The aim of this chapter is to study the religion and religious life of the Kuruba of Karnataka. The history of Kuruba reveals that they have given more importance to their religious rituals which are celebrated to make adjustment within the existing conditions to provide security against evil forces. Therefore, it is found that the Kuruba used religion to find peace and maintain themselves in the scheme of things, as expressed in their beliefs and their cosmology to reach their ultimate aim in life, salvation. With this in view, they observe a number of rites and rituals. They also believe that by practicing in the rites and rituals, their fears are reduced and security is brought.

Religion, according to scholars like Ray (1945: 75-113), help to maintain the values and behavioural patterns in a society. It also deals with the dynamic aspects of individual and groups, ways of life, intellectual climate, tradition, impact of religious ideas and so on. It is found that among the Kuruba, religion has brought
dynamism, adoptiveness and changes in their faith, practices, rites, rituals and customs.

Study of religion is comprehensively represented by many scholars in different religious conceptions for understanding the religion and religious life of a particular society. These studies are highly sensitive with intellectual approach and they have found moral views on religion. Among these scholars Edward Tylor (1871:414) was interested in the study of beliefs and rituals of descent through the ideas of primitive culture. These give awareness of contemporary issues. According to him the belief in spiritual beings means, faith in a power beyond man, expressed in worship and service. This is told in the term animism. He is also of the opinion that animism is the root of all religions. Animatism was later used by Marett (1914:119-122), to explain superstition and the concept of moral concern. Totemic rites of the people and the social roots and functions of the people, ancestral worship, magical thought and so on, are also explained in terms of animism.

For Radcliffe-Brown (1922-1952) and Goldenweiser (1917:113-124) religion is a binding force amongst
individuals in a society. Recently anthropologists have also studied religion from the point of view of social movements. Like social, economic and political fields in a society, religion is also important. It is also a constantly changing aspect. These alterations take place either in response to internal pressures with the social system, to environmental changes or to the impact of external forces. Using such concepts such as acculturation, nativistic and revivalistic forces anthropologists have been studying religion and the problems of change. These are referred mainly by Frankforts (1946:363-373), on the basis of environmental differences in the Near East religions.

Schavaes (1936) notices change among the Jewish Pesach, in response to the changing circumstance of Jewish life over the centuries.

Studies have been also made on the religious movements but with their interests on general process of culture change. Among them Barber (1941:663-669) studied in the wake of impact of the White American culture upon the native Indian culture of the United States. The study is integrated with myths and Ideological basis of messianic movement for ushering in the Golden
Age and immediate future from deprivation. Hills (1944:523-527) study of Navaho Indians, on the Ghost Dance (1890) and the Ghost Dance complex, the resurrection of the dead, the removal of the Whites, re-establishment of the old order of life and survival through compulsory beliefs and participation in the movement and so on (loc cit, Lessa and Vogt, 1965:510). Slotkin (1955-56: 64-70) in the Peyote way, was interested in the sacrament in religious rites conducted among Indians in the United States and Canada, belonging to the Native American Church. For Belahaw (1950:116-125) religion is a description and analysis of native cult.

According to Julian Huxley (1958:11) religion is a kind of feeling. The essence of religion comes from man's capacity for awe and reverence, that the objects of religion are in origin and essence of those things, events and ideas which arouse the feeling of sacredness. The definition of religion is the belief in an ever living God, that is in a Divine mind and will, ruling the Universe and holding the moral relations with mankind (Martineau, 1888:167).

According to Herbert Spencer (1879:152) religion
is the recognition of all things that are manifestations of a power which transcends our knowledge. For James Frazer (1699:351) religion means a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.

Keeping the views of above mentioned authors we have studied the religion and religious life of the Kuruba. For them, religion is a mystic element to practice. This belief acquires a dominating symbolic value in their society. So the Kuruba practice their religion believing these characterised elements. In the daily life they observe many religious rites and rituals to receive good luck, reality, peace and better destiny. Therefore, they have more fear and faith in God. On the other hand, they try to avoid all evil deeds and works by practicing their religion. The practices of religion are binding, for individual faith and interest and groups achievements with faithful regards. Therefore, these are upheld with social apathy and psychological environments.

India is the home of Hinduism, as the term itself suggests and is practiced at different levels (c.f. Weber,
1960; Robert Redfield, 1964; 1965; Srinivas, 1965; Milton Singer, 1972). Among Indians religion yields power under different elements such as magic, witchcraft, supernatural beings, spiritual forces, crisis nature, rights and power and so on. Hindus are very religious and closely attached to practices. Therefore, religious concepts are so strong among Indians that they believe in practicing the religion in all spheres; including socio-economic life. This is tied to dogmas based on beliefs, supernatural beings, forces and so on, which are emotionally determined. The references in the literature of India which today widely distributed in groups of different traditions, customs, manner, ceremonies and so forth, brought changes through the influence of various factors among people in any one of the groups. The religious rites, rituals and practices are changing because now people are becoming "modernised". Kurubs are also gradually changing in their religious traditions, ideas, customs and manners. But these changes have taken place owing to the adoption of new ways of religious life.

The Kuruba of Karnataka today do not have their own great or distinctive religious system to practice and they belong to one of the Hindu religious levels or
folds. As a result, they form one of the non-Sanskritic Hindu groups with non-Sanskritic religious practices. Now they are under the influence of purity movement or Sanskritisation and have started discarding the worshipping of the supernatural beings they had earlier and, which required blood offering. They have also minimized the offering of animal sacrifices and consuming alcoholic beverages and meat. In one way by opposing the Brahmanic customs and beliefs, the Kuruba have started copying them in terms of their gods, beliefs and behaviour and this has resulted in Sanskritisation. Now, like any other Hindu caste the Kuruba also believe in Hindu conceptions such as heaven (Swarga), hell (Naraka), reincarnation (Punarjanna), salvation or release (muktì), God (Ishwara), soul (Atma), illusion (Maya), the world or cosmos (Samsar), etymology, myths and life (Jîvana). They have also started observing the Hindu ethical codes such as notion of sin; which refers to such acts as good (punya) and evil (papa), Dharma and Karma, these are ethical beliefs. These ethical beliefs concern to both individual and group. In an individual it refers to righteousness (Dharmâtma), means virtues or traits of characteristics of the Dharmâtma. These humanistic virtues, therefore, started life after death, when he receives salvation or heaven.
Kuruba also believe in the Karma theory of life, transmigration of soul and rebirth. According to the Karma theory, the status of next birth depends upon the present one and the present, it is believed, is decided by the past Karma. The blind, the lame, the dumb, the mutilated, the barren, the insane, the poor and the caste to which one belongs, are conceived as decided by one's own Karma. 'Right actions' - true and morally good behaviour decide about the caste or community in which an individual has to be born and would also qualify the reward, hell or heaven. Those who violated them are penalised and sent to hell.

Religion is the central force in understanding the social action, the relation between religion and other aspects of society - economic, moral, political and social. These are understood through the study of the Kuruba religious roles, organisations and movements. Religious behaviour is part of social life and this means how a group like the Kuruba behave, interact, think and conduct their rites and rituals. With this as background an attempt is made here to know the functions of religion among the Kuruba.
The rate of change taking place in a religious group regarding their practices, beliefs, etc. also show the rate of change taken place in them and also the factors which brought changes. These factors may be internal, external and came in the form of mild influences or effective religious movements and reformers. The Kuruba have brought some necessary changes in their religious rituals and practices so that they fit in the new and changing society. This change brought through the interactions and constant contact with other groups in the society, has resulted in a remarkable diversity of religious practices and beliefs. But they have achieved it without eliminating the core factors or practices of their Dravidian cult.

There are a number of stages in the formation of the present day Kuruba religion. They are the shift from tribal and nomadic life to settled one, coming in contact with the Hindu castes in the villages of their settlement, Sanskritisation processes or purity movement and finally the stage the reformistic movement made their contact and so on.

Religious movements and changes brought about by
them also form part of study on religion. The religious movements are widely separated in time and place and that their similarities are due to similarities in local conditions which produce them. These are half way between the old and new way of living. Belshaw (1950:118-125) provides a vivid summary of the main features of the modern nativistc cults that have occurred. These are: the Tuka cult of Fiji, the Baigana cult of Papuo, the Vailala Madness of Popua, the Naked cult, Espiritu Santo and other contemporary movements. Talmon (1965:125-48) studied millenarian religious movements both in Europe and America. Under scoring the importance of such movements historically, psychologically and sociologically, the author has made a comparative study to find the pursuits of the Millennium, the relation between religious and social change such as a lineal process and leading to a final future and does not ignore the past. Aberle (1962:209-214) studied the relative deprivation theory with the application of millenarian religious movements under different headings such as cult movements.

By studying the religious practices of the Kuruba we come to know that a number of religious
practices and customs are followed by them. Among them a few represent tribal and nomadic type of living and a study of these throws light on their older form of life. Secondly, the Kuruba of Karnataka are largely influenced by the Veerashaiva movement or Mahanubhava movement of Karnataka and its philosophy. Thirdly, the religion and religious practices of Kuruba are much influenced by the recent movements of India such as the non-Brahmanic or the Backward castes movement.

The religion and religious life of the Kuruba will show that they believed in both anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic deities. The later are trees, plants, animals, stones and other objects. Anthropomorphic deities are: Hanuman (Monkey God), Basavanna (Bull God), Mallara Lingappa, Beerappa or Veeresha, Yallamma, Lakshmi, Lokamma and so on. The Kuruba observe a number of rituals and festivals in cyclic and non-cyclic fashion.

Festivals and Rituals:

The life of Kuruba is coloured by a number of festivals, feasts and pomp celebrations. While some important festivals are common to all sub-castes of
Kuruba, others are sectarian. Further, a few festivals are common to Hindus in general. So an attempt is made here to study the festivals of the Kuruba in comparison with the celebrations of other Hindu castes.

Kuruba observe a number of rites and rituals throughout the year. The cyclic ones are the festivals. A study of festivals celebrated by the Kuruba reveal that some are of Sanskritic origin and others of folk. It is also evident that these festivals are celebrated for curative or preventive purposes and so there is an element of expectation in celebrating them. In a few cases such as the festival of ancestral worship, one can see the notion of paying the obligation to the ancestors. Like this, each festival has its own purpose.

The festivals celebrated by the Kuruba can be divided into three groups depending upon the level of celebration and participation, such as family or lineage, clan and caste. In addition to these, a few festivals are of settlement and group level. The festivals celebrated by the Kuruba are as follows:
A. Family and Clan Level Festivals:

Kuruba celebrate a number of festivals at different group level. Among these the family level celebrations are important from the point of group interaction. In these family level festival celebrations the family members involve and get benefits from it. These are as follows:

1. Ugādi (Ugādi):

This festival is celebrated on the first day of Hindu month of Chaitra (March-April). This is the New Year festival for those Hindus who follow the Sālivāhanaśaka— the lunar calendar. The Kuruba who are Shaivas, consider this day an auspicious one and celebrate a festival expecting property. On the first day of Ugādi the priest—astronomer calculates and tells the future, good and bad, that may occur during the coming year. During this festival, the Kuruba invite their caste priests to their homes, to receive their blessings and to remove ritual pollution from the house, using the sacred water (pādodaka). Earlier to this celebration the house is whitewashed and decorated with festoons of sacred leaves and flowers. All the members of the family
rub their body with coconut oil and take a ritual bath in hot water, in which neem leaves are put. It is also customary to wear new and ritually clean dresses. The family deity, the threshold of the house, agricultural tools and bullocks are specially worshipped. A mixture of neem flowers and jaggery (Bēvu-Bella) are specially eaten to symbolize that life is a mixture of bitter and sweet situations.

It is customary to undertake some work connected with the family occupation symbolically on this auspicious day. By afternoon those Kuruba who are agriculturists, consult an austroleger for the auspicious direction and favourable member of the family to till the land to symbolise the beginning of the work for the year (Modala bēsāya huduvudu). After knowing this, the family goes to a most fertile land they own, along with bullocks, agricultural implements, ritual objects and ritual offerings. In the field they worship the Mother Earth, agricultural tools, bullocks, environmental beings, Lord Ganesha (Benakappa), Sun God, stars and, offer food. After that, the designated person will symbolically cultivate the land, by going round the field with bullocks for three rounds. On returning home, both men and bullocks
are received by women whose husband is alive (Sumangaliaru) by waving sacred lamps (Arati).

On the second day of the festival, the Kuruba decorate their house once again with various sacred leaves. They also take a ritual bath and eat the festival food and the mixture of neem flower and sugar.

Same day, late in the afternoon, the Kuruba collect in a suitable place to have a look at the New Year tender Moon. It is believed that having a look at the tender Moon (Chandra Darshana), will bring prosperity and good luck to them. After taking a look at the moon, the youngsters bow to elders and receive blessings.

Ugadi also marks the beginning of the new ritual year for Hindus. On that day when all are assembled, the dates of different festivals to be celebrated in the village are finalised.

2. Festival of Family Deity

This festival is celebrated in the month of Vaishaka (April-May). This festival is known by
different names such as Jogidarsana Habba or Devara Habba, Elukolada Yallamana Habba, Uchhangavvana Habba, Renukadevi Habba, Uchhangi Kenchammama Habba and so forth. Majority of Kuruba have Yallamma as their family deity and she is also the favourite deity of others. So this festival is celebrated with pomp and colour by the Kuruba.

During the festival celebrations, Goddess Yallamma is worshipped in the form of a metal pot. On the day of worship, the metal pot is ritually cleaned and draped with new clothing. This festival is celebrated only on Tuesdays; usually after the Ugadi festival. The festival can be celebrated on any day till the next Full Moon Day; which is locally known as Aghe hunnima. For the celebration, the members take a ritual bath and also ritually clean the house. The leaves of sacred plants and trees are also tuck to the main door of the house.

Generally, the ritual part of the festival is observed during the night and for that their religious functionaries such as the Gwarappa, Gvarava, Jogappa, Jogavva, Desayya, Devadasi and son, are invited. These invitees come in their ritual robe and with sacred articles
such as Trident (Trishul), Bell (Gante), Drums (Damaruga), metal bowl (Doni), which are the major objects of Gwarappu and Gvaravva. Dassyya come with conch shell (Shankha) and metal gong (Jagate). Jogappa and Jigavva come adorned with jingling anklets (Gejjesara) and conch necklaces (Kevade sara), sacred musical instrument (Chowtike) and such other articles. Jogatis come with their sacred musical instrument (Chowtike) and the idol of Yallamma deity. Devadasi bring tarft of sacred hair of bear (Chowri) to fan the deity.

For the festival of family deity a special altar is arranged at the family. The floor of the house is ritually cleaned and decorated with ritual designs (Rangole). A banana leaf is put in front of the altar and worshipped. This worshipping of a leaf is known as Yale Puja. After this, the worshipper keeps a sacred lamp besides the decorated altar, facing in the direction of East. Finally the idol of Yallamma is placed on the dias facing East. By Her side a sacred instrument (Chowtike) is also placed. Then the deity is decorated with new green bangles, new cloth and a few jewels. Turmeric (Sandhara) and vermillian power (Kumkuma), sandal paste (Gandha), sacred ash (Vibhuti),
flowers (puspa) are also offered. Finally the sacred lamp (Kalasa), camphor (Harpura) or incense sticks are waved.

The special food items prepared for the occasion are also offered to the deity. Then the invited religious functionaries recite a few sacred syllables and also sing a few holy songs in honour of Yallamma. They also utter worthy words such as Vuchô and Büköti Changamaloo thrice. Finally along with the members of the family they partake in eating the festival food. The religious functionaries bless the family members and also give them sacred materials such as holy ash, before they leave the family.

The Jogidaráshana festival is celebrated one day after the festival of Yallamma. For this festival the Kuruba specially prepare non-vegetarian food to offer to the deity. All the religious functionaries among the Kuruba, are invited to partake in the ritual and also to eat the food. Later all the invitees throw Kumkum, rice, sacred ash and flowers on the idol and also wave sacred lamps and raise sacred fumes. Coconuts and banana are also offered. After eating the sacred
food, a few devotional songs are also sung in honour of the deity.

3. **Nāgara Panchami**

Sravana (July-August) month as a whole is sacred for Hindus in general and the Kuruba in particular. The important celebration is Nāgara Panchami, where the images of Cobra God are worshipped. In the village there are a few known serpent shrines where the images of Cobra are found. This worshipping of cobra is connected with the origin myth of the Kuruba. It is by digging an ant-hill the place of residence of the cobra, the Kuruba progenitor - Undala Padampa found the sheep; the source of living for the Kuruba. It is said, even though the ant-hill was disturbed the cobra in it did not bite him and instead protected him because of the grace of Lord Shiva on him. In gratification of this the Kuruba observe a festival in honour of the cobra and offer food to it.

To observe Nāgara Panchami, the Kuruba specially clean the house and whitewash the walls and apply cowdung solution to the floor. They themselves take a ritual bath. Special foods are also prepared for the feast.
Worshipping of Cobra deity is made both at home and at the village cobra shrines. A few even go to a nearby ant-hill and worship it and pour milk into it.

The cobra is a dangerous creature and a shepherd or an agriculturist is bothered by it while at work. So it is worshipped to avoid its troubles. The food offered to the cobra (Charagada Anna) is later sprinkled over the field and threshing ground. This act is known as Charaga Chaluvudu. It is believed to keep away the cobra from these places.

Nagara Panchami celebration is also associated with future or oracle telling by the caste deity of Kuruba. In the evening they assemble at the temple of Mailara Lingappa, to listen to the oracle (Karnika). That day the idol of Mailara Longappa deity is specially worshipped and offered with special worship and ritual foods. Later he is placed in a palanquin and taken in a procession to the rivulet for a worship (Gange Puja). On returning one of the devotees or an initiated or designated son (Sanamaga) is possessed and starts giving oracles. At that time all the religious functionaries of the Kuruba caste such as the Devadasi, Jogappa, Jogavva,
Cwarappa and so on, assemble with their holy objects such as Chowtike, Chamara, begging bowl (Doni) and Trident (Trishul). The oracles told will be concerned with the good or bad rains, crops, diseases to men and animals and so on. So other villagers also await for these and later join Kuruba in worshipping the deity.

4. Deepavali:

Deepavali or Diwali is one of the important festivals of Hindus. According to the general Hindu calendar which the Kuruba follow, this festival falls in the month of Asvina (September-October) and Kartika (October-November). The Kuruba celebrate this festival in the folk way as Hattilekkavvana Habba, the festival of cattle wealth. The Sanskrit level Hindus observe this festival as the beginning of the New fiscal year and as the festival of lights. According to Sanskrit belief, Lord Vishnu killed the demon king Karaka and saved the world from evil. To mark the success of good over the evil and bad, light over the darkness, a large number of lamps are lit and placed in all important spots of the house.
The Kuruba celebrate the Deepavali festival like any other Hindu castes, with white washing the house and preparing the festival feast. Deepavali is generally celebrated by them for three days - preparatory day, the actual festival day and post festival day. On all the three days different deities are worshipped and offered with festival good. Deepavali is generally known as the festival of goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) and for that the agriculturists worship their means or source of wealth, agricultural tools, cattle and cattleshed and the merchants renew their account books and worship them to get prosperity during the coming year.

It is believed by the folk that their demon King was killed by Lord Vishnu and while digging the demon got a boon from Vishnu that this day be celebrated as a festival in his honour as the Naraka Chaturdasi. It is believed that, on that day in the evening, the demon King visits his kingdom to see his subjects. So to receive their King, his subjects decorate their houses and celebrate the occasion as a festival with much colour and pomp.
On the second day, in the evening, the Kuruba worship Goddess Lakshmi at the main entrance of the house. Sacred lamps are lit and placed at different places in the house such as the main entrance, domestic altar, charning post and so on. At all these spots moulds of cowdung, with flowers and corn heads stuck in them, are also placed. This is known as Benaka Puje or Tippe Puje, meaning the worship of cowdung; which is the most valuable thing for farmers.

On the second day, in the evening, Goddess Gwale Dyāmavva is worshipped by the Kuruba. She is believed to be the protector of livestock in the family, against any diseases. That day as the cattle return from grazing, they are collected for a while in a temporary shed, specially constructed for this on the day and outside the village settlement. Here they are fed with rice, castor oil, coconut, banana and so on, which were offered to the deity. Meanwhile the caste headman and other members of the caste go to that place taking Mallara Lingappa, their caste male deity, in a grand procession. Here a special worship is conducted and the sacred food is offered. Later this offering is distributed to the
assembly of men in the form of sacred material (Prasāda). Later they return home with the cattle.

For Kurubas, sheep flocks are their goddess of wealth. So they worship the sheep-pen with sacred leaves and flowers and turmeric powder (Bandhara). In the evening when the flock return home after grazing, they are collected outside the village settlement for a while. Women whose husbands are alive and also the young virgins (Kanyā), go there with sacred lamps (Ārati) and other sacred articles, to worship them. Men and women form two separate parties—sangumāla and hennumāla, and go in a procession singing, dancing and beating native drums (Dollu). On arrival at the sheep flock, they perform a number of folk customs and rites. Later both men and women applause loudly to scare away the flock. This is locally known as Chaduriumuva Kattale. Later the flock are again collected and brought to the village in a procession. The ritual material, rice mixed in milk (hāluhuggi), is distributed to all the family members by the traditional headman of the caste. With this the festival activities for the second day are over.

On the last day of the festival, the houses have to be ritually cleaned again. A special sweet dish of
pulses is also prepared. The Kuruba even call this day by the sweet dish they prepare - Byale Habba. A number of religious rites are celebrated and the caste deities - Ishwara and Beeresha, are worshipped in a grand manner. On the next day early in the morning, the agricultural implements and other ritual materials are worshipped and removed. With this the celebration of the Diwali festival comes to an end.

5. Ancestral Worship

Those who do not observe the ancestral worship along with the Ugadi festival, celebrate it separately on a convenient day. Ancestral worship is locally known as Hiriyara Habba. This worship is performed to please the souls of departed ancestors. The Kuruba believe that the ancestors being the members of the clan take an active interest in the well being of their descendents on earth. So every thing which concerns to the family and its members such as prosperity, health and fertility are of interest to the ancestors. The custom is to make arrangements for the celebration of ancestral worship in one family; usually that of the lineage elder. All other members contribute for the rite and also actively participate in the worship.
The ancestors are worshipped in the form of a metal pot, filled with water. The water to be filled in the pot is specially brought by one of the family members. At the well the Goddess of water (Gange mata) is worshipped and sacred lamps waved and offered with ritual food. It is brought home in a procession with one of the family members carrying it. It is also customary to spread sheets of ritually clean cloth by the family washerman, on the path of the water pot carrier. This is called Medikauyudu, meaning spreading of ritually clean cloth.

By the time the procession reaches home, the members of the family will have also taken a ritual bath and cleaned the floor of the house. Later the priest sprinkles holy water throughout the house to clean it. This water is locally known as Ägne Niru literally meaning comanded water. When the procession arrives at the house, the caste priest and Ñwarappa play a few important roles. Before the pot is brought in one of them worships the pot as well as the threshold of the house. Later the caste priest takes the pot and places it at the family shrine.
Ancestors are worshipped in the form of two metal pots, one to represent male ancestors and another to represent the female. The pots are placed on the decorated altar and filled with sacred water brought from the well. On the top of the pots three betel leaves are arranged with their stapple ends down and in such a way they act as lining to the mouth of the pot. Over that a coconut is placed with the fibery end upwards. Over the pots new clothes and ornaments are put.

Ancestors are worshipped with bandhara, kumkum, sacred ash, sandal paste and sacred flowers and leaves. A coconut is also broken and offered to them. It is also customary to offer all the foods and drinks the ancestors were fond-off including beedies or cigarettes, fruits, liquors like arrack or toddy, betel leaves and nuts, chewing tobacco, etc. All the food items liked by the ancestors which may number more than ten sometimes, are also prepared and placed. The religious functionaries invited, will join the priest in sprinkling the Agne Niru thrice. Then the assembly bow to the ancestors and request them to accept the offerings and send their blessings. At the end each religious functionary takes the seat specified to him according to his ritual status, to eat the festival food. Finally, each religious functionary is given betel
leaves, a coconut and a few coins and bowed to express the family's respect and gratefulness for their help in conducting the worship.

It is believed that during ancestral worship, the ancestors come to accept the food and also stay with the family for a day. So during their stay with the family, members behave properly lest the ancestors get angry. Even children are asked to observe this rule. An atmosphere of silence, obedience is seen in the family on that day.

B. Village Level Festivals

1. Car Festival of Anjaneya

Anjaneya, the ape god, is connected with Ramayana and, therefore, he is quite popular in South India. In most of the villages a fair is celebrated in his honour. Ninth day of Chaitra (March-April) is observed as the birth day celebration of Hanuman. The fourteenth day, which happens to be the full moon day of Chaitra, is observed as Hanuma Jayanti. Hanuman symbolizes faithfulness, celebrity and strength. The Kurubas who uphold all these qualities in man have taken Hanuman as a model and worship him.
Five days after Ugadi, village leaders meet at the Hanuman temple to plan and finalize the festival arrangements. In our reference village the ritual headman (Buddivanta) comes from the Kuruba caste and it is his responsibility to arrange for the activities. As a first step the news about the day of the festival is announced by tom-tomming in the village. On the first day, early in the morning, the priest of the Hanuman temple ceremoniously rubs turmeric paste and Kumkum to the icon and for that village leaders assemble. Later the tying of ritual wrist bond, locally known as Kankana Kattiyudy, is celebrated, wherein along with the deity, the village leaders are also tied with the Kankana by the priest, around their right wrist. This symbolically means taking the responsibility to celebrate the fair. Later the leaders and the assembled villagers, caste leaders, leaders of the folk dance and singing groups and the priests of other deities in the village, are given with Vilva, betel leaves and nuts. Finally the flag of Hanuman is also hoisted on the temple and it remains there till the fair is over.

On the second day as a part of the fair, the Kuruba construct a small holy car locally known as
Culu Uchhava. In it the icon is placed and taken in a procession to the brook for the worship of water goddess (Gange Puja). The third day procession structure is known as horse procession (Kudre Uchhaya). On the fourth day also the deity is taken in a procession to the brook for worship in a structure known as Āne Uchhaya, where it is believed that an elephant is used for riding to the brook.

On the final day of the fair the Hanuman deity is taken around the settlement in the main holy car (Tēru). The Āsava construct the car and for this they go around the village collecting the ropes needed for pulling the car. Customarily it is the people of the Nāyaka caste who pull the holy car. The village washerman carry the holy torch, the earth workers (Bhōvi or Waddaru) sprinkle water and ritually clear the path of the car. Chalavadi, the traditional pipemen provides the holy music and the Mēdaru, the traditional village servants sweep the surroundings of the temple and the village roads.

When the deity is taken in a procession in the holy car, it is customary for the devotees to throw
on Him dates, banana and so on. Others also offer food on banana leaves and place it on the path of the car wheels. This types of offering is believed to help avert problems from spirits, especially Bhütappa. Therefore, it is known as the food offered to Bhütappa (Bhütana Ede). It is also allowed to offer one's respects to the deity in any form the devotee wishes and can afford. For example, the folk dance and singing troupes such as Dolly, bhajan, Kölumela, urum, tappate, etc. come in groups and perform their art in front of the holy car as it goes around the village. This is their service to the deity.

By the time the car procession is over, all the participants in the fair will be tired and so during the afternoon a few refreshments and recreational activities are arranged. It is customary for the local devotees to supply soft drinks and food to devotees coming from other villages. The soft drink, prepared in big vessels is placed on bullock carts and brought around the settlement, offering it free to all those who want it.

Next day in the morning colour (Okali) water is played (c.f. Gurumurthy 1971:32-33). For this the
the pit in front of the temple is cleaned and filled with water and mixed with little turmeric powder and lime. This gives a saffron coloured solution to play **Okali**. The pit with full of **Okali** water is worshipped and offered with ritual food. The deity is brought and kept at the edge of the pit. Kuruba men and **Davadao** of Hanuman form two separate groups and start throwing the 'holy' water (Okali) at each other. When the water is finished, all will go to the rivulet for a holy bath.

Final rite is the removing of the **Kankana** thread tied to the wrist of the deity and the village elders on the first day of the fair. Later the metal top **Kalasa**, is worshipped and removed and the holy car is dismantled. Next the Hanuman flag is brought down. Finally the car wheels are worshipped and pushed back to their customary parking place.

In the past, animals like sheep and goats in a huge number were offered to Hanuman deity. Now it is almost stopped owing to the Sanskritisation of rituals and efforts made by the Backward Caste Movement leaders. However, the animals are still sacrificed in secret,
because we can see non-vegetarian food being prepared by the individual homes during this festival.

In the past, while playing Okali the Devadasis of Hanuman, created some obscene acts and now that has been stopped. Even a few folk acts of immodesty such as bringing the dedicated girls wrapped only in neem leaves, has been also stopped. For the entertainment of the assembly now recorded music is played and bhajnas are sung. Further, in the past, the fair used to invariably end in quarrels of some type. This was owing to group rivalry and overt superiority and inferiority feeling among different castes. Added to this was the consumption of alcoholic beverages and taking of opium. Now all these have been minimised or almost stopped.

2. Basavana Jayanti:

Birth day of Lord Basaveshwara, the founder of Veerashaiva faith, is celebrated as Basava Jayanti. It is celebrated by the Kuruba on the third day of Vaisāka (April-May). Lord Basava is believed to be the incarnation of Nandi, the bull vehicle of Lord Shiva. Therefore, on the festival day, agriculturists observe
holiday and the bullocks are given a ritual bath and
t heir horns painted with bright colours. The house is
also ritually cleaned by washing the walls and floor
and the householders also take a ritual bath. A
special dish of jawar (Sargam) locally known as \textit{Richadi},
is prepared and offered to bullocks. In the evening
the well decorated bullocks are taken in a procession
around the village. The procession of bullocks visits
all the deities of the village in their temples, to
offer a worship and receive blessings.

3. \textit{K\^{a}ra Habb\^{a}}

This is the festival of cultivators of land.
The festival is celebrated in the month of \textit{Jeshtha}
(May-June). It is connected with the fertility of the
village land (c.f. Gurumurthy, 1970:34-44). It is only
after the celebration of this festival, that the
agricultural activities for the year begin.

The festival day is declared a holiday for the
agricultural work. The bullocks and the agricultural
tools are given a ritual wash and worshipped. The tools
are sprinkled with the solutions of lime and red mud.
The special food prepared is also fed to the bullocks.
This is being mainly the festival of agriculturists, the Kuruba, who were shepherds, have been involved in this celebration very recently.

4. Ganesha Jayanti:

The Ganesha Jayanti is also known as Ganeshana Habba and Ganesha Chaturthi. It falls on the fourth day of Bhadrapada (August-September) month. This festival is observed for three days. The idol of Lord Ganesha is customarily exchanged for raw food items like rice and coconuts from the potters, who make them. The idol is brought in a procession and kept in a small decorated altar specially constructed for it. This idol is usually kept for three, five or nine days and worshipped daily. On the last day it is taken in a procession to a customarily fixed well and immersed. As fellow members of the community, the Kuruba participate actively in all festival activities.

5. Navaratri:

This festival begins from the first day of Ashvin (September-October) month. This month is well known to all those who worship mother Shakti in different form, including Yellamma. The Kuruba who are the devotees
of Yallamma observe a festival in Her honour. Persons initiated for her service like Jogavva and Jogappa, go around the caste localities in the villages specially on Wednesdays and Sundays, receiving alms both in cash and kind. In return they give sacred turmeric powder to the devotees; to be applied on their forehead.

6. **Kārteeka**:

**Kārteeka** festival is observed in the month of October-November, on the favourite days of individual castes such as Tuesday, Sunday and so on. **Kārteeka** symbolizes the beginning of winter and a festival is observed by all castes to mark this and at the temple of their favourite deities. In a closely net village like the one we studied, all castes join hands and celebrate the festival in honour of major deities in the village.

Kuruba in particular observe this festival at the temple of Beerappa, their caste deity, on the New Moon Day of the month. On a Tuesday after the New Moon Day, the Kuruba also observe **Kārteeka** rituals at the temples of Mailara Lingappa, Renuka Devi and Maramma, their other major deities. On the last Sunday of
Kārteeka month, which is an important day for the Kuruba, a caste level worship is observed at the temple of Beerappa.

For the Kārteeka ritual the temples are whitewashed and decorated with mango festoons and flowers. A rostrum is specially prepared in the sanctum sanctarium of the temples. A beautiful booth is also erected in the varandha of temples. The deities are also adored with jewels and draped with garments. A procession of deities accompanied by folk dances and singers is taken to the brook along the main streets of the settlement for the worshipping of the water deity. There are Elepuja, Abhishoka, Dhurupuja, Kamake puja, and so on, are also performed. At that time, religious functionaries like the Dēvadāsi, Jōgappa, Jēgavva, Dēsayya, Gwārappa and others also take part in the activities.

The last day of Kārteeka month is an auspicious occasion for the Kuruba. Elderly members of the caste prepare an altar and a screen, using the branches and bark of benjan tree. This is locally known as Kadalimantapa and Kadali huvu. At individual homes also elaborate celebrations are observed for family and favourite deities.
A number of special sweet dishes are also prepared. They also invite religious leaders like Odeyaru, Kōlkāra, Veeragara, Jōgappa, Gwārappa, Dāsayya, Dēvadēsi and so on, to receive the food offered to the deity called Ŗragana Eda, Gwārappana Eda and so on. After performing a worship to the deity and offering the food, all these religious functionaries, who are locally known as Nudrevenaru, face towards Saundatti and Devaragudda shrines, where Yallamma and Malara Lingappa deities are stationed; and sing songs and praises in honour of the deities. Later they offer sacred ash, turmeric powder and kumkam to the deity and recite the sacred slogans Ŗdho! thrice. Gwārappa and Gwārava pendulate sacred chowlies to the deities and praise them for providing prosperity to their family. After this they take the food which is offered to them and come to the temple. At the temple under the guidance of caste elders and religious functionaries certain religious rituals are observed. They also worship the seat of thorns (Mullugaddige), seat of fire (Kandadagaddige) and so on. The former seat is prepared for the initiated son of Beeresha deity to sit on. The latter is prepared for fire walking by the deity, initiated son of Beeresha, and the religious functionaries, devotees - men, women
Fire walking is performed to get ritual purity and prosperity. After the worship and offering of food to the fire, it is crossed thrice from East to West and South to North. After these rituals, the recitation of mythic stories of Beerappa, Malara Lingappa, Renuka davi, Yallamma davi and so on is done. During these days recitation of Harikatha and Kirthana are also arranged on this occasion. In this way, the Kārteeka festival is observed by Kuruba with great pomp and charm, along with other caste in the village.

7. Makara Sankranti:

Kuruba also observe this festival along with other castes, on the fourth day of Pushya (December-January) month. It marks the entry of Sun into the line of capricorn. On the other hand, it also serves as the harvest festival, for which the newly harvested rice is cooked into a dish, Huggi, and offered to the deity. It is also customary to exchange sweetened tila among friendly and related families and individuals.
3. Mahā Shivaratri:

The New Moon day night, which is supposed to be connected with Lord Shiva, is observed as a festival. This is an important festival of Kuruba because they are the devotees of Lord Shiva. On the New Moon day night (Shivarātri Amavāsā) of Phalguna (February-March) month, the devotees observe a fast and also keep awake throughout the night. They assemble at the temple of Beera Lingeshwara, the other name of Lord Shiva, and go on singing Bhajans and listen to holy scripts and discourses.

In this way the Kuruba observe all Hindu festivals celebrated in the village, in addition to the festivals which are connected with the deities they worship. They are the festivals of Lokamma, Maramma, Mailara Lingappa and so on which are their special deities. The Kuruba also have a number of other deities in their pantheon, classified into village level deities (Ūru devaru), caste level deities (Jāti devaru), clan level deities (Kula devaru) and personal level deities (Ishta devaru). Among these the first three categories are known to him by birth but the fourth category of deities are later acquired by the person according to his personal interest and faith.
The village deities of the Kuruba are the Hanuman, Eshwara, Narayanaswamy, Basavanna, Beera Lingeshwara, Kottur Basappa, Gange Devaru, Kalamma, Lokamma, Duramma, Mamamma and so on. Caste deities are: Malala Lingappa, Beera Lingappa, Yallamma and so on. Clan deities are: Goni Basappa, Tirupati Timmappa, Beera Lingappa, Hulkoti Siddappa, Challur Siddappa, Anjaneya, Uchhangavva, Kalgattada Kariyavva, Hulgosarva, Honnamma and so on. The personal deities are: Nanjunatha swamy of Dharmasthala, Marula Sidda of Ujjaini, Karisiddappa of Ukkadagatri, Raghavendra Swamy of Mantralaya, Siddappa of Haribara and so on. So when a fair is observed in honour of all these deities, the Kuruba also observe them either by going to the respective shrines or in their village itself.

Worship of Plants and Animals:

Kuruba also worship a few sacred animals and plants. The important animals are the cow and the sheep and the Kuruba's view them as Goddess Lakshmi. The cowdung, urine, milk, curds, ghee are all viewed holy and sacred. So they believe that killing of a cow is a sin and they abstain from eating beef. The different products of cow are considered holy and has
been given a place in the ritual life of the Kuruba. The cowdung ash is applied to their forehead as sacred ash.

Sheep is believed to be the goddess of wealth (Dhana Lakshmi). During penning of sheep flocks in the field, they worship both the sheep and fields. It is customary to offer blood sacrifice at that time. The sheep are worshipped daily during penning season. On the last day of penning a number of rites and rituals like over boiling the milk (Hālu Ukkisuvudu), sprinkling the sacred food on the sheep and field (Charaga challuvudu), etc. are performed. To maintain ritual purity and to lead a life away from sin, now many Kuruba do not kill the sheep. Many a times, even a dead sheep is not given to those who eat it, but ritually bury it in the field. All these activities are conducted to get protection to their wealth and propagate it. Like any other Hindu caste group, the Kuruba too worship the sacred trees, especially the holy trees, like neem and pipal, if they have grown together. Pipal tree is associated with Lord Krishna and Neem with his wife Lakshmi. So worshipping these
trees for prosperity and wealth is common. It is a common sight to see devout women worshipping and going round these trees taking vow to get wealth, health, children and protection. It is also believed that the leaves or flowers of a few trees protect against evil beings. Other trees like Bilwa, Banni and Agse are considered holy since they are believed to be residing places of deities. It is also believed that goddess Dyamevva, Durgavva, Kariyavva, Tulajavva reside in the neem tree. These are the minor goddesses who control spirits who are supposed to be responsible for diseases like small pox, chicken pox and plague, etc.

Among other holy plants Tulasi (a kind of Basil) is considered the holiest because it is associated with Lord Beeresha, Krishna and Goddess Tulajavva. The plants, commonly found in the locality of Kuruba, are raised with great care and also worshipped daily. Carike, (Agrostis linearis Retz) another holy grass is planted in a small round mass of cowdung, represents Vināyaka, serpent (Nāga) and so on. Worship of these holy objects is believed to remove all obstacles and so given first and foremost place in all religious rites and worships.
Belief in Spirits and Ghosts:

Kuruba believe in a number of supernatural beings and classify them into two groups: harmful and mischievous. But by nature, they are all malevolent ones. They also believe those reside in old and lonely trees, rocks, abandoned houses and so on. To avert trouble from them, they are worshipped and cowered by offering food. The food is offered to them by sprinkling or throwing the same at certain known places of their residence locally known as **Uliga**. When an evil spirit bothers the Kuruba, it is believed that it needs food. So they offer a worship to the favourite or family deity and afterwards the food offered is thrown to the spirits. Usually the rites are arranged on Tuesdays or Sundays and at night through a magician or **māntrik**.

The Kuruba also believe in ghosts and say that those who die a violent and unnatural death, and those die with unfulfilled wishes and desires are turned into ghosts. To fulfill their wishes or to trouble the person or family, the ghosts attack and the family concerned takes the help of a favourite and powerful deity and avert the problem.
However, the Kuruba have a number of religious functionaries who belong to both small and great tradition. Those who belong to great tradition are the Odeyaru and Jangama. The functionaries of the small tradition are the priests at the temples of deities who are worshipped by the Kuruba. They are the persons dedicated to the service of the caste deities such as Dāssyya, Gwārappa, Jōgappa and Jōgavva. In addition, there are the magicians, medicinemen and herbalarians. All these functionaries have their own roles to play in the religious life of the Kuruba, depending upon the occasion.

**Passage Rites Among the Kuruba:**

Like any other community the Kuruba also observe a number of passage rites to their individuals on the occasions of birth, initiation, puberty, marriage and death. These rites of passages according to Gennep (1960:1) signify mainly three things – separation, incorporation and transmission. These conditions or situations are very important from the point of social interaction in any society since they bring an array of activities and also affect the relation of the individual or the family with others. These occasions
also serve in any society, as occasions to perform rituals, invite priests, kin and community members, spend money, time and energy. These days, as Gurumurthy (1973:111-120) has pointed out, also serve as occasions to mobilize group members for political action. Further, a study of passage rites help to understand the traditional and popular meaning of these in the society and also the possible changes taken place in them.

As observed earlier, the Kuruba are a non-Brahmanic group. In the past, little importance was given to the secular aspect of these celebrations. Kuruba celebrate the following passage rites: birth, initiation (puberty), marriage and funeral. These are intermediated by a number of minor rites connected with each significant stage of transition in life. In the past, when the Kuruba were traditional minded all these rituals were celebrated in strict religious manner. Now owing to a number of factors including the Backward Caste Movement, changes are creeping in and most of these rites are becoming more or less secular. However, a symbolic importance is given to the ritual aspect. In the past, when tradition prevailed many elaborate
rituals were observed involving a large number of people, time and cost. Now there is a change in them.

Marriage rite is now considered a sacrament among Kuruba owing to their Sanskritisation. Arranged marriages are ideal with a stress given to kin marriages. Naturally the qualities expected in a bride are the same as in case of Brahmanic group. But the leap the Kuruba took from pastoral to settled life and from local to universal Hindu fold has brought a few problems among them. When Kuruba were a part of a small tradition, they had a few customs and ideals. Keeping the kin and fertility value they practiced kin marriages with ideality. Marriages of closer kins like cross-cousins, uncle-niece, were preferred and prescribed. Marrying in such close circle the Kuruba got matches automatically. This type of a marriage also reduced troubles of spending more on bride price, gifts and marriage expenses, etc. It had also solved the adjustment problems among the kin and the newly-weds. Marriage in close circle had also blocked the coming in of outside and new ideas into a family through the bride. Owing to this, a type of lethargy prevailed in the sphere of marriage.
Modern education created employment opportunities and attracted many youth. Further, owing to Sanskritisation the importance given to a bride was changed and on the other hand now men demand dowry and marriage gift. The payments of dowry went up so high that the poor found it difficult to marry-off their daughters. Later the Backward Caste Movement, which was also the anti-Brahmanic, discouraged the evil customs like dowry, marrying in sub-caste and among kin only was also discouraged. As a result, now the Kuruba not only disapprove dowry but also the extravagance on marriage celebrations.

In the past, when mortality rate among the Kuruba was high, naturally the population growth was less. So any factor which contributed to its growth like marriage and puberty, were the occasion to rejoice. They also celebrated early and child marriages. This also had a few socio-economic and cultural reasons. Owing to poverty they wanted to club marriages of younger sibling and reduce the marriage cost. Secondly, it was not safe to keep a girl unmarried till she attained puberty because very much importance was
attached to girl's virginity before the marriage. In the past situation of the society was such that it was rather difficult to maintain virginity of a girl. So the traditional minded communities tried to solve it by marrying them early. As the societal condition improved and also the enlightenment dawned, late marriages gradually come into practice.

In the past, the puberty rite was celebrated with much colour and pomp. This was because of the reasons mentioned above. Further, the puberty rite was in association with a number of other rites and ceremonies and these helped to train the young girl for married life; which followed immediately afterwards. At the same time the appearance of first menstrual blood in a girl, was considered most polluting. So a pollution period of three days was observed. Till that time the girl was secluded and not allowed to touch any person or household objects. After the pollution period was over, a purificatory rite was celebrated and the girl, her family members, household gods and the house, were ritually cleaned. Later a number of rites like puberty rites were performed to the girl for five to nine days. For which, daily in the evening, the women folk of the
locality were invited to sing a few folk songs suitable to the occasion. The last day celebration was linked with other celebrations such as nuptial of the girl if she was already married or her betrothal to some one.

Now a days owing to Veerashaiva influence on the Kuruba, the notion of purity and pollution has been reduced considerably. Though the puberty of a girl is observed as a rite, it is celebrated on a low key. In a few families, who are "modernised" a girl attaining puberty becomes a private affair of the family and the girl is "taken into" the group after a nominal ritual bath. No publicity is given or a public rite is celebrated to mark it. Further, the notion of pollution and keeping the girl in seclusion for a number of days and observing a number of rituals to guard her against evil spirits, etc., have also gone. These changes are because of the advancement of modern education in the community.

Because of the reduced importance now given to virginity in a bride before marriage and the disgrace it brings to the girl and the family and kin group in case of its loss, the notion of pollution is not stressed
too much. Moreover, the situation in the society has also improved and the women can move around safely and easily. The individual rights of the women are also respected. All these in turn helped the women in the development of her own personality and status. Added to this is the modern education and employment. The modern education takes ten to twelve years for a youth to become a graduate. Later it may take a year or two to settle to a job. Further the consciousness about the standard of living, family obligations, lack of suitable homes in the place of work, etc., have brought a trend among the educated to postpone their marriage. Naturally the marriage of girls are also postponed and this has resulted in late marriages.

As pastoral group the Kuruba had all the traits of a group which belongs to a little tradition. In their culture, to appease their favourite deities, they took vows, which sometimes ranged from offering a worship, cooked food, animal sacrifice and even offering oneself to the service of god. Offering oneself to the service of God has been in existence in human society since ancient days. Even the Sumerians, Romans and Greeks offered both men and women for the
service of God (Linton, 1955:301-302). Among Hindus also this type of dedication is found since from the Vedic and Puranic period (Tawney, 1924). The Kuruba also have this custom and today they dedicate a number of categories of persons to their favourite deities. They are the Gwārappa, Jōgappa, Dāsayya, Jōgavva, Basavi and so on. The Kuruba have Mailara Lingappa, Yallamma, Hanuman and such other gods. The men dedicated to Mailara or Devaraguddada Lingappa are called Gorava or Gwārappa. The women are Gō ravva or Gwāravva. Similarly those men who are dedicated to Yallamma are known as Jōgappa and women as Jōgavva. Dāsayya and Dasi are the men and women dedicated to Vaishnava deity.

In principle all these dedicated persons are kept aside for religious work. Whenever a family or caste as a whole celebrates a rite or ritual, the religious functionaries are informed first either to conduct them or to be present there to receive the alms. They are also supposed to bring with them their alms bowl or religious symbols and musical instruments such as gong (Jāgate), chowtike, bells and so on. They are also supposed to come in their ritual robes and sounding
the holy syllables assigned to them such as Ḫukōtī, Ṛdhō, Chāṅgaloo and so on.

Today in any of the rituals celebrated by the traditional minded Kuruba, one can see a host of these religious functionaries present in addition to the caste priest. In the true sense of the faith a Kuruba family is obligated to invite and respect only the religious functionaries who are linked with it. For example, those who have Yallamma as their family deity should invite only the Jōgappa and Jōgavva. The devotees of Lingappa should invite Gwārappapa and, the devotees of Hanuman to invite Dāsayya. But now irrespective of family links a number of these religious functionaries from the same village or nearby villages attend the rites. Each one invokes deity he/she represents and also sound the holy musical instruments, and also accepts the food in the traditional manner. It is only after these formalities that the rite is said to be completed. This means it called for more people, more time and money.

The religious functionaries of Kuruba are dedicated in a ceremony at the shrine of the deity of their linking.
Usually dedication of a person to a deity starts with a vow taken by the parents or the family, desiring some gain - cure, prosperity or support. For example, girls are dedicated to a deity for a vow taken asking for safe delivery. Similarly, if a family is financially not prosperous in spite of long toiling, it is attributed to curses or obstacles from a deity or spirit. So the family which seeks prosperity have to offer something first, a son or a daughter to get the desired ends. The boy or girl so dedicated of a vow are scheduled to be initiated in a ceremony on attaining certain age, in any case before the person loses the virginity.

A dedication or initiation rite costs a fortune to an average family. A set of new dress has to be bought, along with the required religious symbols and so on. They have to take the kith and kin with them to the shrine to witness the rite and later to feed them. At the shrine the required amount and articles has to be supplied to the temple or priests. Later, the priest and senior functionaries of similar type has to be satisfied by paying money or serving them with foods. After returning home a feast has to be given to the community to get their stamping. All these
costed lot of money and later the person spent his time doing religious duties, mostly towards the community.

The custom of dedicating men and women to deities resulted in a number of problems in the society. Far, the dedicated women later become sacred prostitutes and brought a host of problem to themselves, their children and to the society at large. Being illiterate and traditional in thinking these people propogated the same ideal in the society as a virtue. As a result, society suffered economically, socially and also in terms of health and hygiene.

This type of dedication of men and women to deities and their initiation has now become comparatively less. Now they are not generally welcomed during the rites celebrated by 'modernised' groups thinking that they are in a neuscne. Instead they rather prefer to invite the caste level priests like Odeyaru, who are the counterpart of Jangama among the Veerashaiva. This type of a shift is due to the reforaistic movements which took place in the society in general and the Backward Caste Movement in particular.
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