Appendix 1

Kodava Case Studies

Case - 1

A.K.P is 36 years old. By profession he is a HR (Human Resources) Manager. He got married in the Kodava Samaja, Virajpet. He is from the Ajjinikanda clan, and his wife is from the Sannuvanda family. They live in Chembebelore Village and Post, Virajpet, South Coorg.

His wedding rituals were spread over two days. Starting with day 1, first day morning there was vole pujae (worship of the kitchen hearth), an important ritual. At noon, there was the Tharakari muripu (cutting tharakari or vegetables) and that same night there was the urkuduva (entering the Uru) ceremony. Next day morning, there was the muhurtam, and this was followed by the Ganga puja in the evening. 1000 guests attended the main wedding – the muhurtam.

The Ganga puja ritual is part of Kodava wedding ritual (mangala), even though the actual River Ganga is far from Kodagu. The Ganga puja is usually done after donning ritually pure garments, as part of the mangala. A coconut is broken at the water by the bride, either at a tank or well, and if these are not available, a bucket of water. A lot of dancing and merrymaking is part of this ritual. Only select few families and friends are invited to the Ganga puja.

He owns one white (which he used as a bridegroom) and one black kupya. He also owns one gun.

The widows in his family wear white throughout the year. His family speaks Kodava-thak at home.
Case - 2

T.P.S is forty years old. He lives in Thavalgiri village, T. Shettigiri, South Coorg. He serves as a Wing Commander in the Indian Air Force. His wife is from the Sannuvanda family.

He got married in the Kodava Samaja, Mysore. Same as A. K. Ponappa, his wedding rituals too were spread over two days. Starting with day 1, the first day morning there was *vole pujae* (worship of the kitchen hearth), an important ritual. At noon, there was the *Tharakari muripu* (cutting vegetables) and that same night there was the *ur kuduva* (entering the *Uru*) ceremony. Next day morning, there was the *muhurtam*, and this was followed by the Ganga puja in the evening. A total of 1500 guests attended the wedding *muhurtam*.

He too owns one black kupya and one gun, speaks Kodava-thak at home, and reports that the widows in his family wear only white.

Case – 3

A.L.P is thirtyfive years old. Leelavathy’s natal family is Sannuvanda. Prior to the wedding, she lived in Gonikoppal, Coorg. After the wedding, the couple splits their time between Chembebelore Village and Post, Virajpet, South Coorg., and Mysore, where she works as an English trainer.

Her wedding too, took two days. On day 1, on the first morning there was the characteristic ritual of the *vole pujae* (worship of the kitchen hearth). At noon, there was the *Tharakari muripu* and that same night there was the *urkuduva* (entering the *Uru*) ceremony. Next day morning, there was the *muhurtam*, and this was followed by the *neer edupu* (translating as the ‘removing of water’) a.k.a. the Ganga puja in the evening. 1000 guests attended the wedding *muhurtam*. 
As is customary in Coorg weddings, she displayed her trousseau. Her trousseau is the *stridhan* that she brought with her from her natal family, and displaying it means that there are many witnesses to what she brought with her. Her trousseau contained 50 expensive good quality sarees, and traditional Kodava jewels like the pathak, kokethathi, joemale, kadaga, karthamani (kari mani). She also wears silver toe rings. The commonest forms of *stridhan* in Coorg are movables.

As are most Coorg women of today, Leelavathy has had a decent education – she has completed her B.A. and LLB (the law degree).

She speaks Kodava-thak at home, and also says that the widows in her family wear only white.

**Case – 4**

T.J.S is forty one years old. Jayanthy’s natal family is Sannuvanda. Before her wedding, she lived in Gonikoppal, Coorg. After the wedding, she moved to Hyderabad, Jaipur, etc. Now she lives in Thavalagiri village in T. Shettigiri, South Coorg.

Her wedding too, took two days. On day 1, on the first morning there was the characteristic ritual of the *vole pujae* (worship of the kitchen hearth). At noon, there was the *Tharakari muripu* (cutting vegetables) and that same night there was the *ur kuduva* (entering the *Uru*) ceremony. The next morning, there was the *muhurtam*, and this was followed by the *neer edupu* (translating as the ‘removing of water’) a.k.a. the Ganga puja in the evening. 1500 guests attended the wedding *muhurtam*.

The Coorgs are very strong believers in the concept of *stridhan* or woman’s wealth. The most common forms of *stridhan* in Coorg are movables. Going with Coorg custom, she displayed her trousseau, which is the *stridhan*
that she brought with her from her natal family. Her trousseau contained 30 expensive good quality sarees, and traditional Kodava jewels like the pathak, kokethathi, joemale, kadaga, karthamani (kari mani), muthusara, pavalamale. She also wears silver toe rings, reflecting the Hindu Kannadiga influence.

As most Coorg women of today, Jayanthi has studied, and completed her B.Sc. and B.Ed. (teacher’s degree).

She speaks Kodava-thak at home, and says that the widows in her family wear cream or light hued sarees, not white – departure from tradition.

Case – 5

S.T.B is 63 years old. Bhavani’s natal family is Chandapanda. She has lived in Coorg before and after her marriage; her home today is in Mayamudi village, Gonikoppal, South Coorg.

Her wedding too, took two days, and followed what the other two married women mentioned. On day 1, on the first morning there was the characteristic ritual of the \textit{vole pujae} (worship of the kitchen hearth). At noon, there was the \textit{Tharakari muripu} and that same night there was the \textit{urkuduva} (entering the \textit{Uru}) ceremony. The next morning, there was the \textit{muhurtam}, and this was followed by the \textit{neer edupu} (translating as the ‘removing of water’) a.k.a. the Ganga puja in the evening. 500 guests attended the wedding \textit{muhurtam}.

As Coorg custom dictates, she displayed her trousseau from her natal family, which contained 30 expensive good quality sarees, and traditional Kodava jewels like the \textit{mohan male}, muthusara, pavala male, patak, kokethathi, and kadaga. She also wears silver toe rings, anklets, and kalsara. She is the only respondent among all the women interviewees who mentioned the \textit{mohan male},
today a nearly extinct, rare piece of jewelry. The most common forms of *stridhan* in Coorg are movables.

The Coorgs strongly believe in the concept of *stridhan* or woman’s wealth, and witnesses to the unfolding of the trousseau can vouch for her trousseau items if she ever parts with her conjugal family and returns to her natal family.

As most Coorg women of the past, Bhavani has completed only her PUC (called the twelth standard in her times). She speaks Kodava-thak at home, and says that the widows in her family wear white.

**Case – 6**

S.N.T is 70 years old. He lives in Mayamudi Village and Post, Gonikoppal, South Coorg. By profession, he is a planter. His wife is from the Chandapanda family.

He got married in Coorg, and had a two-day wedding. On day 1, same as all the other cases, on the first morning there was the characteristic ritual of the *vole pujae* (worship of the kitchen hearth). At noon, there was the *Tharakari muripu* and that same night there was the *ur kuduva* (entering the *Uru*) ceremony. The next morning, there was the *muhurtam*, and this was followed by the *neer edupu* (translating as the ‘removing of water’) a.k.a. the Ganga puja in the evening. 500 guests attended the wedding *muhurtam*. He owns one black kupya. He declares that all the widows in his family wear white through the year.

His family speaks Kodava-thak at home. He also owns a gun.
Appendix 2

Interview Schedule

Family Details

1. Personal info:
   a) Manepedha (clan/family name):
   b) Name:
   c) Age:
   d) Sex:
   e) Marital status: tick one:
      - Single
      - Married
      - Divorced
      - Widowed
   f) Have children: yes/no
   Number of boys:
   Number of girls:
   g) Where are the children settled:
      - In coorg:
      - Outside coorg, in karnataka:
      - Within india:
      - Outside india:
   h) Where do you live?

Economic conditions

i) Occupation:
   - Do you work in coorg?
   - or outside coorg?

j) Do you have an estate? Yes/no
Education levels and mother tongue usage

k) Do you speak coorg language at home? Yes/no

l) How far have you studied:
   10th
   Puc
   Ba/b.sc./b.com.
   Ma/m.sc.
   M.phil.
   Ph.d.
   Mbbs
   Md

Socio-cultural features

m) Who is more responsible for maintaining kodava traditional culture through kodava traditional clothing?
   Kodava men:
   Kodava women:
   Both kodava men and women:

Protective clothing

n) During the monsoon, what kind of protective clothing do you use?
   (i) Raincoat
   (ii) Umbrella
   (iii) Rubber boots
   (iv) Anything else?

2) clothing status - for women

(a) do you feel the younger generation of ladies and young girls in your family (daughters, sisters, grand-daughters, sisters-in-law,
nieces, daughters-in-law) has stopped wearing traditional clothing
(kodava podiya): yes/no?

If yes, why?
(i) Moved out of coorg
(ii) Working outside coorg
(iii) Prefer western clothes
(iv) Want to look indian by wearing kannada saree, churidhar, salwar kameez
(v) Any other reason?

If no, when and where do they wear it in coorg?
(i) At home, daily
(ii) At work, daily
(iii) For special coorg festivals like huthri, kail podh
(iv) For social occasions like engagement, weddings, etc.
(v) For social occasions like funerals
(vi) Any other place?

(b) when do you wear the kodava podiya?
(i) at home:
(ii) during housework:
(iii) while visiting other coorgs:
(iv) during traditional occasions such as:

(c) how often do you wear the kodava podiya?
(i) daily:
(ii) weekly:
(iii) monthly:
(iv) only for social occasions such as:
(v) never:

(d) what occasions do you wear the kodava podiya?

(i) weddings:
(ii) funerals:
(iii) naming ceremonies:
(iv) house warming ceremonies/satyanarayana pujas:
(v) festivals like kail podh:
(vi) other occasions:

**Color symbolism**

e) What color kodava podiya do you wear for the following occasions? If you do not wear the kodava podiya, what other clothes do you wear?

(i) as a bride:
(ii) other people’s weddings:
(iii) funerals:
(iv) naming ceremonies:
(v) house warming ceremonies/satyanarayana pujas:
(vi) festivals like kail podh:

**Bridal clothing**

f) What clothing did you wear as a bride?

(i) kodava podiya:
(ii) vastra:
(iii) musque:
(iv) footwear:
(v) any other clothing:

g) was your head bare as a bride? Yes/no

h) As a bride, what color was your bridal saree {podiya}?

   Red:
   Dark pink:
   Any other?

i) Do you wear musque on other occasions? Yes/no

   If yes, what occasions?

3. Accessories for women:

j) Are you married? Yes/no

k) As a bride, what were the most important accessories you wore with traditional kodava podiya?

   **Neck ornaments**
   
   (i) pavala male (dhund sara)
   (ii) Pathak
   (iii) Kokethathi
   (iv) Kari mani/karta mani
   (v) Double strand jomale

   **Hand ornaments**
   
   (vi) Kaisare
   (vii) Jodi kadaga
   (viii) Glass bangles
   (ix) Api ballae
   (x) Pin ballae
   (xi) Vajra katti ballae
   (xii) Pounch
Face ornaments

(xiii) nethi da bottu
(xiv) Pearl/diamond nose ring
(xv) Vajra vaale (diamond ear ring)
(xvi) Muththu vale (pearl ear ring)
(xvii) Ponnu vaale (gold ear ring)
(xviii) Jhumki (gold and pearl ear ring)

Hair ornaments

(xix) Maatal
(xx) Chauri katti (plait decoration)
(xxi) jadae billae
(xxii) Gold and lacquer full moon hair decoration (on top of plait)
(xxiii) Gold and lacquer crescent moon hair decoration
(xxiv) Gold and lacquer rectangular hair decoration
(xxv) Pure gold jasmine flowers in decreasing size
(xxvi) Poomale (flowers)

Foot ornaments

(xxvii) Kaal pilli (different design silver toe rings with chains covering the foot and connected to vonti kadaga or anklet
(xxviii) Toe ring on second toe
(xxix) Kaal gejje
(XXX) Padasarae (a set of toe rings link by chains to an anklet)
(XXXI) Anklet
(XXXII)

Saree ornaments

(XXXIII) Brooch
(XXXIV) Any other bridal decoration?
Color significance for non-bride women

l) During your wedding, what colors did your mother wear for these items of clothing, if she was a widow, sumangli, divorcée?
   Kodava podiya:
   Vastra:
   Footwear:

m) What colors for these items of clothing did the bridegroom’s mother wear for these items of clothing, if she was a widow, sumangli, divorcée?
   Kodava podiya:
   Vastra:
   Footwear:

n) What is the significance of the following colors when worn by women?
   White:
   Red:
   Black:
   Other important colors:

o) Did you wear white podiya with colored border the next day after your wedding? Yes/no:

Wedding rituals and other caste involvement

p) Was a white umbrella used during wedding rituals?

q) Did the washer man/dhobhi lay white cloth on the ground for you to walk on?
Knowledge of the kaveri myths

r) for what reason, do coorg women wear the kodava style of saree? Is there any myth?

Ritual widow clothing

s) (i) are you married? Yes/no

(ii) is your husband still alive? Yes/no

(iii) if, no, what jewelry can you now wear?

(iv) what jewelry is now forbidden for you?

(v) what color clothes can you now wear?

4. For men:

Clothing status for men

a) When do you wear the kodava kupya?

(i) At home:

(ii) During housework:

(iii) While visiting other coorgs:

(iv) During traditional occasions such as:

- Engagements
- Weddings
- naming ceremonies
- funerals
- housewarmings/satyanarayana pujas

On festivals like huthri, kail podh, kaveri sankaramana, etc.

Other important occasions such as:

Color significance for men

b) What color kupya did you wear for the following occasions?
As a bridegroom:
Weddings:
Funerals:
Naming ceremonies:
House warming ceremonies/satyanarayana pujas:
Festivals like kail podh:

c) Are you married? Yes/no
d) What clothes did you wear as a bridegroom?

White kupya:
Chele:
Red vastra:
Turban:
Mande thuni:
Silk red, white and gold check head scarf:
Or was your head bare?
Any other traditional clothing:
Footwear on the dias:
Footwear off the platform/dias:

e) What colors and items of clothing did the bride’s father wear?

Formal shirt:
Formal trousers:
Black kupya:
Turban:
Footwear:

f) What colors and items of clothing did your father wear?
Formal shirt:
Formal trousers:
Black kupya:
Turban:
Shoes:

g) What is the significance of the following colors when worn by men in traditional clothing like kupya and chele?

White:
Red:
Black:
Other important colors:

h) If you do not wear a kupya, what other clothes do you wear?

As a bridegroom:
Weddings:
Funerals:
Naming ceremonies:
House warming ceremonies/satyanarayana pujas:
Festivals like kail podh:

5) clothing status for men:

White kupyas

(i) Are you married? Yes/no:

(ii) How many white kupyas were stitched for you until now?

a) 1

b) 2-4

c) 5
Kemi kuthu mangala

(iii) Have your (or your male family members) ears been pierced? Yes/no
If yes, did you undergo the kemi kuthu mangala (the ear-boring ceremony)? Yes/no
Do you now wear ear rings called the kadku?

Accessories for men

(iv) What accessories did you wear as a bridegroom?
   a) Pommale
   b) Pavala maale
   c) Kokathathi
   d) Kathibalae
   e) Piche kathi
   f) odikathi
   g) Thodangu (clasp to hold the odikathi)
   h) Gejje thand (rosewood and silver staff)
   i) ear ring
   j) Anything else?

Bridegroom’s wedding rituals with his bride

(v) Did you give a paun (gold sovereign) to your bride?
   Yes/no:
   (vi) Did you give her a wedding band after the wedding?
   Yes/no:

Significance of odikathi and piche kathi in bridegroom’s costume

   t) What is the significance of the odikathi (coorg sword) worn with the white kupya of the bridegroom?
u) Why is the piche kathi (coorg dagger) worn with the kupya?

Other wedding rituals

v) Was a white umbrella used during wedding rituals? Yes/no
w) Did the washer man/dhobhi lay white cloth on the ground for you to walk on during the wedding? Yes/no

Black kupya as classic eco-friendly fashion

x) Do you own a black kupya? Yes/no

(vii) How long does your black kupya last?
   a) 0-5 years
   b) 6-10 years
   c) 11-20 years
   d) 21-30 years
   e) 31 and above

(viii) How many black kupyas were stitched for you until now?
   a) 1
   b) 2-4
   c) 5

(ix) What accessories are compulsory with black kupya?
   a) Piche kathi
   b) odikathi
   c) Turban
   d) Chele
   e) Anything else?
Appendix 3. Audiovisual material related to Kodava clothing

Introduction

Audiovisual anthropology can save, record, and depict basic conditions that help pin down change. Audiovisual anthropology witnesses, documents, protects, celebrates, and reveals. The best narrative happens when effective and authentic audiovisual anthropology documents, and by record-keeping, protects a way of life. This thesis will make use of audiovisual records to pin down a certain stage of Coorg culture. Photographs and video films have been collected on the Kodavas, as well as audiovisual material. Audiovisual cues by humans communicate their status and their identity, sometimes even without spoken or body language. The visual perceptions come through the eye and help identify the classification of symbols couture brings with it. Mahendrakumar, 2013 (Mann: 1987), says that visuals are behaviors or symbols and they possess obvious meanings. For many years now, anthropologists have used record keeping photography to capture human culture, and this is useful to back up research aims at one point in time and space.

Visual anthropologists have mastered and contributed to film-making methods. Sahay’s (1993: 3) comment that ‘Visual anthropology… studying man and his culture by employing the camera as its principal instrument of investigation… may produce either still photographs or moving images… on screen.’ Today, in 2014-2015, with the cell phone, e-mail, and many types of Internet enablement, photographic documentation can pin down a culture in the throes of change. This is especially important when an ethnic group like the Coorgs (Kodavas) absorbs influences like Indianization, Anglicization, and localization, and still comes up with accoutrements that show their independence in the face of giddying, all out change.
Ethnography is the study of individual cultures. An ethnic group like the Coorgs changing at a giddying pace needs to be documented, and this thesis will attempt to do justice to this aspect.

The ethnographic film marries anthropology to film making. And the result is an encapsulated bit of history of a local culture. In the history of anthropology, Felix-Loius Regnault who filmed a Wolof woman making pots in 1895 was the first anthropologist to use filmmaking in ethnography. ‘An ethnographic film is an audiovisual record… for research, study and analysis.’ (Mahendrakumar, p48) The audiovisual film will record - apart from the acoustic, non-verbal and visual cues, points, and features - ‘true’ behavior, like nuances of body language, social posturing and hierarchy, color symbolism, gender differences captured in clothing, etc. The audiovisual, ethnographic film encapsulates primary data such as interviews, celebratory song and dance, colorful wedding rituals, the somber moods of death with its funerary rites, individual house warmings, etc.

The audiovisual media is the base for ethnographic film, documentary and research filming. Most anthropological research has photographic evidence to back its claims. To this is added the extra data derived from film making, an addition to photographic data as it combines visuals and sounds and is an excellent backup to written records.

The films, to carry relevance, must capture basic cultural patterns of the social groups studied. And the importance of ethnographic films grows with each passing year, as TV, politics and other globalization events impact ethnic groups, making the ethnicity ever more like the rest of the communities in any given geographical locale. As a historic record, the various types of ethnographic films are preserved on CDs, DVDs, the Internet, etc.

The anthropological perspective in film making includes a social science based focus on man and culture. Social anthropology covers social status, family and kinship, weddings and funerals, economic, historic, religious and
political features that impact current day society, law, social processes, systems, and changes, etc. of an ethnic group. The foci of cultural anthropology have always been *homo sapiens* in their wide ranging behavior.

Case histories and filmed interviews are good examples of how audiovisual anthropology can be used - with visuals, audio, and content for a topic all in one. Audiovisual records of interviews with the Kodavas will aim to include full fledged two-part interviews with both Kodava men and women in Madikeri and Virajpet.

This thesis will condense the communicative, protective and decorative aspects of clothing of an ethnic group (the Kodavas or Coorgs) at work, play, festivity, etc. in film. An anthropological film is a dose of realism, a factual picture of life and culture of a society at one given point in time. Some times, a raw documentary could also serve as anthropological film.

The *World Book Encyclopedia* says communication is the exchanging of info. The five features of communication are:

1. Who ----------------------------------------------- the communicator
2. Says what ---------------------------------------- content
3. In which channel ---------------------- media
4. To whom ------------------------------------- audience
5. With what effect -------------------------- result

Sounds in the air, marks on paper, computer screen or cell phones, body language, the senses of smell, taste, touch, sight, etc are forms of communication common in the civilized world. Right at the beginning, in our evolution into humans, verbal communication – meaningful sounds in the air - was an important component. Verbal communication combines sounds in logical, meaningful sequential arrangements (combining lexis and syntax and
semantics). With each communication breakthrough, there is an upward jump for the *homo sapien*, leading to making the world a smaller place. Satellites, the cell phone and Internet increase the pace of communication and have lead to an info overload. The speed with which media conveys information has created an increased exposure and democratization of ideas, and may lead to a lower adhesion to older ethnic customs, especially in clothing tradition. Have these information overloads led to a loss of classic cultural features, in areas like traditional clothing? Information collected by questionnaires, participant observation, audiovisual record keeping, will all be guaged to come to an informed logical, conclusion.

There are claims that a picture is worth a thousand words. But some words have the appeal of a thousand pictures. A valuable photograph is an asset, aiding the preservation of cultural protocol – it records people, places, actions, or things in one time, and at one place. Louis Alexander, once mentioned (in 1987) that, ‘a combination of words and pictures – a word-picture partnership is best.’ Visual anthropology is the cultural lessons learnt through visual picturization. First and foremost, in anthropological methodology, we have ‘participant observation’, which uses anthropological data collection, and involves both the visual faculty and hearing. Recording participant observation through audiovisual methods is an important means of record keeping. Video films capture entire sequences and events of important situations. More widely used in the past, still photography records and captures important moments. Audiovisual anthropology … the study of audiovisual behavior of man and the use of audiovisual media… document(s) man’s culture. (Mahendra Kumar, 1997)

‘Mass communication is the sharing of info with many people in many places with the help of machines.’ Machines manufacture books, magazines, newspapers, radio programs, TV programs, and films that are the media (means) of mass communication. ‘Electronic communication has made it possible to send messages over long distances in a fraction of a second.’ Think
Internet, SMS, e-mail, spam, cell phone, landline phones, Amazon, Google, Facebook, Twitter, satellite TV, Wikipedia, music and movie downloads. And a whole host of other interfaces used in the last half of 2014 and early 2015.

**Audiovisual anthropology**

a) Audiovisual anthropology captures homeostasis, history, change, and development, and includes i) documentation, ii) a study of vanishing culture, iii) synchronic, iv) diachronic and v) an emic and etic view of culture and language. A study on vanishing or changing Kodava culture is important as their couture change may capture the fast pace of change in a community that is at the crossroads of time.

b) Audiovisual anthropology documents lifestyle change. Kodavas are known as friendly and hospitable. Most of the photography and filming in Kodagu was done in only a few parts of Kodagu - the whole place and the complete community could not be surveyed.

c) Audiovisual anthropology envelops individual, families, communities, residences, communities, villages, districts, synchronic change, and many more unexpected aspects of the human condition.

d) The boundaries of anthropological film making

Anthropological film making has limited applications because though anthropological films should be scientific studies and documentation of culture through audiovisual means, it cannot always be on the mark. This is because all cultural human behavior is not recordable, occurring in its own time space, and may not present itself for recording to the student of audiovisual anthropology.
Appendix 4

The Kodavas and Kodagu In Pictures

A view of the Kaveri River

Talakaveri – the source of the River Kaveri – a view from above
Rice farmland in Virajpet with a view of hills and mist

Green coffee berries before harvest
Kail Podh puja of weapons, Talakaveri and Bhagamandala (in the background)

Kudra atta (the horse dance) is just one of many Kodava dances that use special costumes
Kodava bride with musque, Kodava jewelry, and poomale (flowers) during muhurta at left, and being blessed with a shower of rice at right

Decorative chest that the bride takes to her conjugal home, filled with bridal gifts and accessories
Kodava bridegroom wedding costume – white kupya, chele, odikathi, silver waist chain, kokethathi, pavala male, shoulder cloths, and gold kadas on wrist – front and rear views

The complete Kodava bridegroom’s wedding costume – white kupya (folded), chele, mandethuni (turban), shoulder cloth, gold hand kadas, kokethathi, the staff (gejje thand), white umbrella, piche kathi, odi kathi, waist chain, and flower garland.
New and old styles of wearing black kupya – no trousers or long sleeved shirt on right

Barefoot Kodava elder in white kupya after completion of one set of wedding rites
The Volaga (band) at a Kodava wedding

The volaga and hectic dancing during Ganga puja, to stop the bride from going forward
Bride breaking a coconut at the well during the Ganga puja

Bridegroom dancing during Ganga puja, which is a fun ritual to tease the bride
Kodavathi widow wearing white Kodava podiya with shoulder cloth nipputhuni before mourning period (signified by the maada) is over

Widow, in cream podiya and vastra, during the wedding of her grand daughter
Barefoot elders of the same okka playing the drums on morning of the ur kudva ceremony at the aine mane – the wooden rampart they are sitting on is only for family members who are born to the okka

Bale ketho (plantain honor) with odi kathi – ‘beheading’ banana stalks just outside the wedding house – a remnant of the ancient Rakhshasha (kidnapping) vivaha
Bridegroom with gejie thand (rosewood staff with silver bells) and bride wearing kal kupya (long sleeved blouse)

The newly wedded couple with the bride’s parents after exchange of garlands
A close-up view of chele, kupya and pichkathi with silver waist chain

Bridal hands with manicure, mehendi, glass and gold bangles and other kaisare
Bridal kaal pilli with silver toe rings with chains covering the foot and connected to anklet. Feet are pedicured and have a mehendi design.