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APPENDIX A.

THE following account of the village goddesses Durgava and Dayamava and their three-yearly fair is contributed by Ráo Bahádur Tirmalráo Venkatesh, pensioned Small Cause Court Judge, Dhárwár :

Durgava and Dayamava are the most widely worshipped deities in the Bombay Karnátak. Durgava is believed to be an incarnation of Párvati the hill-born the wife of Shiv, and Dayamava an incarnation of Lakshmi or wealth the wife of Vishnu. Durgava, in Dhárwár, is believed to preside over and cause cholera, and Dayamava to preside over and cause small-pox. The name of Durgava or Durga Devi appears in the Hindu *Puráns* and she is known and worshipped in all parts of the Bombay Presidency. Dayamava is not mentioned in any of the *Puráns* and she is little known or worshipped in any part of the Bombay Presidency, except in the Bombay Karnátak. According to the local story Dayamava was the daughter of a learned Bráhman. A sweeper of the Holaya or Mhár caste fell in love with her, and seduced her in the guise of a Bráhman. Dayamava, not knowing that her seducer was a Holaya, married him, and had several children by him. Dayamava once asked her husband to call his mother to his house that she might get to know her. Mátangi the mother-in-law came to dine. The dinner was perfect and was passing pleasantly when Mátangi said to her son, How these sweet cakes taste like to a roasted buffalo tongue? Dayamava was horrorstruck. She made inquiries and finding that her husband was a Holaya not a Bráhman, she set fire to Mátangi's house, killed all the children she had by the Holaya, and tried to kill her Holaya husband. He fled and hid in a buffalo. Dayamava found him out and killed both him and the buffalo.

The temples of Durgava and Dayamava are small buildings of brick and mud and are generally near the houses of the Badiges or village carpenters. Except in some old shrines where they are of stone the images are generally of wood. They are of the form and size of a Hindu woman with twelve hands. The six right hands hold the *chakra* or discus, the *trishul* or trident, a drawn sword, a spear, a dagger, and a long knife, and the six left hands hold a *shankh* or conch shell, a snake, a crooked dagger, a scabbard, a short knife, and a vessel either to hold blood or red *kunki* powder. The images are put together out of several pieces not carved out of a single block of wood. The two images are always set side by side, Durgava painted green and Dayamava painted red. The images are decked with ornaments like those worn by high and middle class Hindu women except that the nosering is the pin-like peasant woman's nose ornament not the upper class pearl ring. They are dressed in women's robes, but without bodices the sleeves of which are painted on their arms. The Badiges or carpenters are the hereditary ministrants or *pujáris* of these goddesses. Morning and evening they lay before them flowers and redpowder, light a lamp, burn incense, wave the incense-pot round their faces, and offer them cooked food or fruit. When a visitor comes to the temple he rings a bell, falls before the goddesses, receives a pinch of incense-ashes from the ministrant, and goes home. The

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more pious break coconuts, offer cooked food or dry provisions and money, wave a lighted lamp round the goddesses' faces, and beat their own checks in token of atonement for sin.

Once every third or fourth year, in the month of *Vaishákh* or May, or in any other month appointed by the committee, a special festival is held in honour of the goddess Dayamava called the *Dayamavan játre* or Dayamava's fair. Though Durgava's name is not mentioned during the fair the image of Durgava is carried side by side with that of Dayamava and is treated with equal respect. When the people of a village agree to hold Dayamava's fair the leading men of the village the *desáí*, *deshpánde*, *pátíl*, and *kulkarni*, the potter, the money-counter, the *talvár* or watchman, the village carpenter, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, the Holaya or Mhár, the Mádígár or tanner, the potter, the barber, the washerman, the *mathpati* or Lingáyat beadle, the *joshi* or astrologer, the *bhát* or bard, the tailor, the leading landholders, Lingáyat priests, Bráhmans, and shopkeepers all go in a body with music on New Year's Day in the month of *Cháitra* or April to the temple of Dayamava and Durgava and there tell the people that Dayamava's fair will take place in two or three months. They worship with flower and redpowder a hatchet which is to be used in felling timber for the idol car and send men with the hatchet into the forest to fetch timber. Some of the leading villagers form a *panch* or committee to gather subscriptions to meet the expenses of the fair. Every husbandman, for every twelve acres of land, is required to pay 8s. (Rs. 4) in cash and 16½ lbs. of Indian millet worth about 4s. (Rs. 2). The *desáí*, *deshpánde*, and other village officers each pays 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 5-25) according to his means. The committee get a large copper pitcher and close its mouth with leather leaving a small slit to drop money through. The pitcher is marked with turmeric and redpowder and is called *dabbi* or the subscription-pot. One of the committee takes the pot from house to house and tells the villagers to drop in their contribution warning them if they do not pay, Dayamava and Durgava are likely to visit them with small-pox and cholera. In a large town like Dhárwár the subscriptions amount to about £100 (Rs. 1000); in villages they vary from £10 (Rs. 100) to £50 (Rs. 500). When the subscriptions are gathered the images are fresh painted, except the eyes which must not be painted till the first day of the fair. A twelve feet high wooden car is raised on four huge wheels, and on the car a shed, about twelve feet long twelve feet broad and twelve feet high, is built for the goddesses to sit in during the fair. Above the shed is a wooden pyramid with an ornamented dome and on the dome is fixed an open umbrella. One end of each of two or three strong ropes, each about two inches thick and a hundred yards long, is tied to the middle of the axles of the wheels. The other ends are left on the public road in front of the car that people may take hold of them and draw the car through the chief streets on the great day of the fair. The car is ornamented with coloured cloths, flags, plantain trees, fruit, flowers, and mango leaves, and generally one or two naked human figures are carved to keep off the evil eye. A large shed is built outside of the town, and, on one side of it, is a raised seat for the goddesses to sit on during the fair. Notice is sent through the village by beat of drum that all houses should be cleaned, cowdunged, and whitewashed, and that the streets should be kept clean for the fair. The townspeople send to friends and kinspeople within a day's journey to come to the fair. As the time draws near people from the neighbouring villages begin to pour in. Shopkeepers raise booths on the road sides from Dayamava's temple to the shed outside of the town, and athletes, songsters, jugglers, and dancing and singing girls begin to troop in. When the village is cleaned and the houses are cowdunged and whitewashed, nine

or ten days beforehand, a second notice is sent by beat of drum that the fair is to begin on Tuesday the tenth or whatever the date may be, that it will last for a fortnight, and that all the people of the village should prepare themselves for it. A lamp is lighted in the temple and kept burning for eight nights and eight days. This lamp-burning is called *ankihakona* or the beginning of the fair. As, during the fifteen days of the fair no corn may be pounded or ground, people grind millet and pound rice enough for their use during the fair, and as, except boiling rice and seasoning vegetables nothing else is to be cooked during the fair, people take care to prepare various cakes and other sweetmeats enough to last for a fortnight. At the close of every fair of Dayamava a fine he-buffalo is bought. His brow is rubbed with turmeric and redpowder, *nim* leaves are tied to his neck, and sandal paste and flowers are laid on him. He is set free and called *pattadakona* or the holy buffalo. He roams about the village streets and goes into the fields and feeds on anything he may find, no one doing him harm or hindrance. Some childless or sick persons vow to the goddess that if they have a child, or if their sickness is cured, they will set free a buffalo in the goddess' name. If their prayers are answered they set a buffalo free. Such buffaloes are called *harkikona* or vow buffaloes. Besides the holy buffalo and the vow buffaloes the fair committee buy eight or ten he-buffaloes and about a hundred sheep. These buffaloes especially the holy buffalo and the vow buffaloes, whose free roaming life has made them wild, are generally very troublesome. To quiet them they are tied to posts and starved for three or four days before the great day of the fair and are further weakened by being made to drink strong lime-water.

On Tuesday the eighth day from the *ankihakona* or lamp-lighting ten carpenter women whose husbands are alive are fed in the chief village carpenter's house, and ten Lingáyat women whose husbands are alive are fed in the house of the *meti* or chief village landholder. Early on Wednesday morning, the second day, Hindu men and women of all castes bathe, dress in their best, go to the goddesses' temple, and stand filling all the approaches. About eight the village painter paints the goddesses' eyes and besides his regular wages is given a sheep. The *desái* hands the *patil* two gold *mungalsutras* or lucky neck-threads and the *patil* ties one of them round Dayamava's and the other round Durgava's neck. The *deshpánde* hands the *kulkarni* two gold nose ornaments called *mugtis* one of which he puts on Dayamava's and the other on Durgava's nose. Next the *desái*, *deshpánde*, *patil*, and *kulkarni* are given betelnuts and leaves as presents from the goddesses. After this the *pujáris* or ministrants, that is the carpenters who made the images, lay flowers and redpowder on them, dress them in fine clothes, deck them with ornaments, burn incense before them, wave lighted camphor round their faces, and bring them out of the temple. As soon as the goddesses are brought out a man of the Mádigár or Tanner caste called the Ránigía, who is supposed to represent the brother of Dayamava's husband, comes forward and raising his right hand, in which he holds a stick with a bell and a handkerchief fastened to it, in front of the goddess shouts out before her the names of the private parts, and continues to shout until the car is drawn out of the village as far as the shed and the goddesses are placed on the raised seat built for them in it. Several cocoanuts are broken and two sheep are killed in front of the goddesses. The slaughtered sheep are carried round to the houses of all the leading villagers as an honour and are then brought back and kept near the car. A third sheep is killed and the images are set on the car. The village officers and other leading men stand before the goddesses with folded hands while the people offer cocoanuts, plantains, dates, and other fruit. The offerings are taken charge of by the carpenter ministrants and

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their assistants who stand on the car by the side of the goddesses. Incense is burnt before the goddesses and lighted camphor and lamps are several times waved round their faces. About eleven in the morning with the leave of the fair committee the ministrant allows the car-dragging to begin. About five hundred persons take hold of the ropes tied to the axle of the car, two sheep are killed, and amid shouts and yells the car is slowly dragged along. As it passes people pray to the goddesses to guard them from cholera and small-pox. Every time some roughness on the road stops the car the goddesses are supposed to be dissatisfied, and a sheep or two are slaughtered. At every turn and corner of the public streets through which the car is drawn a sheep is killed. As the car moves on carpenters masons and blacksmiths walk with it to clear the road. If any of them thinks that the goddesses are displeased he calls to the committee who order a sheep or two to be slaughtered. In this way the car reaches the shed outside of the village. On reaching the shed the goddesses are taken down from the car. Two sheep are killed and the goddesses are placed on the seats prepared for them and flowers and redpowder are laid on them. The laps of the goddesses are filled with rice, betelnuts and leaves, plantains, and a cocoanut. When the lap-filling is over the people shout in praise of the goddesses. In the evening women of the Asádi caste, a subdivision of the Mádígárs or Mángs, dress in fantastic clothes and dance before the goddesses singing their praises and telling their great deeds. The Asádi men beat drums and play music behind the women, while the Ránigia continues to shout filthy words chiefly the names of the private parts. In front of the shed a piece of ground, about ten feet long and ten broad, is coudunged and ornamented with figures drawn with different coloured powders. On the spot so decorated, about four o'clock on the Thursday morning, is brought the *pattadakona* or holy buffalo, who is supposed to represent Dayamava's Mhár husband.¹ Five or six Mádígárs or Tanners throw the buffalo on the ground and hold him down, some by the legs and some by the horns and face. A Mádígár comes with a long sharp knife and cuts the buffalo's throat while another holds an earthen vessel to catch the blood. Next the vow buffaloes and one or two specially bought buffaloes are led before the idol. The head of each is cut from the body by repeated blows with hatchets or sickles. When this is over one of the legs of the holy buffalo is broken and put in its mouth and the head is carried to a small grass hut called Mátangi's *gudsala* or cottage and laid in it. Several earthen lamps are lighted and one of them is set on the head of each of the buffaloes. A large quantity of rice is boiled and set on one side and the body of the holy buffalo is cut in pieces. The front right shoulder is the perquisite of the Ránigia and is handed to him and the other parts are distributed among the village officers according to the village custom. The village officers do not take these parts but make them over to the Holayas and Mádígárs. The boiled rice, which was laid near the body of the holy buffalo is now mixed with a part of the buffalo's blood and the undigested food found in its stomach. The whole is put into baskets and the baskets are set on a cart. Two Mádígárs strip themselves stark-naked and one of them sets on the heads of the other the pot filled with the holy buffalo's blood. The cart and the two naked Mádígárs, followed by hundreds of people and about fifty sheep and some Mádígárs to slaughter them, go to a spot outside the village called the *bhándeva* or

¹ The belief that the buffalo represents Dayamava's husband is perhaps a reminiscence of the time when, as among the Orissa Khonds, with much the same rites, men not buffaloes were the victims. Compare Macpherson's Khonds, 67.

boundary. On reaching the spot one of the naked Mádígárs throws on the ground part of the mixture in the baskets and sprinkles on the ground a few drops from the other's blood-pot as offerings to the evil spirits who live on the boundary. A sheep is slaughtered and the party go round the village boundary till they come back to the same spot. At every turn and corner of the village boundary a little boiled rice from the cart and a few drops from the blood-pot are thrown on the ground as offerings to spirits. While the party are going round the village boundary the two naked Mádígárs suddenly fall insensible being possessed by evil spirits. One or two sheep are slaughtered and the Mádígárs recover. The Holayas take charge of the sheep, give the largest share to the two naked Mádígárs, and divide the rest among themselves. The whole party then return to the goddess' temple and the people go to their homes, bathe, and eat. On Thursday the third day of the fair the *patil* or headman, the *barkí* or under-headman, and the Holaya or village messenger each take clay pots, draw red-white lines on them, fill them with rice Indian millet and wheat, close their mouths with betel leaves and flowers, and lay them before the goddesses. Each of the three is given a woman's robe and bodice as a present from the goddesses. The same evening large numbers come to the big shed. Some wrestle, some dance on long ropes and perform other athletic exercises, some sing songs, and some walk about looking at the fun, or joking and chatting with Suleru, Basavi, and other courtezans. Many are busy, buying different articles from the shops, or looking at Asádi women dancing. On Friday, which like Tuesday is sacred to the goddesses, the villagers lay cooked food or dry provisions before the goddesses, fill their laps with rice, fruit, betelnuts and leaves, and a copper or silver coin, burn incense, and wave lighted lamps round their faces. During the evenings and nights of Saturday Sunday and Monday the rites performed on Thursday evening and nights are repeated, and on Tuesday as on Friday people offer the goddesses cooked food and dry provisions. Nothing special is done on Wednesday. On Thursday the goddesses are taken in procession to a spot outside of the village. A plot of ground about two feet square is cowdunged and decked with devices in coloured powders, and a lamb is set on the square. A member of a subdivision of the Holayas called Potrájás, properly Pote-rájás or buffalo-kings, strips himself naked, ties a few *nim* leaves round his loins, comes running like a tiger, pounces on the lamb, tears its throat, drinks the blood, and runs off with the carcass towards the village-boundary. Some of the Holayas, Mádígárs, and others pretend to run after him to catch and kill him. The Potrája soon gets over the boundary and beyond the boundary he is safe. When the buffalo king's lamb-slaying is over the goddesses are taken in procession to the village boundary. The Ránigia comes forward, walks with the procession, and again in front of Dayamava shouts foul words. As soon as the goddesses are taken out of the shed, the grass hut called Mátangi's cottage, is burnt to ashes, and, on the spot where the hut stood, the heads of the slaughtered buffaloes are buried. When the goddesses reach the village boundary they are placed on a raised seat, and flowers, turmeric, and redpowder are rubbed on them. A curtain is drawn before the goddesses to show, as is said, that they have entered on a state of widowhood owing to the death of Dayamava's buffalo husband. The carpenter ministrants stand inside of the curtain, break the glass bangles on the goddesses' wrists, strip them naked, take the redpowder off their brows, pull off their heads hands and legs, and put them into two baskets, and with mourning carry the baskets to the goddesses' temple and lay them for three days in the idol room. The doors of the temple are locked from outside. On the third evening the ministrant opens the temple

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door, goes into the goddesses' room, puts the pieces together, dresses them in new robes, marks their brows with redpowder, puts fresh bangles on their wrists, decks them with flowers and ornaments, and surrounds them with lighted lamps. Many villagers come to the temple, bow before the goddesses, offer them fruit, flowers, betelnuts and leaves, and silver or copper coins, fill their laps with rice, fruit, betelnuts and leaves, and a silver or copper coin, burn incense before them, and wave lighted lamps round their faces. Prayers are offered to the goddesses asking that the village may be free from cholera and small-pox, and that the villagers may have many children and plentiful harvests. All night long Asádi women dance and sing and Asádi men beat big drums and play pipes. The Ránigia and the Potrája join the Asádis and keep up the merriment till daybreak. This merry-making is called *honnata* or the golden play. The same night a new buffalo is brought and worshipped, turmeric and redpowder are rubbed on his forehead, *nim* leaves are tied round his neck, and he is set free as the holy buffalo of the goddess Dayamava. If this buffalo dies before the next fair a successor is at once chosen.

The fruit, flowers, betelnuts and leaves, money, and clothes presented to the goddesses on the first day are taken by the carpenter ministrants. Under former governments the second day's offerings were taken by government, now they are taken by the village husbandmen. The offerings made on the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth days are taken by the *desái* the *deshpánde* the *pátel* and the *kulkarni*. The seventh and eighth day's offerings are distributed among the hereditary village servants and craftsmen as the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the Holaya, and the Mádigár. The offerings made on the ninth day are taken by the carpenter ministrants.

APPENDIX B.

THE following account of the Dhárwár beliefs and practices regarding spirit-possession and spirit-seizures is contributed by Ráo Báhádur Tirmal-ráo Venkatesh pensioned Small Cause Court Judge, Dhárwár :

In the district of Dhárwár, if a person causelessly keeps on crying laughing or weeping; if he speaks freely and emptily on religious and other subjects of which he knows nothing; if without any apparent illness he eats nothing for days or over-eats without indigestion; if he speaks in a language or repeats verses which he is believed not to know; if children get fits; if grown people strip themselves naked in public; if a man suddenly becomes impotent or a woman is barren or miscarries; if a person grows suddenly dumb, faints or walks in his sleep; they are believed to be possessed by a spirit. The lower classes believe that all forms of disease are spirit attacks. When a disease puzzles a native leech either a Musalmán Hakim or a Hindu Vaid, he feels the patient's hand and says *Bhutnádi* or the fiend pulse, meaning that he can do nothing and that a spirit-scarer must be called in. If the exorcist fails the sick man's friends take him to the English doctor. If he dies they say the English doctor and his English drugs killed him. The men most liable to spirit-attacks are the impotent, the lustful, the lately widowed, bankrupts, sons and brothers of whores, convicts, the idle, brooders on the unknowable, gluttons, and starvers. The women most liable to spirit attacks are girls, young women who have lately come of age, young widows, idlers, whores, brooders on the unknowable, irregular or gluttonous eaters, and all sickly women. Women are specially liable to spirit-attacks during their monthly sickness, during pregnancy, and in childbed, and men women and children are all apt to suffer when dressed in their best they go to gardens or near wells. Intelligent and educated men and healthy intelligent women are freer than others from spirit-attacks.

From their earliest days Dhárwár children learn to believe in spirits. When a child cries its mother says 'There is a devil there. If you don't keep quiet, he will carry you off.' When they are a little older, their parents say 'Do not go under that tree, or to that house, it is haunted.' All religious Bráhmans daily, after worshipping their chief gods and the spirits of their forefathers, before they eat, and after they have eaten, offer food and drink to the evil spirits with the rites known as *baliharan* or offering-making. The most popular Sanscrit books on spirits are the Twelfth Chapter of the Garudpurán and the Tenth to the Thirteenth Chapters of the Váyupurán. According to the Garudpurán five classes of people become evil spirits. The eater of stale food becomes a *pariushita* or leavings-eater; a fault-finder or tale-bearer becomes a *suchimukha* or needle-faced; an avoider of hungry Bráhmans becomes a *sidhrraga* or angry demon; the proud and selfish becomes a *rohaka* or leaper; and a rich neglecter of Bráhmans becomes a *lekhaka* or writer. According to the Váyupurán there are twenty-eight classes of spirits, fourteen male and fourteen female. Of the fourteen male spirits, seven are BRAHMARÁKSHASÁS or Bráhman ghosts with big fearful faces, red smoke-coloured eyes, small

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necks and thin bellies ; and seven are KUSHMÁNDÁS or headless trunks, with eyes on their shoulders and their necks welling blood ; and of the fourteen female spirits, seven are DÁKHANIS and seven are SHÁKHANIS some of whom have heads like wolves tigers or kites, and of others the heads are not on their necks but on their knees, thighs, shoulders, waists, breasts, or palms. The food and drink of all is phlegm, food-leavings, human excrement, urine, and mouth-water. Spirits haunt empty and tumbledown houses, cesspools, atheists, the shameless, the proud, the lazy, the miserly, the crazy, the wrathful, despisers of parents and priests, over-sleepers, over-weepers, and women-ruled men.

The every-day Dhárwár spirit beliefs differ greatly from those in the Sanscrit books. Spirits or ghosts are commonly known by the Sanscrit names of Bhut or the departed and Pisách or perhaps flesh-eaters and by the Kánaresé name of Devva that is deity. The Dhárwár people divide spirits into outside and house spirits. They do not greatly fear outside spirits. Every field, house, and tree has its evil spirits but they also have their guardian spirits or *devarus* and the guardians are the stronger. Some of the guardians are male spirits, others are females. The males are known as Bharmáppa, Kálláppa, and many other names ; the commonest female guardians are Lakshmi, Kareva, Kállava, and Kannava. They live in shapeless stones daubed with white-wash and red-earth in a corner of a field or in a house or under some big tree. On every no-moon day, over the male guardians, a few flowers and some sandalwood paste are thrown, and a cocconut is broken before them ; and over the female spirits, stones, turmeric, and redpowder are also dropped. Sometimes the guardians trouble their owners, sending fever, headache, rheumatism, or other slight sickness. The owners fall before their guardians and promise if they take away the sickness they will feed five or ten priests and their wives. When they get well they feed the priests and lay a waistcloth or a robe before the guardian, and themselves wear the robe as if it had never been offered. When they have these sicknesses they say *Bharmappa* or *Lukshmiavva kádtáne* that is Father Brahma or Mother Lukshmi vexes us, and when they have paid their vow they say *Bharmappaga madidivi* that is Father Brahma is propitiated. Maráthás, shepherds, and other flesh eaters offer their guardians a sheep or a fowl and cook and eat the flesh. Many Musalmán husbandmen have small shrines of saints in their fields, and worship them when they sicken. In this way three-fourths of the people worship guardians and think little of spirits.

House spirits are the ghosts of house people who have died a violent or an unnatural death, or who have died with a wish unfulfilled. An old man who leaves a young wife is apt to come back, and so is a young woman who has had to leave a fine husband, nice children, and a comfortable home. To keep away uneasy male ghosts special funeral rites are performed ; and to keep away a troublesome first wife's spirit the second wife wears a gold wire bracelet round her right wrist and every year in the name of the dead wife feeds a Bráhman woman whose husband is alive and gives her a robe and a bodice. This rite is called *jakni*. To keep away evil spirits on all no-moon days throughout the year, Bráhmans, Jains, Lingáyats, Vaishyas, and people of all castes offer cocconuts, plantains, dates, or other fruit to evil spirit-stones, burn frankincense before them, and feed Bráhman, Lingáyat, or Musalmán beggars. Sometimes a robe is offered and flesh eaters sometimes offer a goat or a fowl.

If a person feels uneasy or sick, the people of the house bathe him and make him walk a certain number of times round the house gods, and

Bráhmaṇ and Lingáyat priests or Musalmán beggars are fed. If the patient is no better, some great priest or a Bráhmaṇ is called in. He prays to God. If a Hindu, he waves camphor lights round the house gods five times and throws holy water on the patient, he engraves mysterious letters and figures on copper plates, and ties them to the patient's arm. If he is a Musalmán, he burns frankincense before his *panjás* or hands locally supposed to represent the open palms of the martyrs Hassan and Hussien, fumigates the patient, writes holy verses from the Kurán on a piece of paper, and ties the paper to the patient's neck. If these means fail, the friends of the sufferer take him to an exorcist, who is called *bhalbidsoava* or spirit-scarer. Strong cunning men who care not to work set up as spirit-scarers, and people believe them. The power of scaring spirits is not hereditary. Some gain it by studying spirit-scaring books, by fasting on no-moon days, and by standing up to their necks in cold water during eclipses and repeating verses in honour of Vetál the ghost lord. The means generally used by professional spirit-scarers to cure patients are to make them hold their heads in smoke made by burning chillies, resin, snake skin, and peacock feathers.

Two methods of scaring spirits are practised in Dhárwár, a Hindu plan and a Musalmán plan. The Hindu exorcist coudungs the ground, sprinkles quartz or *rángolá* powder on the ground in the form of giants, corpses, scorpions, and snakes, places lights on the figures and makes the patient sit near them, throws ashes, cold water, or oil on the patient, breaks cocoanuts, repeats verses, and orders the spirit to tell its name. At last the patient, that is the spirit in the patient, tells its name, its home, why it attacked the patient, and on what conditions it will leave. The friends and relations of the patient promise to fulfil the spirit's conditions, and some patients recover. The Musalmán plan differs little from this except that the spirit-scarer repeats verses from the Kurán and kills a goat or a fowl. Both plans are held equally effective. Hindus generally call Hindü exorcists and Musalmáns Musalman exorcists.

In Bankápur town are two famous Lingáyat spirit-scarers, Fakiráppa Sersangi a cotton merchant and Sivalingáppa the hereditary head or *mamleshethi* of the Bankápur Lingáyats. Outside of Fakiráppa's house is a large pillar or devil post in which Fakiráppa has imprisoned 1000 evil spirits. The house is often crowded with groups of spirit-possessed people and their friends. In a pot are several slips of red and blue paper each slip about an inch broad and three inches long. These papers are of great virtue. They have been soaked in charmed water and with the help of spells have great power over spirits. There are also three large boxes full of country medicines, a mortar and a pestle, and a pair of scales, for both Fakiráppa and Sivalingáppa admitted that they know a little medicine. When people come to be cured and all is ready Fakiráppa and Sivalingáppa ask Is any one suffering from evil spirits?

On one day when the writer was present several people came forward. The first was Gangavva a Lingáyat woman of about twenty. Her husband was with her. He complained that for six months his wife had been vexed by some evil spirit and begged Fakiráppa and Sivalingáppa to cast it from her. Fakiráppa and Sivalingáppa spoke to Gangavva. They warned her to tell the whole truth. If she told one lie, a devil out of the devil post would punish her severely. In her natural voice Gangavva complained that at times she had been haunted by evil spirits which would not allow her to speak, gave her much trouble, and severe bodily pain. Fakiráppa and Sivalingáppa gummed one of the charmed papers on her brow. Gangavva stopped speaking. They gummed a second piece of charmed paper on her

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nose ; she groaned as if some one was choking her. They applied a third piece to her chest ; she trembled violently as if in a hysteric fit. Fakirappa and Sivlingappa said that they had forced the evil spirit to show itself. They asked the spirit whether it was male or female. The woman, or rather the spirit in the woman, said she was the ghost of a kinswoman of Gangavva's and had been haunting her for six months. They asked her if she would leave Gangavva quietly or would prefer to be forced. She said she would leave if a robe was given to Gangavva in her name. The husband agreed to give the robe. Fakirappa told the spirit to swear she would leave Gangavva and to bow to the people. The spirit swore and bowed. Gangavva, who was still in a possessed state, was taken to the devil post and was told to walk thrice round it. At the end the spirit said I have left Gangavva and am in the post. The charmed papers were taken off Gangavva's brow, nose, and chest. She regained her usual look, and said she felt easy and free from pain. Fakirappa gave her three opening powders and told her to take one every day. Gangavva and her husband went home happy.

The next patient was a Musalmán woman Fatimáh thirty-five years old. She was married and her husband was with her. During the last nine months at night a spirit had at times come to her, pulled off her clothes, and beat and squeezed her. Fakirappa gummed a charmed paper on her brow. She ceased to speak. When a second charmed paper was gummed on her nose she groaned, fell on the ground, and writhed as if she was being beaten. When the charmed paper was put on her chest Fatimah, or rather the spirit, said she was a female and for nine months had been troubling Fatimáh at night. Fakirappa said 'Will you leave Fatimáh or shall I let loose one of my big spirits on you.' She said 'No Sir, No Sir, do not kill me, I fall at your feet. Pardon me, I will leave Fatimáh at once if she gets a silver armlet worth £1 12s. (Rs. 16) and wears it on her right arm in my name.' Fatimáh's husband agreed to buy the armlet and the spirit promised to leave at once. Fatimáh was made to walk round the devil post. The spirit, as in Gangavva's case, cried 'I have left Fatimáh and am in the post.' Fatimáh came to herself, said she felt free, and went off with her husband. In neither case did Fakirappa or Sivlingappa take any fee or present. Fakirappa and Sivlingappa keep a register showing, with the names and homes of the patients and the dates, about a thousand cases in which they have scared evil spirits without any charge.

Privately and alone the writer asked Fakirappa and Sivlingappa how they could compel evil spirits to talk and confess and come out. Fakirappa and Sivlingappa both said 'There are no evil spirits. It is some sickness of the body or of the mind that makes people and their friends think they are haunted by spirits. It is no use telling the people this. The only plan is to humour them, declare you can scare spirits, and order them into the post.' They added that they were generally able to give the people some medicine to help them.

In Dhárwár when an exorcist fails to drive out a spirit, the patient is taken to some holy place or shrine famous for its spirit-scaring powers. Among such shrines are Hanumán's temples at Kurubgatti in the Dhárwár subdivision and at Kadarmandali in the Ránebennur subdivision, Sattia Bodha Svámi's shrine in Sávanur, and other minor places in Dhárwár. When these local shrines fail the patient is taken to some distant holy place, the shrine of the saint Váderája Svámi at Swádi in Kánara, of the saint Rághvendra Svámi at Mantrálaya in Belari, to Narsobá's vádi near Miraj, to Pandharpur, to Kolhápur, to Tirupati in North Arkot, and to Rameshvar in the south of India. At these holy places

the patient is made to bathe daily, to walk a certain number of times round the temple or round a *pimpal* tree, or to bow before the idol or tree a hundred or more times, or to roll round the temple tree five or seven times a day. Some patients perform these exercises in wet clothes. Bráhmaṇ or Līngáyat priests or Musalmán beggars and other poor people are also fed.

Within the last fifty years especially in Dhárwár, Hubli, Gadag, and other large towns, spirit attacks have grown much less common and much less severe. An increase of intelligence due to letter writing and travel has perhaps helped the people to shake off some of the load of their hereditary dread of ghosts. But more and more regular food, cleaner water, warmer clothes, airier houses, and cleaner surroundings have probably done more to help the people to throw off spirit-attacks.

Appendix B.

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APPENDIX C.

WRESTLING HOUSES.¹Appendix C.
WRESTLING
HOUSES

AN interesting feature of Dhárwár life is its Wrestling-Houses or Gardimanis. The word comes from *gardi* (K.) athletic exercise, and *mani* (K.) house. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *malla-griha* and the Persian *tálimkhána*.

The sport-house is an old Hindu institution. In one of these, dressed in woman's clothes, Bhim, the giant Pándhav, wrestled to the death with Kichaka who had insulted the sister-wife Draupadi. The Puráns also have many references to these wrestling pits and their exercises.

In Dhárwár in the east, and to a less extent in the west, every town and large village has its sport-house, and large towns often have several. In the eastern plain from the outside the sport-house looks like a flat roofed building about seven feet high. In the wet west, where they are rare, a tiled roof is built over the flat roof. In all cases the outer walls are whitewashed and the corners picked out with red. In many colours and sizes are figures of huntsmen, on foot and on horse, with spears and guns, shooting tigers and other wild animals, and wrestlers in fierce struggle. There are no windows and only one doorway with a strong wooden door. The top of the doorway runs two or three feet above the line of the roof and is coloured red, green, yellow, and blue. Along the sport-house wall is a raised earthen bench about two feet high and two feet broad where visitors sit and sing and smoke.

In front of the sport-house is a space for open-air wrestling. A strong door, the only opening in the walls, about $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 3'$, opens on three narrow steps which lead about four feet down to the floor. The house, whose walls are daubed with red earth, is about ten feet broad, eighteen long, and ten high. It is divided into three rooms each about six feet broad and ten feet long. Except one dim lamp all is dark as during exercise the door is always carefully closed. On one side of the house, on a seat two feet broad and three feet high, are clubs weighted with lead, stone weights, and iron-chains fastened to a stout bar. In a niche in one of the walls are the guardians of the house a small figure of the monkey-god Hanumán, and of the *Panja* or Ali's Hand. Before the guardians is a censer in which frankincense is burnt. Thursday is the Musalmán and Saturday the Hindu guardian's great day. On Thursday all athletes burn frankincense before the Hand or *Panja*, throw a flower garland over it, and offer red sugar. On Saturday all Hindu athletes bathe, go to the god Hanumán, throw themselves before the image, offer sandalwood paste and flowers, wave burning frankincense, and lay fruits or other eatables before the guardian. Some red earth called *kávi* (K.) is kept in a corner of the room and rubbed on the wrestlers' bodies when they perform.

¹ Ráv Bahádur Tirmalráv Venkatesh.

Youths who attend sport-houses are known as *gardimani hulagas* or sport-house boys. Except the depressed classes who have sport-houses of their own, boys of all castes Bráhmans, Vánis, Jains, Lingáyats, Maráthás, and Musalmáns attend the village sport-house. Boys begin to attend sport-houses about ten and go on till they are thirty or more. Athletes and boys when in training are well fed. Those whose caste rules allow it eat flesh. Those who cannot eat flesh take specially large quantities of sugar and clarified butter. Boys and men of all classes when in training are careful to drink a pint of milk every day, and soak overnight gram in water and eat it in the morning, and, if they can afford it, eat dates soaked overnight in clarified butter. Boys who are fond of athletic exercises do not marry till they are twenty-five and even then, if they are champions, they do not live with their wives. A champion who has been beaten once or twice generally gives up wrestling and begins to live with his wife. For a month before the yearly challenge meeting the champion lives on rich food. The winner generally gets a handsome prize, a bracelet, a turban, or a waistcloth. The usual yearly challenge-meeting is held in October on the day before Dasara. On the day of the meeting one or two sheep are slain in front of the guardian Hand, and the heads and legs are buried under a stone slab in front of the Hand, and the rest is eaten by Musalmáns Maráthás and other flesh-eaters. Bráhmáns, Lingáyats and Jains who may not touch flesh, feast on fruit and sweetmeat. Anything that is over is buried in a corner of the sport-house. When at exercise the athlete wears a tight pair of short drawers and a waistband tightly wrapped round the waist and one end passed between the legs and tightly tucked behind. When resting or before beginning a contest they sometimes cover themselves with a cloak. All articles worn by athletes are washed in red-earth water. The hours are four to six in the morning and eight to ten at night. As soon as a boy enters a gymnasium he takes off his head-dress, jacket, and other clothes except the tight drawers and the waistband. Eight to ten stand in one line and eight to ten in another line opposite to them. Each catches his right arm with his hollow left hand and smites it near the shoulder several times, making a loud noise. This is called *shaddá hodiya* or shoulder-smiting. They then touch the ground with their toes and palms and move their bodies backwards and forwards without bending the knees, if possible stretching so far that the nose can touch the ground. This is called by Hindus the *devarásám* or god's exercise and by Musalmáns *Maula Ali's sám* or the prophet Ali's exercise. While performing exercises at each motion of his body, the leader keeps shouting short unmeaning sentences in which the names of Bhim and the prophet Ali occur and the rest repeat the shout and copy the movement. The last words of every couplet or triplet are in rhyme. They also stand and walk on their hands and sit down and rise more than a hundred times. They jump and turn double somersaults. They perform with clubs, lift weights, and climb greasy poles, and generally end by wrestling in couples.

At the challenge meetings the champions rub their bodies with red earth, tie an amulet or evil-scarer to one of their arms, and hide themselves under a dirty robe or a blanket in case any sorcerer or evil-eye should sap their powers.

Girls of the prostitute class and professional athletes, learn athletic exercises in their homes, but do not go to public sport-houses. They wear tight drawers from the waist to the knee, and small bodices. When they are grown they perform in public but never wrestle. When a girl performs in public she wears a bodice and robe like an ordinary woman

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with one or two differences. She passes the skirt of the robe so tightly back between her feet that the leg is bare up to the knee, and, instead of drawing the other end of the robe over the chest and head, she binds it tightly round the waist. Besides the tight bodice over the breasts she passes a bright kerchief over the right and under the left shoulder and ties it tightly behind the neck, fastening the two lower ends of the tippet to the robe at the waist one at each side. As soon as the performance is over she unties the kerchief and draws the upper end of her robe over her shoulder and head. Girls perform the same exercises as men except that they never wrestle.

APPENDIX D.

QUARTZ-POWDER.¹

RÁNGOLI, the word used for the quartz lines and pictures which prudent housewives sprinkle in front of their house doors, is said to mean the brilliant line from the Sanskrit *rang* colour and *avali* a row. The orthodox explanation of the sprinkling of these lines and figures, as well as of white-washing cowdung and tying strings of mango leaves in houses, is that it is for beauty, because God dwells in the house.

The best *rángoli* is made by pounding white quartz into powder. Its colour is white and it may be used either while Bráhmans are in a pure state after bathing, or when they have not bathed. In the absence of quartz powder, rice-flour may be used. In addition to the white lines, dots or figures of yellow, red, black, green, and blue powder are also occasionally used. The yellow powder is made from turmeric, the red is the ordinary *gulál* of rice or *rági* flour dyed with red sanders, the green is from the ground dried leaves of the *Æschynomene grandiflora*, the black is ground charcoal, and the blue is indigo. Every day lines, dots, and figures are drawn on the floors of all Bráhma houses, three, four, or five straight lines parallel to the walls of rooms and verandas. Cross lines, circles with a dot in the centre, and elaborate figures are also drawn. On great occasions elaborate tracery and figures of men, animals, and trees are drawn. On *Nágar-chaut* or the Cobra's Fourth, that is the bright fourth of *Shrávan* or August-September, Bráhmans, in addition to making the usual figures, draw and worship single, double, and twisted forms of snakes sprinkled in quartz powder. During the leading days of the *Diváli* feast, the dark 14th and 15th of *Ashvin* or October-November, and during the bright half of *Kártik* or November-December, all Hindus set what they call the *Pandus*, five cowdung cones two or three inches high and about the same round the foot, outside to the right and left of the threshold, and on the top of the outer house door. Round each cowdung cone they draw double or treble white and red lines, set a flower of the *kumbal* (K.) *Cucurbita hispida* gourd on each of the cowdung cones, and throw over all turmeric and red powder. On the marriage day of Vishnu and the *tulsi* plant, that is the evening of the bright twelfth of *Kártik* or November-December, and when Lakshmi the goddess of wealth comes in *Shrávan* or August-September, besides the usual quartz figures, *gopad* or cow's footprints are sprinkled with *rángoli* powder all along the ground from the outer threshold of the house to the shrine which has been made ready for the god. When feasts are given in the open air, in front of and on each side of the board on which each guest sits, lines and arches are drawn in quartz and red powder. On birth, marriage, and other festive occasions, and when entertainments are given elaborate quartz powder figures are traced. On occasions of deaths, funeral ceremonies, yearly mind-rites or mind-dinners, no quartz lines, dots, or figures are drawn, except that at dinners in honour of saints a little quartz powder is occasionally used. No special

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¹ Ráj Bahádúr Tirmaláj Venkatesh,

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quartz figures are drawn on no-moon or full-moon days. The coudunging of the ground and the drawing of fearful quartz powder figures is an important part in most exorcisms.

The great tracers of quartz powder figures, forming them simply by letting the powder drop from between the thumb and fingers, are Bráhma women. No Bráhma woman during her monthly sickness, for three months after childbirth, or when in mourning may draw quartz lines. Jains use Rángoli like Bráhmans, and Maráthas use it on special occasions. Some, but not all Lingáyats, draw a few lines every day in their houses. On moon-light nights and on great occasions, Lingáyats draw long double lines of dots, alternately of lime and water and red earth, and dine or play close by these lines. Lingáyats also draw one or two lines of quartz powder along the edge of the grave before burying the body. Pársis, like Hindus, decorate their house fronts by stamping them with quartz powder plates. Musalmáns and Native converts to Christianity are the only persons who do not use quartz decorations. Formerly the traceries were all made by letting the powder slip between the thumb and the fingers. Of late years tubes and plates with upturned edges pierced with designs have been filled with powder and either rolled or stamped over the place to be decorated.

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