

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

THE South Kanara district was described by the late Sarojini Naidu, an eminent poetess, as the "Nandanavana" (pleasure garden) of India. The scenic splendour of this area with its thick forests and lofty mountains, its swift-flowing rivers and peaceful valleys, has been the theme of song and verse for centuries. In the spheres of education and culture too, the district has been in the forefront. Comparatively speaking, it had a measure of isolation in the past owing to natural barriers, as a result of which, it came to have certain features of its own. On the other hand, various faiths and ethnic groups intermingled here to give the district a cosmopolitan atmosphere and a catholic spirit.

The geographical area of the district, as surveyed by the Surveyor-General of India and cleared by the Central Statistical Organisation of the Government of India, is 8,436.32 square kilometres or 3,257.29 square miles. The reporting area of the district for land utilisation purposes as worked out by the Commissioner for Survey, Settlement and Land Records in Mysore, Bangalore, is 8,158 square kilometres or 3,150 square miles. This difference is due to the different methods employed by them in measuring the area. In point of area, this district holds the twelfth place in the State, occupying 4.4 per cent of its area. The population of the district, according to the 1961 census, was 15,63,837 out of whom 7,51,229 were males and 8,12,608 were females. In respect of population, it ranked sixth in the State. With 192 persons per sq. km. (*i.e.*, 496 persons per sq. mile), it occupied the second place in regard to density in 1961. The population of the district as per the 1971 census was 19,39,315, registering a decennial growth of 24.01 per cent.

The density of a tract depends, to a large extent, on the fertility of its soil, rainfall or irrigation facilities, communication, industries, trade and commerce. It may be said that all these factors have been responsible for the high density of population

in the district. After the Bangalore district, which includes the metropolitan city of Bangalore, and Mandya district, South Kanara is the most thickly populated district of the State. In 1971, the density of population of this district was 230 per sq. km., while it was 421 in Bangalore district and 233 in Mandya district and the State's average was 153. In 1971, South Kanara accounted for 6.62 per cent of the total population of the State.

The first census was taken in the year 1871. Thereafter, censuses were taken in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971. The census that was taken in the year 1901 disclosed a total population of 8,98,380 for the district. The following table indicates the variations in the population from 1901 to 1971 :—

Year	Males	Females	Total	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation
1901	4,33,650	4,64,730	8,98,380	..	..
1911	4,54,451	4,87,207	9,41,658	+ 43,278	+ 4.82
1921	4,77,656	5,06,398	9,84,054	+ 42,396	+ 4.50
1931	5,12,228	5,50,928	10,63,156	+ 79,102	+ 8.04
1941	5,64,128	6,09,410	11,73,538	+ 1,10,382	+10.38
1951	6,36,594	6,94,323	13,30,917	+ 1,57,379	+13.41
1961	7,51,229	8,12,608	15,63,837	+ 2,32,920	+17.50
1971	9,42,495	9,96,820	19,39,315	+ 3,75,478	+24.01

(All these figures exclude the Kasaragod taluk).

Source :—Census of India, 1971, General Population Tables, part 11-A, p. 125

In a period of seventy years, the population of the district had thus risen from 8,98,380 to 19,39,315, the difference being 10,40,935 which worked out to +115.87 per cent.

Emigration and immigration figures in the censuses are arrived at on the basis of the places of birth and the places of enumeration of the persons concerned. In the district, employment opportunities, especially in the Panambur Harbour Project, Hassan-Mangalore Railway Project and various industries, have been attracting a considerable number of people. From the point of view of movement of population, the following figures (recorded in 1961) would be interesting.

I. BORN IN INDIA

Rural	..	..	13,29,946
Urban	..	..	2,30,979
Unclassifiable	..	..	490

Movement of population

Born within the State :—

Rural	..	..	12,98,563
Urban	..	..	2,17,561
Unclassifiable	..	..	225

Born in places of enumeration :—

Rural	..	..	8,67,091
Urban	..	..	1,89,033
Unclassifiable	..	..	Nil

Born elsewhere in the district :—

Rural	..	..	4,28,073
Urban	..	..	24,951
Unclassifiable	..	..	11

Born in other districts of the State :—

Rural	..	..	3,399
Urban	..	..	3,577
Unclassifiable	..	..	11

II. BORN IN OTHER STATES OF INDIA

(a) Andhra Pradesh	..	..	447
(b) Assam	..	..	3
(c) Bihar	..	..	8
(d) Gujarat	..	..	1,331
(e) Jammu and Kashmir	..	..	5
(f) Kerala	..	..	35,907
(g) Madhya Pradesh	..	..	47
(h) Madras (now Tamil Nadu)	..	..	3,497
(i) Maharashtra	..	..	3,428
(j) Orissa	..	..	8
(k) Punjab	..	..	86
(l) Rajasthan	..	..	42
(m) Uttar Pradesh	..	..	30
(n) West Bengal	..	..	46
(o) Andaman and Nicobar Islands	..	..	3
(p) Delhi	..	..	26
(q) Goa, Daman and Diu	..	..	152

III. BORN IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF ASIA

(a) Burma	..	..	18
(b) Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)	..	..	46
(c) Nepal	..	..	41
(d) Pakistan	..	..	59

(e) Singapore, Malaya and British Borneo	21
(f) Elsewhere	90

IV. BORN IN COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

(a) United Kingdom (including North Ireland)	17
(b) Ireland	1
(c) Elsewhere	46

V. BORN IN AFRICA

Union of South Africa ..	48
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VI. BORN IN TWO AMERICAS

United States of America ..	1
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VII. UNCLASSIFIABLE 2,034

(Source : Census of India, 1961 Volume XI, Mysore Part II-C (ii), Migration Tables, pp. 62-64).

There has been a continuous drift in population from villages to the towns. Employment opportunities and educational facilities available in the towns are among the factors responsible for the drift in population to the towns. The towns have grown in importance as regards to communications, trade and commerce, industrialisation and the like. Some of the land-holding families maintain two houses—one in the village and another in some town, the latter being meant for the school-and college-going children. The majority of the non-cultivating owners of land, *i.e.*, agricultural rent-receiving class and their dependents, live in towns, many of them engaging themselves in different kinds of urban business. In addition to these reasons, there are common lures of town life such as the impersonal living and attractions of hotels, cinemas, etc. The notion that town life is dependable and easy-going in contrast with the uncertainties and hardships of agricultural life is also responsible, to a certain extent, for the drift in population. Sometimes, the factions and party strifes in villages also drive some families to towns and cities.

**Drift in
population**

The urban life has become more complex now-a-days. A large number of people in the urban areas are employees. The people in towns and cities depend upon the rural people for food-grains and raw materials. The life of the people who live in rural areas is simpler and self-sufficient to a certain extent. They live close to the natural surroundings and their life is less sophisticated. The ecological factors being different, the village life is somewhat different from that of urban life. But the quick

means of transport have brought the rural and urban people into more frequent and closer contacts.

Out of a total population of 15,63,837, (according to the 1961 census) 12,83,478 persons lived in the rural areas and 2,80,359 lived in thirteen towns, out of which only two (Mangalore and Udipi) were large municipal towns and the rest—Coondapur, Karkal, Mulki, Malpe, Puttur, Ullal*, Gangolli, Kankanadi*, Padavu*, Someshwar and Tonse West—were having panchayats. Mangalore, the district headquarters town, was the biggest being followed by Udipi, Coondapur, Karkal and Puttur towns. The number of towns had increased to 14 by 1971. Out of a total population of 19,39,315 in 1971, 15,46,137 persons lived in the rural areas and 3,93,178 persons in the urban areas. The percentages of urban and rural population in 1961 were 17.93 and 82.07 and in 1971, 20.27 and 79.73 respectively. The subjoined table shows the sex-wise urban population as in 1971 :—

<i>Name of town</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Coondapur	11,885	11,946	23,831
2. Gangolli	4,525	4,852	9,377
3. Karkal	9,023	9,570	18,593
4. Malpe	6,696	7,171	13,867
5. Mangalore under			
Agglomeration	1,08,281	1,06,841	2,15,122
(a) Darebail	4,020	4,204	8,224
(b) Kankanady	4,233	4,683	8,916
(c) Mangalore City	83,557	81,617	1,65,174
(d) Padavu	6,652	6,834	13,486
(e) Ullal	9,819	9,503	19,322
6. Mulki	5,328	6,197	11,525
7. Pranthya	2,858	2,980	5,838
8. Puttur	9,201	8,282	17,483
9. Shirva	4,788	5,895	10,683
10. Shivalli	5,761	5,528	11,289
11. Someshwar	3,986	4,227	8,213
12. Tonse West	3,349	3,982	7,331
13. Udipi	14,703	15,050	29,753
14. Udyavar	4,777	5,496	10,273

Sex Ratio

A special feature of this district's population has been that it has more females than males. While there were 942,495 males

* These towns are grouped under Mangalore agglomeration in 1971 Census.

in the district in 1971, the number of females was 996,820, that is, the females outnumbered the males by 54,325. The table given below shows the number of females per thousand males in the district from 1901 to 1971 :—

Year	Total	Urban	Rural
1901	1,072	969	1,079
1911	1,072	951	1,083
1921	1,060	959	1,071
1931	1,076	959	1,091
1941	1,080	1,009	1,090
1951	1,091	1,019	1,104
1961	1,082	1,016	1,097
1971	1,058	1,015	1,069

The definition of 'house' adopted in the 1961 census was the same as the one followed from 1901. A house is defined to be the dwelling place of one or more families with their resident servants having a separate entrance from the common way. It may be remembered that the common way is not necessarily the public way. This definition of "house" was slightly changed in 1971 census (*see* addenda). According to the census of 1971, the total number of houses and households in South Kanara was 2,96,170 and 3,13,437 respectively. This gave an average of 37 households per square kilometre. The average number of inmates was 6.4 persons. The taluk-wise distribution of houses and households as in 1971 is given below :—

Sl. No.	Name of taluk	No. of houses	No. of households
1.	Belthangady	21,685	22,582
2.	Buntwal	34,013	35,580
3.	Coondapur	35,853	36,679
4.	Karkal	32,831	35,062
5.	Mangalore	74,534	79,217
6.	Puttur	23,485	24,180
7.	Sullia	14,081	14,730
8.	Udipi	59,688	65,407
	Total	2,96,170	3,13,437

There are many persons who have no houses to live in and their number finds a place in the 1971 census enumeration. As the phrase itself indicates houseless persons are those persons who at the time of enumeration were not found residing in houses.

Persons like pavement-dwellers and beggars without any house to live in were grouped under the category of houseless persons. The table given hereunder indicates taluk-wise number of people who did not live in houses, according to the 1971 census :—

Sl. No.	Name of taluk	Males	Females	Total no. of houseless persons
1.	Belthangady	88	49	137
2.	Buntwal	285	139	424
3.	Coondapur	118	67	185
4.	Karkal	178	59	237
5.	Mangalore	793	241	1,034
6.	Puttur	179	84	263
7.	Sullia	88	38	126
8.	Udipi	261	154	415
Total		1,990	831	2,821

Institutional population

The institutional population covers persons residing in institutions, providing boarding and lodging and similar facilities such as hotels, hostels, jails and lockups, *mathas*, hospitals, etc. The sub-joined table gives the taluk-wise number of persons who resided in institutions at the time of taking the 1971 census :—

Sl. No.	Name of taluk	Males	Females	Total
1.	Belthangady	925	304	1,229
2.	Buntwal	584	135	719
3.	Coondapur	1,263	418	1,681
4.	Karkal	824	508	1,332
5.	Mangalore	7,891	4,149	12,040
6.	Puttur	1,755	346	2,101
7.	Sullia	651	105	756
8.	Udipi	2,201	959	3,160
Total		16,094	6,924	23,018

Languages

The two principal languages spoken in the South Kanara district are Kannada and Tulu*. Kannada, which is the common

*R. Narasimhaচার has said that Tulu, Kodagu, Toda, Kota and Badaga may be "looked upon as dialects of Kannada by reason of their close relationship to that language than to any other of the Dravidian tongues" ("History of Kannada Language", p. 36.)

language for all the sections throughout the district, is also the official language and general medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools. It is well-spoken and studied by all the sections whatever may be their home-tongues. There is a well-established tradition of devoted cultivation of Kannada in the district. Kannada as spoken in this region has certain dialectal peculiarities of its own. The Kannada dialect as spoken by the Hayyaka Brahmin community has retained some archaic features. The Gowda community also speaks a different Kannada dialect. Kannada is spoken as mother-tongue mainly in the area north of the Kalyanapur river. From the Kalyanapur river in the north to the Chandragiri river in the south (a part of the southern area is at present in Kerala), Tulu is spoken. In the Tulu-speaking area, those people who have Kannada, Konkani and other mother-tongues also sometimes use Tulu for contact with the rural population.

Konkani is spoken in all the taluks of South Kanara by small numbers of people, by Gowda Saraswats, Saraswats, many of the Roman Catholics, etc. The Protestant Christians speak mainly either Tulu or Kannada. Konkani is of Prakrit origin and belongs to the Indo-Aryan family. During the Portuguese Inquisition and later, many people speaking Konkani migrated into this district. Konkani is only a little used for writing in the district and when writing is resorted to, the Kannada script is generally used for the purpose. Urdu is spoken by the Deccani Muslims. The Moplahs or Baryas speak Malayalam and the Navayats speak Konkani.

Now when occasionally Tulu is made use of for writing, Tulu invariably the Kannada script is adopted. There is a considerable folk literature in Tulu consisting of "folk-songs, legends and quasi-historical narrations called Paddanas and Sandis". The Paddanas generally narrate stories of the life of legendary heroes like Koti-Chennaya. There are translations of a few Christian religious works and some other books in Tulu. A few films also have been produced in this language in recent years. Some details about Tulu would not be out of place here. Robert Caldwell calls Tulu "a peculiar and very interesting language". It is stated that the influence of Sanskrit on Tulu has not been very great, but such of those words as have been borrowed from Sanskrit generally retain their original sound and the meaning. The influence of Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam on Tulu has not been significant. Tulu and Tamil might have had some contact

1. Mariappa Bhat, "Tulu Language and Literature", p. 1014 in "Karnataka

Through the Ages".

2. "A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages", pp. 31-32.

with each other only at a very early period, but they have lost their contact for a long time now.

It is only Kannada that has retained its close contact with Tulu and the mixing of the two languages has been so even that a large number of words that are common to both the languages cannot be said, with any degree of certainty, as belonging originally to any one of the two; but, naturally, one has to assume, in view of the fact that Tulu is spoken in a small area and by a small number of people, that this language borrowed a large number of words from Kannada and not the other way round, as pointed out by K. V. Ramesh¹. Another interesting feature about Tulu is the absorption of a number of Persian and Arabic words, perhaps as a result of the maritime trade that this region had with countries speaking those languages. The majority of these borrowed words are retained in their original form and meaning and it seems almost certain that these words were directly borrowed and not taken in through contacts with the North Indian languages like Urdu and Hindi whose influence on the Tulu area was remote.² The Portuguese had close contact, for some time, with this region through commerce and trade. This and the later British rule led to absorption of many Portuguese and English words in Tulu. (See also Chapter XV).

In 1961, Tulu was spoken by 7,39,322 persons and this worked out to 47.27 per cent of the total population. Kannada was the mother-tongue of 3,22,456 persons, the percentage being 20.62. As many as 34 languages and dialects were returned as mother-tongues in the district as follows:—

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of mother-tongue</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Arabic/Arbi ..	3,360	159	3,519	..
2.	Banjari ..	8	..	8	..
3.	Bengali ..	13	19	32	..
4.	Burmese ..	..	1	1	..
5.	Ceylonese..	7	..	7	..
6.	Chinese/Chini ..	1	..	1	..
7.	Coorgi/Kodagi ..	19	105	124	..
8.	English ..	19	291	310	..
9.	French ..	..	12	12	..
10.	German ..	..	22	22	..
11.	Gujarati ..	60	2,643	2,703	..

1. "The Tulu language" A historical survey (article) in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (1957-58) (Karnataka Number)

2. Ibid.

Sl. No.	Name of mother tongue	Rural	Urban	Total	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Hindi	1,003	397	1,400	..
13.	Hindustani	6,160	1,591	7,751	..
14.	Iranian	1	..	1	..
15.	Italian	6	8	14	..
16.	Kachchhi .. ..	..	3	3	..
17.	Kannada	2,88,356	34,100	3,22,456	20.62
18.	Konkani	1,81,250	76,963	2,58,213	16.51
19.	Koraga	127	..	127	..
20.	Malayalam	1,26,470	31,147	1,57,617	10.79
21.	Marathi	35,132	1,630	36,762	2.35
22.	Marwari	3	2	5	..
23.	Nawait	200	263	463	..
24.	Nepali	8	17	25	..
25.	Oriya	2	7	9	..
26.	Portuguese	1	2	3	..
27.	Punjabi .. ..	..	77	77	..
28.	Rajasthani	11	8	19	..
29.	Sindhi	4	8	12	..
30.	Sinos .. ..	..	1	1	..
31.	Tamil	1,922	1,517	3,439	..
32.	Telugu	1,924	975	2,899	..
33.	Tulu	6,21,161	1,18,161	7,39,322	47.27
34.	Urdu	16,250	11,230	27,480	1.75
Total		12,83,478	2,80,359	15,63,837	..

(Source : Census of India, District Census Hand-Book, 1961, South Kanara District, p. 192.)

The following figures give the distribution of population of **Religions** South Kanara district according to religions, as in 1971 census :—

Sl. No.	Religion	Males	Females	Total
1.	Buddhists	38	9	47
2.	Christians	9,10,77	96,493	1,87,570
3.	Hindus	7,19,051	7,82,757	15,01,808
4.	Jains	6,118	5,829	11,947
5.	Muslims	1,26,095	1,11,707	2,37,802
6.	Sikhs	73	18	91

In 1961, out of the total population of the district, which was 15,63,837, the Hindus formed by far the largest portion, their total number being 12,37,055. There were 1,63,365 Christians. They were followed by Muslims (1,52,225) and Jains (11,062). The tract-wise break-up of the figures further shows that a large number of the Christians lived in Mangalore taluk (31,330), followed by Udipi (29,058) and Buntwal (20,350). The largest number of Muslims lived in Mangalore taluk (36,556) being followed by Buntwal and Belthangady (25,432 and 12,542 respectively). Jains lived largely in Karkal taluk (4,635) being followed by Belthangady and Buntwal taluks (2,985 and 1,539 respectively).

Ancient chronicles tell us of the early Brahmins introduced by Parashurama, but nothing definite is known till about the middle of the fourth century A.D., when Mayurasharma, a king of the Kadamba dynasty ruling at Banavasi, is said to have introduced a number of Brahmins into the region. It is not easy to give an accurate account of the various racial and religious movements which have affected this area during the last two thousand and more years.

Buddhism

As in most other parts of the country, an early faith, which exercised its sway in South Kanara, was Buddhism. It seems that this religion became fairly popular in the early centuries of the Christian era. Dr. B. A. Saletore says that the caves at Kadri, popularly called Pandava caves, are similar to the numerous Buddhist caves which were used as places of retreat in the southern parts of the peninsula and which may be assigned to a period ranging from the second to the sixth century A.D. The names of several towns and deities are again evidences of the Buddhist influence. There was a Buddhist monastery at Kadri in Mangalore. An image of Lokeshvara was installed in that *vihara* by Kundavarma, an Alupa king. According to Dr. Saletore, Buddhism never became the religion of the rulers of Tuluva. Later, Jainism and the doctrine of *Advaita* became prominent in the district. The Natha *Pantha* had spread to a considerable extent in this district and Kadri was an important centre of this sect which has still some followers called jogis. Kadri continues to have a monastery of this *Pantha*.

Shaivism

The predominant religion under the Alupa rule was Shaivism. Right from the days of Chitravahana I, the Shaiva faith was fostered. One of the most venerated spots in the district associated with the name of Shiva is Shivahalli now called Shivalli. Inscriptions found in the district prove the strong Shaivite inclinations of those rulers and that they continued to be devotees of Shiva till about the beginning of the thirteenth century when Jainism, after having made rapid progress all over Karnataka, made its influence felt in Tuluva.

Epigraphical evidence, Hindu and Jaina traditions, the **Jainism** literature preserved and the monuments at Moodabidri, Karkal, etc., indicate the strong hold that Jainism came to have over the area. Tradition has it that this religion was introduced in South Kanara in the ninth century. The Jainas of South Kanara belong to the Digambara division. In this district, they are divided into two main sub-divisions, Indras and others. The Indras are the priestly class. Many of the more well-to-do Jainas took to trade and money-lending and acquired much property. The customs, marriage ceremonies and funeral rites of some of the Jainas are similar to those of the Bunts.

There is a small section in the district belonging to the **Bhagavata sect** 'Bhagavata Sampradaya'. Perhaps this sect came to Tuluva some time about the middle of the twelfth century. There are two Mathas of the Bhagavatas at Balakuduru (Coondapur taluk) and Edaneeru (now in Kasaragod taluk).

During the thirteenth century, there arose in this district a **Dvaita school of philosophy** powerful influence of Vaishnavism propounded by Madhvacharya, an illustrious saint and scholar who was the exponent of the *Dvaita* philosophy (Dualism). He was known also as Poornaprajna and Anandateertha. Born in 1238 A.D. at Pajakakshetra about nine kms. from Udipi, this great teacher lived for about 79 years, spending a long period in writing (he wrote 37 works in Sanskrit including commentaries on the main Upanishads, Bhagavadgeeta and Vedantasutra) and in preaching *Dvaita* philosophy, and the doctrine of *Bhakti* which could be practised by all. His views differed from the monism of Shankaracharya and also from the qualified monism of Ramanujacharya and he held the world to be real. He maintained that there was distinction between the independent Supreme Being (*Paramatma*) and the dependent principle of life (*Jeevatma*). There are, according to this school of thought, five distinctions (*Panchabhedas*), namely, (1) between God and the individual, (2) between God and matter, (3) between soul and matter, (4) between one soul and another and (5) between one principle of matter and another. He undertook two extensive tours in Upper India and one in South India, during the course of which he vanquished many a learned champion of *Advaita* and *Vishishtadvaita*.

The contributions of Madhvacharya in the fields of philosophy and religion and textual interpretations of *Vedanta* were outstanding. He crystallised the wisdom of scriptural texts into a particular systematic philosophy, which could be said to be an achievement of the highest order. It is stated that he had also the reputation of having possessed immense physical strength and worsted in physical combat many a noted wrestler. He is credited with having performed many miracles.

His *Dvaita* school won a number of followers in various parts of the country. He established eight *mathas* (monasteries and) appointed eight of his disciples to be in charge of these and to administer the affairs of the famous temple at Udipi in which he installed a lovely image of Krishna, said to have been found by him in a lump of clay (*gopichandana*) given to him by the Captain of a ship in token of the gratefulness he felt for the Acharya who rescued his ship from distress. The institution of the eight *mathas*, namely, (1) Sode Matha, (2) Krishnapura Matha, (3) Kanuru Matha, (4) Adamaru Matha, (5) Puttige Matha, (6) Sirur Matha, (7) Phalamaru Matha and (8) Pejavara Matha has continued to this day and their Swamis are known for their piety and learning and services in social and cultural fields. The Madhva tradition gave rise to distinguished spiritual thinkers like Vadirajaswami, Jayateertha, Vijayadhvajateertha, Vyasa-teertha and Raghavendrateertha and a number of saints called Haridasas (foremost among whom was Purandaradasa) in various parts of Karnataka. The Haridasas composed simple but powerful songs in Kannada which are popular to this day. The district has followers of *Dvaita* (Madhva Vaishnava) as well as *Advaita* (*Smarta*) sects. It has also a strong tradition of *Shakta Sampradaya*.

Veerashaivism

The influence of Veerashaivism, which appears to have been introduced in this area about the middle of the 14th century, has not been great in the district. When this region was under the rule of Ikkeri Nayakas, in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, there was some spread of this faith here. There is evidence of the Veerashaiva influence in several towns of this region. In Mangalore itself, there were till quite recently about fifty houses of Veerashaivas in an area called Basavanagudi. Gurpur in Mangalore taluk is said to be named after a Guru of the Veerashaivas. Karkal has a temple of Veerabhadra. In Puttur taluk, there is a tank which has taken its name from a Veerashaiva Matha. There are also several ruined *mathas* and temples of the Veerashaivas in the district.

Other forms of worship

There are also shrines and temples dedicated to goddesses like Mariamma and Durgamma who are prayed to for protection against dreaded diseases and calamities. There is no priestly class attached to this aspect of faith. Ordinarily, the heads of some families officiate as priests. Animal sacrifice was once considered an accepted practice of this cult. There are also *Masti* (*Mahasati*) stones (which commemorate the self-immolation of some pious ladies) which are venerated.

What is called "serpent worship" (*Nagapooja*) has come down from ancient times. The form of snake is believed to be a symbol of divine power or of god Subrahmanya. This cult, which takes the form of adoration of effigies of snakes (*Naga-*

Kallu or snake-stones) placed on platforms under the Ashwattha (banyan) trees or in shrines and temples, seems to be more prevalent in this region than in other parts of the State. These effigies are to be found all over the district. In the village of Arabi in Udipi taluk and in Kirimanjeshwara in Coondapur taluk there are some persons called the Dakkas who are said to be masters of the snakelore. They administer to the needs of some people on the occasions of what are known as "Naga-mandalas" and "Brahma-mandalas". But in most of the temples of Skanda or Kartikeya in the form of Subrahmanya, worship is conducted by Brahmin priests. It is said that this extensive serpent-worship may be due to the practices of those Brahmins who were supposed to have been brought here from "Ahi-Kshetra" or "Ahichchhatra" ("the land of snakes"). The chief seat of serpent-worship in South India is the temple of Subrahmanya in Sullia taluk. A ritual dance called the "Nagamandala" or "Vaidya" dance is performed during the *naga* worship in some places. The dancer wears the dress of *ardhanari* (half-man and half-woman) and this is symbolic of the concept that *purusha* and *prakriti* are one.

A peculiar and pronounced feature of the district is its spirit-worship, a kind of propitiation of spirits. Almost every village in the district has its *Bhootasthana* or spirit temple. There are various kinds of spirits, those belonging to the forests, those that guard the villages, and those that safeguard public health. There are also family spirits and it is not uncommon to find a separate room set apart in many houses for these spirits. The *Bhootasthana* is usually a small plain structure, without windows and with a thatched roof. The officiating priest is generally a man of the Billava caste. In front of the temple are a few T-shaped pillars. The temples of the more popular Bhootas are substantial in structure. Spirit-worship

Two popular Bhootas worshipped specially by the Bunts and Billavas are Koti Baidya and Chennaya Baidya, the departed spirits of two heroes of old. The worship of these Bhootas consists in pouring of water into a small vase of bell-metal which is placed before the image depicting the Bhoota and offering on special occasions of flowers and lights. In the larger temples, a sword is placed near the image, to be held by the priest when he stands possessed and trembles with excitement before the people assembled for worship. Actually the story of the Bhootas is usually a heroic tale narrating some acts of the hero, inspiring awe and terror. Quite a number of these stories seem to be totemic in conception,

1. Dr. Saletore, B.A., "Ancient Karnataka", Volume I, p. 370.

2. Dr. Karanth, K. S., "Dance Rituals of Kanara" (article) Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 1957-58, (Karnataka Number).

though later-day beliefs have crept in and materially modified these tales. Even the language of these stories has altered, gathering new words and forms. They are sung only once or twice a year and that from memory. They were passed on orally from one generation to another.

Along with the older Bhootas, there are many new ones. One may be that of a ship-wrecked sailor, the other may be the synonym for Kali, the mother goddess, and the third one may be a version of god Narasimha. Mostly these spirits have annual propitiations attended by ritual dances which are performed by persons of certain classes among whom are the Pombada, Panar, Nalke and Baidya. These people belonged probably to the earliest priestly classes in the area. In the north of the district and further up towards North Kanara, the worship portion of the spirit-cult becomes the privilege of persons of the "higher classes". The Brahmins and others are worshippers of tutelary deities and Bhootas which are also considered to be a part of the *ganas* of Shiva. This type of worship is not uncommon among the people of some other parts, but it is more marked in South Kanara, which, along with a few other districts on the west coast, was in the past relatively more isolated.

Ritual dance

The ritual dance of this spirit-cult takes place always at night, beginning about nine p.m. At first, the priest with a sword and a bell in hand whirls round and round, imitating the gestures of the spirit. After about half-an-hour of this, a man with a waist-cloth, wearing a sort of arch of coconut leaves round his head and a metal mask on his face makes his appearance. He paces up and down for some time and gradually works himself up into an ecstatic frenzy and while the tomtoms beat and the music mounts, he begins to vibrate and dance. He goes into a trance and acts as an oracle. This goes on for several hours. Various village matters which are in dispute are at this time referred to the Bhoota in the person of the dancer for arbitration and the award or advice is accepted by many followers of this cult. He is later fed and sometimes is also given a cash present contributed by the people present.*

New religious movements and leaders

The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society, Yogoda Satsang, Chinmaya Mission, Bahai movement, etc., have their centres and followers in this district. There are devotees of Raghavendraswamy of Mantralaya, Siddharoodhaswami of Hubli, Ayyappa and Narayanaguru of Kerala, Aurobindo of Pondicherry, Ramadas of Kanhangad, Sai

*A detailed monograph on the Bhoota cult has been prepared by the census authorities as a part of the 1971 census operations.

Baba of Shirdi and Sathya Sai Baba of Puttaparthi. There are several Sathya Sai Bhajan Mandals. Swami Chidananda of the Divine Life Society, Swami Muktananda of the Ganeshpuri Ashram, Swami Ranganathananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, Raghavendra Swami of Malladihalli Sevashrama and Sree Rama Devi, who are well-known figures in the spiritual field, hail from this district. A spiritual mission called the Rama Shakti Mission is being conducted to propagate the teachings of Sree Rama Devi with its headquarters at Shaktinagar near Mangalore, where she has her ashram. Shriyuths Bhadragiri Keshavadas and Bhadragiri Achyutadas, the noted *keertanakaras*, are also from this district.

Christianity has been long established in this area and its adherents are relatively more numerous here than in other districts of the State. Since Marco Polo (13th century) has recorded that there were considerable trading activities between the Red Sea and the Kanara coast, it can be surmised that foreign Christian merchants were visiting the coastal towns of Kanara during that period for commerce and possibly some Christian priests might have accompanied them for evangelical work. But no concrete evidence has come to light to indicate that there was any permanent settlement of Christians in Kanara before the 16th century. Severine Silva, a native of South Kanara, has pointed out that there is neither tradition nor legend to affirm that there was Christianity in Kanara prior to the 16th century.*

It was after the advent of the Portuguese in the region that this faith began to be propagated and the earliest available record of introduction of Christianity here belongs to the early part of the 16th century. Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1529), the Vijayanagara monarch, granted commercial privileges to the Portuguese on the Kanara coast and there was complete freedom of worship, belief and propagation of religious tenets in the Vijayanagara empire. In the beginning, the Portuguese had twin objectives, namely, monopoly of foreign trade and conversion of natives and political ambition was added later on. They zealously propagated the faith in Kanara.

In the third decade of the 16th century, the Franciscans founded three churches in South Kanara. One was the factory church at Mangalore dedicated to the Lady of the Rosary; the second was at Ullal (the Church of Our Lady of Mercy) and the third one was built at Ferangipet and was called the Church of St. Francis of Assisi.** From the Portuguese base in Goa, regular reinforcements of missionaries were sent to the Kanara

* "History of Christianity", p. 22.

***Ibid*, p. 37.

towns and there was also migration of lay Christians from Goa. After the end of Krishnadeva Raya's vigorous rule in 1529, when the conditions in the coastal region were chaotic, the Portuguese got themselves well established, both commercially and politically, and were in a better position to increase the tempo of evangelical work. In 1534, Kanara was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Goa. In 1560, a Court of Inquisition was set up in Goa by the Portuguese to suppress heresy and extremely severe punishments began to be meted out to such of those native Christians in Goa as had retained their old customs and usages. In order to escape persecutions, which included confiscation of properties, death sentence and burning alive, many native Christians of Goa rushed to South Kanara. "This was the signal for the Christians to abandon Goa in large numbers with all their possessions. Here they could find under the Ikkeri rulers both freedom of worship and freedom of religion"¹ and Christians flourished in Kanara under the royal patronage of the Bidanur (Ikkeri) Nayakas.² They were given lands and money for cultivation and were also recruited into the army of these Nayakas. Later, under the provisions of treaties entered into between the Portuguese and the Bidanur rulers, the former were permitted to build churches and help the growth of Christianity in the area.

The Holy See appointed Father Thomas de Castro, a Theatine Indian priest, as the Vicar Apostolic of Kanara and Malabar and in 1681, Father Joseph Vaz came to Kanara and worked there for four years "with exceptional zeal and tact".³ Later, the Portuguese power waned and was confined to Goa and their support to the missions in Kanara lessened. Many native Christians of Kanara were subjected to a harsh treatment by Tipu Sultan on suspicion that they were aiding the English against him.⁴ Mohibbul Hasan and Parxy Fernandes have pointed out that this was due to political and not religious reasons.⁵

The Roman Catholics are predominant among the Christians of the district and it was recorded in 1931 that they constituted 90 per cent of the Christian population of the district. There

1. *Ibid*, p. 44-

2. *Ibid*, p. 56,

3. Directory— Diocese of Mangalore, p. 12.

4. Severine Silva, *Ibid*, pp. 105-137

Praxy Fernandes, "Storm Over Seringapatam", pp. XI-XII and 92.

5. Mohibbul Hasan, "History of Tipu Sultan", p. 366.

Praxy Fernandee, *Op. cit.* pp. 247-249.

is now at least one Roman Catholic Church in almost every place of importance in the district and the Catholics have increased greatly, not only from the natural growth of the population, but also by intense evangelical activity by the local Roman Catholics who joined the missions and worked with zeal for the spread of the faith. The medium of religious service among the Roman Catholics in the district is largely Konkani written in the Kannada script and services are also conducted in Kannada and Tulu. These missions did immense pioneering work in the fields of education, medical relief, industries and social service.

A German Evangelical Mission of Basel (Basel Mission) was established at Mangalore in 1834 and John Christoph Lehner, Christoph Leonard Greiner and Samuel Hebich were the pioneering missionaries of this Protestant sect. This mission adopted Kannada as the medium of religious service. The mission supplied good schools and imparted training in handicrafts and set up industrial units to help the needy members of the faith "to lead a regular life and cultivate thriftiness so as to be able to earn their own bread without being chargeable to others". The well-known Shanti Church of this sect was established at Balmatta, Mangalore, in 1862.

As in other parts of the country, some of the customs and practices of the Christians here have been largely influenced by the ethos of the region and the country. The old Manual of South Kanara published in 1894 states: "To this day, the Roman Catholics have not entirely shaken themselves free of the trammels of caste and they are still divided into classes of which Bammans or Brahmins, Charodas or Kshatriyas, Sudirs or Sudras, washermen and salt-makers are the most important" (p. 185). Since then, the spirit of caste among them has gradually waned. Many of the Roman Catholics bear Portuguese names and in some cases they retain their old surnames like Prabhu, Pai, Naik, Padval, Shetty, etc. Many of the Protestant Christians in the district bear Indian names.

Especially in the urban areas, the Christians have had the benefit of the immense educational facilities offered by the various missions. The members of the Christian community have come to the front rank in all walks of life and they form no small proportion in the learned professions and branches of the public services, in the spheres of industries, trade and commerce, etc. (See also Chapters II (under modern period), XV, XVI and XIX).

There were trade links between India and Arabia even much before the birth of Islam in the 7th century. Pliny in the first century A.D. recorded that there were Arab settlements on the **Islam**

Malabar coast and Ceylon. These trade relations inherited from the pre-Islamic times were continued thereafter. The Rashtrakuta kings of Karnataka and the Zamorins of Malabar gave them every privilege and they were permitted to construct mosques, to follow their religion without any let or hindrance and also to propagate their faith. The Arab Muslims settled along the coast, intermarried with the Hindu population, adopted the local language and some of the local customs. It is known that there was a settlement of the Navayats at Barakuru in South Kanara in the 11th century.* Ibn Batuta, who reached Barakuru in 1342 A.D., saw Muslim merchants in Kanara from Yemen and Persia. He says that queen Shankaradevi of the Banga family was ruling Mangalore at that time.

A few lithic records of the Vijayanagara period make references to trade guilds or associations of Muslims called "hanjamanas". The Muslims enjoyed all facilities like any other citizens and were in a prosperous condition. They were a sea-faring people and some of them were engaged in brisk horse-trade and in export and import of other goods. European travellers allude to the "Moors" in the region. Duarte Barbosa, who visited the area in 1514, says that Mangalore was peopled by Moors and Gentiles. Further, he observes: "They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden.....The banks of this river are very pretty and very full of woods and palm trees and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles There are also many mosques where they greatly honour Mohammed".** After the advent of the Portuguese on the Kanara coast, there was a great rivalry for monopoly of foreign trade between them and Muslim merchants, each striving to oust the other by seeking the support of the local chiefs, and there were also armed clashes between them.

Among the Muslims of the district are mainly Moplahs, Navayats and Deccanis. There are also a few Memons from Gujarat and Labbais from Tamil Nadu, who are mostly traders at Mangalore and other ports. Many of the Moplahs have come here from Malabar and settled in various places for a long time. Largely, general trade (including fish-marketing), boatmanship, etc., have been their professions and some of them are also engaged in agricultural and allied occupations. The Navayats are found in small colonies along the coastal areas at Sirur, Baindoor, Gangolli, Basrur, Hangarakatta, Tonse, Malpe, Mangalore, etc. These settlements have been in existence for a long time. They are the descendants of the Muslims of the Honnavar area in North Kanara. They are also known as Bhatkalis since

* Victor S. D'Souza : "The Navayats of Kanara", p. 54.

** Severine Silva : "History of Christianity in Canara", Vol. I, pp. 36-37.

Bhatkal (North Kanara) was their old and main settlement. Many of the Navayats are in trade and commerce and some of them are well educated. Their mother-tongue is Konkani. The Deccanis have spread there, as their appellation indicates, from the Deccan. The forefathers of some of them entered South Kanara as military and civil officials of Haidar Ali's and Tipu Sultan's armies. They speak Urdu at home. The Moplals, Navayats and Labbais belong to the Shafi sect, while the Deccanis and Memons are mostly of the Hanafi sect.

There is a commendable tradition of inter-sectarian and inter-religious harmony in the area; for instance, the famous temple of Manjunatha at Dharmasthala which is a Shaivite one, has Vaishnava priests and is managed by Jainas (it is said that 'Manjunatha' was originally the name of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Manjushri). There are also other such examples of temples. There is also a Madhva Vaishnava Matha within the premises of the well-known Shaiva temple at Kukke-Subrahmanya. The Dharmadhikari of the Manjunatha temple of Dharmasthala got constructed the building for the Tadrissul Koran Arabic School being run by the Jumma Masjid of Pankaje. At Dharmasthala and Kukke-Subrahmanya, *Sarva-Dharma-Sammelanas* ("Conferences of all religions") are held periodically which help to promote inter-religious understanding and amity.

**Traditional
harmony**

The Hindus continue to be divided into a number of castes and sub-castes. "Scheduled Castes" means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under Article 341 (of the Constitution of India) to be the Scheduled Castes for the purposes of the Constitution of India. According to the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, and the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) (Part-C States) Order 1951, as modified by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, the following castes have been recognised as Scheduled Castes in South Kanara: (1) Adi-Andhra, (2) Adi-Dravida, (3) Adi-Karnataka, (4) Ajila, (5) Arunthathiyar, (6) Baira, (7) Bakuda, (8) Bandi, (9) Bellara, (10) Chakkiliyan, (11) Chalavadi, (12) Chamar or Muchi, (13) Chandala, (14) Cheruman, (15) Devandrakulathan, (16) Dom, Dombara, Paidi, or Pano, (17) Godagali, (18) Godda, (19) Gosangi, (20) Holey, (21) Jaggali, (22) Jambuvulu, (23) Kadaiyan, (24) Kalladi, (25) Karimpalan, (26) Koosa, (27) Kudumban, (28) Kuravan, (29) Madari, (30) Madiga, (31) Maila, (32) Mala, (33) Mavilan, (34) Moger, (35) Mundala, (36) Nalakeyava, or Nalkes, (37) Nayadi, (38) Pagadai, (39) Pallan, (40) Pambada, (41) Panchama, (42) Pannaiandi, (43) Paraiyan, (44) Puthirai Vannan, (45) Raneyar, (46) Samagara, (47) Samban, (48) Sapari,

**Castes and
Tribes**

(49) Semman, (50) Thoti, (51) Tiruvalluvar, (52) Valluvan, (53) Bathada, (54) Hasla, (55) Nalkadava and (56) Paravan.

"Scheduled Tribes" means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 (of the Constitution of India) to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the Constitution of India. According to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, and the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, 1951, as modified by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, the following have been recognised as Scheduled Tribes in South Kanara:—

(1) Adiyar, (2) Aranadan, (3) Irular, (4) Kadar, (5) Kammar, (6) Kattu Nayakan, (7) Konda Kapus, (8) Kondareddies, (9) Koraga, (10) Kota, (11) Kudiya or Melakudi, (12) Kurichan, (13) Kurumans, (14) Mahamallasar, (15) Malasar, (16) Malayekandi, (17) Marathi, (18) Mundugar or Muduvan, (19) Palliyar, (20) Pamiyan, (21) Pulavan, (22) Shologa and (23) Toda.

The number of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the district in 1961 and 1971 was as follows:—

1961

Particulars	Percentage to total population		
	Males	Females	Total

Scheduled Castes :	34,056	34,473	68,529	..	..	..
Rural	..	..	..	..	..	..
Urban	4,397	4,438	8,835	..	..	..
Total	38,453	38,911	77,364	..	..	4.95

Scheduled Tribes :	23,772	23,867	47,639	..	..	..
Rural	..	..	..	..	..	..
Urban	505	534	1,039	..	..	..
Total	24,277	24,401	48,678	..	..	3.11

1971

Scheduled Castes :	42,723	42,864	85,587	..	..	..
Rural	..	..	..	..	..	..
Urban	6,962	38,138	14,100	..	..	..
Total	49,685	50,002	99,687	..	..	5.14

<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage to total population</i>
Scheduled Tribes :				
Rural	30,115	29,851	59,266	..
Urban	1,748	1,882	3,630	..
Total	31,863	31,733	63,596	3.28

Sources—1. Census of India, 1961, District Census Hand-Book, South Kanara District, p. 46.

2. Census of India, 1971, General Population Tables, Part II-A, Series 14, Mysore.

(See also Chapter XVII.)

From 1951 onwards, no enumeration in regard to other castes is made in the censuses. The scope of this section does not envisage a detailed description of each caste and tribe in the district, and here only a brief reference is made to general features and to traditional social structure of some of them.

The castes in the district are divided into septs called *balis*; traditionally, members of the same *bali* cannot intermarry. This is in conformity with similar exogamous sub-divisions in nearly all castes and tribes in South India. The majority of these *balis* are named after deceased ancestors, generally women, because the *bali* follows female line in this area. There are some *balis* which are so closely connected as to be regarded as a single exogamous group. The marriages are generally arranged by the parents. While inter-sub-caste marriages sometimes take place, inter-caste, inter-sect and inter-religious ones are very rare. The marriage-age of girls may be said to be now generally from 16 to 21 and that of boys from 21 to 25. The essential element of the marriage ceremony among the generality of castes are the *dhare* (pouring of water over the joined hands of the pair) and tying of the *tali* to the bride by the bridegroom. Registration of marriages under the Civil Marriages Act is still very rare in the district. It is gathered that only 295 marriages were so registered during a period of ten years from 1960-61 to 1969-70. In some cases, besides registration, religious ceremony is also gone through. Traditionally, widow marriage and divorce are permitted among many non-Brahmin castes. Now monogamy is followed by all communities except the Muslim for whom polygamy is permitted. In recent years, under the auspices of the management of the Dharmasthala temple, marriages of a number of pairs of poor people of various castes are performed once in a year at a mass marriage ceremony. In 1973, 229 such pairs were married, whereas during the previous year, the number was about 100.

Cremation of the dead is the general practice among the Brahmins, Jains, Bunts, Shervegars, etc., while others bury their dead. Various ceremonies for the repose of the departed soul are conducted on the seventh, ninth, eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth days after death when a large number of people are fed. Such ceremonies are elaborate among the Brahmins who also perform the *Shraddha* (annual ceremony in honour of each dead individual). Generally among other castes, there is a ceremony once a year in honour of all the deceased ancestors.

Bunt or Nadava: Among the husbandmen of the district, including the former military classes, the Bunts are prominent and some of them have a strong well-developed physique. The use of the term *Nadava* in the northern portion of South Kanara points to a territorial organisation of *Nadus* in the past. The mother-tongue of the section living in the north of the district is Kannada, while that of others living in the south of the district is Tulu. There are three principal sub-divisions amongst the Bunts, namely, (1) the Masadika Bunts, (2) the Nadava Bunts and (3) the Parivara Bunts. The more well-to-do among the Bunts usually occupy substantial houses on their estates. These houses have much fine woodwork and in some cases, the pillars in the porches and verandahs and the doorways are elaborately carved. There is a section among the Bunts called Ballalas amongst whom heads of families abstain from animal food. The Bunts are divided into twenty *balis* (septs).

Billava or Halepaika: Toddy-tapping has been a hereditary occupation of the Billavas who are preponderant in the district. The derivation of the word Billava is that it is a contraction of Billinavaru (bowmen). This shows their hunting and military traditions. Physically many of them are well-built. They are divided into sixteen septs (*balis*) and some of them are again sub-divided into sub-septs. Many of the Billavas are now planters of coconut gardens as also ordinary agriculturists and labourers. The Halepaikas, which is the name given to the Billavas in the north of the district, are said to have been also formerly employed as soldiers. Their speech is Kannada, while that of the Billavas is Tulu. In recent decades, the Billavas or Halepaikas have taken up several other occupations and have progressed in various fields.

Brahmins: The sub-divisions amongst the Brahmins in the district are: (1) Chitpavan, (2) Deshastha, (3) Gauda Saraswat, (4) Havika, (5) Kandavara, (6) Karade, (7) Kota, (8) Koteshwara, (9) Padia, (10) Saklapuri, (11) Saraswat, (12) Shivalli and (13) Sthanika.

The Shivalli, Kota, Koteshwara, Havika (Havyaka), Kandavara, Saklapuri and Sthanika Brahmins are the old Tulu or

Kannada Dravida Brahmins. The Chitpavans (also called Konkanasthas), Karades, Padias and some of the Deshasthas are of Marathi extraction. The Gauda Saraswats and Saraswats speak Konkani. The groups usually styled as Tulu Brahmins are mainly the Shivalli Brahmins whose main centre is Udipi and who are found in large numbers in the southern parts of the district. Several of the thirty-two villages in which the Brahmins are said to have been settled by Mayurasharma Kadamba in an early period are still the most important centres of Brahmins, some examples being Shivalli or Udipi, Kota and Koteshwara. The Tulu-speaking Brahmins of the present day are largely followers of Madhvacharya, only a small number remaining Smarthas. Many of them own lands which are rented out to tenants or are cultivated by employing labourers.

The Koteshwara Brahmins, who are Madhvas, are a small body who take their name from Koteshwara, a place in Coondapur taluk. They are practically the same as the Shivalli Brahmins except that, as in the case of all classes in the Coondapur taluk, their mother-tongue is Kannada.

The Brahmins called Havika or Havyaka or Haiga (this word is derived from 'Haivaka') are said to be the descendants of the section of the Brahmins brought in by Mayurasharma and settled in the tract known as Haiga or Haiva, which comprised the southern part of North Kanara and the extreme northern part of South Kanara. They did not adopt the teachings of Madhvacharya, but remained Smarthas. A number of Havika Brahmins found scattered throughout South Kanara are engaged in the cultivation of areca-palm gardens. The Saklapuris are what may be called a dissenting sect of Havikas who owe allegiance to a *matha* at Saklapuri near the boundary between North and South Kanaras.

The Kota Brahmins, so called from a village in the northern part of the Udipi taluk, are Smarthas. The Kandavaras are named after the village of Kandavara in the Coondapur taluk. They are Smarthas and their family deity is Skanda. They are commonly known as Udupas. The Sthanikas are Shaiva Brahmins who are followers of Shankaracharya and their customs are much the same as those of Kota Brahmins.

The Deshasthas are comparatively recent settlers. Both Smarthas and Madhvas are to be found among them. The Karade Brahmins, who are immigrants from Karad in the Satara district of Maharashtra, are Smarthas and they owe allegiance to the Sringeri Matha. The Chitpavans, who have also come from Maharashtra, are also Smarthas. The Padia Brahmins are also Marathi immigrants. They are also Smarthas and they sometimes intermarry with Karade and Chitpavan Brahmins. There are not many of these in South Kanara.

The Gauda Saraswats are the Madhva Vaishnavite Saraswat Brahmins, while the Saraswats have continued to be Smarthas. It appears that formerly both these were one and the same community of Saraswats. It is stated that the Saraswats originally belonged to the Punjab and in course of time, they migrated to Kashmir and also to East Bihar where they settled in Tirhut, whence some of them migrated westwards to Goa.¹ In Goa, they settled in its western parts comprising about 96 villages. It is from this that they came to be known as "Shannavatyas" (inhabitants of 96 villages) which was shortened to "Shenvis". When later on, Goa was captured by the portuguese, a large number of their families left Goa and came southward, and settled both in North and South Kanaras and also in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Formerly, they were all Smarthas. Coming under the influence of Madhvacharya in Goa, many of them became Madhva Vaishnavas and at the same time continued some of the Shaiva and Shakta practices. Their mother-tongue is Konkani. A large number of them are engaged in trade, whether as big merchants or as ordinary shop-keepers. Many of them are land-owners.

All the Brahmins, whether Shaivas or Vaishnavas, have according to the *Sutras* to undergo 16 *samskaras*. After *upanayana*, all the male members are expected to perform every day the *sandhya-vandana*.

(There is a reference in the Coorg Memoirs² to Tantri Brahmins who are said to have gone to Coorg from South Kanara. The Coorgs were, according to the same authority, "greatly afraid" of the power of these men. The folksongs of the Coorgs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of rituals.³ It is said that occasionally, temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakali were under the control of Tantri Brahmins from South Kanara.⁴ The Tantri Brahmins are those priests who are entrusted with some ritualistic work in temples. There is no separate sect of such Brahmins.)

Gauda: The Gaudas are another preponderant agricultural community in this district. They have had an elaborate system of caste government. In every village inhabited by them, there are two headmen—the Grama Gauda and the Gottu Gauda. For a group of eight or nine villages, there is another head, called

1. Statistical Appendix, together with a Supplement to the two District Manuals for South Kanara District, 1938, p. 193.

2. Coorg Memoirs, Pp. 56-57.

3. M. N. Srinivas, "Religion and Society among the Goorgs of South India" p. 184.

4. *Ibid*, p. 39.

the Magane Gauda, and for every nine *maganes* there is yet a higher authority called the Kattemaneyava. They are divided into 18 *balis*. Their language is Tulu in some parts and Kannada in others, but all of them have been following the ordinary system of inheritance and not the custom of descent through the female line.

Holeya: The Holeyas, a Scheduled Caste, are mainly agricultural labourers and a few of them are cultivators. Their lot has been hard. They suffered a great deal owing to the evil social custom of untouchability and feudal oppression. Now their social and economic conditions are improving. Some of the Holeyas are known as Bakudas and they do not intermarry. There are a number of *balis* (septs) among the Holeyas. In the rural areas, both men and women wear small caps made of the leaves of the areca palms.

Koragas: The Koragas are perhaps the poorest among the Scheduled Tribes. They were leading a nomadic life of hunting. Now they follow agriculture and do basket-weaving, etc. They are middle-sized, very dark in complexion, with high cheek bones and sloping foreheads. They have been worshippers of spirits. They live in hamlets similar to those of the Todas in the Nilgiri hills. The thatched huts have only one small entrance. They have their own dialect. There is a sub-section of the Koragas called Soppu-Koragas who were not formerly wearing clothes, but were tying some leaves round their waist. The late M. Govinda Pai, the noted author, has stated that he had seen Koragas eating tiger flesh.

Kudubis: The Kudubis are an interesting tribe found chiefly in the Coondapur taluk and a few of them are in Mangalore, Karkal and Udipi taluks. Some of them shift their dwellings from forest to forest for the purpose of *kumari* cultivation. These are also known as Kadu-Kudubis. Some are settled as agriculturists and labourers. Bajpe, about 16 miles from Mangalore, has a hamlet of Kudubis, which is enclosed by a thick fencing. This hamlet called Swamila Padav has a large, choultry-like house in which about 35 families live. These families cook their food separately drawing rations from a common pool. The Kudubis profess to be Shaivas and also worship the Bhootas. Their name is said to have "originated from the highly specialised way in which they hunt *Kudubis* (porcupines—*hystriadaes*)"*. They appear to have come into the Mysore State from the Goa side about two centuries ago.

The Kudubis have a peculiar custom of leading a joint family life with utmost reverence to an elder who lays down certain

*A.A.D. Luiz, "Tribes of Mysore", p. 91.

precepts and practices. This elder's word is law as regards disputes in the families, settlements of financial claims, laying-down of their *Kulapaddhati*, etc. His office is hereditary. During the Holi feast they partake in the celebrations of the festival of Mallikarjunaswami who is their family deity. They go from place to place exhibiting *Kolata* with the beating of drums. Marriage rites among the Kudubis follow the Brahminic pattern and Brahmin priests are invited to officiate. The Kadu-Kudubis do not eat the flesh of reared animals like fowl, sheep, goats, etc., but go out hunting to catch the wild pig or the hare and eat them; otherwise, they partake of vegetarian food. They are a reserved people and do not freely mix with others.

Male-Kudiyas.—Amongst the forest and hill tribes, are the Male-Kudiyas who are a Scheduled Tribe. They are found both in the plains and on hill slopes. Their mother-tongue is Tulu. The Male-Kudiyas who inhabit the hills dwell in huts made of bark and reeds. As the population of Male-Kudiyas is dwindling, the old system of *bali* is being overlooked. In the old days, Male-Kudiyas had their own clan system and intermarriages were not allowed. Dr. Haimondorf of the University of London has specially studied the customs and manners of these Male-Kudiyas and he affirms that the *bali* system is not strictly adhered to at present. Inter-*bali* marriages have become common among them.

Mogaveera.—The traditional occupation of the Mogaveeras (Mogers) has been fishing. They are the main fishermen and boatmen of the district, who are to be found chiefly in the coastal areas. They have also many *balis* (septs) and have followed the custom of descent through the female line. A few of the Mogaveeras, especially the educated, have taken up other occupations. With the better organisation of fisheries (*see* elsewhere in the volume), the economic condition of the Mogaveeras is improving. (Most of the agricultural classes also fish in the inland waters wherever they are low).

Samagara.—Samagaras, who are a Scheduled Caste, have been traditionally leather-workers. They are noted for their skill in making footwears. But in recent years, their trade has suffered much owing to large-scale manufacture of footwears in factories. Some of them have taken to field labour and the like. In the past, Samagaras underwent hardships due to the evil of untouchability. Several ameliorative measures taken by the Government are helping to improve their socio-economic conditions.

Vishwakarma.—The Vishwakarmas are an artisan class and are noted for their fine traditional skill. Some of them have migrated to other districts of the State. As elsewhere, they are divided into sub-castes (such as Akkasale, Badagi, Kammara,

Kanchugara) depending upon their occupations which are goldsmithy, carpentry, blacksmithy, etc. They are following the ordinary rule of inheritance and not the custom of descent through the female line.

The Malavas or Mala-Bovis are a small Kannada cultivating caste, the members of which were formerly hunters and fishermen. The hereditary occupation of the Mudamanes has been also agriculture. There are also some Vokkaligas who are a Kannada caste of cultivators. Most of them are engaged in agriculture. There is also a caste of Heggades,* who, though classified originally as shepherds, are mainly cultivators. In their marriage and death ceremonies, the richer of the Heggades follow the Brahmanical customs. The Kurubas have been a caste of shepherds and blanket-weavers, but they too now depend largely on agriculture.

The Kshatriyas, Servegars, Marathis and Ares, who were formerly military classes, are also now agriculturists. Besides the Holeyas, Koosas and Bhairas have been also field labourers. In addition to the Mogaveeras, there are other fishermen and boatmen like Kharvis who speak Konkani, Bovis, and Daljis who are Muslims speaking a mixture of Konkani and Urdu. Traditionally, mainly the Gauda Saraswats, Vanis, Banajigas, Rajapuris, Moplals (Mappillais) and Navayats are engaged in trade and commerce in the district. The Devadigas or Moyilis and Sappaligas have been temple servants and pipers.

Among the various other occupational or functional groups are Kumbaras (potters), Ganigas (oilseed-pressers), Sales or Jadas or Devangas (weavers), Agasas or Madivalas or Dhobis (washermen), Kelasis or Kshaurikas or Hajamas (barbers) and Kudlukaras (grain-parchers and confectioners). Among the Scheduled Castes, the Nalkes are a caste of mat, basket and umbrella-makers and they speak Tulu in the south of the district and Kannada in the north. Pombadas resemble the Nalkes, and both these sections hold an important position since they take a prominent part in the ritual dances. Many of the castes have their own hereditary headmen called "Gurikars" who settle disputes and the like.

Inheritance through Female Line.—A special feature of **Inheritance** this district has been the prevalence of "Aliyasantana" or "Aliyakattu" which means the system of inheritance in which descent is traced in the female line. According to this custom, the property of a family descends in the female line. The line

*The term 'Heggade', which meant a chief, chief of a village or designation of an officer, is also the surname of many families belonging to some other castes.

of descent is taken to be from the deceased holder to his sister's son. This rule of inheritance is, no doubt, being gradually replaced by the more general law of inheritance. A legend ascribes the origin of this system of inheritance through the female line to a ruler called Bhutalapandya, who wanted to offer one of his sons as a sacrifice to the gods, but was thwarted by the maternal affection of his wife and had to resort to the sacrifice of his nephew given to him by his sister and in acknowledgment of this gesture, he decreed that all sons should thereafter forfeit their rights in favour of sisters' sons. But this story has no historical basis. The custom had resisted all outside influence and it is obvious that it must have been firmly rooted since a long time. It gave the women importance and equality with men.

"Makkalakattu" is also prevalent in the district in the Brahmin community and also in some non-Brahmin communities. But the majority of the latter have been following the Aliasantana law which differs from the Marumakkattayam law prevalent in Kerala. The Aliasantana custom differs from Marumakkattayam in that a male is the head or the Yajaman in the Aliasantana system, whereas the woman is the principal figure in whom the property is vested under the Marumakkattayam law. According to the latter law, the eldest woman becomes the head of the family. In the Aliyakattu law, the eldest brother of the woman becomes the head of the family and the property is inherited by his sister's son. If the eldest in the family is a woman, then the next male member becomes the head. Even though Aliasantana law postulates inheritance through the female line, the principal figure, who is the heir, is always the sister's son. It is said that the Aliasantana law is older than the Marumakkattayam system.

The customary Aliasantana law was codified and amended by the Madras Aliasantana Act (Madras Act No. IX of 1949) which defined and amended in certain respects the law relating to marriage, maintenance, guardianship, intestate succession, family management and partition applicable to persons governed by the Aliasantana law of inheritance. According to the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, a Central Act, a division of the joint property has to be *per capita* between all the members of the *kutumba* (family) or *kavaru*. *Kavaru* means the group of persons consisting of the female, her children and all her descendants in the female line and when this word is used in relation to a male, it means the *kavaru* of the mother of that male. The Madras Aliasantana (Mysore Amendment Act), 1961 (Mysore Act No. 1 of 1962), made some changes in provisions in regard to partition of properties and also provided that any male or female member of a *kutumba* or *kavaru* having undivided interest in its properties should be entitled to claim partition of his or her share and the claimant should be allotted the share that would fall to

him or her if a division of properties were made *per capita* among all the members of the *kutumba* or *kavaru*.

Formerly, according to the customary Aliyasantana law, there was no right for partition except by common consent of adult members and even then, a male member had only a life-estate in the property. The Amendment Act read with the relevant provisions of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, referred to above, recognised the right of the male member of an Aliyasantana family to bequeath his interests to his wife and children after his demise. It may be said that the above-mentioned three legislations "have tended to bring the Aliyasantana families almost on par with the other Hindu families, even though the various social and religious customs peculiar to this system continue to be observed in the villages"*

The joint-family system is more common in rural areas than in towns. In modern times, the system is rapidly breaking up due to the new living conditions and the pattern of present-day economics. Though there are still a number of joint families existing in the district, it may be said that many of them remain to be so since they are more or less forced to be joint-families by circumstances. Transfer of property through wills is sometimes taken as a sign of the weakening of joint family ties. But it does not seem to be so in all cases. However, the number of wills registered in the district during the ten years from 1961 to 1970 in the various offices of the Sub-Registrars is given in the subjoined statement:—

Joint-family

Sl. No.	Sub-Registrar's office at	No. of wills registered	Sl. No.	Sub-Registrar's office at	No. of wills registered
1.	Baindoor	198	9.	Moodabidri	224
2.	Belthangadi	295	10.	Mulki	540
3.	Brahmavar	284	11.	Puttur	365
4.	Buntwal	174	12.	Shankaranarayana	121
5.	Coondapur	288	13.	Sullia	208
6.	Karkal	342	14.	Udipi	656
7.	Mangalore (City)	611	15.	Vittal	177
8.	Mangalore (taluk)	370			
				Total	4,853

In recent years, with the increase in the cost of education and 'competition' for well-educated and well-placed sons-in-law, the custom of paying large dowries came into existence. This put many poor parents to great hardships. This evil system spread

Social evils

* Census of India, 1961, Village Survey Monograph, Naravi village, 1965, p. 32.

fast among the middle and upper-classes, especially among the Brahmins. But at the same time, instances of enlightened bridegrooms who refuse to take dowry are not wanting. Payment of dowry has been prohibited by legislation. However, this evil practice still persists to a certain extent in some form or other in the district. Among certain other castes and tribes, it has been the other way about in that an amount called *tera* is paid to the parents of the brides. In some castes, this is given also in kind. Now the practice of giving *tera* is dying out.

Social evils like prostitution, traffic in women, and gambling have been prohibited by law, but they do exist to a certain extent, especially in towns. Vestiges of untouchability, which is also forbidden by law, linger on in remote villages. The high and low sense about the castes has almost disappeared. But caste separateness and caste consciousness persist to a certain extent. So far as the drink evil is concerned, even when prohibition was in force, there were frequently a number of cases of illicit distillation and drinking. Since the lifting of prohibition recently, a number of liquor shops have sprung up in all parts of the district.

This district is also noted for the zeal with which work relating to the amelioration of the depressed classes has been carried on. As early as 1897, an elementary school was started for them. The late Shri K. Ranga Rao was a pioneer in this field, who worked devotedly for the uplift of these sections of the society. Night schools were opened for the adults. Later, a colony with sanitary arrangements was started in which some families belonging to the depressed classes were settled. The Servants of India Society was also helping in this work. The activities for the welfare of the depressed sections have been steadily expanding with the present active assistance of the Government and other bodies and the conditions of life of the Harijans have considerably improved now (*see* Chapter XVII).

The workers of the Brahma Samaj visited this district as long ago as 1870 and opened an Upasana Mandir in Mangalore with a number of local members. Eschewing as it does caste and worship of idols in domestic and social life, the Brahma Samaj could not, however, boast of a large membership; but it succeeded in getting into its fold a considerable number of persons and grew and spread its reformist activities.

The people of South Kanara are as a rule clean and tidy in their habits. The nature has endowed them with enchanting surroundings. Their enterprising spirit and diligence have assured them material comforts to a considerable extent. Having been almost free from the ravages of famines and scarcity conditions, they have had better opportunities to cultivate the arts and graces of life.

Barring the coast-line from Coondapur taluk in the north to Ullal in the south, the villages in South Kanara are scattered in the fertile river valleys. In the coast-line, the villages appear in one long stretch on either side of the main road, but in the interior towards the Western Ghats, they are dispersed. **Village sites** were chosen alongside rivers and on slopes in order to conserve water for agricultural purposes. Sometimes, houses in a village are so scattered that a visitor, after going two to three miles down the valley, finds himself still in the same village. The average population of a South Kanara village is about 1,920 and in the interior towards the ghats, the population is anything between 100 to 2,000. In the countryside, towards the east of the coast-line, small hamlets are found consisting of about 100 dwelling houses, increasing up to about 300 dwelling houses according to the fertility, etc., of the area. Village-houses are usually constructed near the fields to help the people to concentrate on agriculture. In many villages, ponds are constructed for bathing purposes. The main water source for many villages is the wells.

Dwelling houses are constructed to suit the climatic conditions of the area where for four months in the year, the rigour of the south-west monsoon is felt. **Rural housing** In the rural area, the thatched huts are so constructed as to ward off the excessive rain water falling on the roof. The majority of the rural huts have thatched roofs, with adequate accommodation. The huts have a long verandah in the front with a main doorway for entrance. Inside these are two partitions, one for the kitchen and the other for living purposes. In the walls are small ventilators with wooden bars for security purposes. The bath-room and the cattle shed are located outside the main house. The village houses are generally provided with latrines away from the main house and green leaves are spread inside the water-closet for purposes of absorption.

As the countryside is full of a particular variety of grass called *muli*, this is picked and dried for purposes of roofing. Mud of laterite bricks are used to erect walls and as soon as the walls are raised, bamboo sticks are tied together to serve as rafters. After securing this strong frame-work, dried coconut mats are spread on the bamboo rafters before dried *muli* grass is spread above. The dried grass is so arranged on the roof as to maintain adequate strength to prevent falling off. Once a year after the monsoon rains, the grass-covering on the roof is renewed. Even with so much downpour as about 150 inches annually, these roofs do not give way.

The well-to-do people living in the villages have their own mode of building houses. Their houses are more spacious and neater with a verandah in the front, two or more rooms inside, a

pooja room and a kitchen and a bath-room. These houses have tiled roofing.

Every village in South Kanara has a presiding deity installed in a temple, a Bhootasthana or Bhootalaya for the Bhootas or Daivas and a village *Chavadi* used for purposes of community life.

Urban housing

Many dwelling houses in towns are built with new designs. Reinforced concrete-roofed bungalows have emerged in several parts of the Mangalore City. Two and three-storeyed business-houses are quite common in Hampanakatta and in the harbour and other areas of Mangalore. In the last about 25 years, the appearance of Mangalore and Udipi has changed enormously with the addition of beautiful and imposing structures, for housing hotels, offices and commercial firms.

Apart from this, urban housing follows the old traditional variety of laterite-brick structures with Mangalore-tile roofing. Roofs have a steep slope for monsoon rain water to flow down easily. There is a large verandah in the front where people spend much time to get relief from the oppression of excessive humidity. Inside, there is a spacious hall around which there are several rooms. The main living portion is built separately from the kitchen block. The latrines are located in the back-yards in the case of old-time houses, whereas in modern houses attached bath-rooms are common.

Houses in small towns are built in the traditional style of sloping roofs with Mangalore-tile covering, open verandah in the front, an open quadrangle in the middle, and a back-yard. The provision of an open quadrangle affords light inside the rooms, and breeze to ward off the excessive humidity. Some of the houses at Mulki and other places have no open spaces in the front and houses are built on the highway. Immediately on entering the inner courtyard, there are two verandahs on either side. One block is reserved for living and the other for cooking, worship and the like. Such houses are common in the congested localities of other towns also where space is a problem. Similar to rural housing, laterite bricks are used in abundance in urban housing also, since they are cheap and easily obtainable.

Some villages like Kinnigoli in Mangalore taluk look more like little towns. They have houses with modern amenities which are bigger than the normal village-dwellings, with neat little fenced gardens in front. Shops stocked with plentiful goods are a feature of all towns and bigger villages.

Furniture

The average middle-class family living in towns has bedsteads, tables and chairs. Those with small incomes have one or two chairs and benches in their houses. These people

sleep on mats spread on the floor. There is no necessity for a blanket or any other covering for most of the year, as the climate is humid and oppressive. The families belonging to the higher income-groups have proper furniture for the drawing room and bed room. The poor families in villages and towns have no furniture, but only mats.

The wearing of apparel is patterned according to the humid atmosphere of the district which is hot and makes the body perspire profusely. Thin cotton clothes are used to keep cool while at work. **Dress**

Men's dress : In rural areas, many male members of the working classes sometimes wear *longoti* or loin cloth. The *langoti* cloth is of about two feet width. Some prefer long red cloth. This is tied to the *udidara* or the waist-chain. Those who can afford have silver and gold *udidaras*. Some people wear *lungi*, white or coloured, or white *dhoti* in *kachche* style with upper cloth and turban. The turban is not of any traditional style. Any cloth loosely tied round the head serves the purpose of a turban. In recent decades, some people have adopted the loose flowing *jubba* and a style of wearing the *dhoti* popularly known as 'cycle kachche'. The boys generally wear shorts,, pants and bush shirts.

The area is not suited for the European type of dress. Many men wear *dhoti* with shirt, or pyjamas with shirt. Bush shirts and pants have become common for those who attend offices, colleges, etc.

Women's dress : Women in the rural areas wear saree and bodice which are similar to those of urban women. Some orthodox Brahmin ladies wear *saree* in the *kachche* style. Fashionable voils and georgettes are to be seen mainly in towns. Girls among the poorer sections of the population wear *tundu*, piece of cloth tied round the waist, and *choli*, and others wear skirt or *langa* and *choli*.

Among the poorer classes in villages, cap made of arecanut-sheet called *muttahale* is worn as a sort of protection for the head. On important occasions, they also tie piece of cloth around the arecanut-sheet cap. This head-gear is common in the rural areas of the district including the coast-line.

The Catholics in South Kanara used to wear long loose frilled white or black coats (similar to the Maratha loose coats) with buttons, and turbans flattened like the Coorgi turbans. Though this mode has changed, a few old people can even now be seen wearing the old traditional dress on church-going occasions. Before their marriage, the Catholic girls living in rural areas wear

white skirts over which lungi-like sarees are worn. Married ladies among all the Christians wear sarees in the general way.

Some Moplah men wear particular type of caps. Moplah women usually wear coloured check-patterned sarees worn like lungis, with bodice. Sometimes, they tie piece of cloth on their forehead.

Many men and women always carry umbrellas of the modern type whenever they move out. In the rural areas, the palmyra-leaf umbrella is still in vogue to some extent. Such umbrellas cannot be folded and have long or short bamboo sticks in order to hold them in the hand. In some places, agriculturists when working in rain put on a folded blanket as a sort of protection. Some use palm-leaf as a protection over their heads. Dried *dhoopa* leaves are also woven and used as improvised umbrellas during the monsoon season.

Ornaments

There is sometimes difference between the ornaments used by towns' women and the village women. So also the ornaments of the rich are different from those of the poor. The female population belonging to the middle and upper-middle classes wear light and fine ornaments. The Mangalore ear-rings differ from those of Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The Mangalore ear-rings are made of gold, studded with precious stones which need not be white in colour. The ear-rings of women folk in South Kanara have a beauty of their own. Excellent craftsmanship is noticed in the preparation of these ornaments. Many urban women wear gold necklaces designed according to their taste. Necklaces of fish, coffee-seeds or *shankha* patterns are common. The women belonging to the urban areas are more inclined to go after new designs of ornaments.

Those womenfolk in villages, who are in comfortable circumstances, wear gold ornaments and sometimes use silver ones for their ankles. Generally, various silver ornaments are worn by the poorer sections. In the interior rural areas, some women wear ornaments on the back of the head, neck and arms and around the waist. Some ornaments are also worn on the upper portion of the ear. In the towns, among women of well-to-do families, it is common to have a pair of gold bangles, a thin gold necklace, a pair of ear-rings and a fashionable lady's wrist-watch. 'Kunkuma' or the vermilion mark on the forehead is worn in different style among women in South Kanara. Some are fond of putting it vertically on the forehead and sometimes horizontally. Modern young girls have a small round speck of it. Some men wear finger-rings and many men of the older generation wear also ear-rings.

The food habits of the people in the district of South Kanara, **Types of food** which is noted for varieties of dishes, offer an interesting study to those who want to know niceties of the culinary art. Apart from some people of the middle and well-placed classes of society who have become cosmopolitan in their tastes, there are others who have not changed from the old traditional way.

Rice is the principal diet for all sections of the population. It is taken in different forms in the daily menu. Par-boiled rice is greatly relished. Raw rice is used relatively by a smaller number. Especially in the coastal belt, the fish are used plentifully. Salted dry fish has a large demand among the working classes of the population.

Preserved foods.—Due to the heavy rains which last for four months in the year, people have taken to preserved foods. These are prepared and kept in jars and containers. Pickles and *happalas* (pappads) are prepared and kept as preserves. During the rainy season, green vegetables being scarce, raw mango is cut and preserved in salt-water. Likewise, mango pieces are boiled and treated with salt to be used later for culinary purposes. In the ghat region of the district, where wild jack fruit is plentiful, they are picked, cut into pieces and preserved in salt water to be later used as a vegetable. Ripe jack fruit is dried in the sun before the onset of the monsoon and preserved as a relish to be used during the rainy season. Banana fruit is also dried and preserved in containers. These dried bananas are fried in oil and used as side dishes. Among the preserved varieties, *happala* is very prominent. Rice, ragi and lentils are used in the preparation of these *happalas*.

Jack fruit being in abundance, they are cut and mixed with rice or lentil to prepare *happalas* and these jack fruit *happalas* are very popular. Preparation from *genasu* (sweet potato) are a common feature. The sweet potatoes are cut and mixed with blackgram flour to make *happalas* or they are cut into small bits and fried. These fried bits are spiced and taken as side dishes. *Sandiges* also come under the preserved varieties of foods. These are prepared from ragi, if available, or rice, *uddu* (blackgram) and from pumpkins. *Sandiges* are fried and taken with *happalas* during the principal meals. There are other varieties of preserved foods like guava jam, ginger jam, etc. Mango fruit and jack fruit are also preserved in special containers. Raw mango is boiled with salt and chilly powder and ground into paste. This is called *mavina hindi* and can be preserved for almost a year. The main oil used is coconut oil. Of late, with economic betterment, more butter and ghee have come into use. Some sections use more of pulses and prepare dishes like *usuli*.

The quality and varieties of dishes depend on the economic condition of the families. Persons of the working classes have breakfast consisting of rice *ganji* (a thick porridge) with *chatni* or pickles. In villages, by noon, either they come home or get their meals to the places of their work. The meal consists mainly of boiled rice and curry and sometimes fish, fowl or mutton. A middle class meal is better than this with the addition of vegetables and some preserved food. The habit of taking tea or coffee in the mornings has permeated to most of the rural areas also. Along with tea or coffee, they take spiced *avalakki*.

The well-to-do people, whether in the urban or in the rural areas, take a meal consisting of two or three different vegetables, one or two *pachadies*, *tovve*, *huli* or *saru*, *chatni*, *happalas*, curds, etc. On days of festivities and family entertainments, the principal meals have richer varieties of dishes. *Holige* and *chiroti* are the favoured sweet dishes. *Payasa* is another delicious dish. Among other popular items are *ambode*, *kadabu* and *chitranna*.

Recreation

The two favourite items of recreation among the agricultural people of this district are cock-fighting and buffalo-racing. A number of cocks are found at festivals or fairs. There is excitement about the purchase of game-cocks displayed for sale. Every detail of the progress of a fight between a pair is witnessed with intense eagerness. Cock-fights are sometimes conducted on an elaborate scale on the days after Deepavali, Sankranti, Ganesha-Chaturthi and Gokulashtami. The fowls are armed with steel spurs. The owner of the victorious bird becomes the possessor of the vanquished bird, dead or alive. This form of amusement seems to be on the decline now.

The *Kambala* or buffalo-race is peculiar to this district. Mr. H. O. D. Harding, who was the District Judge at Mangalore between 1903 and 1909, has described this sport graphically in such intricate detail and with such perception that his words bear repetition here verbatim : *

“ This is a sport that has grown up among a race of cultivators of wet land. The Bants and Jains and other landowners of position own and run buffaloes, and the Billava has also entered the racing world. Every rich Bant keeps his *kambala* field consecrated to buffalo-racing and his pair of racing buffaloes, costing from Rs. 150 to Rs. 500, are splendid animals and, except for an occasional plough-drawing at the beginning of the cultivation season are used for no purpose all the year, except racing. The racing is for no prize or stakes, and there is no betting, starter, judge or winning

*Statistical Appendix, together with a supplement to the two District Manuals of South Kanara District, (1938), pp. 191-192.

post. Each pair of buffaloes runs the course along, and is judged by the assembled crowd for pace and style and, most important of all, the height and breadth of the splash which they make. Most people know the common levelling plank used by cultivators all over India to level the wet field after ploughing. It is a plank some 4 or 5 feet long by 1 or 1½ feet broad and on it the driver stands to give it weight, and the buffaloes pull it over the mud of a flooded rice-field. This is the proto-type of the buffalo-racing car, and any day during the cultivating season in the Tulu country one may see two boys racing for the love of the sport, as they drive their levelling boards. The leveller of utility is cut down to a plank, about 1½ by 1 foot, sometimes handsomely carved, on which is fixed a gaily decorated wooden stool about 6 inches high and 10 inches across each way, hollowed out on the top, and just big enough to afford good standing for one foot. In the plank, on each side, are holes to let the mud and water through. The plank is fixed to a pole which is tied to the buffalo's yoke. The buffaloes are decorated with coloured *jhuls* and marvellous head-pieces of brass and silver and ropes which make a sort of bridle. The driver, stripping himself to the necessary minimum of garments, mounts, while some of his friends cling, like ants struggling round a dead beetle, to the buffaloes. When he is fairly up, they let go, and the animals start. The course is a wet rice-field, about 150 yards long, full of mud and water. All round are hundreds or thousands of people including pariahs who dance in groups in the mud, play stick-game, and beat drums. In front of the galloping buffaloes, the water is clear and still, throwing a powerful reflection of them as they gallop down the course, raising a perfect tornado of mud and water. The driver stands with a whip aloft in one hand, and one of the buffaloes' tails in the other. He drives without reins, with nothing but a wagging tail to hold on to and steer by. Opening his mouth wide, he shouts for all he is worth and so comes down the course, the plank on which he stands throwing up a sort of prince of Wales' feathers of mud and water round him. The stance on the plank is no easy matter, and not a few men come to grief, but it is soft falling in the slush. Marks are given for pace, style, sticking to the plank, and throwing up the biggest and widest splash. Sometimes a *thoranam*, twenty feet high, is erected on the course, and there is a round of applause if the splash reaches up to or above it. Sometimes the buffaloes bolt, scatter the crowd, and get away into the young rice. At the end of the course, the driver jumps off with a parting smack at his buffaloes, which run up the slope of the field, and stop themselves in what may be called the paddock. At a big meeting perhaps a hundred pairs, brought from all over the Tulu country, will compete, and the big men always send their buffaloes to the races headed by the local band. The roads are alive with horns and tom-toms for several days. The proceedings commence with a procession and form a sort of harvest festival, before the second or suggi crop is sown, and are usually held in October and

November. Accidents sometimes happen, owing to the animals breaking away among the crowd. It is often a case of owners up, and the sons and nephews of big Bants, worth perhaps Rs. 10,000 a year drive the teams."

In all towns and bigger villages, there are recreation clubs and associations which cater to the needs of the educated people. Religious functions called *Nemas* and *Kalas* which are held to propitiate the Bhootas or Daivas and which are sometimes attended by colourful ritual dances (described elsewhere in the chapter) attract a large number of villagers. The folk-arts, *Kakshagana* and *Talamaddale* (see Chapter XV) are well-cultivated in the district and provide entertainment and instruction to the people. Many fairs are held periodically in honour of deities or saints. During these fairs, various usual types of entertainment are provided by private agencies, and sometimes, informative and instructive exhibitions are also held by departments of Government on these occasions. (Largely, the solar system of almanac is followed in this district, while solar and luni-solar systems prevail in the rest of the State.) The subjoined statement gives particulars of some important festivals being conducted in religious institutions in the district:—

Mangalore taluk:—

..	Navarthri Festival for about 10 days, Car Festival, etc.	..	Do do
..	Car Festival, <i>Teehooosava</i> and <i>Laksha Deepotsava</i> .	..	Manjunatha Temple, Kadri, Mangalore
..	<i>Rathotsava</i>	..	Venkataramana Temple, Car street, Mangalore
..	Car Festival, etc.	..	Durgaparameshwari Temple, Kateel
..	<i>Mahashivaratri</i> Festival	..	Gokarnanatha Temple, Kudroli
..	Ramanavami Festival and Sri Ganeshotsava.	..	Sharann Vinayaka Temple, Mangalore
..	<i>Baidarkala Nema</i> , etc.	..	Brahma Baidarkala Garady, Kankanady
..	<i>Panchami</i> and <i>Shashti</i> festivals	..	Ananthapadmanabha Temple, Kudupu
..	<i>Urs</i> (once in five years)	..	Syed Madani Daraga, Ullal

Buntwal taluk:—

..	<i>Rathotsava</i>	..	Thirumala Venkataramana Temple, Buntwal
..	Polali <i>Chandu</i> , Car Festival, etc.	..	Polali Rajarajeshwari Temple, Kariangala village
..	<i>Mahashivaratri</i> Festival	..	Karanjeshwara Temple, Kaval-Mandur village

Puttur taluk:—

..	<i>Rathotsava</i>	..	Mahalingeshwara Temple, Puttur
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Sullia taluk :—

- Kukke-Subrahmanya Temple, Subramany .. *Panchami* and *Shashti* Festival
 Sahasralingeshwara Temple, Uppinangady .. *Makhe Jatra*

Udipi taluk :—

- Krishna Temple, Udipi .. *Paryaya* Festival (once in two years) ; Car Festival (yearly).
 Mandarthi Durgaparameshwari Temple, Heggunje village. Car Festival and *Kumbha Sankramana* Festival (*Genda Seva*).
 Anantapadmanabha Temple, Perdoor .. *Rathotsava*
 Hiriadka Veerabhadra Temple, Bommerbettu village. Car Festival

Coondapur taluk :—

- Mookambika Temple, Kollur .. *Navarathri* Festival
 Maharajaswamy Varaha Temple, Maravanthe *Karkalaka Amavasya* Festival
 Durgaparameshwari Temple, Uppunda, Baindoor Uppunda *Jatra*

Karkal taluk :—

- Venkataramana Temple, Karkal .. *Laksha Deepotsava*
 St. Lawrence Church, Nitte .. St. Mary Festival
 Jaina Basti, Nellikar .. Car Festival and *Teerthankara Utsava*.

Belthangadi taluk :—

- Manjunatha Temple, Dharmasthala .. *Laksha Deepotsava*; and *Nadavali* (once in 60 years).

A considerable number of young men of the district enlist themselves in the armed forces. In the recent Indo-Pakistan armed conflict, several members of the defence personnel from this district distinguished themselves. Lt. Commander, J. P. A. Noronha won *Mahavira Chakra*, while Commander George Martis of the Indian Navy and Squadron Leader Dinesh Chandra Bhandari of the Indian Air Force were awarded *Veera Chakras* in recognition of their gallantry and meritorious service. One person was recipient of an *Ati-Vishishta Seva* Medal and three more persons won *Vishishta Seva* Medals and one person was awarded a *Sena* Medal. About half a dozen more persons were mentioned in despatches. The father of Naik Sahadevan Kottayi of the district, who was killed in action, was given Rs. 5,000 by the State Government.*

Gallantry

*"Karnatakada Veerayodharu" by B. N. Sundara Rao, 1972.