouse of the dead person. Similarly, the maternal uncle make gifts of clothes and vessels to the *chamma* head: Making gifts is the important part of this function. All the families of the *chamma* gather in a year to remember the ancestors by feeding them on a given day, in order to invoke their blessings.

All the other original settlers of Kodagu district, mostly follow the funeral rites of the Kodavas. But the immigrants to Kodagu continue to follow their own customs.

The Muslims call a Khaji or Maulvi in the event of a death in a family. *Kalima* is recited to the dying man. Some drops of honey are put into the mouth of the person. The dead person is bathed and wrapped in a white cloth. The women-folk mourn the death of the person. It is called *aajha*. The body is carried to the burial ground and is placed by the side of the pit, before it is buried. This spot is called *tahad*. The Imam renders prayer to the Lord and then the body is buried with its head northwards and the face towards Mecca. The pit is filled with earth. The people return home after praying again. (The womenfolk are not expected to visit the grave yard). The holly *Quoran* reciting is the custom on the third day at the tomb. The family conducts prayers once in ten days upto the 40th day. A dinner to relatives is arranged on the 40th day, during the fourth, sixth and ninth month and at the end of the year. Stones are erected on the tomb. The concave surface of the top of the tomb indicates a woman's tomb; whereas an elevated arrangement is symbolic of a man's tomb.

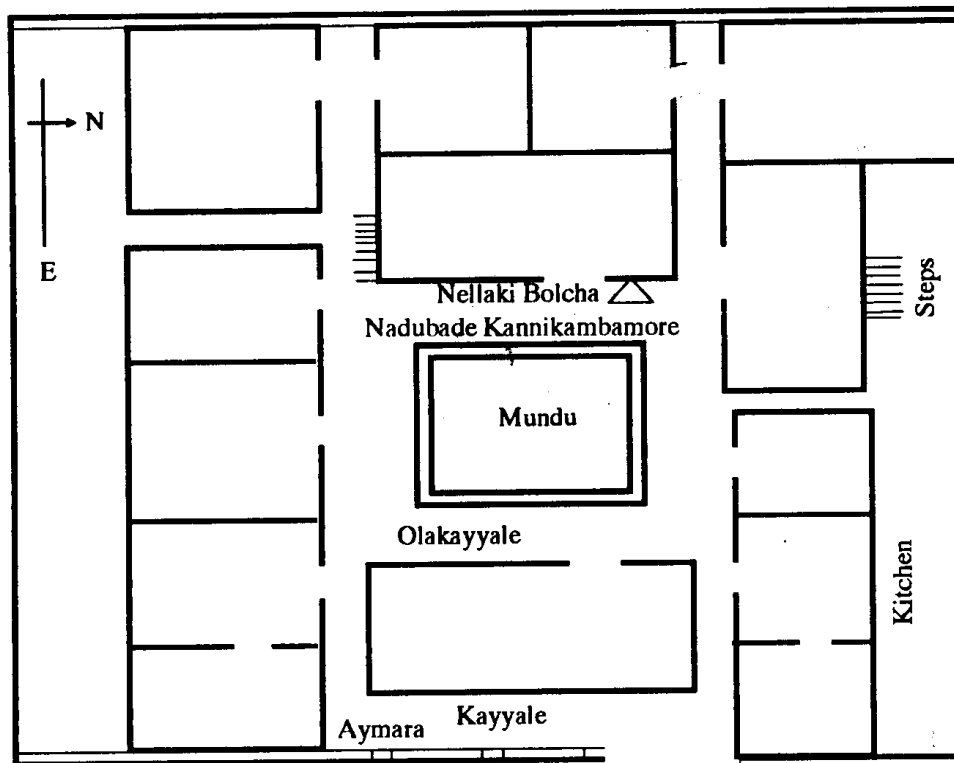
The Parish priest will be called at the critical moment of a dying Christian. Among the Roman Catholics, the priest prays as the last rite, Extreme Unction is performed. The deceased is smeared with sacred oil all over the body and the head. When a person dies, the dead body is bathed and placed on a raised platform. The candle burns constantly by his side. The Cross is kept on his chest. The holy water container will be at the feet. All the visitors sprinkle holy water on the deceased. After placing the body in the coffin, the elite call for the hearse which is accompanied by pall bearers dressed in black and the hearse is moved to the parish church. The poor people who cannot hire a hearse are content with a van or a horse driven carriage which are meant for the purpose. The priest sprinkles holy water on the dead body and blesses it. Then, burial takes place. The Roman Catholics pray specially for the dead on the 3rd, 10th and 37th day in the church. But, the Protestants arrange a special prayer on the 10th day only. Christians in general do not observe pollution due to the death in the family.

## DOMESTIC LIFE

**Houses**

The Kodava *aynmane* is very distinct. It is an ancestral home. It is also called *balyamane*. Such a home represents the Kodava ideals of life and culture. Both inauspicious and happy events relating to people in the family are conducted at the *aynmane*. These homes used to be very large and compounded all around. *Aynmane* would be constructed at an elevated place and it faces the East. There would be steps at the entrance leading to the *kayyale* or verandah. The pillars holding the roof of *kayyale* are attached to bench like wooden planks known as *aynmane*. Entry further into the house, leads to the central hall, *padasale* which, is designed like a square in appearance. It is known as *volakayyale*. At the centre there is a rectangular open adrange called *mundu* with four corner pillars. There would be many rooms round the *volakayyale* and one corner is marked for divine presence, called as *Kannikombara*. Here the *karona*, the ancestral man of the family is worshipped on occasions of feast and festival by offering food prepared at home (*meedi*). The lamp lit in *Kannikombara* is the symbol of *karona*. Even the kitchen is a sacred place for the Kodavas. Mud ovens, facing East are constructed in the kitchen. Wooden benches round the *mundu* being fixed to the pillars are referred to as *aymara*. These seats are believed to be holy and women are not supposed to sit on them. The area round the *mundu* is called *nellakki nadubade*. Near the west-side wall in the *mundu* the Kodavas keep on oil lamp at a corner in the niche eastwards. It is called *nellakki bolicha*. There will be a hanging lamp nearby called *tukam bolicha*. The women-folk light the lamp every day in the morning and evening and bow down to it respectfully. All the auspicious events in the family are conducted in front of *tukambolicha*, which stands as witness to the happenings. On occasions of festivals, prayers are offered before it. *Aymara*, *Kannikombara*, the kitchen and *Nellakki nadubade* are the sacred places in a Kodava house. The garden around the house is an ancestral inheritance to the Kodavas. Beyond the garden, the forest area extends. There will be a *kaimada* near the *aynmane*. It is the abode of the ancestors and the spirits. It is like a temple of the dead ancestors for the family, to be worshipped by the family members. Occasions calling for the worship of *karona* make a Kodava to light the lamp even at the *kaimada* and offer food prepared at home. A *kaimada* is a small structure with a single room, with entrance from the East. One can find in such a temple the human figures carved in wood and fixed to metal plates; besides, there may be some stones without any form. Even some belongings of the deceased persons of the family are placed nearby the figures. In the region of Kiggattunadu there is a practice of constructing a raised platform for the ancestors around a tree (which oozes liquid from the stem if it is cut or *halumara*). In some places of Kiggattunadu, in honour of the persons who fell in wars, big *kaimada* complexes have been constructed.

A rough sketch of the *balyamane* of the Mukkatira family of kunjageri is given on page 196. The places of burying the dead in *vokka* gardens are called *kekala* and the places of cremation are known as *tutangala*.



The rough lay-out of the *balya (ayn) mane* of the Mukkatira family at Kunjalageri

The rectangular shaped house is referred to as *nalketmane*. In some *aynmane*, the *mundu* will not be there. The Gowdas, barbers, Peggades and also a few local groups, possess of *aynmane*, the ancestral home, similar to that of the Kodavas.

Hill Tribes like the Yerava, Jenu Kuruba, and Bettakuruba build huts with mud-walls and the roof is covered with grass. Such huts are constructed on an elevated place lest water enters into the huts during the rainy season. Each wall measures about one foot to one-and-half feet in thickness. The internal structure of walls consists of bamboo splits. The floor of the house, is smeared with cow-dung. The premises are kept clean with *rangoli* decoration. This place is used for sitting. There will be a *verandah* for the family members for sitting inside the house. Further at the interior is the kitchen. The government colony meant for the tribals have tiled roofs.

Huts and hutments are common in both towns and villages throughout Kodagu. There are also houses with country-tiled roofs mostly gabled and steep in inclination and red-tiled roofs to suit the needs of heavy rain fall. The rich and the estate owners have built cement-concrete houses both in the estates and towns. In front of the houses, the Brahmins, Vaishyas and the Kodavas, etc. have a place for *tulasi* (basil) plant.

The Census Report in 1981 enumerated that out of 93,615 households, about 25,365 possessed the houses with roofs of grass, leaves, reeds, thatch, wood, mud, bamboos and unburnt bricks (Rural:24,070; urban: 1,295). As many as 65,360 houses had tiles, slate or shingle (Rural 53,650; urban: 11,710); and about 320 households possessed corrugated iron zinc or other metal sheet

roofed houses (Rural: 210; urban: 110), similarly, about 470 households had houses of concrete slabs or asbestos sheets for roofing (Rural: 230; urban:240); some 205 households lived in houses of brick, stone and lime (Rural:175; urban:30). About 20 households had the house with stone slabs covering the roof (Rural:10;urban:13). In the same way, 535 households had R.C.C. roofing (Rural:200;urban:335). But many others, about 1,340 households had used all other materials, and materials not stated, for roofing their houses (Rural:1,130;urban:210). The walls of the houses were as follows: About 8,580 households constructed the wall of grass, leaves, reeds or bamboo (Rural: 8,050; urban:530). The mud walls were seen in 45,310 houses (Rural:41,250; urban: 4,060). The households living in the houses with walls of unburnt bricks were 13,145 (Rural:11,660; urban: 1,485). Some households lived in houses having wood walls. They numbered 160 (Rural : 115; urban: 45). However, more households (25,390) lived in houses walled with burnt bricks (Rural: 17,795; urban: 7,595). Ninety households had houses of walls of zinc or other metalsheets; and about 635 households used stone walls for their housing. About 150 households put the cement blocks for the wall of their house and the rest, about 150 households used all other materials and materials not stated, for the walls. According to the Census in 1981, about 65,260 households had mud flooring (Rural: 60,095; urban: 5,165). As many as 1,085 households had houses with bamboo or log flooring. Whereas 455 households had used brick, stone and lime for flooring of their houses. As many as 26,235 households had cement concrete flooring houses (Rural:17,850; urban: 8,385). Mosaic tile flooring could be seen in 190 houses. Further, the Census of 1981 revealed that the size of the households in relation to its members and they were as follows: Single member households: 6,795; two member households: 10,335; three-member households: 13,080; four-member households: 16,215; five member households: 15,620. The rest, about 32,800 households consisted of six and more than six members. The Census Report (1981) has also listed houses with number of rooms in them. It is as follows: 20,075 households had a single roomed accommodation; 31,655 households possessed two roomed accommodation; 17,235 households lived in three roomed homes; 8,830 households enjoyed four-roomed residences; 4,945 households lived in spacious five-roomed buildings. The rest of the households in Kodagu lived with much better accommodation. A small section of population, about 310 households, lived in houses with no rooms. The table below gives the number of households having the facility of electricity and lavatory.

The following table shows the number of households enjoying the facility of Electricity and Lavatory in each taluk in Kodagu District.

| Taluku          | Total Households |        |        | Households with electricity |        |       | Houses with Lavatory |        |       |
|-----------------|------------------|--------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|-------|----------------------|--------|-------|
|                 | Own              | Rented | Total  | Own                         | Rented | Total | Own                  | Rented | Total |
| 1               | 2                | 3      | 4      | 5                           | 6      | 7     | 8                    | 9      | 10    |
| <b>Madikeri</b> |                  |        |        |                             |        |       |                      |        |       |
| Rural           | 12,665           | 5,920  | 18,585 | 1,350                       | 720    | 2,070 | -                    | -      | -     |
| Urban           | 1,575            | 3,070  | 4,645  | 1,060                       | 2,090  | 3,150 | 1,015                | 2,075  | 3,090 |
| Total           | 14,540           | 8,990  | 23,230 | 2,410                       | 2,810  | 5,220 | -                    | -      | -     |

| 1                     | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5     | 6     | 7      | 8     | 9     | 10    |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>Somvarpet</b>      |        |        |        |       |       |        |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 16,060 | 11,035 | 27,095 | 2,175 | 2,020 | 4,195  | -     | -     | -     |
| Urban                 | 2,220  | 2,870  | 5,090  | 935   | 1,630 | 2,565  | 1,080 | 1,735 | 2,815 |
| Total                 | 18,280 | 13,905 | 32,185 | 3,110 | 3,650 | 6,760  | -     | -     | -     |
| <b>Virajpet</b>       |        |        |        |       |       |        |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 16,530 | 17,465 | 33,995 | 1,690 | 1,905 | 3,595  | -     | -     | -     |
| Urban                 | 1,175  | 3,030  | 4,205  | 630   | 1,405 | 2,035  | 655   | 1,450 | 2,105 |
| Total                 | 17,705 | 20,495 | 38,200 | 2,320 | 3,310 | 5,630  | -     | -     | -     |
| <b>District Total</b> |        |        |        |       |       |        |       |       |       |
| Rural                 | 45,555 | 34,120 | 79,675 | 5,215 | 4,645 | 9,860  | -     | -     | -     |
| Urban                 | 4,970  | 8,970  | 13,940 | 2,625 | 5,125 | 7,750  | 2,750 | 5,210 | 7,960 |
| Total                 | 50,225 | 43,390 | 93,615 | 7,840 | 9,770 | 17,610 | -     | -     | -     |

### Food and Drink

The Kodavas take their breakfast between 8.30 and 9.00 in the morning. *Akkirotti* (a cake made of rice flour) is a Kodava favourite. During the rainy season, the break-fast (*akkirotti*) is taken with jack fruit seed, horse-gram powder and dried meat. Lunch hour for a Kodava is between 1.30 P.M. and 2 P.M. The items for lunch are rice, curry, vegetable and meat; butter-milk is the usual drink. The Kodavas are fond of pork. In the evenings, tea goes with *dosai* (cake) and *talipittu* (*rotti* baked in a dish like vessel). The supper consists of rice and curry. Many Kodavas enjoy *akkirotti* and meat in the night. They fast on the festival occasions like Subrahmanya Shasti and the day of celebration of *grama-devatha* festival (*pattani*). During Tula Sankraman (October) the Kodavas specially prepare pumpkin curry and *dosa*. besides, using honey for morning food. For *kani pooja*, the family prepares recipes like sweetened rice of liquid consistency called *payasa* and idli cooked on a plate. During lunch, rice, curry and *payasa* of rice are the main items. Huttari is a jubilant occasion for the Kodavas. They prepare *tambittu* (made of rice flour, jaggery, coconut and *til*). They cook a root (tuber) called *huttari genasu* of sweet taste to be eaten with jaggery, honey and ghee. The villagers use a wooden plank (*mane* or *paliya*) to sit on while eating in a bronze plate, placed in front of the person on a small bronze tripod. During the *Kailpold* feast, the Kodavas prepare a recipe made from broken-rice called *tadambittu* and pork dish. In the solar month, of Karkataka, on the 18th day, the people prepare a liquid recipe from a plant known as *madduthoppu* and partake it.

The staple food of all others in the district is also rice. Different kinds of preparations are made from rice. The Jenu Kuruba, Betta Kuruba, Yerava and other hill-tribes still supplement their food with roots and tubers found in forests. Some people prepare boiled rice liquid consistency called *ambali* to be consumed with a pinch of salt.

A few regular items of dishes in the hotels are *idli*, *vade*, *chapati*, *puri* etc. Vegetables used in preparation are cucumber, pumpkin, greens, brinjal, raw-plantain, beans, onion etc. These

vegetables are cooked into tasteful curries. Coffee and tea are regular beverages among all in Kodagu. Arrack and toddy drinking is also very common. Indian made foreign drinks like brandy, whisky and beer are the choice of the rich people. Spirituous liquors in Kodava life are very much desirable like pork, their favourite meat. Smoking tobacco in various forms is rather common. Not many are attracted by snuff.

### Dress

The Kodava special dress consists of black gown with short sleeves called *kuppasa* (long gown which reaches the knee), a dhoti, a turban, a small knife (*peche katti*), *panimandethuni* (napkin to cover the head) and *chele* (tied around the waist). The *chele* is used to tie the *kuppasa* tightly at the waist and to hold *peechekatti* (Knife). *Chele* is a silk cloth with floral designs. The knots of the *chele* hang on to the left-side designs. The white *kuppasa* is the dress of the bride-groom. The Kodava women dress in sari in a distinct fashion. All the pleats are held at the back into folds. This practice has something to do with the river Cauvery taking an immediate turn to right in her flow at Balamuri, according to tradition. The women wear blouses with long sleeves. The elderly ladies tie a scarf round the head. Modernity appeared in Kodava women with shortening their blouse sleeves and getting their hair bobbed. The villagers in Kodagu (men) sport modern dresses like pants and shirts. The tradition-bound old people among the non-Kodavas are still wearing *dhoti*. The casual wear at home for many men is *datti*. There is no variety in dress among the hill-tribes; at times they are too poor to wear for decency. They go out for work as labourers, and hence, their dress consists of shorts and banians. The townsmen, the estate owners and the landlords show up with costly dresses. A Kodava widow is to wear a white sari and a white long sleeved blouse and it is regarded respectable. Long time ago, there used to be differences in dress and appearance between the married and unmarried Kodava women, but not now. The Kodava men wear shorts and shirts while at work in the fields and gardens, but otherwise, they put on shirts. Most of them are used to boots and canvas shoes.

### Domestic Furniture

Rich and the better-off people furnish their homes with decent sofa sets, chairs, tables, dining sets, cots, refrigerators etc. Many of these items reflect a high status of the family, because they are quality goods and articles on which art designs are lavishly carved. These furnitures are made of quality wood. People with ordinary means equip the house with steel chairs, tables and cots. Mats and rugs are spread on the floor. The hill-tribes and also very poor people use the palm-mat and country rugs (*kambali*) for sitting on the floor. The winter in Kodagu forces people to keep themselves warm by using such rugs. Rains in Kodagu invariably make one to constantly use an umbrella. Gum-boots provide safety to persons to escape the attack of leaches in the estates and in the fields. The agricultural labourers use *gorabu* (or *garage* made of bamboo split and palm leaves) to move about in rains; storage methods involve a number of materials to protect and preserve grains; pots of all kinds of size and shape were being used. Brass vessels were rather common in all families. Cooking was done in pots, brass vessels and stone containers called *marige*. Water was stored and carried in pots made of copper or earth; grains used to be stored in large *gudana* (large-sized earthen containers). Pickles and salt were put in stone containers. The tribes and the



poor people in Kodagu were using containers of bamboo known as *ande* resembling tubes. Even seeds were preserved in such containers. *Ande* used to be a water container also. The wealthy families were using silver-ware as a mark of higher status and respectability. Now vessels of alluminium, hindalium and stainless steel are used. These goods have pushed back the earthen, brass and copper vessels and containers. Alluminium and stainless-steel containers are common. However, the tribal and poor families mostly use earthen pots. The valuables were used to be preserved in steel trunks. Now steel almirah and cup-boards have taken the place of old ones. Grains are stored in large metal and plastic drums. Plastic pitcher and buckets are used to store water. Water heating required a large-sized pot in the past. The middle class and the rich people use copper and brass containers. In the towns electric water heaters are in use. The bronze plate is no longer in use, because stainless steel ones have become more popular. Rural electrification has reduced the consumption of kerosene for lighting lamps in homes. Cooking is done mainly with fire-wood in villages. The town-people have alternative fuels like kerosene, petroleum gas and electricity to firewood.

### Jewellery

The Kodava jewellery is not so different from that of such articles possessed and worn by the others in this district. The Kodava women wear *kattinagara*, *chandranagara* and *changole* as necklace made of gold. *Pattaku*, a golden pendant having the figure of Goddess Lakshmi is attached to necklaces. *Jomale* is also a chain of a certain pattern. Jewellery to ears made of gold like *kole* and *kondole* (gold rings worn one below another on the edges of the ears) are common among the Kodava women. Bracelets and bangles (a pair) are also common. Jewellery to adorn the nose *muguti* has become a rare item. A small golden pendant called *jadebille* (worn in the hair at the back) may be seen only during marriages, and women sport all the traditional jewellery at that time. During the marriage, glass bangles are worn. Toe-rings symbolise the fact that the woman wearing it is married. In Kodava society, red dress of a woman also indicates a similar status. The rich and the middle class women are exposed to modern cosmetics like snow, powder, toilet soaps and lipsticks. Soaps and detergents are used for washing clothes. Many poor people use soap-nut powder in their houses. The hill-tribes and other poor people cannot even dream of gold and silver jewellery. They wear gold-coated base metal jewellery. The hill tribes wear the colourful beads made of glass and crystals in their necklaces and other ornaments.

### Festivals

The Hindus celebrate several festivals, they practise vows (*vrata*) in the name of gods and saints. The population in Kodagu consisting of original immigrants from Kerala, Dakshina Kannada, Mysore, and Hassan has a distinct set of practices regarding festivals. The important Kodava festivals are *Kailpoldu*, *Tula Sankramana* and *Huttari*. The Hindus celebrate Ugadi during March- April, the first day of the Lunar calendar. The houses are decorated with mango leaves and festoons. After taking oil bath, people worship God and eat the mixture of neem flower and jaggery, the symbol of balance needed to face bitterness and happiness in life. At lunch, special preparations are served. During the evening or night *Panchanga* recitation (Almanac reading) follows. The next day some go hunting. In some parts, the first ploughing called *honnaru* (literally

golden plough) is celebrated. On the ninth day, of the first half of lunar month of *Chaitra* (March-April) the birth celebration of Lord Sri Rama is observed. Another festival, Basava Jayanthi is observed on the *Akshaya trithiya* the third day of the first half of the lunar month of *vaishaka*. The eleventh day of the first half of *Ashada* (July) is observed as the Prathama Ekadashi; the fifth day of the first half of *Shravana* (August) is observed as Nagapanchami and the eighth day of the second half of *Shravana* is the birth day of Lord Krishna, observed as Gokulashtami. The more popular Gowri-Ganesha festivals are observed on the third and fourth of the first half of the *Bhadrapada* month (September). The celebration of Navarathri (a nine-day worship of Durga) during the first nine days in the first half of *Ashwija* in September-October is a major festival and, every day the Hindus light the lamps at God's place in the house which are kept burning continuously. Navarathri is enjoyed more by people because it is an occasion to arrange a doll show which has a social significance. Children, in the evenings, visit various houses to sing and dance. They are entertained by eatables. The seventh day is celebrated to worship Goddess Saraswathi and the eighth day is devoted to Durga. Mahanavami is to follow Durgapuja and it is meant as the festival of the sons. Thus, the nine-day celebrations end on the tenth day called Vijayadashami. The images of Gods from all temples are taken in a procession at Madikeri. It is observed on a grand scale. The processions starts on Vijayadashami at four in the afternoon and it continuous even the following day to cover the whole town. Now-a-days Vijayadashami is being observed at Gonikoppal also on a grand scale. The 14th day of second half of *Ashwija*, the new moon day on the next day and the first day of the first half of *Karthika* in October-November are observed as Deepavali festival. It is observed more joyously and religiously by the immigrants in Kodagu than the local people. *Makara Sankranthi* on January 14th is the day when *Uttarayana* starts. It is one of the festivals popularly celebrated throughout Kodagu. People distribute jaggery and til to the neighbours. *Shivarathri* is another big festival in Kodagu in February. The people keep awake the whole night to worship Lord Siva. A big *Jathra* at Irpu near Srimangala is popular in Kodagu. *Upakarma* (the thread ceremony) in August is the festival when the sacred thread is renewed by the brahmins, Vaishyas and others.

Some of the festivals of Jaina in Kodagu are as follows: *Pajjusanaparva*, *Deepavali*, *Jnyanapanchami*, *Nagapanchami*, *Yugadi*, *Mahaveera Jayanthi*, *Upakarma*, *Gowri Festival*, *Jeevadayastami* (on the eighth day of Dasara), *Jinarathri*, *Akshaya Tritiya*, *Shruthapanchami*, *Dashalakshana parva* and others. The festivals mostly involve fasting and praying.

The important festivals among the Muslims are *Muharram*, *Ramzan* and *Bakrid*. During these festivals, Muslims dress themselves in new clothes and pray at the *Idga*. They fast in the day time during the month Ramzan. In addition to these festivals, there are a few others like *Shab-e-Barath*, *Rabi-us-San*, *Rabi-ul-Awal*, *Akhri Charashumbha*, etc.

The new year for Christians begins on the 1st of January every year. They observe Good-Friday, Easter-Sunday, the birth day of Immaculate Mary on the 8th September and Christmas. All these are common to Christians in general. Konkani Christians celebrate *Montimate* festival to commemorate the birth of Mary. They worship Mary with flowers in the Church. It is an occasion of joyous celebration. They sing songs in praise of Mary. They cook special food for the family. Meat and drink are prohibited on this day.

### Kailpold

Kailpold is characteristically a Kodava feast celebrated during the 2nd or 3rd of September. In Naalkunadu and Muthnadu people fix an auspicious day for its observance. *Kail* refers to weapons and *pold* means time, together it implies worship of weapons. The Kodavas when engaged in agricultural operations keep their weapons at *Kanni Kombare* and it is called *Kail pold kett*. The weapons are cleaned and decorated before they are used. At *Nellakki Nadubade* these weapons are arranged for worship. The Kodavas burn camphor and light the lamp at this place. They bow down in respect to these weapons. All the weapons are taken out after *malambu* is thrown at the trunk of an oozing plant. A man is chosen by the astrologer on the *Kailpold* day to get three pieces of sticks from a given tree. One of the pieces is sharpened at one end like an arrow and at the other end jam leaves are tied. The man is supposed to go to the village arena (*mand*) prior to dawn and throw the arrow at the stem of a oozing plant. This is called *nelambu*. With the completion of this ritual, the Kodavas take out the weapons and the implements for regular use. A grand dinner follows *Kailpold pooja* for the family members with special meat preparation and drinks. All the men in the family sport new dress and stand before the weapons. The elderly member of the family hands over the rifle to an elder person among them. He accepts it and bows down in respect to the elders assembled there. Later, people from different families gather in the field (*mand*). There will be many kinds of competitions to show one's physical dexterity. Shooting competitions are held. A community hunting is arranged some other day. Saturday and Wednesday are not the hunting days for men at Devarakadu because God's hunting spree in the forest is obviously on these days, according to the belief. *Kailpold* is important from another point of view also. Kodava folk-literature narrates that the Pandavas had been the earlier ancestors of the Kodavas. During the period of *incognito* living, the Pandavas had put all their weapons in a secret place and they got back all these for waging a war only after worshipping them. In the same way, Kodavas celebrate *Kailpold* to rehearse the epic drama. Hunting is prohibited in the forest in recent time. A suitable change for hunting is by suspending a coconut at a certain height, and shooting at it with gun is resorted to.

### Cauvery Sankramana

The Kodavas observe Tula Sankramana as *Cauvery Sankramana* in October. According to a forecast, at Talakaveri, water starts overflowing from the pond, the place where the river Cauvery takes its birth, at a pre-determined moment of time. It is referred to as *Teerthodhbhava*. The devotees gather at Talakaveri to witness this holy event and to bathe in the Cauvery. The pilgrims arrive at this place till *Vrischika Sankramana* (November). Some people who might not be able to go to Talakaveri, will make it a point to go to nearby holy places, Harischandra, Balamuri or Guliya on this day, and bathe in the holy river. *Cauvery Sankramana* is observed on two days. The first day *bottu* is conducted and *kanipuje* on the following day. *Bottu* means to fix two bamboo splits like scissors and to decorate the same with a climber (plant) as a flag. *Bottu* is a common sight in the fields and gardens belonging to the Kodavas. With the erection of *bottu*, in all the houses, in the evening, flowers are collected for *Kanni pooja*. It is performed on the second day of *Teerthodhbhava*. Having bathed, the people dress in new clothes and purify the entire house with holy water (Gangodaka). An elderly woman, in silk sari lights the lamp-*talliyakki bolicha*. She makes the figure of *Cauveri Matha* with a vegetable to worship the same with flowers. This figure

is adorned with jewellery and worshipped. Thus, *Kanipooja* is the latter part of celebration of *Cauveri Sankramana*. The vegetable figure- replica of Cauvery Matha is usually worshipped at the *nellakki nadubade*. All the members of a Kodava family pick up some rice from *taliyakki bolicha* and sprinkle it on the light and prostrate before the image of Cauvery Matha. The youngsters get the blessings of elders. The elderly married woman performs Gangapooja at the well, after *kanipooja* is over. Some cakes (*dosai*) are made to be placed on the *bottu* (*bottu* at the well and *bottu* at the paddy fields). Women draw water from the well to cook the food. Meanwhile, all the people enjoy *dosai*. Moegling writing about the celebration says that during his time the Kodava families used to ask one of its educated members to recite *Govina Pada*. (poem narrating the story of a cow) to all the others from a book. The decorated Cauvery Matha would be immersed in a stream or left beneath a tree whose trunk oozes white juice when cut, after a week.

### Huttari

*Huttari* is derived from *puttari* meaning thereby fresh or new rice. It is a festival of harvest of paddy. It is celebrated during November-December on the day of Rohini constellation. Huttari is the most popular and widely celebrated festival. All the people in villages participate in the festival. It extends for a week. The youth practice *kolata* (group dance with handy sticks) a week before Huttari, in the moon light. It is known as *ead*. The Kodavas gather at their respective *aynmane* on the day of harvesting. It is called *pulad*. *Aynmane* is cleaned and decorated with mango leave festoons and garlands. The local hereditary craftsmen like the potter, basket maker and others supply pots, baskets (*puttari pacchi*), mat, *Puttari kutti* (bamboo tube) and knife to the Kodavas and receive in kind, gifts like rice, jaggery, plantain, salt, oil and *huttari tuber* (*genasu*) from them. The brahmin being a temple priest goes to Kodava families and purifies the house by sprinkling holy water. At the *nellakki nadubbade* below the hanging lamp, *huttari* mat is spread and in the *huttari* basket mango and pipal leaves are spread. A big measure called *balla* contains paddy which is placed on the Huttari basket. A small measure of rice (1/2 seer) is put in a container on top of the paddy basket. *Huttari* pot is filled with *tambittu* (rice flour preparation) and ghee, honey, milk, til, ginger, coconut and bitter gourd thorns are placed by its side. A sickle and the *taliyakki bolicha*, three betel leaves and three arecanuts are all placed on a tripod near the *huttari* pot. The piper blows his instrument. At the same time, womenfolk draw *rangoli* designs (with rice-flour). It is called *nera*. A little while later all the people in the family will eat their break-fast. The main dish is boiled *huttari tuber* (*genasu*) which is eaten with honey, jaggery and ghee. The elderly man in the family gives a knife to the crop-cutter. An elderly married woman holds *taliyakki bolicha*. All the people go to the paddy field to cut the crop to the accompaniment of instrumental music. The path to the field is decorated. They carry in the basket honey, jaggery and milk which would also be poured at the roots of the crop. The rifle holder shoots in the air. The crop-cutters start their job after prayer. The plants cut are in odd number. It is carried on the head in the basket. The crop-cutter goes to the *kaimada* and the grave saying loudly *polipolideva* (prayer for prosperity). A bunch of plants is left at these places. Then the man reaches home. An elderly married woman washes his feet and offers him milk to drink. He enters the house and puts the *kutti* on the mat at the *nellakki nadubade*. The chaff and the ears of corn are tied to doors with other things. It is a celebration of feast at home. Some of these items like til, coconut, crystal salt, bitter gourd thorns, *perumbukodi* tip of the *huttari* tubour, milk, honey, and plantains are mixed with

*tambittu* (rice flour preparations) to make small balls in order to put them on pipal leaves. Later, these balls are thrown on top of the house. The special food cooked on this day would be offered to the ancestors at *kaimada* and the grave on the plantain leaves. This food is also offered at *kanni kombare*. Then, the dinner is arranged. All these rituals are called *polad*. For five days later, the jubilant Kodavas merrily spend time, being sportive. *Kolata* in the village *mand* (arena) and at temples in *nadu mand* is very popular. After *Kolata* there would be *periyakali* dance. *Periyakali* is a war dance which is very attractive for its quick movement of persons and steps. During this period at nights, the performers go from house to house to sing in praise of the householder and collect some money which is used to celebrate *urorme* (annual festival of the village). People of three to four villages gather in the play ground (*mandu*) to participate in *kolata* and *periyakali*. Usually, all these spirited activities are conducted within a week after *polad*. The festival starts after its celebration at the *Iggutappa* temple at Padi and it is followed in all homes during nights.

A festival of lights is celebrated during nights at the local Bhagavathi temple, in addition to three important festivals of Kailpold, Huttari and Cauvery Sankramana by the Kodavas. As a part of celebration, the people dance around a light and it is called *bolakkata*. On a moon-lit night, the devotees keep the lamp at the centre and dance around. The Kodavas observe all the other Hindu feasts and festivals.

A horse-festival in the *devara kadu* (forest meant to be used by deity for hunting) at Titimathi in Virajpet taluk is the annual feature conducted in the last week of May on a Thursday. It attracts the surrounding hill-tribes and also others. The devotees in and around the regions are the primary participants in this festival. The Betta Kurubas and the Jenu Kurubas are seen in large number. Some people sport a fancy dress as women with their faces blackened. They decorate themselves with leaves and wild flowers. They beg for alms from the visitors. It is the day for people to abuse the deity with indecent words to fulfill a religious vow (*harake*). Therefore, this festival is called as festival of begging and also festival of abusing. It is also called *kunde* festival, *kunde* being interpreted as buttocks. It is arranged by the Kodava Sannuvanda family. The presiding deity of this festival is Subrahmanya. Usually, this festival commence three weeks before, in the temple of Kuttadamma at Kutta. A day before the festival, the people gather at the *ambala* (temple) in the Devara Kadu. The potters bring the mud-horses and worship them. They take out from the treasury all the jewellery and carry them in a procession to the Devarakadu and worship Ayyappa offering their gifts. On the following day, two Kodavas arrive dressing themselves like Ayyappa's horses. A Panika, dressed in white *dhoti* appears with the sword drawn in hand and carries the idol of Kali. He goes round the temple in the opposite direction. The persons dressed like horses mingle with the hill-tribes who are already dancing. The men in the procession reach the *Bhadra Kali* temple on the top of the hill and situated about half a kilometre away from Ayyappa temple by the evening. The festival ends with the sacrifice of an animal. It is said that human sacrifice was once practised at this place.

### Pilgrimages

Pilgrimage to temples and religious centres are a part of one's purposeful life, according to religious beliefs. Obviously, people make a trip to these places once a year. Sometimes, they go to temples to fulfill vow (*harake*) to family deities. There are a few pilgrimage centres in Kodagu

district. They are - Bhagamandala, Talakaveri, Balamuri, Irpu, Padi, Somamale, Paluru, Yavakapadi, Kakkabbe, Kutta and others. The Kodavas and other original settlers in Kodagu go to Beitur and Thirunelli in Kerala. The other pilgrimage centres outside Kodagu are Dharmasthala, the Biligiriranga Hills, Subramanya, Malai Mahadeshwara and Nanjangudu which are all in the state of the Karnataka. Apart from these many other religious centres like Kashi (Varanasi), Rameshwara, Gaya, Badari, Kedara, Sabarimalai, etc in different parts of India are visited by the people of this district.

### Fairs

Fairs or jatras constitute an important aspect of social life in all societies. They are capable of providing recreation to people, whose mental tensions will be reduced and make them develop a better attitude towards life. Long ago, fairs were important because they had acquired economic character also in addition to their cultural, religious and social roles. Many fairs, generally are conducted in the name of Gods. In fact, even *uruses* of Muslims are fairs at the *darga* of Muslim saints, which are celebrated annually. Some of the fairs are observed once in three, five or seven years. Although village fairs are small, they are useful to people taking part in them. Merchants from far off places arrange shops to sell clothes, vessels and other items. Cattle trading is also a part of many fairs. Thus, fairs have economic value also. Kodagu being a district of hills and dales cannot help people for interaction so much as in plains. The people in this region will have minimum contact and communication with others. Therefore, fairs contribute to a better social life at intervals, and introduce the people of difficult terrains outside their own world. The table given below lists the fairs and *uruses* in each taluk in Kodagu district.

List of *Fairs* and *Uruses* in each Taluk in Kodagu District

| Place of Fairs/Uruses | Name of God/Saints. | Month in which fairs take place | Number of days | Numbers gathering |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1                     | 2                   | 3                               | 4              | 5                 |
| <b>Madikeri Taluk</b> |                     |                                 |                |                   |
| Ibnivalavadi          | Bhadrakali          | March                           | 7              | 1,000             |
| Ibnivalavadi          | Bhuvaneshwari       | May                             | 2              | 500               |
| Karnangeri            | Muthappa            | March                           | 3              | 1,000             |
| Karnangeri            | Ayyappa             | January                         | 3              | 3,000             |
| Karnangeri(Urus)      | Hazarat Syadulla    | March                           | 2              | 1,500             |
| Karnangeri            | Rajarajeshwari      | April                           | 2              | 3,000             |
| K.Badaga              | Bhagavathi          | April                           | 7              | 1,000             |
| Hoskeri               | Kudivachata         | March                           | 2              | 500               |
| Maragod               | Bhagavathi          | March                           | 7              | 2,000             |
| Kattemadu             | Bhadrakali          | April                           | 7              | 2,500             |
| Makkandur             | Bhadrakali          | April                           | 7              | 1,800             |
| Makkodlu              | Bhadrakali          | April                           | 7              | 1,000             |
| Madikeri(Urus)        | Syed Sikander       |                                 |                |                   |
|                       | Shavali (darga)     | March                           | 6              | 1,000             |

| 1                                    | 2                                    | 3        | 4 | 5             |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|---|---------------|
| Kantoor                              | Bhagavathi                           | April    | 7 | 1,000         |
| Badaga                               | Bhagavathi                           | April    | 2 | 1,200         |
| Kiggalu                              | Chaundi                              | March    | 2 | 500           |
| Kodambur                             | Bhadrakali                           | April    | 2 | 1,000         |
| Hoddur                               | Pati Ayyappa                         | March    | 7 | 1,000         |
| Hoddur                               | Ayyappa                              | March    | 2 | 400           |
| Hoddur(Urus)                         | Not Known                            | March    | 2 | 1,000         |
| Hodavada                             | Ayyappa                              | June     | 2 | 750           |
| Kuchaladalu                          | Patel Ayyappa                        | March    | 2 | 500           |
| Sampaji Arekallu                     | Ayyappa                              | March    | 2 | 1,000         |
| Koyanadu(Urus)                       | Not Known                            | March    | 2 | 1,500         |
| Made                                 | Ayyappa(Maddurappa)                  | March    | 3 | 1,000         |
| Katakeri                             | Appandirappa                         | March    | 4 | 1,000         |
| Hakattur                             | Bhagavathi                           | February | 3 | 1,000         |
| Kaggodau                             | Chamundi                             | February | 3 | 1,000         |
| Mekeri                               | Eswara                               | February | 3 | 1,000         |
| Heravanadu                           | Bhagavathi                           | February | 3 | 1,000         |
| Aravathoklu                          | Eswara                               | February | 3 | 1,000         |
| Bhagamandala                         | Talakaveri                           | October  | 1 | 50,000        |
| Kolagadalu                           | Paka Temple                          | December | 3 | 1,500         |
| Tavuru(Urus)                         | Not Known                            | April    | 3 | 2,000         |
| Iyangeri                             | Chinnatappa Devaru                   | December | 3 | 2,000         |
| Iyangeri(Urus)                       | Shaikh-Mohinddin<br>Shavali          | April    | 4 | 2,000         |
| Kunjila-kakkabbe                     | Padi Iggutappa                       | March    | 2 | 2,500         |
| Paluru                               | Mahalingeshwara                      | May      | 2 | 3,000         |
| Balamuri                             | Mahadeva                             | October  | 1 | 15,000        |
| Yemmemadu(urs)                       | Sufi Syed Shavali                    | March    | 2 | 15,000        |
| Kunjala Parambu (Urus)               | Payya Narivali Ulla Durga            | March    | 2 | 15,000        |
| Napoklu                              | Syed Abdul Rahaman                   | March    | 2 | 3,000         |
| (Cheriyaparambu) (Urus)              | Valiulla                             |          |   |               |
| Karada (Urus)                        | Abdul Rahim Khan                     | March    | 2 | 2,000         |
| Kolakeri<br>(Chappayandaneli) (Urus) | Mokkam Daga                          | March    | 2 | 1,000         |
| Yadapala<br>(Chayyabane Urus)        | Andathamani<br>Darga Sharif          | March    | 3 | 3-4 thousands |
| Madikeri (Urus)                      | Hazarat Ganje Gauhar<br>Alisha Darga | April    | 4 | 10,000        |
| Madikeri (Urus)                      | Syed Sultan<br>Alisha Madani         | March    | 2 | 5,000         |

| 1                                   | 2  | 3                                 | 4  | 5                 |
|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|----|-------------------|
| Hakatturu(urs)                      | Hazarat Phakirulla<br>Darga Sharif       | April                             | 3  | 5,000             |
| <b>SOMVARPET TALUK</b>              |  |                                   |    |                   |
| Shanivarasanthé<br>(Gudagalale)     | Sri.Basaveshwara<br>(cattle fare also)   | January                           | 15 | 5,000 to<br>6,500 |
| Shanivarasanthé<br>Gudagalale(Urus) | Hazrat Thakir Baba                       | Feb                               | 1  | Not Known         |
| Kushalanagara                       | Ganapathi<br>(Cattle fair also)          | January                           | 5  | 3,000             |
| Shantalli                           | Kumara Lingeshwara<br>(Cattle fair also) | February                          | 1  | 1,000             |
| Hebbale                             | Banashankari                             | Jan/Feb                           | 1  | ---               |
| Kanive                              | Rameshwara                               | Feb                               | 1  | ---               |
| Kudige                              | Subramanya                               | Feb                               | 1  | ---               |
| Somvarpet (urus)                    | Hazarat Malange<br>Shavali               | Shaban                            | 1  | ---               |
| <b>VIRAJPET TALUK</b>               |  |                                   |    |                   |
| Kutta                               | Kuttadamma                               | May                               | 2  | 5,000             |
| Ambattiu                            | Kodagamara Sheikhumar                    | Feb                               | 2  | 2,000             |
| Bittangala (Urus)                   | Makan Darga                              |                                   |    |                   |
| Nalkeri                             | Bannamotta Subramanya                    | Decr.                             | 7  | 2,000             |
| Kothur                              | Mariamamma                               | May                               | 8  | 5,000             |
| Tavalageri                          | Subramani                                | Decr.                             | 1  | 1,000             |
| Kurchi                              | Irupu Rameswara                          | Feb.                              | 2  | 5,000             |
| Gonikoppalu                         | Uma Maheshwara                           | Decr.                             | 3  | 2,000             |
| Mayamudi                            | Kamati Mahadeva                          | April                             | 7  | 1,000             |
| Chikkasodlur                        | Madattavai Devaru                        | April<br>(once in<br>three years) | 10 | 1,000             |
| Hudikeri                            | Mahadevaru                               | April                             | 1  | 1,000             |
| Haisodlur                           | Mahadeva                                 | March                             | 1  | 800               |
| Balyamanduru                        | Maramma                                  | April                             | 1  | 1,500             |
| Begur Chiniwada (Urus)              | --                                       | Feb.                              | 1  | 700               |
| Belur                               | Kullagudkeswara                          | May                               | 2  | 1,200             |
| Devanur                             | Naadameswara                             | May                               | 2  | 1,200             |
| Byrambadi                           | Subramanya                               | December                          | 2  | 5,800             |
| Byrambadi                           |  | April                             | 1  | 2,000             |
| Hullumada(Urus)                     |  |                                   |    |                   |
| Pollibetta(Urus)                    | Pathan Shavali Darga                     | Mar/April                         | 4  | 10,000            |



| 1              | 2                  | 3        | 4 | 5     |
|----------------|--------------------|----------|---|-------|
| Kodangeri      | Syyed Abdulla      |          |   |       |
|                | Hi Vali Ulla Darga | April    | 5 | 6,000 |
| Kardigodu      | Sri Rama           | Sept.    | 7 | 7,000 |
| Arapattu(Urus) | Kokkandabane Darga | March    | 3 | 5,000 |
| Gundikeri      | Mokkam Urs Darga   | February | 3 | 5,000 |
| (Betoli)(Urus) |                    |          |   |       |

### TRADITION OF GALLANTRY

The Kodavas are said to be courageous and adventurous people. They are well known for their valour. They showed their ability to fight with the neighbouring kings and Nayaks during the Rule of the Odeyars to protect their home-land. The valour of the Kodavas used to be exhibited in hunting the wild animals. Even the Lingayat kings of Kodagu were not exception to this. According to an inscription of 1822, king Chikkaveerarajendra had killed many elephants, cheetas, bears and deer. Lingarajendra is believed to have said that he killed more tigers than the number of days in a year. Many people like Kudiya, Mullukuruba, Yerava, Gowda, Bettakuruba, etc., had joined army and fought valiantly. Similarly the Brahmins, Lingayats, Gowdas, Vokkaligas, etc., enrolled themselves as Dalways and fought in wars. The Kodavas, in later years joined the army during the British administration. Since independence, they shouldered the responsibility in high cadres of National Defence Services, like the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. At this juncture, we may recall the names of the eminent Kodavas like Gen. K.M.Kariappa, Gen.Thimmaiah and Apparanda Ayyappa. The first two officers were very respectable Military Generals with world renown. Gen. Kariappa was awarded the Status of a Field Marshal, as a unique honour, after his retirement.

The Government of India instituted medals and awards like Ashoka Chakra, Keerthi Chakra and Shourya Chakra for officers and soldiers in army who would exhibit extraordinary valour without bothering about their life even in situations of risk. These medals are given to such persons after their death. Similar military awards like Paramaveera Chakra, Mahaveera Chakra and Veera Chakra, besides the Service Medal, New Service Medal and Air Force Service Medal which are all given by the Government of India to persons (both soldiers and officers) who would show courage to protect the nation in times of danger. The following men received the awards for their extra-ordinary services in defence; Lt.Gen.C.N.Somanna of Virajpet received Parama Visishta Seva Padaka; Retd.Brig.C.M.Kariappa of Doctor's Estate in Madikeri Taluk received Athi Visishta Seva Padaka; Air Com.K.M.Ponnappa secured Vayu Seva Padaka; Flt.Lt.M.A.Ganapathi (His father Appachhu also got Veera Chakra Medal), Maj.K.P.Nanjappa, Maj.M.M.Ravi, and Flying Officer Ballachanda Changappa Karumbaiah have been awarded Veera Chakra medals. Seva Padaka had been received by the following people: Maj. Kulletira Appchhu Somaiah, Maj.Palachanda Poovaiah Ganapathi, Maj. C.K.Karumbaiah, Capt.M.A.Kariappa, Soldier Mandetira Bopaiah, Havaladar Bachamada M.Poovappa and GNRM.B.Kushalappa.

The following courageous persons (Kodagu district) died in fighting the enemy during Military campaigns: Capt.P.K.Appaiah, Kodanur, Maj.P.M.Madhu; Soldier P.P.Bheemaiah;

Soldier Mangerira Madappa(1947); GNR M.B.Devaiah (1962); GNR M.Kalaiah(1962); GNR B.B.Subbaiah (1962); GNR T.D.Poovaiah(1962); Daffedar C.Nanjappa Ayyan(1965); Daffedar Madanda M.Poovappa(1965); N.S. Kariappa(1965); Nayak, K.S.Ponnappa (1965); N.M.Ganapathi (1965); Subedar B.M.Kaveriappa (1971); S.R. Palangappa(1971) who was a GNR; M.S.Ponnanna (1971); Louis Vegas(1971); Soldier N.A.Appachhu(1971); Soldier H.S.Muthanna(1971); G.N.R. P.S.Rama(1987-88); GNR Kushalappa(1987-88); Balyanda Kaverappa (Mururu); Soldier M.P.Joyappa (1987-88); Soldier K.V.,Ramakrishna (1987-88) and K.M.Mandanna Kottoli.

The following brave men of Kodagu had been injured in fighting the enemy during the Military attacks. Nayak.A.C.Subbaiah; C.T.Nanjappa; S.G.Nanaiah; Lt.Col.M.C.Nanjappa; Havaladar Ireera Subbaiah Muthanna; Soldier A.K.Kushalappa; Soldier T.Ganapathi; Nayak B.M.Umesh Kumar; K.B.Nagesh; Soldier C.N.Poonappa; Havaladar C.S.Charmanna and Soldier D.N.Hasyakumar.

Here is a list of persons who have been honoured both by the Government of India and the State Government, with the grant of agricultural land and house to live in for their extra-ordinary valour shown in the wars.They are: C.T.Nanjappa of Mythodi village in Virajpet taluk; S.G.Nanaiah of Katageri village in Madikeri taluk; Lt.Col.M.C.Nanjappa, Ireera Subbaiah Muthanna, Havaladar B.L.Poovaiah of Kunjila in Virajpet taluk; Late M.B.Kushalappa of Devanur in Virajpet taluk; and Capt. M.Chinnappa Nanjappa (the last three are awarded Mentioned-in-Despatch also.

The families of persons died during the 'Operation Meghdoot' and 'Operation Pavan' got compensation from the Government. The following are the families: Smt.M.M.Gangavva, wife of the Late Medappa Padakkal village. Smt. Gangamma, wife of the Late M.B.Devaiah, Begur (Virajpet taluk). Muthanna Father of the late V.M.Kalaiah, Arji village, Virajpet taluk, Smt.Machava, Mother of the late T.D.Poovaiah, Arvattokkalu, Virajpet taluk. B.V.Gopaiah, father of the late B.B.Hudikeri, Virajpet taluk.Smt.C.A.Kamavva, wife of the late C.N.Ayyappa, Kirundadu, Virajpet taluk. A.V.Janaki, wife of the late M.M.Poovaiah, Madikeri. Sri N.Subbaiah, father of late N.S.Kariappa, Parakatageri, Virajpet taluk. Smt.Gangamma, mother of the late K.N.Ponnappa, Halligattu, Virajpet taluk. Sri.N.Muttanna, father of the late N.K.Ganapathi, Galibeedu. N.Muthanna, father of the late N.M.Ganapathi, Galibeedu. Smt. B.K. Ponnamma, wife of the late B.M.Kaveriappa, Madikeri. Smt. S.P.Honnamma, wife of the late Palangappa, Madikeri. Sri. M.G.Subbaiah, father of the late M. S. Ponnanna, Gonikoppal. Smt. Anja, Mother of the late Louis Vegas, Sampaje Kolli. Smt. Dechavva, Mother of the late N.M.Appachhu, Bilugunda, Virajpet taluk. Smt. M.B.Muttamma, mother of the late Kushalappa, Devanur, Virajpet taluk. Smt. Poovamma, mother of the late H.S. Muthanna, Arvathoklu Virajpet taluk. Smt. Machamma, Mother of the late M.P.Bopaiah, Hysodlur, Virajpet taluk. Smt. Lakshmi, Mother of the late H.V.Venkatesha, Nangala, Virajpet taluk. Smt. K.Ponnappa, Mother of the late A.Ramakrishna, Badaga village, Madikeri taluk. Smt. Akkamma, Mother of the late P.S.Ramu, Heggade, Virajpet taluk.

(the above information is supplied by the Office of the Sainik Welfare and Resettlement, Madikeri).

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