CHAPTER 3

RELIGION AND CULTURE

In this chapter, we will examine the three main aspects of Madiga religion, namely animism, Lingayatism and Srivaishnavism. We will view these aspects over a period of time, i.e. in pre-British as well as post-British and post-independence India. This will enable us to see the trends of change in the Madiga religion. We will also consider the religion of the elite strata of Madiga, which is a post-independence phenomenon. Finally, we will analyze all these trends in terms of the concepts of Sanskritization and Secularization.

ANIMISM

According to Chamber’s Dictionary, animism is "the attribution of a soul to natural objects and phenomena". Animistic rituals often involve propitiation of the venerated object by bloody sacrifice in order to appease it and thus spare the propitiator from its wrath. Animism probably has its origin in the fear of primitive man of the elements, which were beyond his control. Be that as it may, the collective emotion behind the performance of animistic rituals is that of lurking danger and fear. In this respect, animism can be distinguished from the Higher Religions, which rather hold a philosophical point of view of man’s relationship with the Universe or God.
Given the religio-cultural evolution of Hinduism, animistic practices are found in all castes in varying degrees. But, the ex-untouchables of the Indian countryside bear a special relationship to animism. It is they who have the responsibility of propitiating the village goddess, who as Kali is capable of wreaking much destruction in the form of epidemics, etc. They also have the task of ridding the village precincts of evil and dangerous spirits. This, if anything, shows the integration of the untouchables in the religious life of the Hindus, particularly in post-Vedic times. The Madiga, being the lowest caste in the hierarchy as well as belonging to the left-hand group of castes, occupies this specialist role to the hilt.

Animism, no doubt, flourished in the pre-British period. The British rulers generally followed a policy of non-interference in the religious affairs of the 'natives' and tried to make as objective reports as they could about the various animistic practices they were witness to. In trying to delineate the religious life of the various castes, the Mysore Tribes and Castes records, "The Madigas, Malas and a few other low castes must, as regards their original religious beliefs be classed as animists or spirit worshippers." It goes on to describe the practice of animism among them as follows:
"They have a strong faith in sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying and many devil drivers are found among them. When ordinary remedies fail in case of illness, an exorcist is called in and is asked to find out whether the sick person has offended any of the family gods, or whether his sickness is due to any spell cast over him by an enemy, or if he is possessed by any evil spirit. If the anger of any of the family gods is the cause, a vow is made to propitiate it; but if the cause is traced to either a spell cast by an enemy, or to an evil spirit, the devil driver by a appropriate performance removes the cause, and ties an amulet as a protection against future trouble. Madiga children wear charms made of leather."

Animistic practices are often directed towards the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. N.C. Bose has pointed out this phenomenon in his thesis on the 'Hindu method of tribal absorption'. Referring to Karnataka, C.N. Venugopal says, "Animistic practices such as the worship of trees and stones, fire-walking, hook-swinging and goddess worship, which are found among the lower castes of Karnataka, are animistic forms of religion which have been absorbed and transformed into the Great Religion of Hinduism."

Below, we will examine the practice of animism in N.R. Colony.

In N.R. Colony, we found three practitioners of witchcraft. Of the three, one had the ability to get possessed and become the oracle of the goddess. The services of the three were utilized by the Colony people to a) remove the bad effects put on them by others and b) to cause bad effects on others. The three practitioners resorted to mantras and yantras (spells and symbolic drawings) and made amulets
(kavacas) for their customers to wear as charms to ward off evil influences or to bring about the attainment of desired ends. Their services were commonly made use of by the Colony people. It is interesting to note that they catered to other castes also and they travelled all over the district and even beyond. They considered it as their profession and it was their only means of livelihood.

The second sphere in which animistic practices came into play was in the propitiation of goddesses. An already noted, the Madiga in the villages has a special role to play in the propitiation of the village goddess. This specialist role is justified in the myth behind the origin of the goddess. We have reproduced the myth as given in the Mysore Tribes and Castes in Appendix 1. Below, we give a summary of the myth.

A Madiga boy was received as a student by a Brahman, who mistook his origin. Later, the boy was married to the Brahman's daughter and had a number of children. After several years, the Madiga's mother, who had been in search of her lost son, found him in the guise of a Brahman, in the town. He took her in, passing her off as a dumb woman. However, she inadvertently gave away the secret of her son's origin. The Madiga's wife was so dismayed by this discovery, that she resolved to do penance. She killed not only herself but her entire family. For her piety, it was
ordained that she would henceforth be the goddess of epidemics, Mari. Her husband would be born as a he-buffalo, her children as kids and her mother-in-law as a sheep, and all would be sacrificed to her.

Given the central role of the Madiga in the myth, it is not surprising that the Madiga has an important role to play in the annual propitiation of the goddess. This specialist role is performed by a number of religious functionaries such as the Mathangi, Gosangi, Ranagayya, Asadi and others, all of whom are Madigas.

Below, we will give an account of the annual propitiation of the goddess in N.R. Colony. But, before we do so, let us take a look at the various goddesses in the Colony.

The people of N.R. Colony worship four 'ammass', namely Durgamma, Maramma, Pujamma and Ethinhally amma. While the first three are resident within the Colony, the last one is located in Ethinhally, a village at a short distance from Tumkur town, where she is the village goddess. (Please see Figure 3 in Chapter 2 for the location of the temples of these goddesses.)

Of the three goddesses, Durgamma is the most important one. She has a temple in her honour, which stands in the old
section of the Colony. A structure of brick and mortar, it was built in 1969. It consists of a fairly large, rectangular room, with the sanctum sanctorum housing the idol of the fiery-tongued Durga. In a corner of the room lies a black chest containing her clothes and ornaments with which she is adorned when she is taken out in procession.

Pujamma has no temple of her own and is presently housed in a corner of the Durgamma temple. Perhaps, some day, a benevolent person will take upon himself the task of building a temple in her honour.

The 'temple' of Maramma consists simply of a stone slab, 8' by 8', with four pillars at the corners. There is no idol of Maramma. It is on this stone slab that the sacrifice of a buffalo and goats is done during Durgamma's puja.

On Tuesdays and Fridays, the priest lights the lamp in the Durgamma temple and burns incense. The residents of N.R. Colony come to worship. The office of priesthood used to be hereditary but is no longer so. Any man with a suitably good character may be chosen by the yajamans to be the priest.

Now, we may consider the festival of Durgamma (jatra) in some detail. An account of this festival, as given in the Mysore Tribes and Castes, is reproduced in Appendix 2.
Here, we will describe the festival as it takes place in N.R. Colony. We may point out that this is essentially a village festival, in which all castes participate, but in the context of N.R. Colony, which is a single-caste area, this character of the festival is lost.

The Durgamma jatra is an important event in the Colony. It takes place in October. The festival lasts for two days. On the first day, the idol of Durgamma is taken to a well outside the Colony, where a Brahman conducts the 'puno janah' or ceremony of re-birth. This is done with offerings of fruit and flowers to the goddess and a coconut is broken at the site. This ceremony brings out the multi-caste aspect of the festival, a feature which, as we have just stated, is otherwise lost in the context of N.R. Colony.

The idol is brought back to the Colony by nightfall. The sacrifice of a male buffalo and goats then commences on the stone slab of Maramma. First, eight goats are killed and then the buffalo. This is over by about 3 a.m.

On one side of the slab are placed three heaps of rice and a potfull of toddy. The rice and toddy had been contributed earlier by the three original clans (bedagus) of the Colony, each household giving a handful. The blood of the sacrifice is now mixed with the rice. One representative from each
clan takes the blood-soaked rice and runs around the streets of the Colony, sprinkling the rice as he goes, and shouting 'ko-bali' (take the sacrifice, short for tago bali). This is an entreaty to the evil spirits (pisach) to leave the precincts of the Colony. While this activity is in progress, the Colony people close their doors and windows and remain inside, so as to prevent the evil spirits from entering either themselves or their houses. On the next day, the slaughtered meat is divided among the clans. Only members of the original families are entitled to a share.

The ceremony over, the idol of Durgamma is now taken in procession around the Colony, for all to pay their respects. One member of each household performs arati before the idol and offers fruit, flowers, a coconut and perhaps a rupee as well. This goes on from 4 p.m. till late in the night. The procession over, the idol is returned to the temple.

One important point regarding the village goddess festival is that it is a collective event in which the whole village participates and the aim of the ceremony is to ensure the peace and tranquillity of the village. Thus, the territorial aspect, i.e. the unity and well-being of the village is stressed.

This territorial aspect is evident in that only the members of the 'original families' participate in the main ceremony,
and the migrants are entirely left out. Not only the priest of the Durgamma temple, but even the palanquin bearers are 'original family' members. The task of organizing the sacrifice is left to the yajamans of the three original clans, and the fourth migrant clan and its yajaman are left out. The participation of the migrants is limited to merely performing arati when the procession comes around on the second day.  

In contrast to the Durgamma jatra, the Ethinhally jatra and the gugri puja which precedes it, are purely a family affair. Whereas Durgamma is propitiated to bring peace to N.R. Colony, Ethinhally amma ensures the survival of the family through epidemics and other calamities. An examination of the gugri puja and the Ethinhally jatra will show the manner in which animism is directed towards the propitiation of Hindu goddesses.

The gugri puja takes place in February, at the time of Ugadi. It is followed the next day by the Ethinhally jatra. An account very similar to that of the gugri puja has been given by Monier Williams. Briefly, the gugri puja in N.R. Colony is performed as follows.

The gugri puja involves sacrifice of a chicken. The chicken is prepared by washing its legs and smearing the legs and
head with kumkuma (sacred red powder). The other items for the puja are placed on a plaintain leaf. They include two vessels, one containing rice flour and the other a sweet preparation called tambittu, made of rice flour and jaggery. The mouth of the latter vessel is stopped with neem leaves, and an earthen lamp (dipa) is placed over the leaves. Whole lentils (avare kalu) are placed on the plaintain leaf, along with the two vessels.

The puja is performed by the head of the household. He prepares himself for the ceremony by having a bath. He wears only a towel, thus being in a state of madi (pure state). He holds the chicken in his hand and rotates it in a clockwise direction before the puja items, in the manner of performing arati. He then cuts the head of the chicken and places it on the plaintain leaf, in front of the puja items. Water is poured into the mouth of the chicken, which is still moving. The man turns in the direction of the sun and salutes it (surya namaskar). The ceremony over, the avare kalu is distributed among the onlookers, especially the children. If they get odd numbers of avare kalu, it is considered lucky. Finally, the man dips the neem leaves in water, chases the children out and scatters the leaves over them. This is regarded as symbolic of chasing the 'amma' out of the home. The tambittu is eaten by the family members when they return from the Ethinhally jatra, to which they repair the next day.
Gugri puja is an example of animism in a Hindu setting and influenced by Hindu modes of worship. It is a very important puja for the Colony people, and is done by one and all, educated and otherwise. Its performance is related to the health of the family members, and can be neglected only at their peril. The children in particular are prone to all sorts of infectious diseases. The idea is to spill the blood of a chicken in order to appease amma.

On the following day is the Ethinhally jatra. The Madigas of Tumkur are not concerned with the main ceremony of the propitiation of Ethinhally amma, which as we have stressed, is a territorial issue, and concerns only the inhabitants of Ethinally village. Thus, our Madiga friends of N.R. Colony go there only on the second day, after the main ceremony of buffalo sacrifice and 'ko-bali' is over. They go to perform certain animistic rites because they believe in the efficacy of Ethinhally amma to safeguard them from calamity.

Accordingly, the people of N.R. Colony arrive in Ethinhally on the evening of the second day, when the procession of the goddess is in progress. Now, they have the opportunity to fulfil vows which they have taken. These vows are called harike in Kannada. The most common vow and also the most simple is that of giving 'amma' a chicken. Accordingly, a chicken is thrown on the chariot of the goddess. This harike is called surgoli eseyuvudu. The chicken may be
picked up by anyone on the other side of the chariot who has not taken a vow. Another vow is that of walking on a fire-pit (konda). This practice has been described by Thurston in his book Ethnological Notes in South India. He says, "The ceremonial observance of walking through hot ashes is very widespread throughout Southern India." 6

Other vows include the throwing of puffed rice on the fire-pit and this is frequently resorted to. Also, a sari or an ornament may be donated to the temple in fulfilment of a vow. Sometimes, the Colony people give a silver eye-lid to cure an eye defect or a silver ear to cure a hearing defect, etc.

The Colony people approach amma with a feeling of fear. They believe that ignoring her will invite misfortune on themselves. Kempahanumakka told me how she had gone through years of grinding poverty and mishap. Everything seemed to be going wrong. Then, she remembered that she had neglected to propitiate amma, because she did not have the money to buy oil for the lamp. As soon as she resumed her worship of amma, things took a turn for the better.

Thus, animism continues to be an important part of the religious life of the Madiga. Emotionally, they are closer to animism than to the Higher Religions. Given their
existential conditions and their proneness to disease, they are emotionally dependent on, and have great faith in, amma and her curative powers. However, animism is today practised in a somewhat mitigated form, as compared to the old days. Practices such as hook-swinging, human sacrifice and worship of the goddess in the nude are on the decline, though they have not ceased altogether. One reason for this trend could be that the British looked down on many forms of animism, particularly human sacrifice, and discouraged them. Secondly, modernization has made inroads into the animistic way of life. This is particularly so in an urban area like Tumkur, which is more exposed to modern influences than far-flung rural areas. Thirdly, the Dalit elite has itself spearheaded movements against the more offensive of the animistic practices.

With the greater intermingling of Madigas with the rest of the population in the post-independence period, the trend has been to give up those animistic practices which they feel are regarded as obnoxious by the other castes. In their own words, the Madigas say 'nagarikatha bantu', meaning 'we have become civilized'. In fact, the animistic practices which they perform, such as sacrifice of chicken and goat to the goddess are widely extant among the other non-Brahman castes of the old-Mysore region. The only animistic practice which is exclusively theirs is buffalo
sacrifice. They are loathed to admit to this custom and try to hide it from outsiders.

The lessening of the cultural gap between the Madiga and the other castes increases the Madiga's self-confidence and enhances his capacity to interact with the other castes in secular contexts, which are increasing day by day. Given the abysmally low ritual status of the Madiga, the lessening of the cultural gap was all he could do in order to facilitate interaction in the secular context. Hence, we may regard this process of cultural change as 'secularization'. Below, we will examine certain other trends of cultural change which point towards 'secularization'.

CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

The institution of Basavi is an age-old one among the Madiga. The concept of Basavi is a much misunderstood and somewhat maligned concept. Perhaps this has something to do with the fact that it is a foreign concept, not only to the British rulers but to the upper castes as well. There are many accounts of this system but Thurston gives the most accurate account as pertaining to the practice of Basavi in the old-Mysore region. He writes,

Parents without male issue often, instead of adopting a son in the usual manner, dedicate a daughter by a simple ceremony to the god of some temple, and thence-
forth, by immemorial custom, she may inherit her parents' property, and perform their funeral rites as if she was a son. She does not marry, but lives in her parents' house with any man of equal or higher caste whom she may select, and her children inherit her father's name and bedagu (sept), and not those of their own father. If she has a son, he inherits her property; if she has only a daughter, that daughter again becomes a Basavi. Parents desiring male issue of their own, cure from sickness in themselves or their children, or relief from some calamity will similarly dedicate their daughter. The children of a Basavi are legitimate, and neither they nor their mothers are treated as being in any way inferior to their fellows. A Basavi, indeed, from the fact that she can never be a widow, is a most welcome guest at weddings. Basavis differ from the ordinary dancing-girls dedicated at temples in that their duties in the temples (which are confined to the shrine of their dedication) are almost nominal, and that they do not prostitute themselves promiscuously for hire. A Basavi very usually lives faithfully with one man, who allows her a fixed sum weekly for her maintenance, and a fixed quantity of raiment annually, and she works for her family as hard as any other woman. Basavis are outwardly indistinguishable from other women, and are for the most part coolies.

According to the Mysore Gazetteer, "The term (Basavi), literally meaning 'she-bull' carries with it the import of 'procreator'. This name has been given because she raises progeny for her family.

At the turn of the century, the institution of Basavi was widely prevalent among the Madiga. The elderly informants of N.R. Colony said that when they were children, the custom was "75 paise in the rupee". Thus, a large number of respondents' mothers and grandmothers were Basavis. As a result, these respondents gave the name of their mother's bedagu (sept) as their own. Elderly Respondent Shettalaiah
gave an illustration of this institution in N.R. Colony. He said,

"My father's sister was a Basavi. She lived in a portion of our house with her consort. She inherited property from my grandfather (her father). In fact, she got half the house and my father got the other half. Her children were regarded as legitimate and they inherited her property. When they grew up, there was no difficulty in getting them married. Either the Basavi's father or her consort could conduct the marriage. In my aunt's case, the marriage was conducted by her consort."

By the time of our field study, the institution of Basavi had completely died out in the Colony. It had been replaced by marriage. (In some cases, especially among the coolies, 'living together in anticipation of marriage' was resorted to, as they lacked the funds to conduct the marriage. In course of time, pressure was brought to bear by the elders on the couple to conduct the marriage).

The important difference between 'marriage' and the Basavi system relates to the status of women. In the former case, the man has the upper hand, as with the upper castes; in the latter, the woman has an equal if not better status than her consort. Thus, the trend of cultural change in the last few decades has been in the direction of lessening of the cultural gap between the Madiga and the other castes in the old-Mysore region. Changes in the marriage ceremonial also point to the increasing importance of the boy vis-a-vis the girl. The marriage ceremony of the Madiga is similar to
that of the other non-Brahman castes of the old-Mysore region. The *Mysore Gazetteer* gives a description of this ceremony.\(^{10}\) The most important portions of the ceremony are the *tali*-tying, which turns the contract into a sacrament, and the *dhare* or pouring of milk over the couple's outstretched hands.

The respondents pointed out the change in the status of the girl vis-a-vis the boy. Said Huchappa, "Previously, the boy's party wore out 28 pairs of slippers in visiting the girl's house and requesting for her hand. They had to 'catch the feet' (*kal hidi bekittu*) of the girl's party in supplication. Now, it is the other way around. We talk only once, and that too, it is the girl's relatives who make a request for the boy."

Earlier, the expense for the wedding was almost wholly met by the boy's party. Said elderly Informant Doddaih,
However, the dowry system has not taken root among the Madiga. Even the elite youth were wary of taking dowry, as they felt that it placed them in a compromising position vis-a-vis their wives! Only a few individuals at the very apex of the elite category had taken dowry. Their consequent subservience to their wives proved an object lesson to the other elite youth in the Colony, who preferred to marry girls of an equal, if not lower, economic level than theirs.

Thus, the Madiga is losing its distinct cultural identity, and rather, merging itself culturally with the other non-Brahman castes of the region. And yet, can we call this process of cultural change, Sanskritization? 11

To my mind, there is a difference between the Sanskritization of the castes above the pollution line and the changes undergone by the Madiga, as described above. In the former case, Sanskritization was a means to legitimize the mobility undergone in the secular sphere. It often resulted in the caste claiming and being acceded a higher status than before. In the case of the Madiga, there is no such legitimation. They continue to be below the pollution line, in spite of cultural change. The pollution line is like a wall which they cannot scale. The problem lies in the inherent contradiction between their secular mobility and the Hindu ideology of pure and impure.
Regarding the relationship of the Madiga to the Higher Religions, we were unable to find any references to it in the sociological literature. The ethnological literature left behind by the British gave us some hints. During our fieldwork, we came across an extremely interesting phenomenon. We found that during the bhakti movement in the medieval period of Indian history, the Madiga were brought under the moral and cultural influence of the Lingayats. There were indications that the other untouchable caste, the Holeya, came under the influence of the other locally dominant peasant caste of the area, the Okkaligas and consequently their Srivaishnavism, but this has to be probed further. In any case, we were able to gather evidence to show that the Lingayat influence on the Madiga was an institutionalized one.

Ramanuja's movement of Srivaishnavism was a powerful movement, which also started in the area of our research and spread throughout India. Srivaishnavism spearheaded the bhakti movement which changed the course of Hinduism, considerably enlarging its scope, bringing as it did, the lower castes and tribes into the ambit of Hinduism. Ramanuja also institutionalized methods of reaching the lower castes, and the Madiga were not unaffected by these methods. Below, we will discuss the institutionalized attempts of both Lingayatism and Srivaishnavism to gain a following among the Madiga. Further, we will examine whether this influence on
the Madiga has been on the increase or otherwise, with the passage of time.

LINGAYATISM

The Lingayat sect, also known as the Veerasaivas, is a Saivite sect.\textsuperscript{12} It was founded by Basava in the twelfth century, A.D. He taught that there is only one Supreme Being, Siva. From this Being, there is a division into Linga (Personal God, Siva) and Anga (soul).\textsuperscript{13} The final goal of Anga is to merge with Linga. Thus, the philosophical position of Veerasaivism is 'qualified monism' and the path it advocates is bhakti or devotion to God.

While this philosophical position places it along with the Vaishnavite movement of Ramanuja, Lingayatism was, in fact, a more radical movement, so that it is regarded by some scholars as a religion in its own right.\textsuperscript{14} It derived its radical element from the teachings or vachanas of Basava, who though a Brahman by birth, revolted against the entire Brahmanical system. In his numerous vachanas or sayings in the vernacular Kannada, Basava expressed his intense dislike for the inane ritualism and caste inequalities in the Brahmanical religion of his time.\textsuperscript{15} He was against idol worship; the only sacred symbol he allowed was the worship of the linga, which was to be always carried on the person of the worshipper. He did away with ritualism and
prescribed a form of worship which consisted simply in placing the linga in the right hand and pouring water and bilwa leaves on it. He rejected the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmans and instituted a new priesthood of Jangamas, with whom the worshippers were more-or-less in a position of ritual equality. He did away with sacrifices and pilgrimages. He condemned cremation and his followers are usually buried.\(^{16}\) He did not recognize the notion of pollution, which is an important notion in Brahmanical Hinduism. He instituted complete equality among his followers, of whatever caste or sex. Girls were entitled to initiation (diksha) and women wore the linga as well. They were permitted to re-marry on the death of their husbands. He thus conferred on them a status denied to them in Brahmanical Hinduism. Similarly, caste inequalities were set aside. The worth of a devotee depended on his bhakti rather than on his caste. Haralaiah, an untouchable, was a noted disciple of Basava, and it is said that Basava used to regularly spend some time in the company of Panchamas. He is believed to have arranged the marriage of Haralaiah's son with the daughter of a Brahman, for which act he brought down the wrath of the king on his sect.\(^ {17}\)

We give the doctrinal position of Lingayatism in detail because we would like to know if, given its radical position, it was able to include the Madiga within its boundaries. According to C.N. Venugopal, the radical
approach has had an effect on the structure of the sect. He regards the groups within the Lingayat sect as status groups and not as castes. He says,

"I hold the view that while Lingayats may be substantively a caste, in notional terms they are not a caste because of their explicit rejection of ritual pollutions, which are an important part of Hindu ideology. Even in substantive terms, I would regard the various subcastes within the Lingayat fold as status groups based on a competitive relationship. This arrangement, in my view, stands in contrast to the essential complementarity of the Hindu caste system."

And yet, our research shows that the radical stand of the Lingayat sect did not extend to the problem of untouchability. The Madiga were unable to obtain de-jure membership in the sect. This was in spite of the fact that a large number of other low castes, such as the barber, potter, washerman, etc., were wholly included within the sect. Thus, the pollution barrier appears to have singled out the Madiga for exclusion. This shows the invincibility of the pollution barrier in the Indian context.

However, the survival of a sect depends on the strength of its numbers and the Madiga were firmly brought within the sphere of influence of the Lingayat sect.

The Lingayat influence on the Madiga appears to have been an extension of their patron-client relationship. In other
words, by morally and culturally consolidating their hold over the Madiga, the Lingayats ensured the continued clientship of the Madiga vis-a-vis the other great rival 'caste' of the Lingayats, namely the Okkaliga.

From the Madiga point of view, the caste, lacking de-jure membership, did not have to conform to any of the rules of the sect. The Madiga form of worship, namely animal sacrifice continued unabated, though this is anathema to the Lingayat. So also, the Madiga worship of the goddess continued unaffected. Below, we will see the manner in which this influence of the Lingayat over the Madiga was institutionalized and thus sustained.

The Lingayats established a form of monastic organization called mutta for the Madiga. These muttas exercised considerable social control over the Madiga. The head of the mutta was the Jambava, who wore the linga, thus showing his allegiance to Lingayatism. At the same time, he was the guru of the Madiga, with whom he bore a hypergamous relationship. This is what the Mysore Gazetteer has to say about the mutta and its guru,

"The members of the Jambava section form the gurus of the Madigas. They have exclusive muttas for themselves such as those at Kodihalli, Hiriyur Taluk and Nelamangala. They affix 'Muni' to their personal names, e.g. Rudramuni and wear a Linga and mark their foreheads with ashes and sandal paste. While on their periodical visits to their disciples, they lodge either
in groves close to Madiga quarters or occupy a house specially vacated and cleaned for them. They consider Panchalas (goldsmiths) as their special patrons and receive presents from them standing outside their houses whenever they visit villages inhabited by them. The Jambavas may marry girls from the ordinary Madiga families after subjecting them to some purificatory ceremony, but on no account give their girls in marriage to the other Madigas. The Jambavas in the State claim to be immigrants from the Cuddapah district. They speak Telugu and their women follow the kudipaita custom, i.e. wear the loose end of their garments from over the right shoulder, while the other Madiga women let it fall on the left."

It is possible that the Madigas were co-opted into Lingayatism by the fact of Haralaiah, their caste-fellow, becoming a staunch devotee of Basava. The Mysore Tribes and Castes notes,

Madigas pay reverence to their patron saint Aralappa (Haralaiah), said to be a contemporary of Basavanna, the great Lingayat reformer. He is believed to have shown his devotion to Basavanna, by presenting him with a pair of sandals made out of the skin cut from his wife's thighs. Basavanna being extremely pleased with his devotion, gave him Lingadhara, i.e. allowed him to wear on his person the Saiva emblem. Even now Aralappa is revered by the Madigas in all important ceremonies, such as marriage."

Apart from the Jambava, there was another religious functionary whose task it was to spread Lingayatism among the Madiga. He was the Bala Basava. According to the Mysore Tribes and Castes,

"The Bala Basava is a man of the Madiga caste who pays them periodical visits and sings to them of the history Basava and Aralappa, to the accompaniment of a tamburi
(a stringed instrument formed like a vina, but without its note gradation). He is rewarded with doles raised by subscription. He is also credited with the power of foretelling events, such as famines, that may happen during the next twelve years. He bears a mudra (insignia) of Goni Basava (a bull with saddle)."

The Madiga muttas were not unlike the monastic organization among the upper castes in their control over the Madiga. For, the muttas exercised juridical authority over and above the caste council of the Madiga. Interestingly, there was lack of such monastic organization among the Holeyas of the region. This confirms the view that the Holeyas were not under the Lingayat 'sphere of influence'. The Madigas of the old-Mysore region have not generally converted to Christianity, while among the Holeyas, fairly large numbers have converted. The Madiga informants ascribed this lack of conversion to the hold of the muttas over them.

The hold of the muttas was described by our informants in the following way. Said elderly Informant Chikhanumanthaiya, "The Jambavas were constantly on the move, visiting the Madiga hamlets in villages and towns. They tendered advice to the Madiga youth that they should not stray from their path; girls should not run away from home, boys should not assault their fathers, etc. They should marry within the caste and abjure conversion." Seventy-old Venkataram recalled the visits of the munis to the Colony, when he was a ten-year old child. He said, "They would sit near the
tank, just outside the Colony. We would have a bath and present them with gifts (kanike) as offerings to the guru (guru dakshine)."

The munis also had juridical authority over the Madiga. Said Venkatram, "If two parties to a conflict were not satisfied with the judgement of the caste council, they would call for the munis. The latter would sit in judgement along with 18 headman (yajamans) from the nearby boundary-areas (gadis). The verdict was final and there was no further appeal." He added, "In cases of punishment through boycott (bahishkar), it was the task of the munis to carry the information to the neighbouring villages."

While exercising social control over the Madiga, the Lingayats appear to have given them complete freedom in carrying out their own customs and ceremonies in the mutta. This was apparent to us when we visited the Pedhihally mutta in Tiptur. The idol in the Pedhihally temple was that of goddess Kariamma, to whom liquor and sacrifice were offered. This is far removed from the Lingayat custom of offering bilwa leaves to the linga in the temple. However, the Lingayats and Madigas jointly participated in the annual jatra (procession) of Kariamma, taken out from the Pedhihally temple. But, whereas the Lingayats sat on top of the chariot, the Madiga followed at a distance, not allowed to touch the ropes.
It is possible that the Lingayats did not enforce their own ritual, because the Madiga were not de-jure members of the sect, but merely within its 'sphere of influence'. However, the Lingayats were careful to see that the proceedings of the 12 acres of coconut grove, surrounding the Pedhihally mutta should go to them. This points to the fact that the relationship between Lingayat and Madiga was one of patron and client.

During the Gandhian movement of the 1930s and '40s, in which the Madiga sought to raise their status through Sanskritization, the traditional relationship between the Madiga and the Lingayat within the Pedhihally temple came into conflict. The leader of the Madigas in Tiptur at that time was T.A. Dasappa. He first thought it fit to 'Sanskritize' the mutta ritual. Accordingly, he prohibited the sacrifice of goat or chicken in the mutta precincts. He also disallowed the offering of liquor to the goddess.

Next, the Madiga asserted their right to touch the rope of the chariot during the annual jatra of Kariamma. Said Dasappa, "We touched the rope in 1948, for which act we were soundly beaten up".

The failed Sanskritization cut the Madigas to the quick. They began to resent the fact that the proceedings of the coconut grove went to the Lingayats. They filed a suit
against the Lingayats, which went up to the High Court and was decided in the Madigas' favour, so that now the entire rights of the temple and its surroundings are vested in them. Dasappa got hold of a Madiga priest who could recite a few Sanskrit slokas and made him sit on top of the chariot. Thus, the procession goes on today, with the Madigas on top of the chariot!

The Lingayat influence on the Madiga has declined over the last few decades. Today, there are barely 20 families of Jambava left. The religious functionary called Bala Basava has become extinct. The Jambava munis have not visited the Madiga quarters since Independence. They used to ceremonially visit N.R. Colony till that time, but on one occasion, the Madigas politely refused to bear the expense of their visits. The late yajaman Pattaneya is reported to have told them, "You are most welcome, but you will have to bring all the paraphernalia for the procession, as we can no longer bear the expense." This put an end to their visits.

SRIVAISHNAVISM
The founder of the Srivaishnavite sect, Ramanuja, was born in 1017 A.D. at Sriperumbudur in the Tamil country. He came to Mysore in order to escape the persecution of the Chola king, a staunch Saivite. He lived in the Mysore country for twenty years, during which he converted many
thousands of people to Srivaishnavism. The Mysore Census of 1871 states, "When Ramanujacharya first appeared in this part of the country, we know that the religion of the Bellala Court was Jain, while from the number of temples still extant, it is clear that the religion of the great mass of people was Saiva. Ramnujacharya introduced a new religion - the Vaishnava."  

Ramanuja built a temple and mutta in the name of Lord Narayana at Melkote in the present Mysore district. He spent his last years in Srirangam in the Tamil country, to which place he retired on the death of the Chola king. He is believed to have died at the age of 120 in 1137 A.D.

Ramanuja emphasized the nascent bhakti school of Hinduism and thus spearheaded the bhakti movement which spread all over India. For him, salvation could be obtained through the path of love and devotion (bhakti) just as well as through an intellectual understanding of the Godhead (gyana). In fact, he averred, the former was a superior method of salvation than the latter.

This philosophical position opened up the floodgates of Hinduism to a large number of castes and tribes, who henceforth directed their largely animistic forms of worship to the Hindu gods and goddesses. Thus, it served to co-opt
the lower castes and tribes into the religio-cultural system of the Hindus.

Like Basava, Ramanuja showed scant respect for caste considerations. His desire to partake of the food left over by a Sudra devotee Kanchipuram led to a parting of the ways with his wife. Thenceforth, he gave up the life of a householder and became a sannyasi.

Ramanuja's desire for reform is also seen in that he opened the doors of the temple at Melkote for three days in the year to the untouchables. The Mysore Census of 1871 explains, "At Melkote, the chief seat of the followers of Ramanujacharya, and at Beluru where there is also a god worshipped by three-marked Brahmans (Vaishnavite), the Holeyars have the right of entering the temple on three days during the year especially set aside for them. At Melkote, they have the privilege of pulling the car."

Thus, both Ramanuja and Basava were keen to dissolve caste barriers during their life-time. But there were important differences between the two. Basava broke with tradition, decrying ritualism, the notion of pollution, etc. His teachings marked a breakaway from mainline Hinduism. His sect was radical enough to permit the free intermingling of castes above the pollution barrier, within its fold, at
least till the 16th century, when conservative elements crept in.

In contrast, Ramanuja remained within the Brahmanical tradition and did not repudiate it. Rather, just as he brought to the fore, the nascent bhakti school of Hinduism, he also developed the two-pronged strategy of subtle differentiation between Brahman and non-Brahman, which was already there in the Dharma Sutras of 300 A.D.

Thus, Ramanuja instituted two levels of religious worship, one for the upper castes or 'twice-born' and the other for the lower castes. The first level was select and the second level, popular. He made many distinctions between the two levels. The performance of Vedic rites was reserved for the 'twice-born', while the lower castes were enjoined to perform Pauranic or agamic rites.

Secondly, he distinguished between bhakti and prapatti. "Bhakti involved such intense devotion to Vishnu that the worshipper realized that he was but a fragment of God, and wholly dependent on him. Another means of salvation was prapatti, the abandonment of the self, putting one's soul in the hands of God, trusting in his will and waiting confidently for his grace." According to Ramanuja, prapatti was best suited for the lower castes.
Thirdly and most importantly, Ramanuja co-opted the lower castes into the institution of worship at Srivaishnava shrines. For this, he instituted the offices of non-Brahman functionaries of the Srivaishnavite sect, such as the Satani (or Vaishnava) and the Dasayya, to cater to the religious needs of the lower castes. These functionaries generally came from the low (though not the lowest) castes themselves and acted as intermediaries between the low caste devotees and the Srivaishnavite Brahmans.

Thus, the lower castes had access to Srivaishnava shrines but not to the same extent as the 'twice-born'. This was particularly true of the untouchable, who had to adhere to the rules of purity and pollution at all times. Thus, worship at Srivaishnavite shrines entailed a rather elaborate procedure for the untouchable. He had to stand at a distance from the temple and avail of the services of the Dasayya, in order to perform his puja. Nevertheless, he was able to perform the puja and this is the important point. The untouchable was firmly co-opted into the system.

Fourthly, Ramanuja appears to have sought to institutionalize the spread of Pauranic lore among the low castes, through the medium of dramatics. In her study of two Mysore villages, Dalena and Wangala, Scarlet Epstein has noted the keen interest which the untouchables had in dramatic activities. We found that the Madiga of N.R. Colony had a
keen interest in dramatics and through it had acquired a good knowledge of Pauranic lore. In fact, it was the only means of religious education for the Madiga and he valued it highly.

Through these strategies, Ramanuja was able to co-opt the lower castes into Srivaishnavism, without alienating the upper castes and without radically altering the Brahmanical system. The success of this mechanism of subtle differentiation and its attendant strategies can be seen in the spread of Srivaishnavism from the south to the north and, in fact, throughout the whole country.

Below, we will examine the adherence to Srivaishnavism on the part of the Tumkur Madiga and the manner in which it was manifested in their mode of worship. We will discuss this issue under the following heads: (1) Names of respondents (2) Family god or mane devaru (3) Mode of worship (a) Regular worship (b) Special worship (Hari seve) (4) Services of Dasayya and (5) Knowledge of Pauranic lore.

Devarayanadurga is an important Srivaishnavite temple located near Tumkur. Thus, while the Madiga were under the generalized influence of the Lingayat, they were also under the local influence of Devarayanadurga and Srivaishnavism. Whereas Linagayat influence was in the field of social
control and was found to be on the decline, Srivaishnavite influence was on the institution of daily worship. As we will see, this influence is on the increase in the post-independence period.

Respondents' Names. The Mysore Census of 1901 has a table with the heading 'Specimen of Names selected from various Castes, Tribes and Races'. Below, we give the names listed under Madiga males: Rama, Gangramma, Gangamuniga, Muniga, Guruva, Giddodu, Kandaiya, Hanumantha, Oki, Yallaga, Narasa, Venkatiga, Appiga, Thippa, Chammaleriga, Doniga, Nyathoda, Konega, Kakinarasiga, Katiga, Pagga, Vagga, Laguna, Boriga, Venkatiga, Narayana, Sivaga, Sanga, Nyathaga, Munipapa, Venkatasame, Bhangimada, Basava, Kulla, Kabbali, Setti, Bora, Durga, Hanuma, DurgiBasava, Javara, Chinta, Bilaki, Channaiya and Eerasami.

A perusal of the list will show that there were a large number of original Madiga names, such as Oki, Pagga, Vagga, etc. Secondly, there were Vaishnavite names, such as Venkatige, Narayana, Hanuma and Narasa. Thirdly, there were a few Saivite names such as Sivaga and Basava.

Considering the names of our respondents in the Colony, we find that the overwhelming number (150) have Vaishnavite names, such as Anjaneya, Hanumanthrai, Narasimaiah, Krishnappa, Narayanappa, Venkataram, etc. In fact, there
were over a hundred individuals in the Colony with the name Anjaneya alone, and a large number with the name Narasimhaiah and its derivatives, such as Chiknarasaiya, Doddanarasaiah, etc.

Of the 170 respondents, 16 respondents, mostly belonging to the older age-group had original Madiga names or were named after goddesses, such as Ankaiah (named after goddess Ankaleshwari), Durgappa (after goddess Durga), Pujaiah (after goddess Pujamma), etc. Only four respondents had Saivite names. They were Sivanna, Sivarudrappa, Subbarai (named after Subramaniam, son of Siva) and Basappa (named after Basava, the founder of the Lingayat sect). Thus, the Tumkur Madiga were overwhelmingly Vaishnavite in their names.

To the query, 'Do you have a family god?', 169 of the 170 respondents replied in the affirmative. The lone negative response came from the Christian convert. Of the 169 respondents, 18 respondents gave the name of one or other of the female goddesses, such as Durgamma, Maramma and Pujamma. One respondent mentioned Iswara (Siva). The remaining 150 respondents gave Vishnu in the form of one of his avatars, as their family god, such as Narasimhaiah, the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu, Anjaneya, Hanumanthaiah, the monkey-god, who served Rama with such devotion that he conquered

*Family god or mane devaru has a special connotation related to the Hindu religion in local parlance.*
the world, Ramdev, Venkateshwara, the god of Tirupati, Ranganatha, etc. Thus, the Madiga are Vaishnavite not only in the names they bear but also in the gods they worship. This congruence between the god and the name is not surprising, as it is a common practice in Karnataka to name the new-born child after the family god.

As we have seen, the two names of Anjaneya and Narasimaiah are particularly prevalent in the Colony. This is perhaps due to the presence of two Vaishnavite temples in the vicinity of Tumkur, namely the famous Narasimaiah temple at Deverayanadurga and the Bylanjaneya temple in Tumkur town.

The Narasimainh temple is an important pilgrim-centre, not only for the Hindus of the district, but for the entire old-Mysore region. Set in picturesque surroundings atop the hills of Deverayanadurga, it is barely 12 km from Tumkur town. It is run by Srivaishnava Brahmans. The Bylanjaneya temple (Byl meaning 'flat land' in Kannada) is also run by Brahmans.

Though Tumkur is a Lingayat stronghold and the Lingayat mutta Sidhaganga is an important institution in the town, it was found that none of the Madigas were regular worshippers there. True, some of them used to go for the annual jatra at Sidhaganga, but these were generally the young men, who were out to have some fun; their families rarely accompanied
them. Others used to visit the mutta occasionally and do pad namaskar (obeisance to the feet of the swami). Here, again, they were rarely accompanied by their wives.

The Madiga were rather, regular worshippers at the two Vaishnavite temples mentioned above, worship at which they attached great importance and where they proceeded along with their families.

MODE OF WORSHIP

As we have said earlier, it was Ramanuja who incorporated the untouchables into the institution of temple worship, albeit without infringing the rules of purity and pollution. This was achieved in rather an ingenious manner, which was recounted to us by the elderly informants and was as follows. The Madiga worshipper used to leave the offering of coconut, fruit and flowers at a distance from the temple threshold and stand back, preferably under the shade of a tree. A Dasayya would appear, collect the offering, remove the outer fibres of the coconut and hand it over to the Brahman priest. It was important that the coconut had its fibres on, which were then removed by the Dasayya, in order to avoid pollution by touch for the Brahman. The priest would sanctify the offering and return it to the Dasayya, who would place it on the same spot, to be picked up by the Madiga worshipper.
At the present day, this procedure is not followed, and the Madiga devotee is allowed inside the temple, as far as the other non-Brahman castes can go. If anything, this has increased the Vaishnavism of the Madiga, who are staunch worshippers at the two temples.

The fact that opening of the temples to the untouchables in modern times has increased the Vaishnavism of the Tumkur Madiga, is seen in the performance of Hari seve by them.

Hari seve is the 'service of god through the feeding of pilgrims'. It takes place at the time of the annual jatra at the Narasimhaswamy temple at Deverayanadurga.

In the old days (pre-independence period), Hari seve at Deverayanadurga was strictly a Brahman custom. According to a Brahman lady informant of Tumkur, it was an important event in the annual worship of the Brahmans, which brought religious merit on the worshippers. The entire family, with provisions of rice, ragi, cooking oil and spices, would set out to Devarayanadurga by bullock-cart, camp over-night in the choultry, cook the food and serve it to the other Brahman pilgrims at the temple.

This service is now being conducted by Madigas, particularly the elite. Said clerk Anjanappa, "We take two cart-loads of provisions, stay at Deverayanadurga for three days and feed
the pilgrims. While the Brahmans feed only their own caste, we feed anyone who comes to us." He went on to complain, "The Brahmans have their own choultry but we have none. We have to cook out in the open, in the hot sun and strong wind. We are trying to get our own choultry."

Those who cannot perform the Hari seve at Deverayandurga, do so at home. Performance of Hari seve is a family affair and brings together brothers, who jointly contribute towards the expenses. It raises the status of the family. It is a custom which is particularly valued by the elite, who, it was observed, are otherwise not overly religious-minded or given to worshipping at temples. In fact, they have a rather sceptical attitude towards Hinduism, not uncommon among the intelligentsia anywhere, and especially so among a people who have for centuries been discriminated by it. But, Hari seve at Deverayanadurga, they are loathed to miss. For instance, the Assistant Commissioner S. Murthy, makes it a point to come to Tumkur from his place of work during the annual jatra in order to perform the Hari seve. On this occasion, he and his family members feed 150 to 200 pilgrims and spend about Rs. 2,000 on the event.

SERVICES OF DASAYYA

The offices of Satani and Dasayya were instituted by Ramanuja in order to look after the religious needs of the
lower castes in his sect. Both continue to be important religious functionaries. Here we will consider the role of the Dasayya in some detail.

In his book *Castes and Tribes*, Thurston quotes the Mysore Census of 1901 regarding the Dasayya:

"The Dasari are mendicants belonging to different classes of Sudras. They become Dasas or servants dedicated to the God at Tirupati by virtue of a peculiar vow, made either by themselves or their relatives, at some moment of anxiety or danger, and live by begging in his name. Dasaris are always Vaishnavites, as the vows are taken only by those castes which are worshippers of that deity. Dasaris are invited by Sudras on ceremonial days and feasted. Properly speaking, Dasari is not a caste, but simply an occupational division. Among certain castes, the custom of taking a vow to become a Dasari prevails. In fulfilment of that vow, the person becomes a Dasari, and his eldest son is bound to follow suit, the others taking to other walks of life. The following castes take the vow of becoming Dasari: Telugu Banajiga, Holeya, Tigala and Vokkaliga. The duty of a Dasari requires that he should daily bathe his head and take care that, while eating with the profane, their victuals do not get mixed with his. Every Saturday, after bathing and praying for some hours, he must cook his own food in a clean pot. They go about the streets singing some Hari Keerthanams, with a gong and a conch to relieve the dull monotony of their mumblings."

According to C.N. Venugopal, "the Dasayya and Satani represent the non-Brahmanical element in the Srivaishnavite school of Ramanuja. The Dasayya received his instruction (dikshe) from a Vaishnavite guru of the Parakala mutta in Mysore. From then on, he is ordained to serve the non-Brahman castes in the Srivaishnavite sect."
The Dasayya has many functions. We have already seen the manner in which he acts as an intermediaiy between the Madiga worshipper and the Brahman priest in the context of the Srivaishnavite temple. An important function of his is in the removal of the pollution (soothga) which attends life-cycle events. Thus, his presence is necessary at the life-cycle ceremonies of the Madiga, such as at birth, death and puberty. For instance, when a child is born, the Dasayya is called on the 3rd or 7th day. A Tigala Dasayya attends on the people of N.R. Colony. He stands outside the house, sprinkles holy water (tirtha) on the house and its inmates, says 'Govinda', places his hand on the head of the new-born baby and departs. He is given dakshina called ona podi, consisting of a handful of rice, ragi flour, betel nuts and betel leaves, coconut, camphor (karpoora) and incense sticks (agarbatti). Sometimes, he is also presented with a loin-cloth (dhoti).

KNOWLEDGE OF PAURANIC LORE

The Madigas are well-versed in the epics and the Pauranic stories and legends, especially those connected with the various incarnations of Vishnu. They had gained this knowledge through the staging of dramas on Pauranic themes. Drama constitutes an important part of their leisure-time activities, though it has declined somewhat in recent years, due to the current interest in films and the expense of putting up a play. The most popular dramas were those with
religious content, and Harishchandra, Sampurna Ramayana, Panduvijaya, Hiranyakashyapu and many others had been staged in the Colony. Respondent after respondent told us with a deep sense of pride, the various roles he had played in the different dramas.

Thus, in the post-independence period, the Vaishnavism of the Madiga has actually increased. This increase can be traced back to the social reform movement of the 1930s and '40s.

SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT OF THE 1930s AND '40s

Sanskritization as an avenue of social mobility was sought after by the Madiga leaders, in conjunction with the upper caste leaders of the time, under the aegis of the Gandhian Movement. The Madiga association, formed in 1926 and known as the Adi-Jambava Sangha held two conferences in 1928 and 1929 at Bangalore and Nelamangala respectively, at which they passed a number of resolutions which aimed at altering the cultural life of the Madiga. Appendix 3 gives a list of the cultural and other changes sought to be introduced, such as giving up of child marriage, Basavi, sacrifice of buffalo and consumption of carrion, payment of brideprice, giving of liquor to the bride's family at the engagement ceremony, etc. Instead, the Madiga were exhorted to adopt the dhare
ceremony at marriage, to serve satvik (vegetarian) food at festivals, etc.

These changes were sought to be thrust on the Madiga by the leaders of the Movement. The late Justice Bhimaiah related the manner in which they used to go to the rural areas with soap powder, catch hold of the Madigas, give them a bath and take them to the Bhajane Mandirs started by the leaders themselves, to recite Ram Bhajans! If anyone was found preparing carrion for consumption, kerosene oil was poured over it to make it inedible. Ex-Minister B. Rachaiah spoke of the same activity in his home district of Mysore. Middle-school headmaster Ramaiah narrated how he came home one day to find his father slaughtering a buffalo, whereupon he immediately reported the matter to the police, much to the disconfiture of his family.

Not only did the Madiga attempt to bring about change among their own caste-fellows, but they also asserted their right to Sanskritize. The formal ban on Sanskritization of the lower castes had been lifted during British rule, but in actual practice, the right to Sanskritize had to be fought for. To this end, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker led the Vaikom Satyagraha and Ambedkar, the Mahad Satyagraha. In Tumkur, the Madiga leader Chennigaramaiah entered the Devarayana-durga temple with a band of Madiga youth. We have already
mentioned T.A. Dasappa's attempt to touch the rope of the Pedhihally temple chariot in Tiptur.

However, the enthusiasm of the Madiga leaders waned when they found that cultural change was not only difficult to enforce among the Madiga, but it did not bring about the improvement in their status, which they so ardently desired. For, while the practice of untouchability weakened in the urban areas, it continued to be widely practised in the rural areas. Thus, the village temple was not open to the Madiga nor could he take water from the village tank or well and this situation continues to the present day.

Thus, while the social reform movement served to liberate the 'marginal untouchables' from the clutches of untouchability, so that they gained in status and found a new respectability within the Hindu religion and society, it did no such thing for the 'core untouchables' like the Madiga. In other words, cultural change among the Madiga had no implications for their social mobility; it merely lessened the cultural gap between them and the rest of the population and hence facilitated their interaction with the other castes in secular contexts. Therefore, this process of social change may be termed 'secularization'.

Culture has not served as an avenue of social mobility for the Madiga because they are below the pollution barrier.
With the continuance of the principle of pure-impure in the Hindu religious ideology, there is no way in which the Madiga can gain social mobility via the dimension of culture.

Thus, by the process of Secularization, the Madiga have come to participate in the cultural life of the region. Like other castes of the region, the Madiga believe in the influence of Shani Mahatma (Saturn), a planetary god, believed to have certain malefic effects, if not propitiated. This belief probably comes down from Vedic times, when natural phenomena were the chief objects of worship.

The Madiga of Tumkur visit the Shani Mahatma temple in the town, where the priest is a Brahman. In addition, Shani Mahatma stories (kathas) are read out in the Colony during Sravana or Deepavali or at any other time when misfortune strikes the family and it is attributed to the influence of Shani. The poor in the Colony will go to the extent of taking a loan in order to have the kathas read out. They generally spend about Rs. 300 on the event, while the well-off individuals spend about Rs. 1,000. A meal is served to the relations and friends who attend the reading. Four persons in the Colony are adept in reading the katha and they make use of a loudspeaker. They narrate how Shani's
influence came over king Vikramaditya and the manner in which he met the challenge. The reading goes on all night.

The Madigas of N.R. Colony also celebrate all the Hindu festivals like Ugadi, Dassehra, Deepavali, Sankranti and Shivaratri. The two most important festivals in Karnataka are Ugadi and Dassehra and these are celebrated with enthusiasm by the Madiga of N.R. Colony.

Ugadi symbolizes the beginning of the New Year and occurs in the month of April. The day begins for the Colony people with puja to the family god. A special sweet dish called obattu is prepared for the occasion and the meal is vegetarian. On the second day, gugri puja is performed. Non-vegetarian food, including the sacrificed chicken is served.

The festival of Dussehra takes place in October. It was celebrated with great pomp and show in the old days, when the Maharaja came out in a magnificent procession through the streets of Mysore City. Dussehra continues for nine days and is also known as Mahanavmi. On the last day is Vijayadashmi, symbolizing the victory of Rama over Ravana, or the forces of good over evil. On that day, the many Hindu communities in Tumkur bring idols of their respective gods and goddesses to a central ground (maidan) and place them in enclosures (pandals) specially erected for the
purpose. I counted eight such enclosures. The Madigas took Durgamma in procession first to their original settlement in Kodibasavangudi, before bringing her to the maidan. Here, she was placed ceremonially along with the deities of the other castes, in her respective enclosure. Finally, the District Commissioner arrived and cut the branches of the banni tree, scattering the leaves among the crowd of onlookers. Earlier, this ceremony used to be performed in Mysore City by the Maharaja.

On the last day but one, of Dussehra, Ayudh puja is performed by the Colony people, as elsewhere. Cobblers, blacksmiths and carpenters bring out their tools, wash and clean them and worship them. The food for the day is vegetarian.

On the last day of Dussehra, that is Vijayadashmi, propitiation of ancestors in performed. This is known as ede puja or doopa hakuvudu. A full meal is offered to the ancestors. That night, the same is partaken of by the family members.

Sankranti and Sivaratri are celebrated by making a sweet dish and partaking of a vegetarian meal. On Deepavali, most of the Colony people light a few lamps and the children demand crackers for the occasion.
Thus, the cultural life of the Madiga is not unlike the other non-Brahman castes of the region, except for the practice of buffalo sacrifice, which they are loathed to admit. The more obnoxious forms of animism have declined, though goddess worship continues to have a powerful hold on the Madiga. Vaishnavism has increased and the Madiga enthusiastically celebrate the festivals of the region.

Finally, we will examine the phenomenon of elite culture. This is a post-independence phenomenon, as a category of Madiga elite arose only in this period, though there were a few elite persons in the pre-independence period.

ELITE CULTURE

While the mass have merely sought to lessen the cultural gap by giving up of certain cultural practices such as Basavi, consumption of liquor during the marriage negotiations, etc., the elite have gone further in taking up some of the cultural practices of the upper castes, as is evident in their performance of ceremonies such as Ganesh-puja, Satyanarayana puja, etc. In other words, the elite have taken a further step in cultural change. This is not surprising, as the elite have the wherewithal to effect such changes, whereas the mass have neither the wherewithal nor the confidence to do so.
Who are the elite? Here, we are not referring to the traditional elite, such as the yajamans or the members of the 'original families' in the Colony. We are rather referring to the 'elite' who have risen through the medium of modern education or occupational change. This elite is necessarily one which was formed through a process of achievement and not ascription. The level of educational achievement to gain elite status among the Madiga is clear. It is SSLC or High School level. This opens the door to Modern Occupations in the Categories III and IV (please see Chapter 4). These occupations range from teacher and clerk to doctor and Assistant Commissioner. They constitute the cream of Madiga society.

In what way are the beliefs and cultural practices of this elite different from the rest of Madiga society? We found that a cultural chasm exists between the two. Briefly, the elite try to inculcate the upper middle-class norms and values, which are often at variance with the rest of Madiga society. For instance, they are in favour of the 'small family' norm and almost all of them have limited their family size to three children. In general, however, the Madiga regard anything below the level of five children as an abnormality. Most of them have more than five and one old man had 27 children, with his third wife expecting the 28th child!
Similarly, the elite are in favour of women's education. Said clerk Anajanappa, "I will allow my daughter to study as far as she wants to go." The others are firmly against sending a girl to school after the onset of puberty.

In the sphere of religion, unlike the general Madiga population, in the case of the elite, there was an element of questioning, of rationalization, even scepticism in their attitude towards religion. They were unwilling to accept religion on blind faith. They looked for scientific reasons to validate some of their customs. For instance, regarding the practice of purifying the house by spraying 'cow's urine' (ganjala), clerk Rangappa observed, "There is a scientific reason for this custom. It has been proved that ganjala destroys bacteria." Said Shivarudrappa, "I fast on Sravana Mondays, but it is for health reasons mainly, as fasting is good for the health. It has a double action, really, religious as well as good for the health!" Similarly, the elite said that they practise religion only when they have a 'feeling' for it and not out of habit. Said O. Kempaiah, "I go to the temple only when I feel like it. I give more importance to matters of the heart such as performing good acts, rather than mere attendance at temples."

This attitude of an open mind on the part of the elite, was tinged with scepticism for a religion which for centuries
had accorded them a low and degraded status in society. We must not forget that it was the elite who had to bear the brunt of the psychological strain caused by the hiatus between their low status in the caste hierarchy and that achieved by them in the occupational structure. Many of the elite made scathing remarks on Hinduism, spewing forth venom on a religion which, they believed, had caused them pain. Said Puttanjaneya, teacher, "Manu, Shankaracharya and others are all fools. And who is this Rama? What did he do for society? We go to the temple with a devotional mind and what does the pujari do? He takes our offerings and sells them outside. I have no faith in religion."

Following these discussions with a few members of the elite, we thought that here was a group of atheists or at the very least, religious sceptics. Subsequent observance of the religious practices of the elite led us to believe that they had in no way repudiated their religion. 'Saying' is one thing and 'doing' quite another, as the sociologist often finds out.

As we have just stated, the elite had not repudiated their religion. What they had repudiated were the low caste customs of their caste-fellows, at the same time taking up the customs of their upper caste colleagues in the various offices in which they worked. Below, we will examine the direction of elite culture among the Madiga.
There was a lack of interest in the concept of a female god, so important to the Madiga religion, as we have seen. Correspondingly, there was a greater interest in the male god of Vaishnavism.

This was evident from the total lack of participation by the elite in the Durgamma jatra. Had the elite from the 'original families' desired to participate in the jatra, they would have been accorded a place of honour, as befits their status both as 'original family' members and as educated and well-placed individuals. However, they chose to remain aloof, neither contributing towards the sacrifice nor claiming their share of the meat. They merely performed arati during the procession of the goddess on the second day, after the ceremony was over, as did the migrants. Thus, they made only a token acknowledgement of the presence of the goddess.

Here, it may be mentioned that the elite were somewhat more inclined to worship Ethinhally amma. Most of them performed the animistic rite of gugri puja, involving sacrifice of a chicken. However, it may be noted that chicken sacrifice is widely prevalent in the larger Kannadiga society; it is buffalo sacrifice which is abhorred by the elite. Besides, gugri puja is performed for the welfare of the family, an injunction which cannot be ignored. Most of the wives of
the elite brought pressure on them to perform the gugri puja and to visit Ethinhally during the jatra.

And this is just what the elite did! They merely visited Ethinhally. They did not participate in the animistic rites there. Unlike the others, who attended the procession on the second day of the festival, the elite went on the morning of the third day and returned after paying their respects to the goddess. Sometimes, they gave a sari or a silver item to the temple. Thus, they missed out on the essential spirit of the jatra. The elite said that they did not go for the jatra because they disliked crowds. Said Rangappa, "I don't like the pushing and jostling that goes on."

While the elite had devalued the goddesses, they took great care to worship the family god (mane devaru), which as we have seen, was in most cases, Narasimhaswamy, or one of the other incarnations of Vishnu. At least once a year, usually at Sravana, they visited the temple of the family god and performed puja with fruit and flowers. Secondly, most of them had visited the famous temples of South India, most notably Tirupati and Dharmasthala, sometimes twice or even thrice.

But, perhaps the best example of their regard for the male god is seen in their performance of Hari seve at the temple
at Devarayanadurga. This custom has been described earlier. We have seen that this temple was originally a Brahman one and was open to the untouchables only in the 1950s. This was one jatra which the elite were loath to miss. Said clerk Hanumanthrai, "We do the Hari seve at Deverayanadurga, feeding 200 people. This is an important religious function for us." As stated earlier, S. Murthy, the Assistant Commissioner comes to Tumkur every year at the time of the jatra to perform the Hari seve.

Thus, the declining interest in the female god and animistic rites on the part of the elite was accompanied by a heightened interest in Vaishnavism, to which the untouchables now have greater access.

Apart from increased Vaishnavism, the elite had adopted a few of the customs and ceremonies of the upper castes. For instance, some of them performed the seemantam ceremony, which is performed in the seventh month of pregnancy. They also perform the Gowrie-Ganesh puja, which is not performed by anyone else in the Colony. Five married ladies are invited to the house and modlu tumbudu (filling the lap) shastra is performed, i.e., the pallav of their saris is filled with betel nut, betel leaves and banana by the lady of the house. She also ties a yellow-thread dipped in turmeric round their necks. The ladies, in turn, bless the lady of the house who has conducted the puja.
The elite also celebrate Ganesh Chaturthi, another upper caste festival. They perform arati before the idol of Ganesh, with fruit and flowers. They distribute a sweet preparation to children and guests. Some perform this puja for three days, others for a week. Deepavali, which is observed in brief by the whole Colony, is celebrated with more verve by the elite. Thus, while the Colony lights lamps only on the first day, the elite light lamps and burst crackers on the second day as well.

The elite stressed that they performed these ceremonies in order to merge with the general office-going population in the cities, who largely belong to the upper castes. Thus, Dr. Nagamma who lives in a posh area of Bangalore, said she did Graha Pravesha puja when her house was newly built. She has also conducted Satyanarayan puja, which was performed by a Brahman.

This tendency of the elite to imitate upper caste customs and ceremonies was decried in an article in the vernacular 'Sudha' magazine, entitled "Dalitaru Baruvu Dari Bidi" (Dalits, leave the path you have chosen). In it, the author, Lalita Naik, made a plea to the Scheduled Castes to give up imitation of upper caste customs and retain their own cultural ways.
The cultural gap between the elite and their caste fellows spilled over in the area of the social relations between the two. The elite were scornful of the Madiga. Said Sub-Inspector Anand, "They are old-fashioned and uncivilized (mood nambike, nagarikatha gothilla). The elite were especially put-off by the continuing custom of buffalo sacrifice. Those of the elite who lived in the general areas of Tumkur or on the border of the Colony did not deign to step inside the Colony. The migrants who had married local N.R. Colony girls and settled in the Colony, did not like the place. Said clerk Kemparamaiah, "I am trying to leave this place as the atmosphere is not good for the upbringing of my children. The people here speak a vulgar language, drink in excess and kill and eat buffalo." Said R. Krishnamurthy, "I came to this Colony ten years ago. I do not mingle with the people here. The character of some of them is not good. I am friends only with Hanumanthaiah (clerk)." Most of the elite would have preferred to live in the general areas of Tumkur. But the high rents and the discrimination they face in getting accommodation prevents the realization of this dream.

Even the elite from the 'original families' largely kept to themselves, except for three individuals who mingled with the others. We have already seen how these elite kept aloof from the Durgamma jatra. In general, the elite socialized
only among themselves and perhaps with a few close but poor relatives.

While remaining aloof from the Colony members, the elite nevertheless provided a Reference Group for the rest of the Colony. Not only did they transmit their aspirations of educational and occupational mobility but also the direction of their cultural change. Thus, the trend of cultural change which is initiated by the elite is taken up by the other upwardly mobile sections of the caste, such as those in Modern Occupations I and II and also a few in Traditional Occupations such as carpentry. This attempt at cultural change is met by more or less success, depending on the financial wherewithal of the aspirants. Thus, it is not surprising that the small-scale entrepreneurs of the Colony (Modern Occupation II) come closest to the elite in their religious practices and culture. For instance, they performed the Gowrie puja and Ganesh Chaturthi.

The elite bear the brunt of the pollution barrier. They have educational and occupational positions which may be ranked as high. But, the overriding status is that of caste and it continues to be ranked as abysmally low.
APPENDIX I

(Extract from Mysore Tribes and Castes, Vol. IV, p. 157).

The myth of the origin of Goddess Maramma is as follows: "A Madiga boy, endowed with fair features, went in search of employment to a far-off place called Rasuripatna. A Brahmin mistook his origin, and received him as a student in to his family, and finding him an apt pupil made him proficient in the Vedas and shastras. His daughter was given in marriage to him, and they had a number of children, who, however, unconsciously betrayed their base origin by playing at shoe-making with leaves. After several years, the Madiga's mother, who had been searching everywhere for her lost son, discovered him in the guise of a Brahman in this town. Finding it impossible to evade her, he got her head shaved and clothed her like a Brahman widow, and lest her speech should betray her, he enjoined her to pass for a dumb woman. Thus introduced into the family, she was treated with great respect by her daughter-in-law. But the sight of a sumptuous breakfast loosened her tongue, and she exclaimed that the sweet cakes she tasted were not as good as buffalo tongues. The Brahman woman at once knew what this meant, and going to her father asked him what would purify an earthen pot polluted by the touch of a dog. Applying the means suggested to herself, she heaped paddy straw round the house in which the whole family was asleep at night, entered the flames, and perished with all of them.

Her stern virtue had its reward. It was ordained that she should henceforth become the goddess of epidemics, under the name of Mari, and receive puja ever afterwards. Her husband would be born again and again as a he-buffalo, her children as small kids and her mother-in-law as a sheep, and all would be sacrificed to her. It was also said that, after the buffalo was killed, its entrails should be placed on its head and a lamp lit thereon, and that the right front leg should be cut and placed across its mouth, as a punishment for the Madiga having laid its unholy hands on her breast."
APPENDIX 2

(Extract from the *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, p. 159-163).

"This (festival) is meant to commemorate the fate of Mari's husband, and at the close of every such festival, a he-buffalo is dedicated for the next celebration, and allowed to roam at large through the village-fields and grow fat till the time of sacrifice (The owners of the fields dare not turn out the animal lest they should incur the anger of Mari). Sometimes, additional beasts are similarly dedicated as votive offerings to Mari on the occurrence of any serious illness in a family.

The village elders and all the villagers contribute their share of the expenditure. It is generally in chaitra or vaisakha that the festival is celebrated. The period is proclaimed by the beating of tom-tom in the village, and during the week preceding the event, no one is allowed to go out of the village. The frying of eatables is also interdicted in every house during this period.

An image specially made for the occasion is installed on a raised place, in a shed built of green leaves, in front of the Mari temple, or some other central place. On the morning of the prescribed Tuesday, the pujari of this goddess washes the idol and worships it. Aratis are brought from each house in the village, and offered in order of precedence. The pujari is always a non-Brahman; he is either a Kammara, a Beda, or sometimes even a Madiga. In the evening, the newly made image is brought with great pomp in procession, with loud though discordant music. It is worshipped near the house of the blacksmith, who decorates the idol behind a screen, painting its eyes and forehead. As soon as the screen is removed, a number of coconuts are broken, and one or two goats are killed. The spectators are afraid of going in a line with the idol's eye as it is believed that the goddess does harm to the person whom she first sees. After the usual worship, the image is carried by the blacksmith, who walks on washed cloths spread on the way by the washerman. Then the whole procession comes to the shed with great pomp, a Madiga man, known as Ranagayya* dancing before the idol and uttering abusive language. Near the shed, some sheep or goats are killed, and the image in finally installed in it, a pot filled with toddy being also consecrated and placed in front of the idol. Then auspicious things, such as tali, nose-screw, toe-rings and yellow sadi are brought in state by the village headman, and tied to the goddess. Presents of rice, coconuts, betel-leaves and arecanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to the goddess heaped in her garment as if she were a bride.
In the meantime, a party of Madigas fetch the he-buffalo, set free in the name of Maramma, and hold it tight by the ropes. Its temper has been subdued by keeping it on short rations for two or three days previous to this event. Some quantity of oil is poured on its head, and bunches of margosa leaves are tied to the horns. Turmeric paste and kumkuma powder are rubbed on its head. It is then taken in procession through all the streets in the village, Ranagayya leading it indulging in dancing and abusive songs. As the procession approaches each house in the village, the inmates thereof bring water in a small vessel, and throw it on the buffalo, and then pour some oil on its head, and apply turmeric and kumkuma powders to its forehead. When the buffalo is brought back to the shed, it is tied up to a forked post just opposite the image, the neck resting on the fork. An Asadi beats on a drum and sings the praises of Maramma, reciting the story relating to her birth, marriage and death. Sometimes a band of Madiga Basavis, most fantastically dressed, dance before the goddess while Ranagayya, also dressed in a queer fashion, capers about freely, indulging in filthy language and spitting on the persons in the way. While this din is going on, the pujari worships the goddess, and waves Arati, and sprinkles tirtha on the buffalo's head. A Madiga or Beda (according to the custom of the place), with a single stroke of a sharp long scythe, cuts off the head of the beast, another man catching its blood in an earthen vessel. As soon as the head is severed from the trunk the tongue is drawn out, and the right foreleg of the animal is cut off and thrust into the mouth cross-wise. The head in this condition is carried to a small shed (called Matangi's shed) erected in front of Mari's idol, and kept there on a raised platform. A layer of fat, taken from the stomach of the animal, is spread on the eyes and mouth, and a light is kept burning on the head in an earthen basin. Two small kids and a sheep are also killed, and their heads are kept near the buffalo's. Then a number of sheep and goats and sometimes he-buffaloes are killed, so that the whole place becomes reeking with blood. A large quantity of boiled rice is soaked in the blood caught in earthen vessels, and is mixed with the undigested food found in the stomach of the consecrated buffalo. This rice is carried in baskets, on the heads of Madigas,

* Ranagayya is supposed to represent the brother of Mari's Madiga husband. His name is also Gosangi.
followed by Asadi, Ranagayya and others, who run to a spot on the boundary of the village crying out "ko-bali" (receive the sacrifice). One or two sheep are again sacrificed there, and the party run round the whole village boundary, throwing out the coloured rice and calling out "ko-bali". Similarly, all the fields in the village are traversed. It is nearly daybreak on the next day when this procession returns to the Mari's shed. Then aratis are waved round them, and tirtha and prasada are given to them.

In the morning, the slaughtered animals are all divided among twelve office-bearers (Ayagararu) of the village, and such of them as are not meat-eaters make over their shares to the Madigas or Holeyas, as the case may be. The heads of all the sheep slaughtered become, by right, the property of the village washerman.

This fair continues sometimes as long as one week, but generally it is finished in three days. Various sports are held, and the village observe it as a general holiday. The idol is carried on the last day to the boundary of the village where a new shed has been put up. As soon as the image of Maramma is removed from the old shed, the heads of the sacrificed beasts kept in the Matangi's shed are buried in it, and the shed is burnt down. Then the procession goes to the village-boundary with great pomp, the Asadi singing the praises of Mari, and Ranagayya (Gosangi) abusing her and others in the filthiest of language. At the boundary, the idol is placed on a dais in the new shed, and the pujari, throwing a curtain round, breaks the bangles put on it, and removes the tali thread, thus indicating that Mari has entered into widowhood. They all return to the village, where the Mari's temple has been already locked. Next day, all the village people collect together, and set free another buffalo in the name of Mari. This restores the married condition of the goddess, when the temple is opened, and all the villagers offer coconuts, etc., to the image and get tirtha and prasada.
APPENDIX 3

(Below is a memorandum submitted by the Adi-Jambava Society. An old document, it was made available to me by educationist Chikhanumanthiya. It is translated into English from the Kannada language by Dr. C.N. Venugopal.)

Shree Adijambava Sangha

(Bangalore)

The above association was founded in Bangalore City in the year 1926 (November) with the aim of improving the lot of the left-hand Adi-Karnatakas.

The association, which is affiliated to the Nelamangala matha, has laid down the following regulations for practice among the Adi-Karnatakas.

The statewide conferences of the Adi-Karnatakas were held in 1928 at Bangalore (first conference) and in 1929 at Nelamangala (second conference) respectively. The leaders of the Adi-Karnatakas have approved these regulations at the time of these conferences.

These regulations must be followed strictly; contravening of the regulations will be punishable. The defaulter must bring his lapse to the attention of the local leader and abide by his judgement.

Regulations

1. The Adi-Karnatakas should not consume beef or carrion of cows and buffaloes. They should not participate in the ritual slaughter of these animals or sell them to the slaughter-houses.

2. Only vegetarian food must be prepared on important ritual occasions related to marriage nuptials, naming of the child or death.

3. The brideprice must not be given or taken by the concerned families. The bride's party must serve the hard drink to their kith and kin on their own. It is essential to reduce the marriage expenses.

4. There must be an end to the practice of offering girls as devadasis to the temples, etc. If a man does not have a male issue, he should adopt a child, rather than make his daughter a devadasi and regard the son born to her as his lineal descendant. This old practice must be given up.
5. The early marriage of sons and daughters must be avoided, as it leads to economic dependency, etc. The daughter should be at least 16 years of age and the son at least 20 years of age, before either of them gets married.

6. If the girl attains puberty before marriage, she should not be married off through the ritually lesser-ranking ceremony. She should be married according to the libatory rite which is performed in a typical Adi-Karnataka marriage.

7. Members of all the Adi-Karnataka clans should perform marriage in the households in the morning hours only. There should not be any eating of food or drinking of hard liquor preceding the marriage. Milk libation (dhaare) should be the central rite of the marriage. If the two concerned clans agree, there can take place an exchange marriage (that is, give a bride and take a bride).

9. If a daughter becomes a widow at an early age, she may be re-married. If the girl has a pre-marital affair with a man from one of the clans, she should be married to the same man, after undergoing expiation for the earlier lapse.

10. The practice prevalent in some parts such as dancing, dining and merry-making (playing music, etc.) before a dead body should be avoided. These practices are not civilized and hence should be given up. (Italics mine).

11. There should not be any competition between the Adi-Karnatakas of two villages regarding the jajmani work, leading to disruption of social ties.

12 (i) There should not be any withdrawal of children from schools till they have attained the age of twelve, for agricultural or other purposes. There should be compulsory education for all the Adi-Karnataka children.

(ii) The donations given by individual members towards the education of Adi-Karnatakas will be gratefully accepted by the Sangha and receipts will be issued to the subscribers.
FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., p. 154.

3. Interview with Dr. C.N. Venugopal.

4. In fact, one way for the investigator to find out whether a person is an 'original family' member or a migrant is to ask him if he gets a share of the sacrificial meat. Only those migrants who have married girls from 'original families' are entitled to a share.


7. These practices have been described by Thurston. See E. Thurston, Ibid., pp. 489-90 for an account of hook-swinging.


10. Ibid., pp. 204-05.


12. Saivism appears to be closer to the pre-Aryan religion and is extant among the general population, especially in the south. However, there are a few Saivite sects. Apart from Veerasaivism or Lingayatism, other Saivite sects include the Pasupatas, devotees of Siva as Pasupati, the Tamil Saivasiddanta, who incorporated in their religious literature the devotional hymns of the Nayanar saints and the Trika of Kashmir, who shared Sankara's monastic doctrine. See A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, Rupa and Co., Delhi, 1967.


17. Ibid.


21. Ibid. p. 156.

22. O'Malley noted that the higher castes appealed to a monastic organization rather than a caste council to settle disputes; the caste councils were quite weak in the higher castes. See L.S.S. O'Malley, Indian Caste Customs, Rupa and Co., New Delhi, 1976.


24. Mysore Census of 1871, p. 89.

25. Ibid.


29. The temple was thrown open to the untouchables in the 1950s, when the first Madiga Cabinet Minister, Chennigaramaih, gathered a band of Madigas and stormed into the temple. They met with no resistance.

Today, all except the elderly Madiga and the coolies enter the Vaishnavite temples in Tumkur town. The elderly Madiga believe that entering the temple would bring god's curse on them. The coolies feel that they are physically not clean and therefore they should not enter. Information given by the people of N.R. Colony.
30. The temples in the environs of Tumkur town are open to the untouchables. But, in the rural areas, there is still resistance to their entering, and some of the educated Madiga youth who have been denied entry have taken up the issue in court. Information given by people of N.R. Colony.

31. Interview with Mrs. M.A. Khan, Brahman wife of Dr. M.A. Khan, hailing from Tumkur.

32. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, op. cit.

33. Personal communication from Dr. C.N. Venugopal, himself a Srivaishnavite Brahman.

34. Interview with the late Justice Bhimaiah, Chief Justice of the Karnataka High Court.

35. Interview with ex-Minister B. Rachaiah.

36. Interview with middle-school headmaster, Ramaiah.
PRIEST OF DURGAMMA TEMPLE WITH THE DEITY

T.A. DASappa AT PEDHIALLY Mutta (Tiptur)