APPENDIX II
Culinary culture or culture pertaining to the ways and means of cooking and ideas and practices concerning food is an unique possession of human groups across the world. As regards to all culture traits culinary culture traits too vary from one region to the other. An attempt has been made here to describe some of the specificities and characteristics of Udupi culinary culture.

**Culture of Food preparation and Food Distribution in General**

Human cultural system relating to food are based on the fundamental biological need to fulfill hunger and thirst for the sustainance of life. Man’s prennial search for the where withal to sustain life would have played a key part in bringing about the pivotal changes in diet that have been central to man’s cultural evolution. In this process the move takes place from the consumption of natural foods to processed foods (Cohen 1987 : 77). One of the very important land marks in this connection had been the innovation of cooking through the controlled use of fire.

The nature of culinary culture of a region and its evolution depend to a very large extent on the availability of the type of raw materials for the preparation of the food on the one hand and the related ideas and practices of different groups inhabiting the region on the other. Like any other aspect of culture cooking also constitute a social sub-system. Though very often the preparation and consumption of food may have been seen as the meeting of a biological need, the sociologists see it as of diverse cultural and social significance (Marshall 1994 : 183).
The type of food being cooked and the ways and means of cooking in Udupi and surrounding areas can be understood by looking into the ideas and practices of food production among different categories of castes and classes. Their continual modifications in the face of socio-cultural changes in general have made the issue very complicated. The relationship of the subsystem of food preparation, distribution and consumption with other sub-systems of society has to be taken into consideration while delineating the nature of the former. Hence, the variations in Udupi culinary culture, and its relationship with the categories of castes and classes and also with the conceptrons of purity and pollution, sacred and secular, satvika and tamsika provide us some clues in this regard.

**Food Production for Daily Consumption**

Different caste groups of the region under consideration can be, for analytical purposes, categorised roughly into two groups, namely, Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The Brahman group comprises mainly of Kota, Shivalli, Koteshwara Magane, Sthanik, Gowda Saraswat and Havik Brahman sub-castes. The Non-Brahman group includes Bunts, Mogaveeras, Poojari, Acharis, Ganigas, Nairis, S.C.s and so on. Except for some Gowda Saraswat all other Brahmans are vegetarian in their culinary practices. Among the Gowda Saraswat Brahmans except for the temple priests and Purohits others, usually, are fish eaters. In all caste groups a difference can be made between the daily culinary practices and those during the calendrical ceremonies and festivals. Even the non-vegetarian caste groups cook only vegetarian dishes during many of the calendrical ceremonies and festivals like the jatras (annual festivals in temples) of sanskritic pantheon like Devi, Narasimha, Mahalingeshwara and Ganapati. However on such occassssions as
that of the propitiation of local and folk-deities like Mari and Chikku non-vegetarian food is cooked.

Usually, people of all castes consume *ganji* or porridge prepared out of boiled rice for breakfast. Idli, Dosa or *Avalaki Oggarane* are alternatives to *ganji*. Many non-Brahmans consume *ganji* even during lunch and only for supper they prepare rice and non-vegetarian curry. This is because of their work during the day time in the fields. Brahmins usually cook lunch with several side dishes. Home made pickle, papad, *sendige*, and milk and milk items like curd, butter milk and ghee are consumed, by and large, by only Brahmans. Every year during the summer women of most of the Brahman households are busy in the preparation of the yearly stock of papad, pickle and *sendige*.

Food for daily consumption among all caste groups is cooked by the women. Cooking takes much of their time in many houses because of the use of boiled rice and cooking with fire wood. Modern cooking ranges are yet to become common place. When compared with non-Brahman more Brahman households use modern cooking ranges, LPG connection and so on. However, use of gober-gas is becoming popular.

Among the Brahmans untill recently vegetables were divided as consumable and non-consumable on the basis of their supposed *satva* and *tamasa* characteristics. Onion, garlic, for example are non-consumable for Brahmans. In essence Brahmans do not eat non-vegetarian food and also do not consume alchohol because they are *tamasika* in nature.
If boiled rice, fish curry and occasional chicken curry constitute the staple food of non-Brahmans, boiled rice, vegetable curry and varieties of side dishes constitute the same for Brahmans.

The concepts of *madi* and *mailige* are very prominent in matters of cooking and distribution and consumption of food among the Brahmans. The two concepts can not simply be translated as clean and unclean though one of the intended consequences of *madi* is cleanliness. A wash in fresh water ensures *madi*. Before starting cooking the person who is to cook takes bath. All eatables prepared for consumption are grouped into two categories, *musure* and *non-musure*. Rice cooked in water is treated as *musure* which is prone to get polluted soon and hence it is set apart. Those who touch it should wash their hand before touching any *non-musure* things. The concept of musure forbids oneself from serving self with the help of left hand while eating. Therefore, among Brahmans “food-serving” is an important aspect of culinary culture. Every day it is the responsibility of female members of the family who prepares the food to serve it to the other members of the family. Use of dining tables is a rare phenomenon. The family members squat down in rows. Elderly members eat on banana leaves and other members use plates. The entire place is considered to be polluted once the food consumption is over and the place is brought back to normally only after it is wiped by using *gomaya*. Among the non-Brahmans such ideas and practices of *madi* and *musure* are not given importance.

**Food Production for Gods, Ancestors and Public Feeding**

Everyday in Brahman households *naivedya* is to be prepared to offer at the time of daily *puja* for the household God/s. In *vaidika* Brahman’s households everyday washed
raw rice or cooked raw rice constitute the *naivedya*. Everyday before the serving of the food a small portion of the same is kept out to be consumed by the crows. The belief is that the crows are the dead ancestors.

Other than daily *pujas*, every now and then throughout the year special *pujas* are conducted for different Gods. These are the occasions of feast. Together with those occasions the annual propitiation of the dead ancestors namely *shraddhas* and *mahalayas* also are the occasions for inviting the relatives, intimate friends and neighbours for dinner.

The very important part of the *shraddha* ceremony consists of the sons of the concerned deceased person offering rice balls known as *pinda* through the *purohits* (see photograph 8). Other than *pinda* the sons and the married daughters keep separate banana leaves served with full course of meal outside the house and call the crows to *come* and *take* from these leaves. Among the non-Brahmans the annual propitiation of dead ancestors is known as *meesal*. On that particular day special eatables are prepared and spread over banana leaves and offered to the concerned ancestor with *dhup* and water-pot with *tulasi* (see photograph 9).

The *vaidika* Brahmans are important persons to be fed during the *pujas* and *samskaras*. After the completion of the ritual aspects of the ceremonies they sit in rows in important and cleanest spaces of the house (see photograph 10) and other invitees sit in other spaces. While the first course of the dinner is served the *vaidikas* sing vedic hymns in chorus before the *hastodaka* is given.

Rajalaxmi (1997 : 17) rightly recognises seven stages during the occasion when many are fed together. In the first stage are served ghee, salt, pickle, *kosumbari, sasmi,*
chatni, palyas, chitranna, anna (naivadya), tovve, happala - sendige, fruits, prasada, kadabu. No one will touch their respective leaves until all these initial items are served. At the beginning of actual eating gograsa is given. With hastodaka to vaidikas and sumangalis actual eating will start. In the second stage tambuli and saru or rasam are served. In the third stage small huli, big huli and avil are served. The fourth stage comprises of sweet items. In the fifth stage majjge huli and in the sixth stage curd and butter milk are served. At the end of this stage all will go for a wash and at the seventh and the last stage tambula is distributed among the adults (see Ibid. for the ways and means of cooking different Udupi food items. In fact it is a book of Udupi receipe).

Food is prepared and offered mainly to Gods during certain special pujas. Our such example is that of ranga puja. Prepared food, usually panchakajjaya, is neatly served on a bench in front of the God (usually of snaskritic pantheon) and to the two sides kept rows of lights (see photograph 11). After a long mangalarati the food is retrieved and distributed among the devotees as prasada. During the special pujas for local and folk-duties usually bali is offered which includes huge quantities of cooked boiled rice (see photograph 12) with or without animal sacrifice.

Over the years performance of pujas and sanskaras have become occasions for social gathering, conspicuous consumption and status-display. And it has become mutual obligation among neighbours, friends and relatives to invite each other for dinner. Thus has evolved a culture of public feeding; sometimes the number of persons to be fed runs into several thousands.
It may not be exaggerating to note that in Udupi during certain months the Brahmins have to attend everyday one or the other dinners. In recent years such functions accompanying dinners are performed in huge halls which are popularly known as kalyan mandiras, for they are primarily meant for marriages (see photograph 13 for cooking for mass feeding in are such kalyan mandir). At a time they can accommodate thousands of people for dinner. Throughout DK one witness a mushrooming growth of such kalyan mandiras. This is an indication of a concomitant increase in the celebrations accompanying dinners.

**Udupi Gastronomy: A Problematique for further Discourse**

Some scholars, especially Bhat (1993:15), opine that one of the results of constant feasts and dinners is the evolution of a special gastronomy in this region. At present we come across several bands of specialised professional cooks who earn their livelihood by catering to the gastronomical needs of the people of the region. Most of them are men. Though earlierly only less educated opted for this occupation now even educationally highly qualified but unemployed youth are entering the field.

The researcher’s informal discussions with several categories of people like professional cooks, house-wives, vaidika-Brahmans, non-Brahmans who invite Brahman cooks for the purposes of cooking for public feeding facilitated him to problematise the phenomenon under consideration as follows:

1. What are the specificities and characteristics of Udupi gastronomy?
2. How can we account for its growth and expansion?
3. Who are the professional cooks in DK?
4. How is the occupational socialisation of the cooks take place?

5. What are socio-economic and cultural conditions that favour their entry into their occupation?

Only after answering these exploratory questions we may proceed to venture upon other comparative and analytical studies about Udupi gastronomy.
Photograph-8  Performance of a Shraddha

Photograph-9  Keeping Meesal
Photograph-10 Food for Brahmans

Photograph-11 Rangapooja
Photograph-12 Food for Local and Folk Deities

Photograph-13 Cooking for Mass Feeding