Anthropological study of customs and dress patterns in traditional clothing of the Kodavas of Kodagu

Thesis submitted to the University of Mysore for the degree of

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IN

ANTHROPOLOGY

By

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DECLARATION

I, Ahmad Heidari, hereby declare that the thesis titled 'Anthropological study of customs and dress patterns in traditional clothing of the Kodavas of Kodagu' is an original work done by me under the guidance of **Dr. B.K. Ravindranath,** Professor, Department of Studies in Linguistics, Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled '**Anthropological study of customs and dress patterns in traditional clothing of the Kodavas of Kodagu'** submitted by Ahmad Heidari for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Anthropology Department, University of Mysore, is a bonafide record of the work he has carried out under my supervision, and guidance at the Department of Studies in Anthropology University of Mysore, and is fit for submission.

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I, **Ahmad Heidari,** certify that this thesis is the result of research work done by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. **Dr. B.K. Ravindranath,** Professor, Department of Studies in Linguistics, Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies,

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I state that this thesis has not been submitted by me for award of any other degree/diploma/fellowship of this or any other university.

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Chapter I. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Tradition, according to *The Word Power Dictionary,* is a custom, or belief handed down from the past, especially by practice. Clothing, *Word Power* defines as 'articles of dress or apparel'. The marriage of tradition to clothing results in cultural and historical encapsulation in dress. The topic '**Anthropological study of customs and dress patterns in traditional clothing of the Kodavas of Kodagu'** is geographically centered in Coorg, a.k.a. Kodagu, a hilly region of Karnataka, South India, and focuses on an ethnic group, the Kodavas.

1.2. A brief introduction to Karnataka

Karnataka is a state in the south of India. In December 2013, India had a population of 1.252 billion, within 29 states. In 2014, Karnataka had a population of 64.06 million (a million is ten lakhs, and ten million is a crore). Karnataka is south of Maharastra State, south-east of Goa, west of Andhra Pradesh, north and northwest of Tamil Nadu, north-east of Kerala, and east of the Arabian Sea.

1.3. An introduction to Kodagu

The word Kodagu might be derived from 'kudu', which refers to a hilly place, apt for its location in the Western Ghats. Kodagu has latitude of 12.4208 N and longitude of 75.7397 E, and is situated in Karnataka. **Kodagu,** or **Coorg,** occupies an area of 4,102 square kilometres (1,584 sq mi). Kodagu's altitude is 1,525 m, and it has an average temperature of 15 C. Kodagu has year long salubrious climate, and among other epithets, is called the 'Scotland of India' and the 'Kashmir of the South'.

Kodagu is bordered by Dakshin Kannada district on the north-west, Hassan on the north, Mysore district on the east, Kannur of Kerala is on the south-west, Wayanad of Kerala on the south. Rainfall is very intense in July and August, stretching on to November with milder showers. Yearly rainfall might exceed 160 inches in some places, earning Kodagu the name 'Cherapunji of the South'.

Kodagu is an ecological hotspot of the Western Ghats on its eastern slopes. Its three wildlife sanctuaries are Brahmagiri, Talakaveri, and Pushpagiri. Its national park is Nagarhole, a.k.a. Rajiv Gandhi National Park. Kodagu flora includes *Michelia champaca* (Champak), Mesua (Ironwood), Diospyros (Ebony and other species), *Toona ciliata* (Indian Mahogany), *Chukrasia tabularis*, *Calophyllum angustifolium* (Poonspar), *Canarium strictum* (Black Dammar), Artocarpus, Dipterocarpus, *Garcinia indica*, Euonymus, *Cinnamomum camphora*, *Myristica*, Vaccinium, Myrtaceae, Melastomataceae, Rubus (three species) and a rose. In the bushes, there are areca, plantains, canes, wild black pepper, ferns, and arums. In the west of Kodagu's bamboo forests, we find *Dalbergia latifolia* (Blackwood), *Pterocarpus marsupium* (Kino Tree), *Terminalia tomentosa* (Matthi), *Lagerstroemia parviflora* (Benteak), *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dindul), *Bassia latifolia*, *Butea monosperma* (Palasha), *Nauclea parvifiora*, and several species of acacia. Teak and sandalwood grow in the east. The fauna includes the Asian elephant, tiger, leopard, dhole, gaur, boar, king cobra, and several species of deer. Tortoises and river otters are found near the banks of rivers. During monsoon, leeches proliferate in the green forests.

The River Kaveri, which originates in Talakaveri, feeds the agricultural belt of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Kodagu has paddy fields in the valleys (historically, a reason for many invasions and captures), oranges, Coorg Honey, coffee, black pepper (*Piper nigrum*), cardamom (*Elletaria cardamomum*), and vanilla agro-forestry in the hills. Agriculture is a mainstay, and the most important crops are rice and coffee.

Legend has it, that coffee agro-forestry was introduced to the Western Ghats by the Muslim saint Baba Budan, in the sixteenth century, from the Yemeni port of Mocha. The Kodavas had accepted it, but serious cultivation started after the British took over Coorg in 1834. Kodagu is now the coffee producing capital of India, and India is the world's fifth largest coffee-producing country. Coffee agro-forestry in Kodagu has about 270 species of shade trees. Most of Kodagu is under cultivation, with paddy fields in the valleys and coffee plantations on hillsides, the latter the continuing inheritance from British occupation.

Kodagu has a population of 554,762, with a population density of 135 inhabitants per square kilometer. Kodagu has a sex ratio of 1019 females to every 1000 males. Literacy rate is at 82.52%.

Madikeri (Mercara) is the district capital, with Virajpete, Kushalnagar, Gonikoppal and Somwarpete being the other towns. Virajpet is the largest taluk and comprises the towns Virajpet, Gonikoppal, Siddapura, Ponnampet, Ammathi, Thithimathi...

1.4. A brief pre-history of Kodagu

Pre-historic cairns have been noted in a few places in Kodagu. Doddamalte village (in Somwarpete) is one such site. The Archaelogical Survey of India has described them as megalithic burial monuments, a.k.a. cairns. Most of the cairns are at ground level, resembling stone burial chambers, four to five feet in height.The locals call them *Pandava Pare*, and legend has it that the five Pandavas stayed here for a while. Another legend connected to *Pandava Pare* states that when digging the nearby Honnamannekere, no water was found. After a series of human sacrifices, water gushed forth, and the sacrificed humans were buried in *Pandava Pare*. These megalithic sites date back 3000 to 2500 years. Other sites include Bavali village in Madikeri, and Kedamullar in Virajpet taluk, and in Kushalnagar. Kodagu megalithic sites are dolmen or cist circles. Dolmens are megalithic tombs with a large flat stone laid on upright one, according to the *Pocket Oxford Dicitonary.* Megalithic sites in Virajpet contained antique earthern ware, bone fragments, iron implements, bangles and charcoal. Unusually, one elongated Roman amphora was also found.

Underground cists in Kushalnagar brought up black and red pottery, vessels with three spouts, urns and dishes, one of which had rice husks and another, *ragi* millets. Iron weapons like swords and sickles and javelins, plus a human skull with two teeth were also discovered. Near Madikeri, in village Bavali, were found dismantled cist burials that date back to 3000 BCE.

Kodagu was home to a celt called the ‘Mercara celt’ discovered in 1868 on a hill top six kilometres from Madikeri, and currently in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in Kolkatta. A celt is a pre-historic, chisel-edged stone tool. The Mercara celt is made of diorite, and has the accession number 994.

1.5. The Kodavas – an introduction

The Kodavas are an ethnic group from Kodagu, who speak the Dravidian language, Kodava-thak. They are also called Coorgs, and their native area is also called Coorg. The Coorgs were the earliest agriculturists in Kodagu. Thanks partly to their social system of clan like family divisions (*okkas/manepedhas*), they practice family (*okka/manepedha*) based exogamy and community wide endogamy, though that is changing in the present generation. The Kodavas routinely practice ancestor worship.

Kodavas are Hindus, specifically Kshatriyas. Kodavas have a strong martial culture. They are called, and call themselves, Kshatriyas because of their martial traditions and their right to bear arms.

The Kodavas are the earliest agriculturists in Kodagu; they were and are in many places, the landowners. Mostly, in the past, the Coorgs traded superior Coorg valley rice for gold, salt and important necessities. Agro forestry is one of the main stays of Kodagu. Deforestation can affect the survival of Kodava culture, including their specific clothing. So can job immigration… Other reasons may come up during the field work.

Kodavas practice a system of land tenure, called Jamma (privileged tenureship), instituted in Kodagu during the Paleri Dynasty of the Lingayat Rajas. Jamma agricultural lands were handed down generation to generation by Kodavas as a hereditary right, were indivisible and included rights over the adjacent uncultivated woods (banè). The advantage is that lands under Jamma next to agroforesty areas remain intact. Jamma land tree rights remain with the ruling government.

Kodava cuisine is unique, with a strong emphasis on proteins like lamb, chicken, pork, river fish, and vegetables that abound in the hills like tender bamboo, wild mushroom, coconut, jackfruit, plantain, forest mango and many common vegetables that have hillside flavours. Kodagu's most important culinary contribution is *Kachampuli* - cooked, black colored, flavourful vinegar not found any where else in the world, and deserving of a Geographic Index tag. Alcohol is socially accepted and commonly used on a daily basis, thanks to the year-round inclement weather.

Who the Kodavas are, where they actually originated from, is not clearly established. The only clearly known fact about them is that they are a martial race who settled in Kodagu centuries back. Much speculation has been done about the Kodavas being a race that is part royalty and part Shudra, or part Arab.

And this speculation about them being outsiders who settled in Kodagu has been partly proved with genetic testing. Specifically, the original parent group was Scytho-Dravidians who in turn became three different groups – the Maratha Brahmins, the Kunbis, and the Kodavas. The Scythian ancestors of the Kodavas are also called the Sse. Racially, the Kodavas have the R1a1 (M17) Y chromosome that is common among the Indo-Europeans, hinting that they might have been of the same proto community as Lord Buddha, who was a Shaka (Scythian) and a Kshatriya. The Scythians were also called the Western Kshatrapas (after the word 'satrap'), and were defeated by the Guptas. Kodava individuals whose genes were tested by the National Geographic Genographic Project are living proof of this particular Y chromosome (Chromosome is a thread like structure found in the cell nucleus of animals and plants, carrying genes). More research has to be done by geneticists and ethno-historians for clarity on the origins and past Diaspora of these people, both points being outside the scope of this study. In support, Erskine Perry says that 'the Kodavas have no resemblance to any of the races of south India and that it clearly indicates they must have come from outside.'

The population of Coorgs (Kodavas) is around one lakh and sixty thousand. And they may constitute about one-fifth of Kodagu's population. History repeatedly tells us that no matter who ruled Kodagu – whether the Lingayat kings or the British – the Kodavas were not influenced by the rulers' customs, religion, clothing, etc. This may be because the Kodavas migrated from the north of India.

Map of Karnataka

Map of Kodagu

1.6. **HYPOTHESIS**

A hypothesis is a tentative answer to a research question. The research question here is about the staying power of traditional clothing of the Kodavas of Kodagu. Traditional clothing was worn uniformly in Coorg by Coorgs living there and continues to this day (2015). However, it is proposed that traditional clothing of the Coorgs is worn much less with increasing exposure to Indianization (or Kannada acculturation) and Westernization or Anglicization, increased levels of education, better and more varied economic activity, travel and exposure outside Coorg, and a need to not attract attention. As the Coorgs get better educated, have more jobs in offices, their exposure to Westernization (or Anglicization, or Kannada acculturation) increases, and may result in a decreasing use of traditional clothing.

This thesis will attempt to cover the staying power of traditional Kodava style and clothing in the face of different influences whether Indianization (as in Kannada and Sanskrit acculturation) or Westernization (Anglicization), and trace changes, if any through nineteenth, twentieth and twentyfirst century accounts.

1.7. Are Kodava clothing traditions changing? If so, how?

Classic subjects of anthropological studies have usually been ethnic groups or their cultures. This study is about the traditional clothing of one ethnic group residing in Coorg - the Kodavas - in late 2014 and early 2015. The Kodavas (or Coorg individuals) live in different areas of Kodagu (Coorg) – Madikeri and Virajpet. And the Coorg Diaspora includes Mysore and Bangalore, Bombay and New Delhi, US, UK, and the Gulf, and many more places not mentioned here. How much of tradition continues to survive in Kodagu among the Kodavas with the strong wind of regionalization, nationalization and Westernization, we will try to assess in this study. In the continuum of influence, we can begin with an ethnic community/indigenous group, progress to localization, then regionalization, and lastly nationalization or Westernization.

1.8. Primary and secondary research

The body of research builds on all past research in that field. This thesis will use primary and secondary research, to explain if, and how much, there is of the long-term effect of Westernization or Indianization on the Kodavas of Coorg, or something totally different. Or, if there is continuity and staying power in traditional clothing of and by the Kodavas. The people chosen for the interviews were all residents of Virajpet and Madikeri of Kodagu, real people

with real viewpoints. Some of the men were estate owners, some of the women were housewives, there were a few students, and a minisculic representation (3%) from the Amma Kodavas of Virajpet and Madikeri. From a rice growing, martial people of the past, to the coffee-estate owning (and continuing to be rice growers) people of today, the Kodavas have moved with the times, showing various types of influence.

1.9. Objectives of the study

This study has the following objectives:

a. To analyze the cultural aspects of Kodava clothing in myth, history, folklore, and dress styles in historic and twenty-first century records
b. To check whether education levels, marital status, diverse occupations have impacted their sartorial habits
c. To note in what domains Kodava traditional clothing is worn, and where it is excluded
d. To observe whether the processes of Indianization and Westernization (or Anglicization) have impacted the sartorial culture and clothing of the Kodavas, to see how much the pull is between modernity and tradition
e. To examine changes in their economic (or other) activities that might affect their clothing styles

f. To assess the levels of tradition and modernity as evident in the above sections, to make a record in videos and photos, for a complete time bound audiovisual record of a community whose clothing style may be in transit or homeostasis

1.10. Aim and scope of the study

The present study has attempted to understand the impact of the different variables, on the clothing style of the Kodavas in Kodagu. The study is confined only to two parts of Kodagu – Madikeri and Virajpet, and analyses the incidence of Kodava traditional clothing, used by Kodava men and women in these two parts of Kodagu. Myth, audiovisual evidence, primary and secondary research, and field work all will make up the research quad to assess the degree of cultural behavior, stasis and change.

1.11. Importance of the study

The study on the Kodavas is a small study in Kodagu, equally distributed between Madikeri and Virajpet, one with social relevance because it contributes towards better understanding of a community wrestling through Westernization (or Anglicization) and Indianization and going from classic Kodava culture to pan-national Indian, and the reflection of this in their traditional clothing. After Independence, in 1947, no in-depth, comprehensive audio-visual study has been done on the changing face of traditional Kodava clothing, or its homeostasis.

This work will be a thorough audio-visual record of the clothing traditions of an ethnic community sixty eight years after Independence. The Kodavas have indigenous knowledge which includes skills, experience, insight, rituals, and info that makes them who they are. As a study by an outsider, bais will be kept to a minimum, and info will be deciphered objectively.

1.12. Limitations of the study

One limitation is that the sample of Kodavas studied did not cover entire Kodagu. Also, the sample did not cover Kodavas outside Kodagu within Karnataka, outside Karnataka but within India, and outside India in US, UK, the Gulf, Australia, Africa, etc.

Besides this, funerals, which are an important part of cultural activity, with its own unique clothing tradition, was touched upon with great sensitivity or not at all, depending on the response. In some cases, there were no answers, for whatever personal reasons.

Only adults were interviewed, as adults are tasked with safeguarding traditional culture, and they become the custodians defending tradition. If children were interviewed, the conclusive results could have been confusing or inconclusive and would have widened the scope too much.

Many influences showed up in the interviews on Kodava behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, customs, etc. Influences like higher education, travel, more

affluence via jobs and the coffee boom, and thereby exposure to more regional and global influences, seems to keep this community with a differing level of cultural homeostasis as exhibited in their clothing styles. An analysis of data might bring out details not anticipated in the original research question.

Another important limitation is that a social scientist both participates and is also an observer of the human society he studies. Research on topics of human society and human behavior can never be all covering, as humans are too complex, too varied, too changing, too impulsive, to be completely researched. The questionnaire used for this subject was administered to Kodavas in Madikeri and Virajpet, and sometimes, there were refusals to answer, incomplete answers, non-awareness of subjects questioned covered, loss of memory, and hesitation to answer certain questions. (Krishnaswami, 2013)

1.13. Data Collection

Ethnography is the 'systematic study of people and cultures' as explained by Wikipedia. Ethnography as empirical data on human societies and culture was pioneered in the socio-cultural branches of anthropology.

Primary data was collected through questionnaires, and interviews with photographs, videos, and extensive note taking, and participant observation. Secondary data will be gleaned from newspaper reports, books, anthropological

journals, the Internet, Gazeteers, translated documents, religious texts, dictionaries, enclyclopedias, and other sources.

1.14. Review of literature

Clothing, dress, garments, apparel – so many words for the coverings we wrap around our bodies. What is clothing, that indispensible article of human life? According to the *World Book Encyclopedia, Vol. 4*, clothing includes garments, accessories and ornaments, and evolved around 100,000 years ago. From the earliest times, early humans used clothing to look better, cover themselves from the elements, and establish identity – decoration, protection and communication. The earliest clothing was probably animal skin, used for warmth, and wearing the skin of a ferocious predator, could have been used as a signal of the hunting prowess of the wearer, thereby enhancing his social standing.

Around 25, 000 years ago, humans invented the needle, and this was used to stitch together different skins, or bark into better clothing, though this was not a universal discovery commonly found all over the planet. Fabric from plants, or fur or grass was used to make a primitive yarn. The next leap forward happened when humans domesticated grasses and learnt the art of agriculture, and, also simultaneously tamed and herded sheep and other animals that gave them a steady supply of wool. However, early clothing styles remained the same for thousands of years.

The next paradigm leap occurred just a little over 200 years ago. Humans began to make clothes at home, and sell the surplus. In the late 1700s, and 1800s, a series of inventions led to easier weaving, thread making and sewing. Machines took over the hitherto human labor-centred tasks of spinning thread, weaving and sewing cloth. These inventions led to the precursors of the clothing industry and made stitched clothing available for the masses. Today, the clothing industry can make or break a country's economy.

A good lesson on the connection between clothing and its link to cultural morals is found in the story of Adam and Eve and the serpent, in the book of *Genesis*, in the *Old Testament*. God created Adam and Eve, who lived in the beautiful Garden of Eden. God forbade them from eating fruit from a tree in the center of the garden – a tree of knowledge of good and evil. A wicked serpent

enticed Eve to eat a fruit from the forbidden tree. Adam ate one too. As soon as they finished eating, they realized they were naked, and had no clothes on. As punishment, God drove them out of the Garden and they were forced to work and suffered all the pain and hardships of humanity. That was the first instance of clothing required as cover for modesty.

Another famous instance of clothing and innate modesty, or rather disrobing and immodesty is found in *The Mahabharata* - which to put it simply is a story of Kauravas and their cousins cum mortal enemies, the Pandavas. The Pandavas were built a Palace of Illusions by Mayurasura, the Asura sorcerer and architect. The palace had two components – one part looking like it was made of granite, and the other part looking like a lake. The oldest Kaurava prince, Duryodhana, son of the blind King Dhritarashtra, stepped on the 'granite' floor and found himself waist deep in water, soaking wet. Druapadi, the wife of all the five Pandavas, and her maids, laughed out loud from their vantage point in the balcony, and Draupadi commented, 'A blind man's son is blind.' This allusion to blind Dhritarashtra, father of the Kauravas, hurt Duryodhana's fragile ego, and made him an enemy for life, wanting to take revenge on Draupadi. His chance to take revenge came soon enough. Yudhisthara, the eldest Pandava, was an obsessive gambler. Shakuni, the maternal uncle of the Kauravas, had a set of dice that never disobeyed him. In one gambling game with the Kauravas, Yudhisthara gambled away all his possessions, his brothers and himself, and then wagered his wife, Draupadi. When Yudhisthara lost all, playing and losing with the magical dice, Duryodhana asked his brother Dushasana to fetch Draupadi from the inner rooms. Dushasana grabbed Draupadi by her hair and pulled her into the court. Draupadi (whose natal name was Panchali) questioned the legality of Yudhisthara's wagering her for a bet, as in her natal home kingdom, Panchal, this would not hold. Duryodhana asked Dushasana to strip her of her garment, most probably a primitive version of the saree. Since her five husbands – the Pandavas - were legally helpless and unable to protect her, Draupadi prayed to avoid the unbearable humiliation of being stripped naked in front of the whole court, to Lord Krishna, who miraculously made her 'saree' an endless one. No matter how much of it was pulled, the saree never came to an end. New sarees appeared under the one pulled off. The whole court was filled with wonder at this miracle. Dushasana finally stopped pulling the neverending sarees from sheer exhaustion.

Roach in the *World Book Encyclopedia* says that clothing has three functions: protection, communication and decoration. The protection function is

very obvious – in rainy parts of the world like Kodagu, for example, primitive forms of the raincoat, made of oilproof skin were always used to escape the rain and to keep clothes dry. Another form of protection is emotional in nature… dress is used to belong, to be accepted. The school uniform is one such item that helps to identify and belong and equalize.

Communication is the next function. Communication in clothing is used to communicate status – male or female, child or adult, rural or urban, religious community, workplace protective clothing, etc. Clothes communicate what a person is – a model strutting on the cat walk, a security guard doing the rounds of a factory, a schoolchild wearing a raincoat to keep their clothes from getting wet. Uniforms are also communicative clothing. Livery is a distinctive uniform worn by male servants of a household. To stand out, to make a statement, sometimes, people use non-standard clothing to say they do not belong, or are beyond the pull of tradition. Clothes also communicate how the person wants to fit in socially. E.g. going to a party... For occasions like weddings and funerals, certain colors and specific clothing are chosen by certain communities. Some colors are associated with special meaning in certain communities. For e.g. white is the color of a first time bride in the Christian West, but in India, it is the color of mourning for many Hindus, including the Kodavas, and is used by widows, and members of the grieving family to socially signify a period of mourning. Christian brides in south India use both white as well as red, separately, for their weddings, reflecting both the Christian western influence as well as the Indian influence.

The third function of clothing is for decorative purposes. Clothing enchances beauty and sexual attraction, helps to define style, and sets a trend in fashion.

Why does clothing vary so much? Roach sets forth four reasons – purpose, different materials, varied ways of making cloth, and differences in clothing customs. Purpose includes the big three – protection, communication and decoration. Protection differs from clime to clime, different societies and religions (for example the *burqa* has social and religious sanction within India, and the tuxedo is formal wear for a night out at the Oscar's – the award night for film related excellence in the U.S.)

Materials vary from place to place, with variety differing from place to place, and time to time. In *The Arthashastra*, in Kautilya's India, during the

300s BCE, clothing was made of a variety of substances … cotton, wool, bark fibers, silk-cotton, hemp and flax, besides skins and furs. Snap to the present. A 2015 Paris high fashion designers' store (like Chanel, for e.g.) will stock clothing ranging from cotton, wool, fur, silk, leather, linen – all natural materials, as well as Lycra and Viscose – both manmade. Previously, a tribal Kuruba in the hinterlands of Karnataka would go barefoot and only wear a strip of skin around the waist; today some Kurubas wear branded jeans like Levis, and track shoes by Nike. Times change…

Clothes are also made differently from place to place. Industrialized countries use machines and time saving processes. The same cotton can be spun differently to produce different cloth. Dyeing, cutting, and sewing can produce different end products. Cloth production can also be a focal point for a political stand. From one end of the spectrum, Gandhi's humble homespun *Khadi* challenged the British Empire's industrially produced cloth, one of many milestones in India's run up to Independence in 1947 – ethnicity taking on the might of Globalization.

Another reason for clothing being different is the variation in clothing customs. Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, cloistered nuns. Air Force, Navy, Army and Police uniforms. Though cotton cloth may be used by all these groups, the color, the cut, the customs, all vary. Dawn Chatty comments that anthropologists deal with clothing either from their origins as a set of items, connected to modesty and the vanity of human beings, or as a reflection of changing fashions and social upheavals, or clothing differences in different situations. But the history of clothing is also important for comprehensive understanding of a culture.

Back in India, historically, unstitched clothing was the norm. Men wore dhothis, and women wore sarees, both unstitched rectangular pieces of cloth draped around the body from right to left, and then around to the right again. The saree probably originated in the Indus Valley between 3000 to 1800 BCE. *(BCE stands for Before the Common Era.)* Besides India, even in Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, the women wear the saree - a sort of cultural and customary uniform for the ladies of the Indian sub-continent. A saree today can cost anywhere between a few hundred rupees to more that a lakh (a hundred thousand). The ubiquitious saree has different styles in different parts of India… Gujarati, Bengali, Marwadi, Kannada sarees, all of which are six yards. Nine yard sarees are worn by the (older) women of Tamil Nadu and Maharastra. And

high up in the hills of Coorg, in the rainy, damp Western Ghats, we have the six yard Coorg (Kodava) style.

The Coorg saree has a unique drape, pleats at the back and the *pallu* draped across the chest, from right to left, under the left armpit, across the back over the right shoulder, and fastened with a pin (or sometimes tied with a knot) on the front of the right shoulder. In keeping with the cold and damp weather, the sleeves of the blouse are usually worn long and fully cover the arms. The Coorg saree is called a 'podiya'. Kodava-Thak, the Coorg language, is a Dravidian language influenced by Tamil and Malayalam, being a descendent of Old Tamil (an ancient extinct Dravidian language), and the language has also borrowed from Kannada, which is a neighbouring Dravidian language that is also used for official purposes in Coorg. The word 'podiya' is connected to the Tamil 'podivae'. Both mean saree.

Two legends, the first one mentioned by Srinivas, and the other by Rice, talk about the Coorg saree's connection to Mother River Kavery. One of the recurring motifs in Coorg culture and tradition is the sacred river Kavery. Kavery was the wife of Sage Agastya. And they had a union of great conjugal bliss. Kavery had stipulated to her husband that he was not to leave his residence until he had informed her. On one occasion, Agastya forgot this and stepped out without informing his wife. Upset with her husband's behavior, Kaveri decided to turn into a river. When Agastya tried to restrain his wife by pulling her saree, the pleats twisted to the back. And as a form of respect for the river, Coorg sarees (the Kodava podiya) are all worn with the pleats at the back.

The second legend elaborated by Rice is a bit different, quite lengthy, and will be summed up here. King Chandravarma crowned his son Devakanta the king, and retired to the Himalayas. Before he left, he instructed his son to always worship Lord Shiva, his wife Parvathi, and the Brahmanas and to await the rebirth of Parvati as the holy river Kaveri. Two days before Tula Sankramana - the Sun's entry into Libra - Parvathi appeared in a dream to King Devakanta, and asked him to assemble all his people in Valamburi. When the whole tribe was assembled, the river Kaveri came rushing down the valley and the fierce waters twisted the women's pleats to the back. So Coorg ladies still wear their saree pleats at the back in obesiance and respect for the first bathing of their people in the waters of the Kaveri in Valamburi.

However, the Kodavas themselves say that the Kodava sari, a.k.a. podiya has a practical reason for its unique style. Kodava women of the past worked side by side with their men in the fields, and the pleats of the Kodava podiya being at the back, when the women bent to sow the seedlings, the pleats would rise up leaving the podiya unsullied by mud or water.

For more than half a century, M. N. Srinivas's benchmark text, *'Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India'* has been a sort of Bible on Coorg culture. Reading it in 2014-2015, one is stunned at the relevance of this book to present day Coorg (a.k.a. Kodagu). It is a record of the community in the early 1950s. Prior to this record, the British had annexed Coorg in 1834, and re-introduced coffee. 'Coffee changed the face of Coorg.' Many British planters settled in Coorg. Many Kodava customs, rites, rituals and dress regulations changed or went into oblivion and continue to do so, as post-Independence, continued Anglicization, Westernization and Kannadiga Indianization or Sankritization play their part in bringing the community into the twenty-first century.

This aspect of Westernization's influence on an indigenous community – the *Emberá* of Panama, who lost touch with their traditional clothing thanks to Westernization in the late twentieth century, but reinvented their traditional clothes is relevent all over the world, as indigenous communities give up their past to embrace a future where there are no exclusions, only inclusions. The *Emberá* are an Amerindian tribe, which live in the lowland rainforest of Panama. Their traditional attire had been a single loin cloth or skirt, supplemented by body paint. The old tradition of bark clothing died out, replaced by cheap cotton fabric. Thanks to Panama's laws, which insist on the upper body being covered, for all people, the *Emberá* wore T-shirts or shirts when visiting urban areas. This particular law along with Christian missionaries, and cheap cotton clothing from China, encouraged the covering of the upper body. However, the tourism economy has boosted a return to traditional *Emberá* style of topless clothing plus traditional body paint, and cold hammered silver jewelry. The *Emberá* had all but given up their traditional clothing, but a wave of indigenous tourism into Panama changed all that. The idea of the exotic ethnic people of Panama had tourist appeal to Westerners who traveled into the country. As Western tourists with their sights on the exotic increased, the *Emberá* reembraced their traditional clothing, body painting and accessories. Western imagination of the exotic Amerindians has propeled the *Emberá* to adopt past couture. The exotic is very important in drawing in tourist dollars.

‘Tradition’, according to Theodossopoulos, ‘is a dynamic and adaptable process,’ and ‘traditional attire’ is not a static representation of the past, but as a dress style is capable of adjusting to the demands of the present. This translates into the ability of the *Emberá* to be able to adopt new elements of dress into ‘tradition’ and still remain authentically *Emberá.* Tourists pay good money to see traditional *Emberá* men and women in topless clothing, with body paint and silver accessories.

Clothing and money and social status are all interconnected. In *Peacocks and Penguins,* Schneider focuses on color symbolism in European dress in juxtaposition to the historical context of textile manufacturing and dyeing, going back in time to the Middle Ages. She traces the rise and popularity of black colored clothing, black color dyes, in making for a sort of social equality. Bright colors, according to Schnieder, commandeered resources like slaves and bullion, and led to a massive imbalance in trade. But black clothes slowly moved from being a symbol of mourning to being the color used in religion and political rituals, and a better trade status. Black clothes flattened out for the most part the huge class distinctions. This may be one reason the Kodava men wear black (or blue black) in their traditional robe, the *Kupya.* The black *Kupya* is worn by both single as well as married men.

Not just colors, sometimes an article of wear also contributes to distinguish or do the opposite in society. For example, the turban… Wikipedia is a good source of information on the turban. The word ‘turban’ comes from the Persian *dulband,* in turn derived from the French *turbant,* and means a head covering resulting from cloth being wrapped around the head. Turbans are common in South and Southeast Asia, the Near East, the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Sahel and the Swahili coast. In the UK, both men and women wore the turban from the sixth century onwards. Turbans range from the *Tagelmurst* (a Tuareg-Berber turban of the Sahel), a *Lungee* by Pashtuns, and the *Pag* of north and rural Punjab and Sindh. In Indonesia, the head covering is called a *Blangkon.* In Crete, Greece, older rural men wear a black *Sariki,* derived from the Turkish word for turban. Kurds wear a *Jamadani.* As part of religious tradition, Muslims call it *Sunnah Mu’akkadah* (confirmed tradition). Royalty and courtiers from nobility also wore turbans. Historically, the Moors of Spain frequently mentioned the turban. Prophet Mohammed, tradition has it, wore a white turban. Soldiers of Byzantine wore a style of turban called the *Aphakeolis.* Most Indian turbans are hand tied with the

procedure repeated each time it is worn. The Coorg head gear is called a *Mande tuni* (translating loosely as 'head cloth'). And there is the Mysore *Peta.*

Sikhs wear a turban – which they call a *Dastar* - daily. The Sikh turban is compulsory for all Khalsa (baptized Sikhs) members. Historically, the Sikh turban is a gift given by Guru Gobind Singh, on Baisakhi day, 1699 – the gift of equality to all Sikhs, the gift of brotherhood. The Sikh turban is part of *bana*, the distinctive clothing bequeathed by Guru Gobind Singh. The turban tied right can spiritually enhance the uppermost, the seventh chakra, the *Sahasrara*, which is the most spiritually evolved chakra of the body and connects the body's lower chakras to the mind and spirit (as elaborated below, in the story of the seven chakra colors). Sikhs coil their hair into a *rishi* knot. This *rishi* knot helps channel energy and keeps spiritual focus by channeling energy in meditation (*naam simran).* Guru Gobind, via the *rishi* knot and the turban, gave each Sikh the capacity of being a *rishi* if they chose that path, as the pressure of the turban wraps kept the 26 bones of the skull restricted, with pressure on all pressure points, helping a person to be calm. Colors, as always play a significant role and convey meaning as different aspects co-relating with different colors in turbans… saffron for valor, white for peace, old age, death and extending the aura, pink associated with spring, worn during wedding ceremonies, navy blue to signify war or royalty, black with resistance, and orange with martyrdom.

Striving for equality in social status underlies the adoption of the turban by all Sikhs. The Sikhs use their turbans, called a *pagadi*, all the time. On the other hand, though the Coorg turban (a.k.a. the Mysore *peta*) is an article of traditional clothing, it is only worn now-a-days when there is a social function to attend. Coorg turbans complete an assemblage, by being an appendage. The Kodava traditional male costume is incomplete without the Coorg turban. The traditional Kodava costume is complete only when all three items of clothing – the *Kupya*, *chele* and turban are worn. The wearing of the turban sends out the visual signal that the Coorg man can now be part of his social group and can fully participate in his socio-cultural roles in traditional functions.

The turban is both assemblage as well as appendage. This distinction of appendage from assemblage was analysed by Jasbir Puar. Post-September 11, 2001, there roze an educational Sikh crusade, where the slogan used was, 'The Turban is not a Hat,' to counter the American trend of assaulting turbaned men who were mistaken as Muslim terrorists. The first post-9-11 hate crime victim was 52-year old Balbir Singh Sodhi, who was shot in the back five times in

Mesa, Arizona, on September 15, 2001. Following this, a brotherhood of Gurudwaras brought out '*The Turban is not a Hat*' campaign to educate ignorant Americans on the differences between the Sikhs and other communities. Puar says that there is a difference between assemblage and appendage. A turbaned man is a man with an appendage, or a turbaned man is himself an assemblage. In 1987, Deleuze and Guattari wrote that, 'On a first, horizontal axis, an assemblage comprises two segments, one of content, the other of expression… Then on a vertical axis, the assemblage has both territorial and reterritorial sides which stabilize it, and cutting edges of deterritorialization, which carry it away.' Puar asks who in society is more responsible for transmitting traditional culture… the men or the women? Safeguarding traditional culture is usually the domain of women, however, if men wear turbans, they become the custodians, the warriors, at the cusp of society, defending tradition.

But a lot of the time, it is women who are the face of tradition, even if they do not show their faces completely, as when they are veiled. Coorg veils for men and women are called *musque*, and refer to the traditional head veils worn by men and women during the wedding ceremony. Other veils though do more than just complement tradition. According to *Women in World History,* historically, the veil was first used by Assyrian kings who dictated that their women wore veils and stayed in the relative anonymity of the royal harem. However, prostitutes and slaves were prohibited from using the veil, with a stringent punishment if they did so. Classical Greece, the Byzantine Christian world, Persia, north Indian Rajputs, etc. all had coverings for their hair and face. The hair was considered a sign of beauty and sexual attraction, and was kept covered in front of strangers or in public.

In North India, according to Sushila Singh, the *ghunghat* is a head covering either by saree or dupatta used by Hindu and Jain women in rural and ethnodense areas of North India. *Ghunghat* is usually worn by the young daugters-in-law in front of the brother-in-law, father-in-law and other male relatives in the conjugal extended family. This presumably was to maintain the respect of the new bride within the family and keep the woman safe from sexual predators. *Ghunghat* is a Hindi word that denotes the head covering used by Hindu and sometimes Jain women. Sushila Singh differentiates between *hijab* and *pardah.* '*Hijab* may be understood as the dignity of women; *Pardah* is the practice that protects the dignity of women.' Muslims practice this form of *pardah.* Within India, covering the head as a form of modesty is probably

Islamic in influence, or very ancient Persian influence. Ancient statues and paintings of goddesses and apsaras show no head or face covering, with sometimes the garment above the waist being a mere cloth boob tube or bosom covering. Nor is there any word for a face covering veil in either the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata,* or in Sanskrit or Prakrit. The customs only stipulated covering the body properly and modestly below the neck. In nature and culture, imitation and mimicry are forms of self-defence. Hindu women of the north used the *ghunghat (*a north Indian, Hindu version of the head scarf) to avoid attracting attention from marauding males. This is no surprise as mimicry is a type of self defense. However, the *ghunghat,* used in all weathers and situations including cooking at the *chula* (a form of Indian stove) at 44 degrees celsius, and in front of male in-laws and strange men, may be a type of restriction and familial control. Women who wear the *ghunghat* are subject to heirarchy… the younger the woman (for e.g. the youngest daughter-in-law), the less her contributions to discussions, and the less her access to study further, work outside the conjugal home, talk loudly, etc. In many parts of India, in professions like teaching, a saree is mandatory. Other communities like Parsis of the past, old Jews and Christians, Muslims – both men and women - all wore head coverings. The Coorgs are one of the few south Indian communities that covered their heads, though this practice is now waning among the younger women. This may be because the Coorgs emigrated from the north of India to the south, carrying with them a sort of *ghunghat,* although this point is beyond the scope of this study. In south India, there is a freedom of choice to wear or divest the head covering.

Many women in different Islamic denominations don some form of the veil, called a *burqa* or a *chador* or a *paranja* (in Central Asia), an all covering outermost garment. *Burqa* is from the Arabic *burqa.* There are rules in Islamic customs for when to wear the veil and when it is prohibited. In the Islamic world, preventing men from seeing the women is connected to *Namus*, which is a virtue and an honor. In the *Koran,* the word *burqa* is not mentioned anywhere. Chris Moore, a Western scholar, analyses the use of the word *hijab*. In the *Koran,* the word *hijab* occurs seven times; five times as *hijab* and twice as *hijaban*. In 24:31, the word *khimar* is found along with the dress code for women in the following translated stanza: 'And tell the believing women to subdue their eyes, and maintain their chastity. They shall not reveal any part of their bodies, except that which is apparent. They shall cover their chests with their *Khimar.'* The Arabic words for head, *Ra's*, and hair, *Sha'r,* are not in the

verse, so the instruction in the verse is clearly to cover the chest. The *Koran* advices both the sexes saying that, 'The best garment is righteousness and modest conduct.'

The *burqa* is worn by many Muslim women in India, especially when they are young.

A trend of increasing usage of *burqa* and the veil by young women today more than their mothers' and grandmothers' generations is widely noticed in Muslim dominant Bangladesh, according to Rozario. Bengali Islam was once upon a time characterized by syncretism, with a plausible openness to co-exist with local non-Islamic folk practices, and sometimes even absorbed practices like Sufism, etc. Modernization and the *burqa* are going hand-in-hand in Bangladesh, almost like 'Islamist feminism', she says. *Parda* includes the belief that women should remain within the private sphere for most of the time. Work includes interaction with outside men, and this may be a compromise on the privacy and honor of their families. Though current day Bangladeshi women on all levels are exposed to globalization, modernization and Westernization, there is a constriction in the form of traditional gender values that keep their movements under control. Lower class women are forced to compromise their 'honor' in order to supplement family income by working in garment factories, etc. Many women though had taken to the veil to avoid being pestered by men. Rozario says that adoption by Bangladeshi women of a more Islamist identity is their choice. However, if the consequences are embracing traditional Bangladeshi gender stereotypes, women need to go beyond and explore the potential of Islam's respect and care and protection of women. The Bangladeshi *burqa* seems to be a compromise between a woman's need to come out of the home, and also the need to keep herself secure… the *burqa* guarantees less sexual attention and predation. A woman's security is the responsibility of the woman, not that of the state or society.

In contrast to the Bangladeshis, young Coorg women have increasingly taken to not wearing the *musque*.

Tradition is not just visual, it also involves the tactile. The word 'tactile' means involving the sense of touch, incorporating texture, sensation, feeling, etc. Tradition is completed when both the visual and the tactile complement each other. It is not just the color or the cut, how it (the clothing) falls, feels, absorbs, all contribute to tradition. Do brides wear the prettiest colors and the

softest, silkiest feeling material on their wedding day? Yes, they do because the visual and tactile work together to make her feel special on her special day.

Emelyanenko, writing in *Ethnology*, about the traditional costume for male Jews of Bukhara, notes how their clothing was mostly devoid of ethnic specificity. Bukhara Jews could wear their clothes from left side to right or vice versa. On the other hand, the Kodava male costume, the *Kupya* – a Coorg robe – is very ethnospecific, even having rules on which side to wrap first, the direction the white *Kupya* is wrapped changing according to the ceremony, wrapped one way for a man's wedding and the opposite for his funeral.

In Kodagu, color sybolism is simple, widespread, and easily recognizable. According to the *Word Power Dictionary*, the robe is a long loose garment. And the *Kupya* is the Coorg robe for men. As Srinivas explains, specific color clothes are an intrinsic part of the ceremonies. The white *Kupya* is worn uniformly by bridegrooms for their wedding. It is made of cotton, has long sleeves, exposes a v-shaped patch of throat, and is held together by the ubiquitious red and gold silk *chele,* which has gold tassels at either end. In the past, the white *Kupya* was worn by the bridegroom, and again when a man died. Black *Kupyas* are universally worn by Kodava men for ritual ceremonies. The black *Kupya* is a westernized/anglisized version of the white one, with short sleeves, a v-neck, and usually made of thick cotton cloth under which a light colored shirt can be worn, and the whole ensemble is also held together by the red and gold silk thread *chele.* Both *Kupyas* have no zip, buttons, or velcro fastenings. In the past, the *Kupya* was worn without trousers, but today trousers are a must. The finishing touch to the *Kupya* is the turban. The Coorg turban is a white and gold rectangular cloth wrapped in a special way to make a turban that has no loose cloth, and copies the Mysore *peta*. Its tying can be either *pani kettu* or *kore kettu.* Now-a-days, a ready made, pre-wrapped turban is slowly replacing the older, tied together by hand, turban. Ditto for the gold and red silk *chele*, which is time consuming to tie; it too has been slowly replaced by velcro or buttoned down replacements.

In death and mourning, in many parts of India, the color white has a special symbolism. If someone important dies in a Coorg household (someone meaning father, mother, brother, or son), the chief male mourners shave themselves, and then wear white clothing along with the *nipputuni* (an unstitched square of plain white cotton cloth) which is tied around the shoulders following the cremation or burial of the corpse. The corpse is clad in white, but

its clothes are worn inside out, in reverse. If a man has died, the sash (*chele*) is folded and put around the top of the stomach. A ready made or hand tied-on-the-knee (the knee being a substitute for the dead man's head) turban is put on the head. White clothing along with the *nipputuni* is worn by both male and female mourners till the *maada* ceremony is over (the *maada* ceremony – a sort of funerary wake - is usually held on the eleventh or any specially chosen day after the funeral to signify the end of ritual mourning).

If a married woman (a *sumangali*), whose husband is alive, dies, she is clad in a bright non-white silk saree with gold border, and her blouse is put on her in reverse, with the front at the back, and vice versa.

A newly widowed Coorg widow wears a white Coorg saree, and a white cotton blouse with no design or colored borders. She may not wear clothes and ornaments that signify the married status like the *karimani* or black glass bangles. When a Coorg widow dies, her body is ceremonially clad in a white blouse and white saree, before it goes to the cremation grounds. After the corpse is prepared for others to mourn, the immediate family has a bath with clothes on. And then after dressing in white, don the *nipputuni*.

Kodava mourners have to wear special, ritually pure clothes, bathe in cold water, and have to follow certain rules and restrictions for the mourning period – food, dress, etc. The most important mourner is the widow, or widower, and sometimes the first born son or daughter. Men mourners abstain from certain food groups, and alcohol, may not wear jewelry, nor tie the red silk sash (*chele*) around the waists. Men and women have to avoid the color red, and mostly be clad in white as a rule. Men have to avoid shaving until the *maada* day, which marks the ritual end to the mourning. First grade mourners go to Bhagamandala, to the Triveni Sangam, where three rivers (Kaveri, Kannike and Sujyoti) meet. Men in mourning have to shave their heads and faces completely following the disposal of the corpse, and then bathe in the Sangam. They dress themselves in the white mourning shoulder cloth called the *nipputuni*, as do the women.

The new widow has to be sans all signs, and symbols of the married state, including non-white clothes, and jewelry. Other women related to the dead man also have to divest themselves of all finery, except basic signs of being married if their husband is alive. When ritual mourning ends on the *maada* day, it also marks the end of wearing ritual mourning clothes by the immediate family. A

bath, wearing ritually pure, ritually acceptable clothes, is done before worship. The *maada* can be done on the eleventh day usually, though now-a-days, it could be any other convenient day. Ritual mourning and grief are two different things, and follow different times.

The color red – the color a Coorg bride wears - has a special significance for the sub-continent. Old traditional yogic thought declares that the body is governed by seven chakras corresponding to the rainbow colors – going vertically up from the lowest chakra - red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and voilet – the VIBGYOR in reverse. Vora in his book, *Health in Your Hands* encapsulating the wisdom of acupressure on regulating human health via important endocrine glands, describes the red, lower most, chakra – the *mooladhara* - as the master that controls the gonads. The color red – the lowest chakra color of the *mooladhara* - is connected with reproductive fertility and probably for this reason, is the color of the bridal saree in Kodagu… and in other parts of India too. The Coorg bride wears a long sleeved red Coorg blouse, which covers the elbows (*kala kupya)*, a red silk saree with gold *zari* work (*pattu podiya)*, and is always barefoot. The long sleeved blouse is probably a protection against the frequent spells of cold weather thanks to the heavy rainfall that inundates Coorg (Kodagu). A *vastra* (a head covering made of red colored chiffon or silk), tied around the hair is used by the bride; her mother and the matron of honor may use other colors in their *vastras*. Some of the aspects of Coorg clothing style are important stand-alone items that represent their ethnic identity.

Clothing is usually an important component of ethnic identity, but this may vary while traveling outside the natal homeland. In a study of Gujaratis in Kochi, Sara Chacko studies the impact of traditional clothing on a Disapora's ethnic identity. Chacko in her study of Kochi Gujaratis found that many factors were involved. For one, at the workplace, men tended to blend in rather than wear clothing that kept them conspicuous, preferring the monotonous shirt and pant as daily work attire. Level of literacy too mattered in the choice of ethnic clothing. The less the level of education, and therefore the higher the confinement to the home, the more ethnic clothes were worn, usually by women. So traditional clothing, Chacko says, was losing its significance as strong ethnic markers. Age too became part of the equation… the older the people, and the less their education levels (say a mere 12+ or less), the more the compliance towards traditional clothing. Chacko's study documents the gradual disappearance of traditional clothing in a migrant community living far from

their Gujarati ancestral home, in Kochi. All these factors – education and working outside the home and advancing age – may also play an important part in the choice of Kodava preference or not for traditional clothing.

This thesis briefly touches upon historic behavior of Coorgs in instances of clothing changes due to outside influence, or an evolving community. In the past, the geographical spread of the Kodavas was always Kodagu. How other ethnic communities amalgamate different aspects – history, legend, rites, rituals - should be covered here for our better understanding of the influences on traditional Kodava clothing.

Far from Kodagu, in Italy, Elizabeth Currie does a historic review of the disappearance of national and regional dress styles in complaints by sixteenth century Italian authors. In particular, she quotes from Francesco Sansovino, in 1581, who moaned that, 'we observe that many Italians, forgetting that they were born in Italy, and following customs from beyond the Alps, have with their altered dress, at times wishing to look like the French, and at others like the Spanish.' Other archival documents parallel this train of thought – regional clothing was becoming gradually extinct. At the same time, clothing in political and diplomatic circles was used to project different identities. Nobility and royalty, especially noble women and princesses, when marrying strategically into different royal families across Europe, were expected to change styles from their natal to their conjugal homes. One important reason – the peasantry of the conjugal home country had to be appeased… the brides from outside the country had to belong by dressing in the style of their conjugal kingdom. In many places, certain items of clothing were linked to the history of the city, for instance, the Florentine cloak called the *Lucco.* The *Lucco* was worn by high status individuals in important positions, and was the clothing symbol of the republic linking citizenship with the right and permission to hold government office. The *Lucco* was symbolic, and its wearing was limited to officials of the Medici regime (with heirarchy represented by different colors and linings). Side by side, while important males used dark or black clothing, livery (which refers to the uniforms worn by man servants in a household) was usually bright and vividly colored. Clothing in Florence had to be a symbol of belonging and local identity, including style, variety of cloth used, design and economic and social indicators. The ruling family used different clothing strategies to promote a Florentine courtly style.

Closer home, and as recent as 2012, Shauna Wilton, traveling through South India, did a small study on the influence of clothing and resistance from British times to post Independence. Wilton talks about how during British rule, when Indian women played an important part in resisting colonialism, the general impression was that 'Indian women were defined as seductive, sensual and exotic.' Indian men, on the other hand, were judged as effeminate, passive and undersexed. After the floodtide of Indian nationalism, Indian men began to assert their masculinity through restricting women and redefining them as pure, chaste and modest. This was reflected in clothing choices of the idealized Indian women, who were already subject to prevailing Victorian moral codes. Wilton juxtaposes the pre-British Indian woman to MA and Ph.D. women students of middle class background she encountered in her study in the University of Hyderabad. She value adds to her study by analyzing the paintings of Raja Ravi Varma, where goddesses, mythological figures, and royalty painted all wore the saree, even if the style differed from place to place… as a sign of Indian womanhood. Wilton's conclusion: It doesn't matter what religion a woman belonged to – Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain, 'she will adapt the saree to her religion', during marriage.

Outside of marriage and other social occasions, the production of clothing is a complicated issue from its manufacture to its sale to its use, and final discard. Today, authors like Jung talk about ecosystem repair and preservation as important issues faced by the apparel industry. Jung says harmful chemicals should be replaced by bio-degradable materials. Besides this, recycling and resource mobilization, are also important in the concept of 'slow fashion'. Slow fashion is a conscious cultural mindset – to substitute a few high quality products for more low quality products. Slow fashion, hopefully, leads to slow manufacturing and consumption. Slow manufacturing does not sacrifice scarce natural resources or exploit human capital for low cost goods, but its end product lasts longer from the buying to the discarding processes. Slow fashion has five different parameters – a) equity, b) localism – caring for producers and locals, c) authenticity – higher skilled and craft based production, d) seeking local diversity for sustainable fashions – exclusivity, and e) extending product lifespan to save natural resources – functionality.

Slow fashion is related to environmental sustainability. And longevity is a by-product of good design and classic style. Classic styles are an antidote to fashion waste. Just as the color black and black clothes replaced eco-unfriendly colored clothing, and made the clothing industry a better resource mobilizer,

slow fashion too is leading to a more equitable distribution of environment impacting resources. ‘Slow fashion is about designing, producing, consuming and living better, by producing beautiful and conscientous garments at a lower speed.’ Manufacturing something as simple as T-shirts leads to 10% of the annual worldwide use of synthetic pesticides for cotton production alone. The poisoning has a continuum effect on environment, farmers, and leads to lower quality of life for all aspects of cotton usage, from the farming to the sales till discard. Besides this, 132.5 liters of water are used to dye ½ kilo of textile, and a lot of petrol is used for the supply chain right up to the buyers. Clothing, if not recycled, increases the planet’s solid waste loads. Laundry too impacts the environment adversely with the chemicals in cleaning, dry cleaning, and home laundry. In the end, clothing moves to landfills, increasing the planet’s waste loads.

Environmental sustainability can be upheld by a) controlling waste emissions to levels that the environment can handle, b) controlling usage of renewable resources within the limits of regeneration, c) cutting down usage of non-renewable resources, and d) substituting resources that can replace non-renewable resources. Keeping the level of consumption within sustainable rates is important for environmental sustainability. Acting on the same lines, the Christian Fashion Week in Tampa, Florida, uses CARE – contextual modesty, affordability, responsible use of natural resources, and ethical hiring.

Slow fashions or fast fashions are only applicable for high turnaround products.

For generations and centuries, Kodavas embody the world wide trend of slow fashion through their traditional clothes. Kodava clothes - especially the kupya - is a classic example of slow fashion. Among Coorg male traditional clothing, the black *Kupya*, which can be worn repeatedly, is a lifelong, classic, slow fashion, the style remains the same, and can be worn for every traditional Kodava ceremony without ever making the wearer look repetitive, old fashioned, out of date, or boring. Traditional clothes like the *Kupya* are slow fashion, and a mere one item of each color (white and black) may last for a person’s entire adult lifetime, starting with production, to sewing, wearing and the final discard after death in the funeral rites. And this aspect will be thoroughly researched in this study.

A bangle lady was an important part of the old rites for Kodava brides. The bride too, after a bangle-wearing ritual where the bangle lady dressed the bride's hands with specific colored glass bangles, is taken to the bath house for the water pouring ritual as the bridegroom, but here, the bride's mother is also one of the married women (*muthaides)* who pours water on the bride. After the bath, the bride is dressed up by the matron of honor (*bojakarthi*) and close female relatives. The Coorg bride's ceremonial attire includes the long sleeved red blouse (*kala kupya*), a red silk saree with gold *zari* work (*pattu podiya*), and no footwear. A *vastra* (a head covering made of red colored chiffon or silk), tied around the hair is used by the bride for one function. For other functions, she wears a traditional red *musque* (a chiffon or silk veil). Her traditional jewelry includes the classic Coorg bracelet (*kadaga*), a chain (*sarpani*), a black bead chain (*kari mani*), a chain with gold beads that resemble cardamom or rudhakshi seeds *(jo: male),* and silver toe rings. The Kodavas have no dowry practice; however, they did give the bride a lot of personal effects. A Kodava bride comes with a generous trousseau, and all items of the trousseau are displayed one by one the day after she comes to her husband's place. This is also a safeguard for the time, when she wants to go back to her natal home, if her marriage is going through a bad patch; the witnesses to her trousseau enfoldment are guarantors that she takes back the same items to her natal home. Hindu law regards the gifts given to the bride from her natal *okka* to be *stridhana* (a woman's wealth), and all movable property given to the bride as her own property. The Coorgs have the same law, and this is particularly applicable to the expensive clothing, jewelry and silverware given to the bride.

Weddings and their rituals are high energy happening ceremonies. Funerals among the Coorgs though, are quite different, reflecting the sombre mood death is dealt in. The corpse is dressed in white clothes worn inside out, especially the upper garment. After the corpse is prepared for others to ritually mourn it, the immediate family members have a bath with their clothes on. This may be a reflection of the historic fact that if the corpse had died of an undiagnosed infection, the clothes and the bodies of the corpse preparers are sanitized by the ritual of bathing with all the clothes on. Then the chief mourners, who are related by blood or by marriage, dress in white (sarees/podiyas for women, and dhothis for men) topped by the white *nipputuni* tied around the shouders and knotted in front. In the past, mourners also wore a white waist cloth, though that custom is now waning.

The wearing of white clothes for mourning, religious and social occasions predates Christianity, Islam and Sikhism. Muslims wear white during their lifetime visit to Mecca, in the pilgrimage called the Hajj. Christian brides traditionally wear a white dress for their weddings. In Coorg, the widow dons a white saree immediately after the husband dies. Way back in the past, in Appaiah's chronicle of funerary traditions, the home of the deceased person had musicians with horns, pipes and drums in a practice called *Kellati*. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law of the house had to wear a *Kendanolli* (a traditional red vastra) on their shoulders and a *muri* (new white cloth) over the *vastra*. Women undid their hair and left it loose.

Prof. MacIver says, 'Society exists only as a time sequence. It is a becoming, not a being, a process, not a product.' Change is the universal law – everything on earth is subject to change. Geographical conditions and weather play important roles in shaping a people, including their clothing, customs and food. History is also a great dictator setting up experiences that shape the consciousness of a people. Historic influences contribute many traditions. Political influences shape the outlook of a people, making them brave or heroic or warriors, on the one hand, and scholars or traders on the other. Ideological factors shape the philosophical outlook of a people, as do spiritual yearnings. For the Coorgs, ancestor worship, a deep love and regard for the River Goddess Kaveri, a deep respect for weapons, and the harvest festival, form a few of the outer boundaries of their spiritual life. And within India, things associated with high castes, their houses, clothes, customs, manners and rituals, tend to become symbols of superior status.

In many ethnic communties, cultural traditions are fast disappearing. Referring to this, in 1881, Adolph Bastian said that 'our guiding principle… in anthropology … ethnology should be to collect everything.' For a focused study on only traditional Kodava clothing, collecting 'everything' will be a bit difficult. However, this study about traditional clothes among the Kodavas of Kodagu may throw up some interesting insights. Kodava culture veers towards modernity. Traditions have their own pull too. How much exactly, it is hard to pin down. This study will try to guage the intensity of the pull between tradition and modernity as reflected in a study of clothing traditions of Kodavas in Kodagu.

1.15. Chapters covered

Chapter 1 contains an introduction to the topic, and covers a brief background of Karnataka, Kodagu, a brief history of the Kodavas in Kodagu, hypothesis, changing Kodava clothing traditions, primary and secondary research, aim, scope, importance, limitations, data collection, objectives of the study, and a review of literature.

Chapter 2 covers methodology. Questionnaires, induction and deduction, primary data, qualitative and quantitive data, data analysis, evidence, sampling and interview techniques, emics and etics, and audiovisual material are all touched upon for a holistic point of view.

Chapter 3 analyses socio-cultural aspects of the Kodavas including the etymology of the word 'Kodava', covers the history of Kodagu and the rulers of Kodagu in written documents, the origins of the Kodavas as a community, the religion, festivals and community living of the Kodavas, their ethnic or putative link to Arabs, Todas, Alexander the Great's soldiers, etc.

Chapter – III – Analysis of the socio-cultural aspects of the Kodavas: the origins of Kodagu in myth, origins of the Kodavas in written documents in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, brief history of Kodavas and their political rulers in Kodagu, Kodavas as descendents of outsiders, Kodava religion and festivals, Kodava rural communities, marriage among the Kodavas

Chapter 4 covers human evolution and clothing, clothing and accessories in India, origins of women and men's clothing in India, clothing in the *Mahabharata*, and the *Arthashastra*, and Indian clothing nuances noted by the Greek writers.

Chapter 5 covers Kodava clothing, item by item, wedding and funeral, men and women's attire.

is a brief description of the lexis of clothing traces the evolution of the from nineteenth century, twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Chapter 6 .

Chapter 7 covers data analysis and statistics

covers marriage among the Koragas in history and in the present, in written records of the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first centuries as well as through news, interviews and data collection in 2010-2013. Has globalization impacted Koraga customs, and rituals, especially the institution of marriage? The chapter also briefly touches upon Hindu-Aryan marriage types, the social milieu in the Koraga, etc.

Chapter 8 is a brief description of language, education and literacy, concentrating on the Koragas.

Chapter 9 captures changes like the impact of globalization through audio-visual anthropology records on the Koraga through pictures, CDs, etc.

Chapter 10 covers data analysis and statistics

Chapter 11 details findings and conclusion.

Chapter: 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

2.2. Method

2.3. Questionnaire

2.4. Induction and deduction

2.5. Primary data

2.6. Qualitative and quantitative data

2.7. Data analysis

2.8. Humanism

2.9. Phenomenology

2.10. Hermeneutics

2.11. Evidence

2.12. Sampling technique

2.13. The interview

2.14. Emic and Etic

2.15. Descriptive Research

2.1. Introduction

The Kodavas are an ethnic group, who originally lived only in Kodagu. Today, the Kodava Diaspora has spread this small community numbering over a lakh (but less than two lakhs), all over Karnataka, into Mysore, Bangalore, outside Karnataka all over India, and into the US, the UK, Delhi, Mumbai, the Gulf states, and more. This study is aimed at assessing the winds of change impacting centuries-old tradition in the area of clothing styles and patterns of the Kodavas who still reside in Kodagu. The study will cover equally Madikeri and Virajpet areas of Kodagu, be equally divided between adult men and women, and also cover the different age groups. It will try to pinpoint if the reason for the changes could be due to higher education, or increased affluence, resulting in more money and better jobs, Sanskritization, regionalization, Anglicization, modernization or something else all together.

2.2. Method

Anthropology is a social science. Science includes method, and method includes a set of scientific techniques for gathering and handling data. Anthropologists find through methodology how people use their time and make decisions. An anthropologist will try to **understand** people's beliefs, or try to **explain** what causes those beliefs and actions, and what those beliefs and

actions **cause**. There is an attempt to always be ethical in doing anthropological research.

The first study premise is that ‘reality’ is out there for us to find. The second premise is that (participant) observation is the method to find it. The third premise is that observation about phenomena with the naked eye, by a trained person, can give us good explanations about the people and culture studied – in this case, the Kodavas. Info will be gleaned through participant observation, the questionnaire, induction, deduction, interview techniques and schedules, data collection and audiovisual records through photography and videos, and, all this will be part of methodology.

2.3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire survey was begun by sociologists, but is now a main stay of anthropologic research method. A two part questionnaire (two lists of questions) was used in this study, one part general, and the second part separated into a woman only or man only part. The questionnaire used in Kodagu includes pre-coded and open-ended questions.

The questionnaire answers will make use of variables. A variable is something that can take on more than one value. For instance, the

question, ‘how old were you when you got married’ can take on any answer from a few days old to the age of ninety, but the question on what your mother’s religion is, can produce an answer like, ‘muslim’, ‘hindu’, ‘christian’, etc. Common variables include age, sex, ethnicity, education, occupation, income bracket, marital status, residence, etc. And these variables also figure in the first part of the questionnaire on Kodava clothing.

2.4. Induction and deduction

Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626) was noted for his stand on **induction**, which is making direct observation to confirm the concept that observed facts can form theories of how things work. Isaac Newton (1643 – 1727) devised the hypothetical-deductive model of science that enfolds **induction** (empirical observation) and **deduction** (reason) into one method. Research should be done through the scientific method, which is systematic, rational and objective, and uses both induction and deduction.

2.5. Primary data

Primary data in the social sciences, according to Pelto and Pelto, is derived from three sources – a) direct observation of human behavior, b) listening and noting down human speech (note-taking), and c) examining past

products of human behavior like archives, museums, records and libraries. (This last also goes into secondary data.)

2.6. Qualitative and quantitative data

In anthropological fieldwork, all resultant data must be analysed twice – once for qualitative, and once more for quantitative features, according to Russell. Unlike the physical world, reality is constructed uniquely for each person (the **constructionist** view) or external reality awaits our discovery through a series of increasingly good approximations to the truth (the **positivist** view). Getting as close as possible to the truth needs both qualitative and quantitative data. Data collection – via fieldwork – is done by field workers who go to the field, administer questionnaires, do interviews, and bring the data back from the field – this is the empirical way to handle data.

2.7. Data analysis

Data analysis is done via the **interpretativist** manner. In the **quantification** approach, for instance, 70% Kodavas might say they wear traditional Kodava clothing for functions. In the **qualitative** approach, the data might say a majority of Kodavas prefer to wear Kodava clothing for functions. Both the quantification and the qualitative data back each other. The quantification explanation is a form of measurement and part of research. But

anthropologists deal with humanistic and phenomenological works, and too much quantification makes the research flat, and colorless; numbers do not always translate to better social science research. Therefore, qualitative research must always complement quantitative data to be complete and lead to a better understanding of the topic.

2.8. Humanism

Humanism is an intellectual tradition that traces its roots to Protagoras (485 – 410 BCE), who said, 'Man is the measure of all things,' which can translate simply as truth being a relative concept subject to individual human judgement. **Humanism** uses human feelings, values, and beliefs to derive understanding of being human. **Humanism** is what ethnographers use when making records of the human experience.

2.9. Phenomenology

Phenomenon, according to *The Pocket Oxford Dicitonary,* is a fact or occurrence that appears or is perceived. **Phenomenology** is a philosophy of knowledge that has as its focus, phenomena. **Phenomenology** attempts to sense reality and note it down in language, not numbers – the qualitative (not quantitative) approach. **Phenomenology** is a non-physical science that seeks the commonality of all human experience, and the *homo sapien* ability to be humane and relate to other humans. For instance, all the molecules within a

pebble do not need to ‘understand’ each other to co-exist. That is reality for the pebble, within the pebble. However, for human beings, reality is ‘out there’. Reality differs from person to person, because reality is percieved differently by each person. Accurate ethnography – a text or a narrative that explains a culture of an ethnic community – is good phenomenology. This study on Kodava traditional clothing covers the sartorial culture of the ethnic community called Kodavas within Coorg.

2.10. Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek God Hermes, who was the messenger, explaining and interpreting messages from the other gods to the humans. **Hermeneutics** is the continual interpretation of texts. For instance, when interpreting myths or folktales of the River Goddess Kaveri, and how she shaped the thinking and the clothing of the Kodavas, we must grasp the underlying meaning the myths have for the Kodavas in Puranic texts, like the sub section of the *Skanda Purana,* a four chapter episode called the *Kaveri Purana* (*KP*) or *Kaveri Mahatmya*. The *KP* covers the intimate connection between the River Kaveri, her place of origin - Kodagu, and her children cum inhabitants, Kodavas. India’s *Puranas* are sacred books of the Hindus, with a ‘cosmological and historical-legendary character’ (according to Taddei). Culture, according to the interpretative anthropology of Clifford Geertz (1973),

is an assemblage of texts. Therefore, Kodava clothing traditions can be understood through myth and practice as a series of texts.

2.11. Evidence

Russell (2006) says that when assessing qualitative and quantitative data, **artifacts** (clothing, houses, etc.) represent info about human thought and behavior in complex societies; **behavior** like dressing the dead for funerals, and **events** like weddings, the 'Ur kudva' and 'Dampathi muhurta' ceremonies of Coorg weddings are all texts. We can analyse them to derive insight and understanding. All three are part of the study that counts for evidence. A lot of audiovisual material will be collected on site, and this will back up the verbal and written evidence as well as the researcher's observations.

2.12. Sampling technique

A proper sampling technique covering Kodava respondents of both sexes who are above the age of eighteen, from Madikeri and Virajpet in Kodagu, will be part of the research schedule. Kodava clothing will be studied also through participation in social and ritual activities, like weddings, festivals, ancestor worship (*meedi),* other rituals, and if possible, funerals.

2.13. The interview

The technique to do an interview varies from one person to the next – person to person, face to face, on telephone, or via e-mail. For face to face interviews in Kodagu, for the entire interview schedule, the questionnaire will be in English, but administered through the help of an interpreter, in Kodava-thak – the language of the Kodavas. Establishing rapport with the respondents will be part of the process of collecting data. Ahead of administering the questionnaire, it was decided that either the oldest living person or heads of households or young persons below thirty five will be interviewed. They will be questioned for cognitive states, physical attributes and cultural attitudes and behavior, towards Kodava clothing traditions.

2.14. Emic and Etic

The words Emic and Etic originated in linguistics and anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s. Emic and Etic refer to different approaches to researching human beings. 'An Emic approach ('insider', 'inductive' and 'bottoms up') takes as its starting point the perspectives and words of research participants.' Lett (1990), giving us the anthropological perspective, says 'Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied.' The Emic approach lets the participants and data 'speak' to them thereby allowing themes,

patterns, and concepts to emerge – this approach is particularly useful in fields which are very less theorized.

'An etic approach ('outsider', 'deductive' or 'top down') uses as its starting point theories, hypotheses, perspectives and concepts from outside the setting being studied.' Lett (1990) says, 'the Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers.'

The Emic is what people think; Etic is an objective, external measurement that may encompass and is also beyond what people think. If you get etically correct data, you can carefully test emic data, and find how true and close to reality the Emic is. For instance, the Kodava *chele* is woven only by silk weavers in Benaras… throughout the recent history of present day Kodava clothing, this has always been the case. If one person in an interview said this – the Etic, the smaller picture, it will be true for the rest of the population - the Emic, or bigger picture.

2.15. Descriptive Research

'Descriptive study is a fact-finding investigation with adequate interpretation.' (Krishnaswami, *et al.* 2013)

Data is collected via methods that include observation, interviews, and questionnaires. A descriptive study attempts to understand the various features of a topic or problem – in this case, the changing styles of Kodava clothing – but doesn't handle the testing of a hypothesis. The one basic limitation of the descriptive method is that 'the researcher may make description an end in itself. Research (however) must lead to the discovery of facts.' This problem in this particular exercise in discovery (aspects of change in Kodava clothing traditions) will be controlled through analyses of field data, to lead to better understanding. And, in addition, the past - from various written records - will help to give long term perspective, making this research more thorough. The research topic has both novelty and originality; it also is a continuum from past (nineteenth century) to present (twentyfirst century) via texts and field data.

Chapter – III – Analysis of the socio-cultural aspects of the Kodavas: the origins of Kodagu in myth, origins of the Kodavas in written documents in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, brief history of Kodavas and their political rulers in Kodagu, Kodavas as descendents of outsiders, Kodava religion and festivals, Kodava rural communities, marriage among the Kodavas

3.1. The origins of Kodagu in myth…

3.2. The origins of the Kodavas in written documents - Ugras, Kshatriyas, Kadambas, who are the Kodavas?

3.3. More legends - Kodavas as descendents of Arabs, or Alexander's soldiers, or others…

3.4. A brief history of Kodavas and their political rulers in Kodagu

3.5. Kodava religion and festivals

3.6. Kodava community

3.9. Social milieu – the Kodavas and other communities of Kodagu

3.10. Kodavas in the Census Reports

Diaspora, myths from 0 A.D. to the twenty-first century in written records and orature

Chapter III Socio-cultural aspects of the Kodavas

3.1. Introduction

This chapter covers mythological, social, cultural, ritualistic, festive, religious aspects of the Kodavas as evidenced in their traditional clothing in the early twenty-first century. Data has been collected from Madikeri and Virajpet in Kodagu in the last quarter of 2014 and early 2015.

3.2. The origins of Kodagu in myth…

Kodagu or Coorg had three names in mythology – Brahmakshetra, Matsyadesha, and Krodadesha.

According to Rice, Kodagu got its first name from the Creator, Brahma, himself. While on pilgrimage in the Western Ghats (the Sahyadri), Brahma spotted a *nelli* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) tree, which gave him a fleeting glimpse of Lord Vishnu, the Preserver, with the conch, the discus and the club. Brahma worshipped Vishnu, pouring water from the Viraja River on the tree. (The Viraja River is beyond the Seven Seas that surround the world.) Therefore, the land where the Kaveri originates was called the Brahma Kshetra.

The second name, Matsyadesha, is from King Chandravarma, whose father was the ruler of Matsyadesha. The *Kaveri Purana* (chapters 11 – 14 of

the *Skanda Purana*) is an early text that discusses the origins of the Kodavas. In the *Kaveri Purana,* Kodagu country was called Matsyadesha (*matsy*a meaning fish, *desha* meaning country or nation). Matsyas were one of the Indo-Aryan tribes of Vedic India, inhabiting a place that roughly is the territory of Jaipur, in Rajasthan. In the early 6th century BCE, Matsya was one of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*, or great kingdoms, whose importance had dwindled by the time of the Buddha. The *Mahabharata* mentions about seven Matsya kingdoms. In particular, the *Mahabharata* names a king Sahaja, who ruled both the Chedis and the Matsyas, implying that the ancient Matsyas belonged to the Chedi kingdom.

Kodagu's ancient name as Matsyadesha could also be because Kodagu was ruled by kings, who were descendents of fishermen cum warriors from the Ganga River basin of North India. Siddhartha, king of Matsyadesha, had a son, Chandravarma, who during his travels, came to the Brahmagiri Mountain. Chandravarma meditated there on Goddess Parvati, and when she appeared before him, asked for three boons – the first being a kingdom of his own, the second, a Kshatriya wife who would begat his children, and third, a place in Heaven. The Goddess replied that due to his past karma, he was not entitled to children from a Kshatriya wife, and therefore, he could father children only through a Sudra wife. The Goddess herself presented him with a Sudra maiden, and prophecied that he would have eleven sons, who would be called *ugras* (fierce men). The *ugras* would be like kshatriyas in all respects, except that they would not be permitted access to the four Vedas, the six *angas,* and Vedic ritual. Chandravarma named Coorg, Matsyadesha after his father's kingdom.

The third name comes from the *Purana*s that refer to Kodagu as 'Krodadesa', meaning the land (*desa*) of the people blessed by the Mother Goddess. Continuing from the previous story, Chandravarma's Sudra wife bore him eleven sons (his Kshatriya wife was barren). His eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbha born through his Sudra wives. Vidharbha Raya's daughters had many many children. Each of Chandravarma's sons had more than a hundred sons each, each boy having nails as strong as tusks of a wild boar. Food became scarce, and the sons went out to new territories, tore up the ground with their nails, levelled the slopes, and settled in the new territory. The dug up countryside looked like it was torn up by the Varaha or Kroda (boar avatar of Lord Vishnu), and thus gave the countryside the name Krodadesha. Another version for this is, of the ten avatars of Vishnu,

only the Varaha avatar (the boar) saved Mother Earth from within the ocean. After doing his cosmic work, Varaha ascended to heaven. During his ascent, his tusks fell on Krodadesa. With the passage of time, Krodadesha was called Kodagu and its people, Kodavas; today the word Coorg or Kodagu serves the land and its people**.**

Another explanation is that the word ‘Kodagu’ is derived from the word ‘Kudu’, meaning ‘hilly place’, as Kodagu is situated on the Western Ghats. According to yet another explanation, ‘Kodagu’ comes from the word "Kodamalenadu", which translates as "steep hills and thick forests".

3.3. The origins of the Kodavas in written documents - Ugras, Kshatriyas, Kadambas, who are the Kodavas?

The word ‘Kodava’ could be derived from the strong Kodava affinity to River Cauvery (*kod*, meaning bless, and *avva* meaning mother for mother River Cauvery). *Cauvery* and *Kaveri* are interchangeable.

Another explanation comes from the *Cauvery Purana* (part of the *Skanda Purana*, Skanda being the son of God Shiva and Goddess Parvathi) which says that the Kodavas are the descendents of King Chandravarma of the Kadamba dynasty; these descendents ruled over Kodagu from the fourth century to the middle of the sixth century. Chandravarma of the Chandravanshi Kshatriyas (a lunar dynasty), was the son of the Emperor of Matsya Desha. During his travels, Chandravarma came to Kodagu, then uninhabited jungle and became the first raja of Coorg.

The *Kaveri Mahatmya* (a.k.a. *KP*) refers to Kodavas as *Ugras*, as descendents of the marriage of the Kshatriya prince, Chandravarma and his Shudra wife. His eleven sons married the daughters of the Raja of Vidharbha. In time, their descendents came to be called Kodavas.

For more than two millennia, *Anuloma* marriages contributed to the social fabric of this country, and Kodagu. *Anuloma* marriages happen when a man of a higher *varna* - Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishya - marries a woman of a lower varna, for instance, a Shudra. The offspring that result are of an in-between *varna* - in Kodagu’s case, the *Ugras*, and contribute to the natural order of society, a patriarchal society. *Ugras* means ‘fierce men’, and they (Kodava

Ugras) had all the attributes of true Kshatriyas except access to the four Vedas and Vedic ritual.

Reflecting this sentiment, Col. Wilks, in *History*, says that the Kodavas are 'descended from the conquering army of the Kadamba kings.' He also mentions that the first colonists may have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom of Banavasi.

3.4. More legends - Kodavas as descendents of Arabs, or Alexander's soldiers, or others…

There is an old legend that when Alexander the Great invaded North India, many of his soldiers stayed back, wandered down south, married the native women and settled down in the hills of the Western Ghats, especially Coorg. Other writers have theorized that the Kodavas might have originated from Mount Caucasus, of the former USSR.

L. A. Krishna Iyer, in '*The Coorg Tribes and Castes'*, says that 'their (Kodavas) mode of life, pride of race, impart in their whole being an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their *peculiar and picturesque costumes.'* (Emphasis mine)

Abdul Gaffar Khan penned a book, *Kodavaru Arabiyaru*, meaning Kodavas are Arabs. He bases all his findings on the similarity of costumes and clothing patterns on both sides. However, within India, the Kashmiris, Rajputs and Marathas also wear similar looking clothing or robes, especially the men. Besides this, writers have mentioned that Kodavas might have originated from Mount Caucasus, of the former USSR. Moeling, 1885, speculated that Kodava culture shared many features of the ancient traders of Arabia.

According to another theory, the 2500 year-old civilization of the Coorgs evolved from a synthesis of people that originally lived in the region of today's Oman and Yemen. According to Yemen's history, people from there had migrated to the Coorg region around the fifth century BCE.

Ponjanda S. Appaiah claimed that they were Babylonians and Kurds.

Another pre-Independence perspective states that the Kodavas are descendents of Scythians (a.k.a. Shaka), and may be the Western Kshatrapas (Connor 1870, Rice 1878). Genetic evidence backs this one claim partly. Kshatrapa comes from the word 'satrap', of kings of old who paid tribute to the Persian Empire, until Alexader destroyed the empire.

Other theories suggest that the Kodavas were Dravidian brachycephalics, and the earliest agriculturists of Kodagu, dating back at least two thousand years. (Other bracycephals include Bunts, Konkanas, and Mysore and Tamil Brahmans). Originally seafarers, they are believed to have settled in North Malabar (prior to the Brahmins settling there), and subsequently migrated to Kodagu. After settling in Kodagu, they might have allied with the neighboring Tamil-Malayala Cheras (from whom they might have got their Dravidian language, which was Tamil-Malayalam influenced) during the Tamil Sangam period of 300 BCE to 300 AD. Other communities who dwelt in Kodagu were the forest loving Kurubas, who followed the primeval hunter-gatherer culture, and also spoke a Dravidian tongue. The language of the Kodavas – enriched by borrowings of Kannada, and inheritance of Tamil and Malayalam - became Kodava-thak. The Kodavas later came to be politically under the rule of the Ganga and Kadamba rulers.

Tamil Sangam literature (300 BCE to 300 AD) mentions the Kudaku (parts of Kodagu, Kerala and Salem), which was west of Tamil dominions. Both the name of the place and the people have the same name (Kodava/Kodavu, Kodaga-Kodagu, Coorgs-Coorg). Kannada inscriptions dated after the Sangam period mention *Kudagu nad* (incorporating bits and pieces of Kodagu, Western Mysore and Kerala.

It has also been proposed that the Todas of the Niligiris, and the Kodavas of Kodagu may be of the same racial group. However, no recent genetic testing has been done to prove the truth of this theory.

3.5. A brief history of Kodavas and their political rulers in Kodagu

A gold coin of Kodagu has been found dating to the first century BCE, proof of complex culture existing there.

For hundreds of years, South Indian royal families like the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Cholas, the Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Hoysalas, the Chengalvas, Kongalvas and the Vijaynagara Rayas, as well as Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, and the British, ruled Kodagu. Around 400 AD, Rajaraja Chola's territory included Kodagu.

From the second to the sixth centuries, the Kadambas ruled Kodagu's northern provinces.

The southern provinces were governed by the Ganga dynasty from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. A Treasury plate in Madikeri dated to about 466 AD, says that Kodagu was part of Gangavadi. The earliest writings

discovered in Kodagu, by the Gangas dating from 800 to 900 AD (888 AD to be precise), mention Kadangas, a sort of defense-related earthern war trenches or ramparts made by the Kodavas. In 1878, the Kadangas were found in almost every part of Kodagu, and as Rice says in his 1878 account of Coorg, the highland Coorgs 'toiled to secure the possession of their hills.' This clearly shows Kodagu was occupied by a martial people – probably the early Kodavas, with the Kadangas mentioned at least once in a 9th century inscription.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, Kodagu was ruled by the Jain Gangas of Talakadu, under whom the Chengalvas (Changanda Kodava)… kings of Changanad held the east, as well as, part of the north of Kodagu. The Bilur stone writings of Kiggatnad in 899 AD talks about *Penne Kadanga* in the banks of the Lakshmanthirtha (a.k.a. Peddore). In the ninth century, the Chalukya King Satyashraya wins Ganga, Kalinga, Chola, Kerala and Konkana, and goes to Kodagu (a.k.a. Kombelu) as written in the Shikaripur inscription.

In 919 AD, Rajaraja Chola conquered Kudumalenad (Kodagu) as recorded in the Malambi inscription.In the eleventh century, the Cholas defeated the Gangas, and became the rulers of the whole of Kodagu. (One of the names for Kodagu was also Malenad).

In 1034, King Nanni Chengalva and another ten kings after him ruled Kodagu up to 1297 AD, according to the Heggadadevanakote inscription. Around 1140 AD, during the reign of King Narasimha of Dwarasamudra, one Hemmadigowda conquered Kodagu (Kodagi) and died fighting, according to the Chickmagalur Inscription.

The Kodavas are also mentioned in the twelth century Palpare inscription in Nallur village in South Kodagu, which also mentions the Hoysala king, Ballala II. The inscription was published in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, where it says: 'In 1174, Ballala II of Mysore sent his general Bettarasa to fight agains the Chengalva king in Kodagu, and in the fight that ensued at Palapare, Bettarasa was victorious and built a township in and with, Palpare as his capital. But after sometime, Pemma Veerappa joined by Badigondeya Nandideva, Udayaditya of Kurchi, and the Kodavas of all the nads, marched against Palpare and attacked Bettarasa, who seems to have got the worst of it at first but was victorious.' Pemma Veerappa Kodava fought two battles against Bettarasa at Palpare Fort leading the Kodavas to victory in the first battle, but losing to Bettarasa in the second. The Kodavas are referred to as the 'Kodagaru

of all the *nad*s'. The Hoysala king conquered 'Kudagu Malenad' (Kodagu), as deciphered partly in the Narsipur inscription.

During the time of Pemma Veerappa, in the twelth century, there is the mention of the **Kodagaru**, carved on stone. In the twelth century, the Hoysalas of Hassan drove out the Cholas from Kodagu.

In 1316, Ballal Devarasa ruled *padinalkanad* (padinal means 14) in Rice's inscription.

Inscriptions at Palur and Bhagamandala mention the King Bodharupa making grants in 1380.

According to Firishta, a Council of Elders who recognized the supremacy of Vijayanagar administered Kodagu. Noted Kodava leaders include Achunayaka (Ajjikuttira Kodava) of Anji Kerinad, Karnanda Kodava of Bhagamandala, Kaliyatanda Ponappa of Nalkad, and Nayakanda Kodava of Armeri. Coorgs in the past were allies of the Kolathiri and Arakkal kingdoms of Kannur, and some Coorg mercenaries served Hindu and Muslim Rajas.

From the fourteenth century (1339 AD), the Vijaynagar kingdom held sway. With their demise, the local Palegars or Nayaks, became independent and began to rule different *Nads.* At the end of the sixteenth century, according to Firishta, Coorg was ruled by independent local feudatory Nayaks or Palegars. Under the Vijayanagar kingdom, Coorg was divided into a number of small districts called *Kombus.* Kodagu was partitioned into 35 *Nads* and 12 *Kombus*. Usually, two to three *Nads* were ruled by one Nayak.

In the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Vijaynagar kingdom, the Kelladi Nayaks of Ikkeri consolidated power in Kodagu and established the Paleri (Haleri) dynasty. A prince of the Ikkeri family, settled in Halerinad as a Lingayat priest (a.k.a. Jangam), and slowly took over the whole of Kodagu (and Mysore for a while). The Paleri/Haleri kings - Lingayats of the Veerashaiva faith - ruled Kodagu from 1600 – 1834. Viraraja was the first prince in the line. Appaji and Muddu Raja I succeeded him, first one, then the other.

Muddu Raja, grandson of Paleri/Haleri king Vira Raja, moved his headquarters to Madikeri (Muddu Raja Keri) and built his capital there in 1681. Muddu Raja ruled Kodagu from 1633 – 1687.

Dodda Vira Raja (a.k.a. Siribai Dodda Vira Raja) ruled from 1687 – 1736, Chikkavirappa from 1736 – 1766, Muddu Raja II and Muddayya from 1766 -1770, Dodda Vira Rajendra from 1780 – 1809, and Linga Raja II from 1811 – 1820, and all were tied to the political history of Coorg. Hyder Ali attacked the weak ruler of Kodagu, Chikkaveerappa, in 1763 and captured some territories of Kodagu, but his troops were defeated by the Kodavas in 1766. When Chikkaveerappa died, the kingdom was split into Haleri/Paleri and Horamale, and two rulers who were cousins – Mudddu Raja II and Muddayya Raja – ascended the respective thrones, and jointly ruled Kodagu from 1766 – 1770. From 1770 – 1774, Devappa Raja, son of Muddaya, ruled for four years, which annoyed Linga Raja of Haleri/Paleri.

In 1770, Linga Raja I of Paleri and Devappa Raja of Horemale fueded with each other, and Hyder Ali (of Mysore) stepped in to help out Linga Raja, who had fled to him for protection. The Raja in turn gave up a few territories and offered tribute. Devappa Raja was arrested by Hyder's men, and imprisioned in Srirangapatna. One Nayakanda Uthappa, the Nayak of Beppunad, married the Raja's sister, Nilammaji, and attacked the Mysore army at Thomara ghat.

When Linga Raja I died in 1780 (according to the Mahadevapet copper plate of 1782), Hyder Ali interned his minor sons with a governor as guardian, in a Mysore fort, and installed a governor as their guardian at Mercara (Madikeri) with a Mysore garrison comprised of Muslims. The Nawabs of Mysore, in the *Annals of the Mysore Royal family*, acquired three places, Madikeri, maybe Kudige in Kushalnagar, and Balekadu.

Linga Raja I's son, Viraraja Wodeyar, after six years of imprisonment, escaped with his family and re-entered Kiggatnad, Kodagu.

In 1782, the Kodavas threw out the Mysore troops and took back control from Hyder Ali, who died the same year. In 1784, Tipu Sultan (son of Hyder Ali), incited the Kodavas to become violent by means of a derogatory speech made in Madikeri. Tipu captured, imprisoned and converted many Kodavas, killing those who rebelled. In 1785, the Kodavas rose in revolt again… and Kodagu was divided into, and kept captive by, garrisons in four forts. Kodava *karyakars* like Kullety Ponnana, Appanervanda Achaya had helped Viraraja Wodeyar escape from prison in the Gorur fort.

Tipu's relationship with the Kodavas was an on again, off again, power relationship. Both Hyder and Tipu were interested in Kodagu for its superior rice crop. In 1786, Tipu Sultan rebuilt the mud Mercara Fort (originally built in 1680 by Muddu Raja Wodeyar) with stone, renamed it Jaffarabad, and held this garrison till 1790.

In 1788, Dodda Vira Rajendra (a.k.a. Vira Rajendra Wodeyar), formerly kept captive at Periapatam, escaped with his wife and brothers Linga Raja and Appaji and aligning with a Kodava rebellion, and the British, drove out Tipu's army (who were aligned with the French), and recovered his kingdom. Muddu Raja's greatgrandson Dodda Vira Rajendra recaptured the fort in 1790, and established Madikeri as capital. Some of the history of Kodagu Rajas from 1633 till 1807 is in the *Rajendraname* - a Kannada text, patronized by Dodda Vira Rajendra Wodeyar - which covers a period of 175 years.

In 1790, Dodda Vira Rajendra signed a treaty with the British East India Company officer Robert Taylor. The Kodavas backed the British as Tipu was the common enemy of both parties. In 1792, Lord Cornawallis, Governor General of India, drove Tipu back to Srirangapatna. At the meeting place at the foot of Ambatti hills, with General Robert Abercromby, the Kodagu Raja founded Virarajendrapet (or Virajpet). In 1793, Abercromby and the Raja drew up a new agreement. From then on till his death, the Raja remained a trusted ally of the British.

Tipu died in Srirangapatna, defeated by the British in 1799. Linga Raja succeeded his neice Devammaji (daughter of Viraraja Wodeyar, married to Sode Raja) to the throne in 1809, and ruled till 1820. Linga Raja II constructed the Sri Omkerhwara temple in a combination of Islamic and Gothic styles, according to a copper plate in the same temple in Madikeri.

In the peace treaty, Kodagu was part of the deal with Tipu. Kodavas converted to Islam by Tipu were settled in Kodagu in their respective villages. North Kodagu Kodava farmers had been killed by Tipu's men. So the Raja settled Tulu and Kannada farmers (later called Kodagu Gowdas) from Sulya (Dakshina Kannada) and Sakleshpura (Hassan). Craftsmen and farmers from Northern Kerala, called Airi and Heggade, also settled in Kodagu around the same time. Konkani Roman Catholics, who escaped imprisonment in Srirangapatna, settled in Virajpet. While 80,000 Kodavas were reported missing (most killed in Mysore Sultanate atrocities and the remaining converted to Islam), some 10,000-15,000 surviving Kodavas still lived in Kodagu at that

time. The population of Kodagu was small at that time (25,000-50,000) as a result of mass killings and ethnic cleansing under the Mysore Sultan.

The Haleri dynasty ruled Kodagu between 1600 and 1834. Viraraja the Younger ascended the throne and ruled from 1820 – 1834, and praises himself in writings of the palace walls in Madikeri. In 1830 AD, the Rajas' tombs of Madikeri, carry written praise for Biddanda Bopu and his son the Syrekarekar Somaya. In 1834, a Coorg general called Apparanda Bopanna, whose ancestors had opposed the British tooth and nail, in a volte-face, welcomed the British forces under Col. Fraser into the fort at Mercara (Madikeri). Col. Fraser became the Commissioner and Political Agent for Kodagu (called Codagu in those times).

The British took over in 1834, exiled the last raja, Chikka Vira Raja, and ruled till 1947, when India became independent. Kodagu was the smallest province in British India, in area being only 1582 square miles. A few freedom fighters from Kodagu supported the National Independence Movement. One of them, Pandyanda Belliappa, is known as Kodagu's Gandhi.

British Kodagu was administered by a commissioner, subordinate to the resident of Mysore, who was also officially Chief Commissioner of Coorg. Dewan Bahadur Ketolira Chengappa was Chief Commissioner of Kodagu from 1947 to 1949. He was succeeded by Chief Commissioner C.T. Mudaliar from 1949 to 1950. After Independence in 1947, Coorg remained a Part 'C' state. In 1950, Kodagu became a state. In 1956, Kodagu was merged with Mysore state, later renamed Karnataka.

The British exited Kodagu, but left behind coffee plantations and spice harvesting, for which Kodagu is now renowned, making Kodagu the coffee producing capital of India.

3.6. Kodava religion and festivals

The nature of the Kodagu eco-system impacted the nature of religion in Kodagu. Firstly, Kodagu has valleys, rivers, Western Ghats, etc. which influence their religious practices. The various rulers and conquerors of Coorg too left an impact with their versions of Hinduism, or Islam. The British too left an imprint on the clothing and accessories of the Kodavas. Sanskritic Hinduism usually and gradually, takes over local customs and makes them more Hindu. This is the case for the whole of India, and Kodagu is no exception. Most of the Coorgs were originally food cultivators (especially of rice) and of a warrior bent. They worship the River Kaveri, and protect the forests and their resources.

The Coorg ecosystem is a mix of hilly spaces and valleys, tied together by the serpentine coils of a roiling River Kaveri, who begins her journey at Talakaveri.

This source of the River Kaveri, Talakaveri, draws a large number of pilgrims each year, during Tula Sankramana, when the river is said to be 'born' each year. Talakaveri is based in the Bramhagiri Hill of Kodagu. Pilgrims crowd Talakaveri and Bhagamandala on Tula Sankramana when the river gushes out at a pre-specified time. The river then goes underground and comes to the surface again several miles later. In keeping with the trend of Sanskritization, there is a southern version in Bhagamandala of the holy sangam at Prayag in Allahabad, where two real, and one invisible, rivers meet – Ganga, Jamuna, and the extinct Saraswati River. In Bhagamandala too, River Kaveri meets two other rivers – the Kannika and the underground, invisible Sujyothi, and this confluence is called the Triveni Sangam, and is considered to be the most sacred place along the entire course of the river. Both the Ganga and the Kaveri rivers are sacred to Shiva. The *Kaveri Purana* describes the sacred river spots from source till the Kaveri joins the sea.

Kaveri Sankramana falls in mid-October when the Sun enters *Tula Rasi* at a predetermined time. It is marked by a fountain of Kaveri river water gushing out from a small tank in Talakaveri. This gushing water is considered to be sacred and is called *theertha*. On this day, Kodavathis (Kodava women) wearing new silk sarees perform puja to a coconut or a cucumber, which is wrapped in a red silk cloth, and decorated with flowers, and the Pathak (a jewel with gold cobra hood set on a gold coin, flanked by corals and gold beads, which is considered the Kodava mangalsutra). This puja is called *Kanni puje* (referring to Goddess Parvathi, who incarnated as Kaveri). This is the only festival in Coorg where completely vegetarian food is eaten. The *Cauvery Purana* mentions the incident when the family diety Cauvery (a.k.a. Kaveri) transformed herself into the holy river by the same name, and the Kodavas who had gathered in large numbers were blessed by her, and inherited their style of saree from that incident.

Puttari means 'new rice', and is a rice harvest festival that usually comes in late November or early December. *Puttari* (a.k.a. *huthri*) is celebrated usually in the *aine mane* (the ancestral home of a single clan or family, of usually one *okka* or *manepedha*). The *aine mane* is decorated with mango and banana leaves and flowers, and proteins served include pork, mutton and chicken. Other foods which may be served include sweet dishes like akki payasa and thambuttu (a banana mash, which is a favorite), regular fare like otti (rice roti), paaputtu

(steamed rice breads), kadambuttu (steamed rice powder balls), and nooputtu (freshly made rice noodles).

During *Puttari*, paddy sheaves are ritually cut. The day following the cutting of the sheaves, there is a feast, a dance and sports for all the villagers. A local astrologer then decides which member of each *okka* is suited to the rite of cutting the sheaves. The selected member then dons a white *kupya*, for the rite.

Kail Podh is celebrated eighteen days after the Sun enters *Simha Rasi* when transplanting of rice is completed, and when defending the same against wild boars, and other wild animals is necessary. *Kail* means weapons or refers to individual Coorg armories, and *Podh* means festival. When *Kail Podh* is celebrated, the family weapons are cleaned or washed; the family members have a ritually pure bath, wear ritually pure clothes, and then perform the rites of worsphip on their weapons, with the old Aryan belief that the weapons must not fail them when used. The Kodavas worship their weapons, like the Coorg sword and dagger, and various firearms. This traditional festival was one reason why the Kodavas were exempt from the 1861 Indian Arms Act. Proteins like pork and chicken or mutton are eaten for such functions, and liquor is also generously downed.

Apart from this, Kodavas are ancestor worshippers. The annual ritual to honor the ancestors and those who recently died is called *meedhi.* Different delicacies – the favorite foods of the ancestors - and an unopened bottle of alcohol are also offered along with a lit oil lamp.

Kodagu also has a unique way to protect its rich biodiversity - *Devarakadu*, sacred forests, which protect fauna and flora of different parts of Kodagu. Most villages in Coorg have a *Devarakadu* - an abode of the gods - which comes with strict rules not to poach, or cut down the trees, thereby preserving the ecosystem’s biodiversity.

Between mid-July to mid-August of the Kodava calendar, is *Kakkada maasa*, an auspicious month that falls smack in the midst of the heavy monsoons of Kodagu. In *Kakkada maasa*, the Kodavas eat *maddu toppu*- a purple black medicinal food preparation, which if made the right way, is alleged to have about 18 types of herbal medical properties. On *Kakkada Padinetti,* the *maddu toppu* is most effective. *Padinetti* means eighteen, and this day falls on the eighteenth day of *Kakkada*.

A renowned holy spot is the Igguthappa temple, which houses an incarnation of Subramanya, the God of harvest, rain, rice and snakes. The

legend around this temple is that seven deities (six brothers and a sister) travelled through Malabar to find shelter, and a dwelling. Three of the brothers settled in Malabar villages, and the remaining four came to Kodagu. The eldest brother settled near the Paaditora Pass, and is called Igguthappa, and true to the Sanskritization trend all over India, is now identified with Subramanya, the warrior son of Lord Shiva. Iyappa, the son of Lord Shiva and Lord Vishnu is the hunting god of the Coorgs, loafing through the forests at night with a pack of hunting dogs.

The most recent Kodava specific annual fest to take over Kodagu is Kodava Hockey Festival, which in 2015 sees its 19th edition. Different *okkas* host the event every year. And the competition between different *okkas* is fierce. Traditional dances and adventurous sports are also part of the fest. Kodagu has produced many an Olympian, and their sportive spirit culminated in this unique Kodagu event.

3.7. The Kodava community

Kodavas did not accept the ancient Aryan varnashram and hence never had a caste system. In Hindu society, however, whenever there was an inercaste marriage, the offspring did not belong to either parent's caste, so this gave rise to a new caste – this probably was the case with the *Ugras*, .

So the Coorgs rejected the Aryan varnasharam, but they had family based communities. The family unit of the Kodavas is called the *okka*. It is a joint patrilineal clan with males descended from a common ancestor. The male members of an *okka* share an *okka* name. There are currently 1720 *okkas* (1040 Kodava, 320 Gowda, and 360 *okkas* of other communities).

In the past, members of an *okka* lived in a large ancestral house - the *aine mane* (*ayyangada mane* – House of the Elders). Each *aine mane* belongs to an *okka* (patrilineal clan) that is identified by its *manepedha* (name of the *okka).* Sixty percent of the *okkas* no longer have a traditional *aine mane*. *Aine manes* usually had a courtyard in the front, and a fence. There also were out houses for additional living space. The *aine mane* was usually in the midst of landed property called *jamma* and had thatch huts of non-Coorg laborers attached to the *okka,* who provided basic services.

The Coorg (Kodava) village is a collection of houses built on family or ancestral property. This cluster of homes and property formed the heart of a village called *ur.* And members of the same *ur* collaborated for weddings, funerals, the harvest festival (*huthri or puttari*), hunts, dances, *meedi* (ancestor worship), etc. Several *ur*s or villages were called a *nad*. Several *nad*s comprised a *sime*. Historically, Kodagu had eight *sime*s. The land belonging to the *okka* was farmed by all the family members and could not be partitioned or sold. If an *okka* had huge tracts of lands, it had to send one male family member to the village temple, to serve as the *mukkati.* Any family that sent a *mukkati* was called Mukkatira, and thus one of the commonest *okka manepedhas* is Mukkatira. The *mukkati's* responsibilities included sweeping the temple premises, and lighting the temple lamps. Occasionally, he even did guard duty.

The male members of an okka share an *okka* name. The founder of each *okka* is worshipped by members of that clan or *okka*. *Guru karana* is worship of the clan or *okka* founder. On their ancestral clan lands, the Kodavas have a shrine called a *Kaimada,* dedicated to the founder-ancestor of the *okka.* Weapons of wood or metal are sometimes kept in the *Kaimada.* Thus ancestor worship is an intrinsic part of Kodava life.

A family living in the village is part of that community, and the head of each family (with its specific *manepedha*), has his own role. Girls and boys from one *okka* cannot marry within the same *okka*. However, cross cousin marriage between children of brother and sister is accepted.

The oldest member of the family is the head of the *okka* and is called *pattedara* or *koravukara*. In each generation, the eldest member of the clan becomes the *pattedara*. Similarly each *ur*, *nad* and *sime* are headed by a *takka*. The *takkas* settled disputes and imparted justice after consultation with other elders.

3.8. Marriage among the Kodavas

The World Book Encyclopedia (1976), states that marriage is a heterosexual, contractual relationship, uniting a man and a woman. This important relationship, with its legal framework wherein a man and a woman have a relationship called the marital status, is recognized and protected by law. Society protects, provides, and encourages the institution of marriage for its ability to maintain family life, protect young children, and provide older people with a safe haven.

A family, in Kodagu, is composed of marital, parent-child, sibling relationships, etc. Marriage, especially, is the bedrock on which the entire clan like *manepedha/okka* community is based.

In the Kodagu of yore, each *manepedha/okka* had an *aine mane*, a family abode, where orphans, old people and widows of that *okka* could be maintained. Thus family life was protected. Kodava society was no different from other societies… it recognized that marriage was a legitimate way to love and have sex, and further the family. As with the rest of humanity, marriage is considered important for the existence and survival of the human race, is a repostitory for cultural features like clothing, and has always had legal, religious, and ethno-specific community sanctions. Human children need the longest time among all planetary mammals to mature and be self-sufficient. This is one of the important reasons that marriage is such a universal, culturally common, feature.

Among the Kodavas, a marriage is either an arranged or mutual love one, and is generally hoped to continue till the death of one of the partners. Among the Kodavas, parents of the bride and groom, elders of the community, a go-between, can arrange the marriage. In the past, the soon-to-be bride or the groom might not always have been asked for consent. Today, however, not only is the consent of both bride and groom required, a betrothal precedes the actual wedding ceremony. A few marriages occur without parental consent as in love marriages, showing how the community is changing with the times. In north India, gold and red are common bridal colors for the wedding ritual. The Kodavas follow the same code especially for the bride, pointing to a north Indian ancestry for the Kodavas.

The Hindu law books and benchmark texts like Kautilya's *Arthasastra* mention eight kinds of classical marriage: **Gandharva – lovers marrying secretly**, Brahma - a father giving away his bejeweled daughter, Prajapatya - the joint performance of sacred duties by both groom and bride, Aarsha - where the groom presents two cows to his father-in-law in gratitude, Daiva - giving away the bejeweled bride to the officiating priest inside the Yagna sacrificial altar, Aasura - giving away the bride in exchange for bride price, **Rakshasha - abduction of a woman (for marriage by force) through raiding parties of Kshatriyas who kidnapped the bride from her home,** and Paishacha – abduction/seduction of a woman while she was sleeping or intoxicated.

Since society is always in a flux, what was commonplace in ancient times is not so any more. Gandharva and Rakshasha are the only two forms of ancient Hindu marriages that seem to have left their imprint on present day Kodava marriages.

Love marriages – today's Gandharva marriages – are on the rise among younger Kodavas. The other type of ancient Hindu marriage that lives on in the form of a fun ritual is the Rakshasha marriage, where the bride was kidnapped from her home. Abduction takes a lot of physical strength and may be for this reason, there is no child marriage among the Kodavas. The bridegroom had to be physically fit for the role of kidnapper, even having to fight off the bride's family, echoes of this surviving in a wedding ritual called the *bale birudu* (plantain honor).

In his 1952 account, Srinivas mentions that when a Kodava man was getting married, his maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and married sisters all brought gifts and sheets of cloth called *kètặme.* The wedding party that brought the *kètặme* was honoured with the plantain honor – the *bale birudu.* A row of plantain stems are stuck in the mud outside the ceremonial hall. The man who lops of the 'head' of the plantain stems, should be wearing a black Kupya, and wielding a sharp sword (*odi kathi*). Each plantain stem is representative of a man, who is the defender of the bride. The ceremonial chopping off of the plantain stems is actually a victory over any and all opposition from the bride's

family – pointing to the classic Rakshasha style of marriage. Sometimes, up to three men of the 'raiding party' from the groom's side successively lop of the plantain 'heads'.

Exogamy is commonplace among the Kodavas. The Kodavas live in clan-like family divisions (*okka*), each division marked by an individual *manepedha* name. *Manepedha* loosely translates to 'house name' or clan, and includes all members of a family (*okka*) that are born through the same founding ancestor, who was the first man with that specific *manepedha.* Women who marry, cannot marry men with the same family name or *manepedha*, or *okka.* When a woman marries a man who carries a different *manepedha,* she adopts the name of the conjugal *okka*, leaving behind the natal *manepedha*. Kodava names begin with a clan or *okka* name (*manepedha*), followed by a middle name and a surname. The *okka* clan with a shared *manepedha* is central to Kodava culture and families trace their lineage through clan (*okka*) names. Marriage within the same clan (okka) or *manepedha* is discouraged.

Kodava *manepedhas* might have originated in the names of villages in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Pumjab, Rajsthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Kerala. This was hypothesised by Ponamma and MP Cariappa, who travelled all over India, in 1981. Some of the *manepedhas* covered in this survey include Ammathira, Adikera, Ajnikanda, Ammanichanda, Appachettolanda, Allumada, Bayavanda, Baduvanda,

Biddanda, Ballepanda, Ballarpanda, Chembanda, Chinnapanda, Chandapanda, Chewira, Chiriyatanda, Chandanda, Itira, Kallira, Kalliyanda, Kotera, Kallachanda, Kuppadira, Keravanda, Kallichanda, Kavadichanda, Kannambira, Kottukathira, Kellira, Kongetira, Kademada, Lythichanda, Merianda, Mandethira, Mellira, Mallamada, Mallengada, Manepanda, Moodera, Mukkatira, Nayakanda, Nellamakada, Pandiyanda, Sanavanda, and Thanachira.

Most Kodavas marry without horoscopes. The wedding ritual in Kodagu is called a *mangala,* one of many different types of *mangala*. A *mangala* is only performed on 'good days'. Usually, there are no *mangalas* during *Kakkada* month (a month that falls between mid-July and mid-August).

Kodavas have many points of variation with other communities in South India. Though Hindu, Kodavas do not use the services of a Brahmin priest for ceremonies, with the elders of the family donning the mantle of priests. No fire god rituals, thread ceremonies, slokas and Vedic chants common in most Hindu ceremonies are performed.

3.9. Kodavas as an ethnic group

In anthropology, the term *ethnic group* is used to describe a group of people with shared ancestry, language, cultural and historical tradition, and a fixed terrain. The term *ethnic* comes from Greek 'ethnos', meaning heathen. Ethnicity is a characteristic of populations that live in mutual contact rather than

in solitary isolation, but maintain their differences with each other – this trait is common for ethnic groups world over.

Ethnology is valuable when studying an ethnic group. *Ethnology* according to *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* is the study of peoples. *Ethnography* is qualitative research design that investigates cultural occurences, and the field work that ensues reflects the knowledge and semantics in the lives of the ethnic group. Both ethnography and ethnology complement each other, ethnography being the scientific study of the races of the earth or individual cultures, and ethnology the comparative study of different peoples or cultures.

Because India has so many ethnic groups – the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the other Backward Classes, the ancient Aryan varna stratification of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, representations of all the eight world religions (Hinduism, Zoroastrainism, Judaism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism) are just a few within India – the defining features play out in varied ways in this country. Also, in the past, when two people of different varnas married, their children were often rejected by both natal castes, and were forced to start a new grouping.

Lewellen, 108, says that ethnicity has its beginnings in inequality, and plays center stage when the ethnic group and the mainstream make contact. Other scholars regard ethnicity as a class struggle, in relation to power, where

many ethnic groups slug it out in the same geographic space, with the result that the dominant group dominates and captures access to means of production and dictates how production results must be shared. In India, things are not so simple. Thanks to the Aryan migrations into the sub-continent, and the complex cultures brought into and developed in the country, ethnicity as inequality is just one dimension of an ethnic group. Population pressures, a wide variety of ethnic groups fighting to survive and succeed in the same geographic space, are some of the impetus for ethnicity. Other special attributes like skin color, putative common ancestry, myths of descent, place of origin, religion, sub-sects, and land ownership or tenancy all contribute to identity of ethnicity. A geographic space, which is the ancestral home of the ethnic group, a shared and common language, legal land rights to their homeland are further markers of the group's ethnicity. Other shared features include the same social conventions, a cultural complex that includes mythology, cuisine, history, religious symbols, and, **dress style and appearance**. In India, ethnic groups live side by side with other ethnic groups in the village, town, city, state or country.

The Kodavas are renowned for their martial culture, with a well-deserved reputation as formidable soldiers, and officers with a good command over their men, for centuries, including most recently, during British rule as well as post independent India. Valiant sons of Kodagu include servants of the new Indian nation like Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces of independent India,

Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa, OBE, and General K.S. Thimayya, DSO, as well as a host of Kodava freedom fighters who fought for independence in British India.

3.10. Social milieu – the Kodavas and other communities of Kodagu

Coorg has a large number of ethnic groups. Apart from the Kodavas themselves, there are Amma Kodavas, Muslims, Jains, Christians, Gowdas, tribals, Lingayats, and various other castes. Brahmins were not native to Kodagu, and therefore don't feature in most Kodava functions. Amma Kodavas used to perform the role of priests in the past, and were vegetarian, but dressed like the Kodavas.

For several centuries, there has been a long, continuous relationship that the Kodavas have had with other communities that live side by side with them. This is evident in wedding ritual like the washerman's white cloth set out for both the Kodava bridegroom and bride as they walk forward. Or the wedding *volaga*, where the lower castes play percussion and other musical instruments for the wedding music for different functions. For functions like *mangala* or worship or other rituals, the lower castes are an integral part of the ceremonies. However, when the lower castes participate, they have no dress code restrictions. But the Kodavas very strictly follow one.

The Kodava religion, culture and language in Kodagu has influenced the Kodava Peggade (or Heggade), the Amma Kodavas (the priests of the Kodavas in the past), the Airi (artisans and carpenters), Banna, the Hajama (barbers), the Meda (craftsmen and drummers), the Madivala (washermen), Koyava and the Kembatti (labourers), and Poliya.

Kodava Gowdas wear a saree similar to the Kodava podiya – the pleats however are tucked in the front like the *nivi* style, though the pallu is pulled over the right shoulder like the regular Kodava podiya. Amma Kodava women however, wear the same style Kodava podiya, and the men wear the kupya, like the Kodava men. Tribal women of olden times in Kodagu, wore the Kodava podiya, but sans a blouse, and knotted at the right shouder like the poorer Kodava women. Now-a-days, they wear a blouse, which can be understood as better economic status or a desire to copy the Coorgs.

Chapter 4. Clothing in India

4.1. Introduction

Clothing can be decorative, communicative or protective, clothing can be a set of unique items, it can be an environmental disaster that leaves its impact in the ecosystem, it can stand up as the harbinger of change or as a thumb on the nose to colonialism.

4.2. Human evolution and clothing

Humans split from the chimpanzees about 6.5.million years ago in Africa. Since then the journey of becoming human has taken many routes. Today, clothing and accessories are part of the experience of being human.

An early discovery is yet another pointer that the human tendency to decorate, to accessorize and live symbolically is quite old, and very human.

Beyond Asia, in southern Africa, discoveries that point to ‘art, body decoration, symbolism’ have been unearthed in Blombus Cave on the Indian Ocean coast of South Africa. The artifacts in the cave date from 1, 00, 000 years to 77, 000 years – pointing to a continuous tradition of 23,000 years. In the Blombus Cave, discoveries of perforated bead work, with wear and tear suggesting contact with either string or clothing push back the milestones of

human clothing and accessories beyond what we had originally thought. (Barnard, 2011)

4.3. Clothing and accessories

Clothes serve many purposes… protection, belonging, a cover from embarrassment, status, gender, etc. 'In traditional societies, even in Europe until recently, dress indicated gender, status and role… It seems also that clothing is a special case of the universal of body adornment. Adornment may signify belonging or group identity… Clothing is the principal cultural correlate of physical differentiation… The exact content of the language of dress in any traditional society is hidden from outsiders. Strangers find the nuances of local dress amusing or irritating gibberish. Within the group, of course, dress is significant in the smallest detail.' Shephard, 1978.

Details of dress and accessories of any ethnic group are of relevance only to that group, recognized only by those who belong to the group…and outsiders who want to study that group might miss the shades, the nuances, the fine details. This study is a voyage of discovery of Kodava traditional attire and accessories by an outsider - a Turkman of Iran to be precise.

4.4. Origins of clothing in India

Ancient times begin, before 3000 BCE. Archaeology, historic texts, sculptures, statues, frescoes, vases, bas reliefs, all give us evidence of the past.

Orature, or the tradition of oral literature, is also a folk record. Within India, we have always had a healthy oral culture – or orature. Myths are orature, which after centuries become literature and texts when they are set down in writing.

In ancient times, the sub-continent's Indus Valley culture extended about 1600 km, and flourished at its zenith from 3000 BCE to about 1700 BCE. The Indus culture was probably one of the earliest urban cultures with a pan-Indian location. The urban life in the cities of the Indus civilization with its 'modern' looking grid plans, efficient drainage systems, public service edifices like baths and granaries suggest a very evolved, structured, civilized people. One of the most famous artifacts of Mohenjo-daro is a bust of a man, most probably a priest. He wears a unique one-shouldered garment with trefoils, each of which was originally filled with red paste. The shoulder covered is the left, and the garment looks like a proto-historic version of the later dhoti and shoulder cloth, or 'saree', which became a sort of common man's (or more correctly, woman's) uniform in India. Most of the saree styles of the sub-continent have the left shoulder covered.

Other 'mother goddess' figures from today's Pakistan and northwest India show elaborate high hair styles, with broad choker-like necklaces, and huge 'jhumki' like ear-rings.

Indus cities had a roaring trade in fabrics with Mesopotamia. The ancient Mesopotamians, who imported Indian cloth from the Indus Valley, called cotton, 'Sindhu' after the River Indus (Sindhu). Backing this, archeological digs have found spindle whorls dating to 3000 BCE.

4.5. Clothing accessories from the Indus Valley

Indian clothing has had a continuous tradition for several millennia starting latest with the Indus Valley culture. Indus Valley excavation sites show us that cotton was spun, woven, dyed. Tools like bone needles, and wooden spindles push back the culture of Indian couture to the early Indus period – around five to six thousand years back. As is the standard with the different stages of Indus civilization, many discoveries in the Indus sites went on to become design classics of India, one common example being the design of the ubiquitous bullock cart, which has remained unchanged for millennia. The same can be said of cotton spinning methods, some of which remain unchanged till today. One of the most famous artifacts of Mohenjo-daro is a limestone bust of a bearded man, wearing a one-shouldered garment with trefoils.

One of the trade strongpoints of the Indus culture was the making of high quality clay bangles, beads and other ornaments, which were exported to the Middle East, and Mesopotamia (partly encompassing today's Iraq). Analysis of ancient beadwork from the Indus sites has shown silk fibers in the beadwork, the silk being made through reeling - a process mastered by the Chinese.

Silver and gold jewelry were also among the Indus Valley civilization finds. Evidence suggests that the Kolar gold fields of Karnataka provided some of the ore used in Indus jewelry finds. Lapis lazuli embedded jewels were also discovered, which can be proof that though there was a high degree of lifestyle standardization, design and style – all three very human elements co-existed wih the inhabitants of the civilization. The word for veil is absent in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, which shows that veil usage in India is not a historical inheritance.

4.6. Clothing in the *Mahabharata*

India has two epics – the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata.* Both cover wars, with a series of incidents culminating in the triumph of goodness and justice, in peacetime and war. The *Mahabharata* is the larger of the two, and covers innumerable kingdoms, kings, battle formations, architecture, modes of

transportation, all of which impacted the clothing styles of the time – clothing being totally a product of the times, which is the reason why this epic has been selected over the *Ramayana*.

The one standout incident of peacetime that covers clothing in the *Mahabharata* is the attempted disrobing of Draupadi (wife of the five Pandavas) in the royal court by the evil Dushasana acting on the command of his vindictive elder brother, Duryodhana of the Kaurava. Lord Krishna, with his yogic powers, made Draupadi's 'saree' an unending one, thereby saving her dignity and self-respect. Other mentions of accessories include the fact that all weapons (of the Pandavas) were kept in a room or annexe connected to the main bedroom of the Pandava palace.

Lord Krishna himself is the center of a story that reveals the abundance of jewelry worn by royalty in those times. Sage Narada, a tireless mischiefmaker, visits Lord Krishna's palace and tells Subhadra, one of Lord Krishna's wives, that in her next life she may not have the same husband, but if anything were donated to a Brahmin, that same thing would be hers in her next birth too. Passionate about her husband and loathe losing him in a future life, without thinking sensibly, Subhadra donates Lord Krishna to Narada. This news spreads like wild fire through the palace, and all of Krishna's other wives come scrambling to get their husband back. The clever Narada tells the wives that the only way they could get their husband back, was to give an equivalent quantity of gold. So weighing Lord Krishna on one scale, the wives begin giving away their jewelry on the other scale, and when that huge amount proves inadequate, they buy up all the jewelry from all the goldsmiths in their town. Finally, they get their beloved husband, Lord Krishna, back. The women in the epic wore gold ornaments, on the hands, face, body and feet. The men wore tougher ornaments made of copper as their ornaments had to double as protective covering too, in event of battle or in combat conditions.

For the warm climatic conditions of ancient India, clothing had to first be comfortable, and then address the need for protection, communication and décor. Clothing necessities for both men and women included the Uttariya, a single piece garment draping the neck and shoulders, the anga-vastra – an ancestor of the dhoti – which covered the lower body. The anga-vastra was covered with an upa-vastra, which ended midway the thigh. In addition, only the women wore an Indian version of the boob tube, which covered the bosom. Silk and cotton clothing were common, and the rich wore fabric that was expensive to make, and rich families patronised the making of perfumes like attar of roses, which needed several thousand kilograms of roses for a minisculic amount of attar to be processed.

Clothing has always been a mark of an individual's personality and lifestyle choice. Ascetics, sages and gurus who lived far from civilization were sometimes clad in animal skin – deerskin or tigerskin. And within the royal courts, bright colors signified personality choices. Lord Krishna and Nakula wore yellow, Krishna's brother Balarama and Nakula's brother Sahadeva wore blue, Yudhisthara and Arjuna wore white, Duryodhana and his nemesis Bhima wore red, and Shakuni, scheming uncle of the wicked Kauravas, wore black. Wool was rare, being used mostly in places like Kashmir and Bactria (Bahlika).

Wars are an intrinsic part of the epic. During wartime, clothing and war accessories for humans and their animals are described in detail. The first element of the wars was that it had to be fought in daylight hours, and therefore visual cues were important in distinguishing allies from enemies at great distances, and therefore influencing what battle formations were to be used. The Kekaya kings were Pandava mother Kunti's sister's children born to the Kekaya king, and therefore cousins of the Pandavas. (Kekaya is located in today's Pakistani Punjab) They dressed in purple when coming to do battle in the great Mahabharata war, and their flags were also purple. Their steeds were dressed in deep red, and both these colors helped the allies and the enemy to identify them. What the steeds of other warriors were clad in is covered in great detail in the epic, a few of which are mentioned below.

Elegant Kamvoja steeds decorated with the feathers of green parrots were Pandava Nakula's chariot steeds. Black legged steeds had breast-plates of gold, and bore youthful Sauchitti to battle. Steeds with a color like red silk, in golden armour, and chains of gold, bore Srenimat.

Besides the clothing of the men and their horses, banners hoisted on top of long, high poles, were also used for identification and communication. A standard, according to *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, is a distinctive flag. Upraised standards can be spotted from great distances on the battlefield. Salya of the Madras had on his standard, an image like the goddess of corn, with a cornucopia of seeds. The ascetic preceptor of the Pandavas, Kripa, had a bull on his standard. Terrifying enemy soldiers who spotted it on the battlefield was the standard with the ape of fierce face and tail of Dhananjaya's chariot. The eldest Pandava brother, Yudhishthira's standard, displayed a golden moon with planets around it and had two kettle-drums – Nanda and Upananda – with a machine that produced harmonious music. On the Kaurava side, the lion-tail standard of Drona's son, Ashvathamma, decked with gold, was an inspiration for the Kaurava army. Marking the standard of King Duryodhana, the eldest Kaurava brother, was an elephant decked with gold, adorned with bells, which chimed with the sounds of a hundred bells.

Armor and the arms are also covered in fine detail. Yudhishthira held the celestial bow Mahendra; and the gigantic Bhimasena carried the celestial bow Vayavya. Nakula had the Vaishnava bow, and Sahadeva, the Aswina. The terrible bow - the Paulastya – was the giant Ghatotkacha's. Most of the kings wore crowns of copper (gold plated) to battle to protect their heads. There is archeaological evidence that iron was not widely used during the wars in the *Mahabharata*, except for Kaurava ally Karna's armor. Copper armor tuned with tin and zinc was widespread.

4.7. Clothing of the Mauryan period in the *Arthashastra*

Written centuries after the great epics, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya is a benchmark text on wealth creation by the state and the individuals that reside in that state.

Kautilya in the *Arthashastra* (early 300s BCE) mentions that garments could be made of cotton, wool, bark-fibers, silk-cotton, hemp and flax. Skins and furs were also used. Different quality clothing was made from the materials mentioned above. Jewelry was commonplace, with both men and women wearing ornaments of gold, set in pearls, and various precious stones like diamonds and rubies, and semi-precious stones, on the hands, feet, waist and heads. Gems of the highest quality enriched the royal treasury, and included pearls, diamonds, corals, rubies, beryl, sapphires and pure crystal. The self-employed in the economy included weavers, washermen, dyers, tailors, goldsmiths, silversmiths and ironsmiths.

Imports were common… Ceylon, Barbara and Arachosia were the sources of quality pearls, Nepal for woolen cloth, Gandhara, Vanayu and Bahlika (Bactria) for furs. Perfumes of sandalwood and aloe and vetiver were commonly used and considered articles of high value. Garlands were also popular, and the king had special garland makers, as well as shampooers and bath preparers. Different grades of courtesans had to specalize in shampooing, perfume preparation and garland making.

The spinning of yarn was the women's domain in the Kautilyan economy, and an individual activity, being decentralized, contractual, and conducted in state run 'factories' or sheds, under state supervision. Different yarns varied from a coarse, refined, or medium quality, and were spun from cotton, wool, silk cotton, hemp, flax, silk and wool from deer. Supplies for animals like ropes, straps, thongs, and other woven implements were also carried out in the sheds. Not just animal supplies or dress materials, bed sheets, coverings, and quilted armor were also made at these sheds. Many women worked for free to pay back a tax or a fine. *Phalgu* or articles of low value included woolen articles, skins, furs, silk and cotton cloth. Shops for gold, textiles, and jewelry were abundantly

found in the Kautilyan or Mauryan economy. However, the textile industry was guarded very closely for being a source of export trade. Kautilya prescribed very severe penalties for giving away trade secrets of the textile industry.

4.8. Indian clothing as mentioned by the Greeks

Alexander's invasion of northwest India precedes the *Arthashastra* by a couple of decades. Greek historian Heredotus went into raptures over Indian cotton, calling it 'a wool exceeding in beauty and goodness that of sheep.' Cotton cultivation and clothing were ideally suited for India's heat and summers, and this fact was noted by the travelers, and diplomats who came to India, or studied the country. During Alexander's foray into north-west India (in the 300s BCE), his writers and chroniclers mentioned that the Indian men wore high-heeled white boots. Apart from these, Greek writer Strabo described the 'extravagant clothes worn by the richest Indians.'

Greek historian Arrian was the best chronicler of ancient Indian style. He elaborates, 'The Indians use linen clothing, as says Nearchus (*the Admiral of Alexander the Great's fleet of ships in 325 BCE*), made from the flax taken from the trees, about which I have already spoken. And this flax is either whiter in colour than any other flax, or the people being black make the flax appear whiter. They have a linen frock reaching down halfway between the knee and the ankle (*an early form of the dhoti*), and a garment which is partly thrown round the shoulders (*a shawl*) and partly rolled round the head (*a turban*). The Indians who are very well-off wear earrings of ivory; for they do not all wear them. Nearchus says that the Indians dye their beards various colours; some that they may appear white as the whitest, others dark blue; others have them red, others purple, and others green (*this is the first recorded instance of punk rock style colored hair any where in the world*). Those who are of any rank have umbrellas held over them in the summer. They wear shoes of white leather, elaborately worked, and the soles of their shoes are many-coloured and raised high, in order that they may appear taller.'

4.9. Second and first centuries BCE

Dated a few decades after the Mauryan dyansty, in the northwest of India, many terra-cotta figurines of the second century BCE with elaborate headdresses and jewelry - especially large earrings - have been found, and relocated to the Guimet museum in Paris. They have been nicknamed 'the Baroque Ladies', though they most probably were variations of mother goddess or fertility cult figures.

The Yaksha is described as 'a semi-divine personage, who lived in the woods, on trees, in cliffs, the Yaksha (along with his female counterpart, the

Yakshi) was a force of nature who could be rendered benevolent.' Yaksha figurines from the Pitalkhora caves, Maharastra, used as guardians of the gate (*dwarapalikas* perhaps) and dating from the first century BCE, have elaborate headdresses, and used yellow and red pigment on the faces – perhaps a sort of early makeup technique that has not survived till the present.

4.10. First century BCE to third century AD

Between the first century BCE and the third century AD, India had multiple foreign dominations and influences - the Yavana (Greeks), the Shakas (Scythians), the Pahlavas (Parthians), and the Yeuh-Chih (the Kushans). All these people spoke Indo-European languages, and were of Caucasoid origins. In his work, *India*, Taddei describes in detail a Yaksha from Patna, today in the Indian Museum of Kolkatta, dated to the first century BCE. 'This is a massive figure, wearing a dhoti, but not in the customary fashion – but with the edge falling over the feet; a belt tightens the cloth against the hip and hangs loose, ending in a large knot.' Other Yaksha costumes show a broad Hellenistic influence – somewhat copying the Greek *himation*, but the Yakshis shown side-by-side are heavy, bare-breasted and with very less jewelry, both displaying immunity to the Greek influence as well as copying the same.

In Gandhara, the Buddha figures are dressed in Hellenistic clothes. In Butkara, in Swat (today's Pakistan), green schist sculptures embody the Gandhara style with Greco-Roman elements, but are probably Parthian (Pallava) in origin. (*A schist is a layered crystalline rock).* The figures all display the Indian way of draping the garment's folds.

The nomadic Kushans (the Yueh-chih) were bearers of a culture similar to a few Iranian nomadic populations. A schist slab (from Kapisa, today's Afghanistan), depicting a Boddhisatva flanked by donors, shows all figures wearing non-Indian robes, shawls and a pronounced lack of jewelry.

For centuries, Indian clothing continued to be a source of revenue for Indian states. The Romans did a brisk trade with the Indians. Pliny, the Roman author and administrator, complained in the Roman Senate that Roman gold was leaving Rome for India to buy luxury goods like textiles.

4.11. Ajanta and Ellora

A lot of information of Indian clothing in the past comes from rock sculptures and paintings in cave complexes like Ellora. Both the paintings and the statues of Ellora display dancers and goddesses with a waist wrap somewhat

akin to the dhoti, and for women's clothing, a predecessor to the modern nivi style sari.

In Ajanta, Buddhist artworks developed into a unique art form. Ajanta has two time frames – the first starting in the first century AD and the second starting in the fourth century AD. During the 4th century and till the end of the 5th century, the Vakatakas – contemporaries of the Guptas – left a strong Buddhist cultural influence in Ajanta. The artwork that survives - in painting and sculpture - date to between 4th and 7th centuries AD. The triad of Artha (the quest for wealth and power), Kama (the pleasures of the senses) and Dharma (moral law) is demonstrated in beautiful and profane paintings. Yakshas, heavy set and festooned with a wealth of jewelry, are carved into the ancient stone. The sculptures show us the dimensions and the forms of the jewelry; the paintings show us the colors of the jewels, head dresses, clothes in painstaking details. The Boddhisatvas are shown in Buddhist robes holding rosaries and flasks.

4.12. Indian muslin and other fabrics

Ancient India has been the repository of many fine fabrics, like the sivi cloth given to Lord Buddha as a gift from his physician, Jivaka. The making of luxury sivi is now an extinct art. Nearer to our times, Indian muslin has been the center of many legends, including the fact that, 'a hundred yards of Daulatabad muslin,' according to poet Amir Khusrau, 'could pass through the eye of a needle, so fine was its texture.' The upper castes, for several centuries, were draped in fine muslin. Plain muslins, doria a.k.a. striped muslins, and checked muslins continue to be spun in a large number of places.

4.13. The saree in the present

The saree is a popular dress style of the sub-continent. There are more than eighty recorded ways to wear the saree. The *nivi* is today's most popular saree style. The *nivi* sari was popularised through the paintings of Raja Ravi Varma. In one of his paintings, the Indian subcontinent was shown as a mother wearing the *nivi* style. The Kodavas call the *nivi* saree (or seerae) the Kannada podiya.

In many parts of India, the ubiqutious saree was worn in various regional styles. A scan of saree styles on the Internet shows up several regional variations. The *nivi* was common in Andhra Pradesh, as was the *kaccha nivi*, a style worn with the pleats gathered together, pulled between the legs and tucked at the waist, behind.

Both in Gujarat and Rajashthan, the pleats follow the *nivi* style, being tucked in front, however, the pallu goes under the left arm, over the right shoulder, and is then drawn under the left arm and tucked at the back.

The Maharastrian or Konkani style saree is a nine yard saree, worn somewhat like the Maharastrian dhothi. The center of the sari (held lengthwise) is placed at the center back, the ends are brought forward and tied securely, then the two ends are wrapped around the legs, and the ends are then passed up over the shoulders and the upper body. The nine-yard is worn by upper caste Brahmin women from Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh, and Goa. A nine-yard saree is also worn by Iyengar and Iyer women of Tamil Nadu… another case of upper caste Brahmin women holding on to tradition.

The Gobbe seere style has been adopted by women in the Malnad or Sahyadri areas and is commonly found in the central region of Karnataka. It embraces the eighteen molas saree that circles the waist three or four times, including a knot after it crisscrosses both shoulders.

The Gond sari style of Central India begins by covering the left shoulder, and then is wrapped over the rest of the body. The Goan style encompasses a knot below the shoulder, and then the cloth crosses the left shoulder to be secured at the back. Tribal sarees basically cover the bosom, and then the saree is secured by knotting it over the chest firmly.

A traditional Malyali sari, the *mundum nerathum*, uses unbleached, cream colored cotton, has a border of gold or pastel shades, and is worn in two pieces.

In 2012, Shauna Wilton, traveling through South India, talking to educated young women of Indian metroplisies, analyzing side by side paintings of Raja Ravi Varma, where goddesses, mythological figures, and royalty all wore the saree, concluded that even if style varied place to place… the sari remained a sign of Indian womanhood. Wilton's conclusion: It doesn't matter what religion a woman belonged to – Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Jain (or what state, or what linguistic group), 'she will adapt the saree to her religion', during marriage.

4.13. From 1800 till 1999

4.14. Twentyfirst century India

In the twentyfirst century, India has the largest area in the world under cotton cultivation. One fourth of the world's cotton comes from India. This

country has probably one of the richest set of clothing traditions in the world to clothe its billion plus people – sarees of all descriptions, salwar kameezes, churidhar kameezes, half-sarees, burqas, shararahs, ghararas, tribal costumes, gypsy Lambada attire, trousers of various descriptions, uniforms for the police, army, air force and navy, shorts, dhothis, kupya-cheles, lungis, pajamas, Tibetan men and women's costumes, nun and priest's habits, the attire in the North-East states, dressing up as tigers, dance costumes for all different classical dance styles, you name it, and some part of India has it. And accessories including jewelry, weapons, bags, shoes, in gold, silver, leather, iron, bronze, glass, plastic, imitation gold, platinum, all types of precious and semi-precious stones, plus wealth from the sea like coral, pearls, etc. enrich the lifestyles of the people.

India has a strong fashion industry and a slew of designers, who make old fashions refreshingly new, and new fashion into a blend of fusion. Every state has its own unique clothing style(s), which represent, along with cuisine, décor, rites, rituals, one or the other ethnic group. Today, e-commerce buying from Internet sites like Myntra, and tele-home shopping, have added more dimensions to the way the middle and upper classes acquire stuff like clothing and accessories. Malls and boutiques add to this mix. Boutiques selling Armani, Prada, Chanel, and stocking Ritu Kumar and Rohit Bal, have exclusive up market clients. But the neighbourhood tailor is still in demand, because however much variety you can get from shopping, none of it can replace the personalized stitching of a blouse that goes with a saree, or the uniforms for schoolchildren, policemen, security details, etc… the human body has an endless number of shapes and sizes.

However, similar to the movie *Roti, Kapada and Makaan*, this triumvirate for a 'normal' human existence still eludes many people below the poverty line in India.

Ch V. Kodava clothing for men and women

5.1. A historic account of Kodava men's clothing in 1878

5.2. Kodava men's clothing in 1952

5.3. A historic account of Kodava women's clothing in 1878

5.4. Kodava women's clothing in 1952

4.13. Kodava women's clothing, accessories and rituals

4.14. Kodava clothing and the rest of India.

5.1. Introduction

Historic continuity in clothing traditions can be assessed in visual evidence like photographs, paintings and sculptures, and in written texts with descriptions. This study has covered many texts, and narrowed down for ease of relating to one text in the nineteenth century – Rice, 1878, one in the twentieth century – Srinivas, 1952, and one in the twentyfirst century – Appaiah, 2009. The first two texts are by outsiders, both non-Coorgs – one English and the other Indian, and the last one is by an insider and Coorg, Appaiah.

5.2. A historic account of Kodava men's clothing in 1878

Rice, in his 1878 account of Kodavas and their clothing, mentions a full list of Kodava clothing items beginning with the men.

He says, 'The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (*kupasa*) of white or blue cotton, or dark colored cloth or even velvet. It reaches below the knees, and is open in front; if not white, it has short sleeves, under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the wrist. The coat is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk, which is several times wound around the waist, and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief, or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare, or protected with light sandals (*This observation is a bit strange, because the murta dias should not be polluted with footwear*). A necklace (*joa male*) of the berry of rudrakshi (*eleocarpus ganitrus*), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg medal, or the lunulate ornament called the Kokadadi (*Kokethathi*) do not fail to suspend it from the neck. Their every day dress is of a more simple nature.

The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist knife (*piche katti*), he wears on his back, in a strong clasp of brass, the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (*odi-katti*)… The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and ornaments were manufactured with the most simple tools by natives of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas used to reward men distinguished for personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an ornamented large knife bearing the Raj's stamp upon the blade, and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and worn on grand occasions only.

To one who has lived for many years amongst the Coorgs, the improved condition of the men is very striking. Fifteen or twenty years ago one seldom saw a Coorg man dressed in a woolen garment, blue or white cotton was the material generally in use; now every one aspires to a *lanat kupsa* or long woolen coat of fine English cloth, and some even sport boots and stockings. .. Native umbrellas disappear and merchants make annually a good business with the imported article. The young Coorg official, who formerly trusted to the muscular strength of his own legs, delights now to be seen on an impetuous Pegu pony, or a prancing steed from Kandahar…' p 220

'The kammarbands, or girdle scarfs with an ornamental border (*chele*), which are worn by Coorgs are manufactured in the village of Sirangala on the north-east frontier. In North Coorg the coarse cotton cloth worn by field laborers is made, and a fine description of cloth is woven in small quantities at Kodlipet.' P 306, Rice). This is due to the fact that Coorg hardly had any mines, quarries, or industries. Only the Coorg knives were made in Coorg, in 1878. Also, the kupya was worn on a daily basis, simple ones for daily work, and more festive ones for occasions – the above description is for a man's wedding attire. The one item mentioned above that seems to have extinct by the time Srinivas wrote his account is the long matchlock gun.

5.3. Kodava men's clothing for weddings in 1952

Written in the early nineteen fifties, Srinivas's *'Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India'* talks about the Coorg cultural paradigm of 1952.

As Srinivas explains, specific color clothes are an intrinsic part of the ceremonies. The white *Kupya* is worn uniformly by bridegrooms for the wedding. It is made of cotton, has long sleeves, exposes a v-shaped patch of throat, and is held together by the ubiquitious red and gold silk *chele,* which has gold tassels at either end. In the past, the white *Kupya* was worn by the bridegroom, and when a man died. Black *Kupyas* are universally worn by Kodava men for ritual ceremonies. The black *Kupya* is a westernized version of the white one, with short sleeves, a v-neck, and usually made of thick cotton cloth under which a light colored shirt can be worn, and the whole ensemble is also held together by the red and gold silk thread *chele.* Both *Kupyas* have no zip, buttons, or velcro fastenings.

Talking of wedding rituals, first, there is the ritual bath given to the groom by three married women, then the groom is dressed in ritual robes and ornaments by his best man or *bojakara*. First, the groom wears a 'white cotton gown', also called a white kupya. A red, silk sash (*chele*) secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental Coorg knife called the *pichekatti* is tucked into the sash (*chele*) in front. The broad Coog sword, the *odi katti,* hangs from its clasp (*thodang)* at the groom's back, with a chain (*chengolae*) tied to the groom's waist. The groom wears the Coorg turban (the *paani mande tuni*), which is flat on top and covers the back of the head. He is bare foot. He carries a staff with small bells (the *gajjae thand*). The long matchlock gun in Rice's description, which was going extinct in 1878, is conspicious by its absence.

5.4. A 2009 account of Kodava men's clothing by a Coorg

Ponjanda Appaiah's 2009 account is a twentyfirst observation by a Coorg, of Coorg rituals. In *Kodava Paddathira Bheerya,* Appaiah gives us details about the intertwining of Kodava rituals, dressing, and culture. Many of the details are like those covered by Srinivas in the early 1950s, reflecting continuity. Grooming rituals precede the bridegroom's pre-wedding and wedding preparations. The bridegroom (*mangalakara*) goes for a customary shave, and then is led by the best man (*bojakara*) to the bath house, where a lamp (*bolcha*) is lit. Three married women (*muthaides*) take turns pouring water on him, each thrice, for his ritual bath. After the bath, the best man and select male relatives, dress the bridegroom. The ceremony of the wedding doesn't begin until after the ritual bath and dressing up, after which the lit, sacred lamps are prostrated to. He is given a betel nut to chew and after praying, smears three lines of ash horizontally on his forehead.

Appaiah gives factual details of the traditional wedding clothing, itemizing them one by one. The Kodava groom's clothing includes a white *Kupya*, with a red and gold *chele*, head scarf or turban (*paani mandetuni*), *piche kathi* (the Coorg dagger), waist chain (*chengolae*), a folded red checked *vastra*, which hangs from the left shoulder on both back and front and is fixed to the *chele.* Today, the red and gold *chele* is specially woven in Benaras, only for the Kodavas, with the weavers being of the same family for generations. The size, the length, the width, of the *chele* is specific for only Kodava male clothing. The Kodava groom's traditional jewelry includes *paluva male* (*male* means chain), *kokkethathi* (a chain of square, gold beads, with a pendant like a quarter moon), *katti ballae* (*ballae* means bangle), a ring, a red kerchief near the *peeche kathi* in the *chale*, ear rings, a red *musque* (a Kodava veil that covers the head), and a *gejjae thand* – a wooden staff with Indian style, silver bells or *ghungroos.*

As a community that identifies itself with Kshatriyas, weapons are a common part of traditional attire. Every *Kupya* is a complete ensemble only when the Coorg ceremonial dagger, with silver or ivory hilt - the *piche kathi* – is inserted into the wearer's sash, towards one side. (The long matchlock gun, or any other type of posh English rifle, mentioned by Rice, is absent.)

In addition, the bridegroom also wears a Coorg sword – the *odi kathi* - which is fitted into a silver, chained clasp at the back. The Kodava bridegroom's assemblage is complete only when all the items mentioned above are worn together. Appaiah however, mentions the *odi kathi* only in relation to the *bojakara* or best man handing over the *odi kathi* for the plantain honor (*bale ketho*) when the bridegroom's party reaches the place where the *murta* will be held.

5.5. A historic account of Kodava women's clothing in 1878

In Rice's 1878 account, Kodava women were as forward in following a unique sartorial style of their own. He writes, 'The personal appearance of the Kodagitis or Coorg women are not less striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, of goodly stature, well shaped, and many are really handsome before the betel chewing… blackens their otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume - and the ordinary dress differs only in quality - is one of the most becoming that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton jacket, with long sleeves, fits tight and is closed up to the neck (the *kala kupya*). A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the skirt, being several times

wrapped around the waist and tied by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful folds almost to the ankles, whilst one end of it covers the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder (Rice mistook the *Kodava podiya* for a skirt). To give fullness to the skirt, the other end is arranged in folds, which contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women, are gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmans, who of course accounted for it by a silly puranic legend, which gave vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head, with its raven hair, is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders (*vastra*). The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold, from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rims of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes. The white festive gowns of the men (white kupya), as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skillfully embroidered… and the patterns, of native design, are often very elegant.' P 221.

5.6. Kodava women's clothing in 1952

Srinivas briefly describes the Kodava bride's attire. 'The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kala kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head (*vastra*). She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes. The … matron of honor hold(s) a white cloth umbrella over the… bride…' Srinivas footnotes that 'Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mṻrta.* In the southern most part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn…'

5.7. A 2009 account of a Kodava woman's wedding clothing

A twentyfirst observation of Kodava customs, Appaiah begins with the bride's ritual banglewearing ceremony, after which she is taken for her ritual bath, where three *muthaides* (including her own mother) pour water on her. She

is then dressed by the bojakarti (matron of honor). Her finery includes the kadaga (bracelet), sarpani (chain), karimani (black bead necklace), valè (ear rings), malè, jomalè, kaisara, kaasara pilli, silver ring on second toe, paatu podiya (silk Coorg style saree), a long sleeved red blouse (kala kupya), and a red silk musque. She is then given a betel nut to chew and after praying, smears three lines of ash horizontally on her forehead.

5.8. A 1952 account - death and funerals

1952 - Srinivas observes that the union of a man and his wife is such a strong entity in Kodava culture, that even after death of one of the partners, the surviving spouse has a greater part to play in the funeral than the son, who now represents the *okka*. When someone in the family dies, women mourners who are related and junior age wise to the dead person unplait their hair, and wear white clothing. Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloth (*muri*). Women members of the mourning *okka* fold the cloth and put it below the corpse's head. The white cloths are used as mourning cloths tied around the shoulder or the waist by the important principal mourners. The white cloths are also used to cover the corpse, and in case of cremation, the white *kupya* will be replaced by the white cloths. Surplus white cloths are given to beggars or servants of the mourning *okka*. When junior mourners related to the dead person near the house where the corpse is kept, any of the men who has a gun fires double shots.

Srinivas also describes the Kodava widow's weeds. 'The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may have a colored border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a colored border.' Clothes and ornaments of the married woman whose husband is alive, like glass bangles, the 'karimani' (necklace of black beads) may not be worn by widows.

Srinivas notes the distinct dressing of a *sumangali's* corpse: 'The corpse of a married woman… is dressed in a colored *sari* with a colored or silver, or gold, border.' Srinivas comments, quite rightly, that the 'distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India… A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities… This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.'

5.9. A 2009 account - death and funerals

2009 – Appaiah describes in detail aspects of the treatment of death among the Coorgs. When a person is in his death throes, the Kodavas do not believe in him dying in his bed, instead they take him to the central hall. After his death, historically, fire balls were shot into the air with arrows to inform the community about a death. Now-a-days, gunshots are fired. There is difference between the treatment of men and women.

On the day of the cremation, if the deceased was a married man, his face is shaved, and then he is bathed and dressed in a reversed back-to-front, white kupya, so that it can be removed if wanted, by the family. The *chele* (sash) and the *piche kathi* are kept on the corpse, and a turban, tied on someone's knee is kept on the head of the deceased. The deceased's widow's glass bangles are broken, and her ornaments are removed. From then on till she marries again (if she does), she may not wear glass bangles again.

On the day of the cremation, if the deceased was a married woman, her corpse is dressed in colored clothes and jewelry. Her blouse (the *kala kupya*) is put on her in reverse, back to front. Her husband puts a silver coin in a small cloth bag, and ties it to her podiya at the right shoulder. He himself displays no outward sign of bereavement or loss after the mourning period is over.

For both men and women deceased, three lines of vibhuti (sacred ash) are applied on the forehead, and a gold coin is placed on the forehead. The toes are tied together, and so are the thumbs. A mirror, some vibhuti and a sacred book like the *Gita,* are placed on the chest in front of the hands. The gold coin symbolically represents heaven, *swarga loka*. A canopy of red silk is erected over the corpse. After dressing the corpse, the close relatives and first grade mourners bathe with their clothes on.

Previously, male mourners wore a white kupya with blue sash, now-a-days, they wear a white dhothi and a *nipputhuni.* The women wear white sarees, and cover their shoulders with the *nipputhuni*. (Previously, the women wore the white podiya without a blouse, but that custom has died out.) No ornaments are worn, and the women leave their hair loose. If the mourner is a son-in-law, he should wear the traditional Kodava *kendanolli* (red vastra) on his shoulders. If a mourner is a daughter-in-law, she must lay the *kendanolli* on her head, and place the *muri* on top of that. *Muri* is a length of coarse unused, white cloth, seven-and-a-half feet for men, and sixteen-and-a-half for women. Family members receive both *muri* and *kendanolli* and place it by the side of the head of the deceased. A Kembatti poliya or polthi (a specific lower caste man or woman in Kodagu) younger than the deceased, is given a white mundu or white podiya, and they dance slowly to the beat of a drum.

During the visit to the deceased, neither headdress nor footwear must be worn. Next to the deceased, a plate is kept, and mourners keep money on it so they family can use it for funeral expenses. If the body is to be cremated, the white kupya or podiya is (may be) given away to the poliya or polthi. If that is the case, the body is then wrapped with a long white cloth from head to toe, and three women smear turmeric-colored oil from head to toe with their left hands twisted sideways (this practice is called *therangai*). The *muri* cloth is donated to the servants.

There are several strata of mourning – and the first grade, important mouners have to wear a shoulder cloth (called *nipputhuni* by Appaiah, and *tundu* by Srinivas) and the men in addition have to wear a waist cloth called a *mundu.* Men mourners shave immediately after the cremation and do not shave again until ritual mourning is over, as in the *maada.*

(*There is a greater burden on Kodava women to show widowhood and bereavement than on the men, this burden is a commonplace happening in many cultures.*)

5.10. Kodava women's clothing, accessories and rituals – a mix

Coorg women's clothing and accessories are a combination of different adaptations and borrowings…Brahmin, Muslim, Keralite, British, etc. There are some uniquely Coorg customs too that influence their clothing. The marital status of the woman dictated a lot of sartorial customs.

Sanskritized rituals like the exchange of garlands occur but after the groom gives the bride sweetened milk in a silver *kini*, when he holds her hand and passes her a *paun* (a gold coin). The bride then touches the groom's feet (*kaal pudipe)* three times. The newly married groom is called a *puttangara*, and the newly wedded bride is called a *puttangarti*. Both, the mothers of the groom and bride, put the *pavale maale*, a two strand (*dhund sara*) cord design chain around their children's necks after lighting a lamp for the *ur kudva* ceremony; the *pavale maale* has to be worn for the single or *dampathy* (couple) muhurta the following day too.

A woman whose husband is alive is called a *sumangali*, she wears a gold and black bead chain called the *karimani* given to her at maturity by her own mother. The *kari mani* has a dual purpose – it signalled to the rest of the community that the girl had matured and was now ready for marriage. In the past, the *pathak* sufficed for the purpose of declaring the married state. Before the *karimani* began to signify the married state, the Coorg *pathak* (a cobra hood on a gold coin, with gold and coral beads on either side) was the symbol of being married, but this too was given by the bride's mother to her daughter. (The cobra is a symbol of fertility.) Both the *karimani* and the *pathak* are given by the bride's mother to the bride; the *karimani* when she becomes 'mature', and the *pathak* on the night of the *urkudva* ceremony.

The day after the wedding, the bride wears a white saree with a colored border. And then she puts on the toe rings (a borrowing from the Brahmins) on the second toe. Her bridal jewelry remains on her person. Afterwards, all foot accessories and jewelry are removed, except for the toe ring on the second toe (called the *kamoira*) reflecting the strong Brahmin influence from neighboring Mysore and the Kannadigas. Only a *sumangali* can wear the *kamoira*.

Muslim influence is evident with the use of delicate mehendi designs for hands and feet, especially for the bride. The groom too has a superficial, crude mehendi application.

The wedding band - a borrowing from the British - is a living testimony to British colonization. It is given to the bride after the wedding is over by the groom to the bride in the bedroom. The bride in turn doesn't give her husband

any ring, unlike the Christian weddings of the West where both bride and groom sport wedding bands.

Some Kodava clothing customs are reminscent of the north of India, especially the color of the wedding saree (red, dark pink), and the color of clothes of funeral rites (white). In the past, Coorg widows wore white in perpetuity till they died, and wore no or the bare minimum ornaments, somewhat like widows in north India. Hindus in north India too follow the wearing of white for the mourning period and widowhood.

5.11. Kodava clothing customs and the rest of India

Kodava women have always been well educated, and polished in appearance. Their apparel differs from daily wear to traditional festivals like *Kail Podh* and functions like marriages and funerals.

Kodava women dress in a manner that is unique to their community. The pleats of the podiya are tucked into the petticoat string around the waist. The pallu wrapped around the back and pulled over the right shoulder and tied in the front with a knot (molakattu), or kept together with a brooch. Chemise and ankle length petticoats are worn under the sari. A long-sleeved jacket (kala kupya) with or without a closed collar is the blouse. Married women, during functions, cover their heads with a cloth, five feet on each side with edges over the ears and then tied in the back with ribbons. This head garment is called a chowka. A widow will wear only white. CHECK

5.12. **The bridegroom's clothing**

Clothing/accessories	Rice	Srinivas	Appaiah
White men's 'robe'	White kupya a.k.a. long coat	White kupya a.k.a. white cotton gown	White kupya
Chele	Sash of red or blue wrapped around the coat	Red and gold slk chele (sash secures gown at waist)	Red and gold chele
Coorg knife/dagger/pichekathi	Coorg knife with ivory or silver handle and chains of silver	Pichekathi. Ornamental Coorg knife	Piche kathi
A red kerchief	A red kerchief		Folded check vastra
Flat turban	Flat turban	Paani mande thuni	Paani mande thuni
Feet bare	Feet bare or light sandals	Feet bare	Not mentioned
Jomale	Jomala/rudrakshi bead necklace	Many ornaments worn	Not mentioned
Silver or gold bracelets	Silver or gold bracelets	Many ornaments	Katti ballae
Crescent moon kokethathi	Lunulate ornament called Kokadadi	Many ornaments	Kokkethathi
Silver or gold ear rings/kadku	Silver or gold ear rings with pearls/precious stones	Many ornaments	Kadaque (ear rings) a.k.a. kadku
Odikathi/ Coorg sword	Curved broad bladed Coorg sword (Odikatti)	Broad Coorg sword, Odikatti	Not mentioned with bridegroom, but with *bojakara/aruva*
Thodang (clasp holding odikathi)	Brass clasp for the odikatti	Clasp	Not mentioned
Chengolae/waist chain	Not mentioned	Clasp chain tied to groom's waist	Not mentioned
Pommale/ necklace	Not mentioned	Many ornaments	Not mentioned
Pavalamalae/ necklace	Not mentioned	Many ornaments	Not mentioned

5.13. **The** Coorg widow's clothing immediately after husband's death

Clothing/accessories	Rice	Srinivas	Appaiah
White cotton saree		White cotton saree	White saree/podiya
White cotton blouse		White cotton blouse	
White cotton scarf		White cotton scarf	
No other color		No other color or colored border	
White nipputhuni (shoulder cloth)		PAGE 86/87	White nipputhuni
No gold ornaments			Ornaments removed
No karimani			
No glass bangles			Glass bangles broken
No footwear			No footwear
No head covering			No head covering

5.14. **The** Coorg widower clothing (and practices) immediately after wife's death

Clothing/accessories	Rice	Srinivas	Appaiah
Silver coin tied to shoulder of wife's saree			Silver coin tied to shoulder of wife's podiya
White shoulder cloth/nipputhuni		White shoulder cloth (mundu)	White shoulder cloth/nipputhuni
White waist cloth		White waist cloth (tundu)	White waist cloth (panche)

5.15. Coorg mourning clothes for women

Clothing/accessories	Rice	Srinivas	Appaiah
White Kodava podiya		White Kodava podiya	White Kodava podiya
White cotton shoulder cloth/nipputhuni		White cotthon shoulder cloth/nipputhuni	White cotton shoulder cloth/nipputhuni
No ornaments		No ornaments (except those connected to the married state)	No ornaments except for married women who must wear symbols of being a sumangli
No footwear		Barefoot	Barefoot
No head covering		No head covering	No head covering
Hair left loose			Hair left loose

5.16. **The** Coorg mourners' clothing for men

Clothing/accessories	Rice	Srinivas	Appaiah
White cloth around the waist		CHECK	White dhothi
White cloth around shoulders		CHECK	Nipputhuni
White kupya			White kupya (extinct practice)
Shaving of head and face after funeral		Shaving of head and face after funeral	Shaving of head and face after funeral
Remaining unshaved till Maada		Remaining unshaven till maada	Remaining unshaven till maada

5.13. **The bridegroom's clothing, Coorg male and female mourners, etc – Ahamad to help**

Chapter VI: Kodava-thak and the Kodava lexicon on clothing

6.1. A brief introduction to India's linguistic diversity

Truly, there is no place on the planet that has such diverse language variation as India. India currently – in 2015 - has more than a thousand languages. The fact that India has been home to four different language families – Indo-Aryan (Indo-Iranian sub-family), Sino-Tibetan (or Tibeto-Burman), Munda (or the Austroasiatic) and Dravidian – over several thousand years is now well established.

6.2. The Dravidian language family

The Dravidian language family is the world's fifth largest language family with over 200 million speakers in South Asia (Krishnamurti 2003). Most Dravidian languages are located in the southern and central parts of the Indian sub-continent. The exceptions are Northern India, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan (Brahui). (Burrow and Emeneau 1984)

Proto-Dravidian (PD) is the putative parent ancestor of south Dravidian languages.

6.3. South Dravidian languages

South Dravidian languages include Badaga, Betta Kurumba, Kannada, **Kodava-thak**, Kota, Malayalam, Tamil, Toda, and, Tulu. Four of the southern languages have long literary, written traditions – Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and, Telugu, with scripts. Current languages spoken in Kodagu include **Kodava-thak**, Are Bhashe, Kannada, Kasaragod Malayalam, Yerava, Kuruba, Konkani, Urdu, Tulu and English.

6.4. Kodava-thak

The Kodava language, a.k.a. Kodava-thak, the Coorg language, spoken by Coorgs (Kodavas) is from South India, and in the past, specifically confined to Kodagu in Karnataka. Kodava-thak is a 'Dravidian language' with several lexical items that make it an independent language, according to famed linguist and scholar, M.B. Emeneau. Though an independent Dravidian language, it is related to Tamil and Malayalam, with ancestry traced to Old Tamil, and borrowings from Kannada, the language in its neighborhood. There are some lexical items that bear a strong similarity to Tamil, probably reflecting the common ancestry the two languages – Tamil and Kodava-thak – bear.

Kodagu has three linguistic areas in the immediate vicinity – Kannada, Malayalam, and Tulu. For most of its written history, Kodavas were in constant contact with Malayalam and Kannada. Kodavas of the past traded with Malayalam speakers, and were thus influenced by their language. Coorg shares

a boundary with Kerala in the southwest, and many plantation labourers, carpenters and masons, and Mapilla cloth traders from Kerala settled in Coorg. And there lexical items that reflect neighboring Kannada language's influence. Kodava-thak has five long and five short vowels – /a i u e o/ and two additional vowels not common in Dravidian origins languages, or the Kannada script - /i/ - a high central unrounded vowel, and /e/ - a mid-central unrounded vowel. /i/ sounds like the 'e' in roses, and /e/ sounds like the 'u' in bust.

Being a non-literary language, Kodava-thak is not given as much prominence as other Dravidian languages with a literary tradition. Kodava-thak has two dialects – Mendele, and Kiggati spoken in Kiggat-nad, South Coorg.

6.5. The spread of Kodava-thak in Kodagu

It is a common occurrence – things, events, social conduct of the upperclass are emulated by others, including their houses, clothes, customs, manners, rituals, and spoken language to become symbols of superior status. Kodava-thak is spoken - apart from the Kodavas - by Amma Kodavas, Kodava Peggade, Kodava Maplas, communities like the Airi (smiths and carpenters), Thatta (jewellers), Koyava, Banna, Madivala (washermen), Hajama (barbers), Kembatti Poliyas, Meda (basket. mat weavers & drummers), Male-Kudiya, Maringi, Kapala, Kanya, Banna, Malaya (astrologers of Malayala origin), Kodagu Golla (cowherds of Mysorean origin), Kodagu Ganiga and others.

Most of the people in Kodagu are bi-lingual, speaking at least Kodava-thak and Kannada, which is used for official purposes, and many are tri-lingual, speaking English or their own Dravidian tongue in addition. It has been theorised that the Kodavas are of non-Dravidian stock due to their facial features and their culture, which includes their unique clothing. However, the Kodavas of old, gave up their original mother tongue (most probably an extinct Indo-Aryan tongue) and adopted the Dravidian language family Kodava-thak language. Such a shift is common all over the world. In India, there are many cases of different ethnic groups adopting another language from a different language family.

6.6. The ancestry of Kodava-thak

Several theories put forth the idea that Kodavas are of Indo-European descent. But their Dravidian language is of South Dravidian ancestry. Proto South Dravidian gave birth to Proto-Tamil-Kannada, which in turn lead to Proto-Tamil-Toda. This spawned Proto-Tamil-Kodagu, which lead to Proto-Tamil-Malayalam. Kodava-thak is descended from Proto-Tamil-Kodagu, and according to many scholars is older than its sister language, Malayalam. The reason for this claim – many of the words in Proto South Dravidian still exist in the Kodava-thak language, which has two dialects, Mendele and Kiggati. Mendele is Central Kodagu Kodava-thak influenced by north Malabar. Kiggati is South Kodagu Kodava-thak influenced by West Mysore.

6.7. Code-mixing and code-switching in Kodagu

Kodava-thak has two dialects but shows no strong differences in the communities that inhabit Kodagu. Code-mixing and code-switching are both commonplace. Code-mixing happens when speaking/writing one code or language, and using vocabulary from a totally different code or language. Code-switching, on the other hand, happens when speakers switch from one language to another, while speaking/writing from one code to another. Kodavas both mix or switch code from Kodava-thak to English, and sometimes to Kannada, Hindi or Malayalam. Kodavas outside Coorg do more code-mixing and code-switching than residents of Coorg. Rich and educated Kodavas do more mixing code-switching to English, compared to those of the lower middle class, whose code-mixing uses more local languages. Kodavas of Kodagu show a high percentage of bilingualism.

6.8. Kodava-thak and the influences of other languages

Kodavas use Kodava-thak in their homes, and for social occasions. Kodavas use other languages in office settings and in the marketplace. Kodavas, because of their geographical location, have been influenced by Malayalam and Kannada; Malayalam because of trade, the common boundary Coorg shares with Kerala in the southwest, and the plantation labourers, artisans like carpenters and masons, and Mapilla cloth traders who travel to Coorg from Kerala.

Kodava language has borrowed from Kannada because of its histircal associaltion with Kodagu. Kannada is the court language of Coorg from the time of the Haleri dynasty from the17th Century to the nineteenth century (1834).

In 1834, after the establishment of the British rule, schools in Coorg used Kannada as the medium of instruction (Mysore State Gazetteer 1965 pp. 403).

6.10. Kodava-thak and the clothing lexicon of the Kodavas

The language of the Kodavas, Kodava-thak, is a Dravidian language, influenced by its ancestry and its location and political governance over the centuries.

In fact, one of the important lexical terms for saree in Kodava-thak (Podiya) has a shared lexical item with a sister language, Tamil (Podavae). Apart from this solitary conection to Tamil, there are also many lexical items shared with Kannada. 'Ballae' means bangle in both Kodava-thak and Kannada. NOTE FOR AHMAD – only Kodava-thak and English in this table

6.11. Table: The bride's clothing in Kodava-thak and English

English name	**Kodava-thak name**
Kodava sari	Kodava Podiya
The veil	Musque
Tied headcloth	Vastra
The bride's accessories	
Neck ornaments	

6.9. Kodava lexicon of clothing terms in Kodava-thak and other languages

The bride's clothing in English, Kodava-thak, Sankethi and Konkani

English	**Kodava-thak**	**Sankethi**	**Konkani**
Kodava sari	Kodava Podiya		
The veil	Musque		
Tied headcloth	Vastra		
The bride's accessories			
Neck ornaments			
Pavala necklace	Pavala male (dhund sara)	Pavala male	Pavana male
Hooded cobra on gold sovereign	Pathak	----------	……..
Crescent moon pendant & chain	Kokethathi	Ursus wear it	
Black bead gold chain	Kari mani/karta mani	Karimani	Dhare mani
Gold cardamom like bead chain	Jomale	Vaishyas/Shettiars	
Hand ornaments			
Set of rings for each finger	Kaisare	*Worn*	
Double bracelet	Jodi kadaga	*Rich people*	

Glass bangles (black, green and red)	Ballae	Worn by all	Black with gold work
Bracelet	Api ballae	Middle class	
Bracelet	Pin ballae	Middle class	
Bracelet	Vajra katti ballae	Middle class	
Bracelet with sharp wedges	Pounch		

Face ornaments

Bindi on forehead	Nethi da bottu	All communities	Tilo
Pearl/diamond nose ring		Vajra muk bottu	Nanka bottu
Diamond ear ring	Vajra vaale	Vajra vole (rich)	Kudkan jadu
Pearl ear ring	Muththu vale	Mutthuna vole	
Gold ear ring	Ponnu vaale	Chinnada vole	
Gold and pearl ear ring	Jhumki	Jhumki	Jhumki

Hair ornaments

Chain from earring to plait	Maatal	Matti	Matti
Plait decoration	Chauri katti	Dancers wear this	Chauri
Plait decoration	Jadae billae	Jadae billae	
Gold and lacquer full moon hair decoration (on top of plait)			
Gold and lacquer crescent moon hair decoration			
Gold and lacquer rectangular hair decoration			
Pure gold jasmine flowers in decreasing size			Bangare mogare
Real flower hair garlands	Poomale	Humale	Ask madhu

Foot ornaments

Unique silver toe rings with anklet	Kaal pilli		
Toe ring on second toe	Kamoira	Kaal berulu ungra	Ask Madhu
A silver chain anklet	Kaal gejje	Kaal gejje	Gejjae
Set of toe rings chained to anklet	Padasarea		
Silver anklets		Kaal ballae	
Foot ornaments	Padaga, pilli, kalsara & gaggara		

Saree ornaments

Brooch		Serae pin	

The bridegroom's clothing

White long sleeved robe	Kupya
Red silk cummerband	Chele
Cream and gold turban	Mande thuni

Men's accessories

Gold and coral bead chain	Pommale
(i) Pavala maale	
Crescent moon pendant and chain	Kokathathi
Men's solid gold bracelet	Kattiballae
Silver dagger, with sheath	Piche kathi
Coorg sword	Odikathi
Silver clasp to hold odikathi	Thodangu
Rosewood and silver bell staff	Gejje thand
Ear ring	Kadaku

VII. Data analysis and statistics

7.1. Introduction

General topics covered include occupation, education, marital status in the geographic areas - Virajpet and Madikeri. Clothing specific topics include protective clothing, and, festive support with other caste participation. The wedding-specific support includes the bangle wearing ceremony of the bride-to-be, and laying out the white cloth for groom and bride to walk on, on the way to the *murta.* Wedding, festival and funeral clothing are covered, and so are accessories like elaborate face, hand, foot and podiya decorations for the bride, and neck and hand jewelry, and weapons for the groom.

Table No. 1.A. Population covered in Kodagu

Graph No. 1.A. Population covered in Kodagu

Table No.1.A Analysis: Fifty Madikeri and fifty Virajpet residents were chosen. To make the assessment more comprehensive, fifty respondents were in the 18 to 40 years age group, and the rest fifty were in the 41+ age group. The third division was that fifty were men and fifty were women. A bais that has crept into this group is that although the study started out being on the Kodavas of Kodagu, three of the respondents were Amma Kodavas, and the rest, ninetyseven, were Kodavas. This fact was noticed only after the questionnaire answers were being tallied after field work was over.

Table No. 1.B. Cases covered in Kodagu

Graph No. 1. B. Cases covered in Kodagu

Table No. 1 B. Analysis: Of the fifty respondents chosen in Madikeri, fortynine were Kodavas, and one was an Amma Kodava. In Virajpet, fortyeight were Kodavas, and two were Amma Kodavas.

Table No. 1 C. Men and women distribution

Graph No. 1.C. Men and women distribution

Table No. 1.C. Analysis: Fortynine Kodava men and one Amma Kodava man, fortyeight Kodava women and two Amma Kodava women were interviewed.

Table No. 1.D. Age-wise cases in Madikeri and Virajpet

Graph No. 1.D. Agewise cases in Madikeri and Virajpet

Table No. 1. D. Analysis: There were twentyfive women in the 18 to 40 age group, and twentyfive women in the 41+ age group. There were twentyfive men in the 18 to 40 age group, and twentyfive men in the 41+ age group. There was one Amma Kodava man in the 41+ age group, and there were two Amma Kodava women, one unmarried student (in Madikeri) and one married (from Virajpet), both in the below 40 age group.

Table No. 1. E. i. Marital status

Graph No. 1. E. i. Marital status

Table No. 1. E.i. Analysis: There were seven single men, below the age of forty, the rest were married in the 18 to 40 age group in Madikeri and Virajpet combined. There were six single women, all in the 18 to 40 age group combined in Virajpet and Madikeri. All six single women were students. The rest were married. Fortythree men and fortytwo women were married with living spouses. Two women over the age of forty were widows.

Table No. 1. E. ii. Number of offspring for the men

Graph No. E.ii. Number of offspring for the men

Table No. 1.E. ii. Analysis: There were a total of fortythree married men among the respondents. The Kodava male respondents in Madikeri had eleven boys and eighteen girls. In Virajpet, the men had eight boys and twentyseven girls (eight in the below forty category, and nineteen in the above fortyone category. Two respondents in the 18 to 40 category in Virajpet said they had no children. In Madikeri, seven respondents, separately, marked that they had children but not the number or the sex. Another four respondents in Madikeri and three in Virajpet were single, and had no children. This data shows that the girl child is more prevalent than the boy child among Kodavas. The data also clearly shows that begating offspring is intimately connected to the security of a marriage.

Table No. 1. E.iii. Number of offspring for the women

Graph No. 1. E.iii. Number of offspring for the women

Table No. 1. E.iii. Analysis: There were a total of fortyfour married women, including two widows in Virajpet, who were both over the age of fortyone. Continuing the same trend as the men, the number of girl children outnumbered the boy children. In Madikeri, the women had five boys and nine girls, and in Virajpet, they had eleven boys and nineteen girls. Eleven respondents marked that they had children but not the number or the sex. Four women in Madikeri had no children and one respondent had no children in Virajpet. There were two single women in Madikeri, and three single women in Virajpet, all below the age of forty, with no offspring. One more Amma Kodava girl was married but a student, and had no offspring. It clearly shows that, as with the men, begating offspring only happens with the security of a marriage, and that a skewed sex ratio - having girl children is more common then boy children. Of the married women, one Amma Kodava below the age of forty, had one daughter.

Table No. 1. E. iv. Children's settlement patterns for the men

Graph No. 1. E. iv. Children's settlement patterns for the men

Table No. 1. E. iv. Analysis: Among the men respondents of Madikeri, 10 offspring were settled within Karnataka, and about 26 were settled outside Kodagu, but within India. There was no information for four children, and only child one was settled outside India. In Virajpet, 10 children were settled in Karnataka, one within Kodagu, 15 within India outside Karnataks, four outside India, and there was no information for one child. Both Madikeri and Virajpet had the same kind of settlement trends – with India having the largest settlement, followed by Karnataka.

Table No. 1. E. v. Children's settlement patterns for the women

Graph No. 1. E. v. Children's settlement patterns for the women

Table No. 1. E. v. Analysis: Of the 44 married women, four women in Madikeri and one respondent in Virajpet had no children. Eighteen children from Madikeri, and, 17 children from Virajpet were settled outside Karnataka. Seven children were settled within Karnataka, two within Kodagu, two outside India, and one was unspecified. Offspring settlement patterns reflect the same trends that appear in men's offspring settlement patterns.

Table No. 1 E. vi. Occupation profile for men

Graph No. 1. E. vi.Occupation profile for men

Table No. E. vi. Analysis: As is the common stereotype, the largest number of Kodagu respondents followed some occupation in agriculture. Estate owners, farmers and plantation owners were in the majority among the men. Thirteen people in Madikeri, and 21 in Virajpet were either planters or farmers. Sixteen others had other occupations. In Virajpet, eight people (three in the 18 to 40 age group, and five over 40) had day jobs as well as owning estates. A few of the jobs included HRD managers (two), IT, BEML (three people), gemologist, value added agricultural jobs like soft drink industry, lawyers (four), etc. The sole Amma Kodava man had a fish business and was also a planter. Six of the single men who were also students had neither a job nor an estate.

Table No. 1 E. vii. Occupation profile for women

Graph No. 1 E. vii. Occupation profile for women

Table No. 1 E. vii. Analysis: As with the men, the largest number of women owned estates – seven in Madikeri, and 15 in Virajpet. Nine women in Madikeri and four women in Virajpet did not respond. The next listing was the housewives – two in Madikeri and nine in Virajpet. Almost all the housewives also had estates. There were seven students, and only one student had an estate. There were two Amma Kodava women, both below the age of forty; the married Amma Kodava woman owned an estate in Virajpet and also had a day job as a Civil Judge. The Amma Kodava girl was a student in Madikeri.

Table No. 1. F. i. Mother tongue Kodava-thak

Graph No. 1. F. i. Mother tongue Kodava-thak

Table No. 1. F. i. Analysis: All respondents used Kodava-thak as their mother tongue at home. Ninety seven Kodavas and three Amma Kodavas all spoke Kodava-thak. Since all responses were in English, it is concluded that all the respondents were bilingual, if not multilingual. (Kannada is the official language

Table No. 1. F. ii. Education levels

Graph No. 1. F. ii. Education levels

Table No. 1. F. ii. Analysis: As far as education was concerned, both men and women showed more or less the same responses. Respondents gave varied answers from 10^{th} standard to the Master's degree for level of education completed. Eight respondents had

completed upto 10th standard. Twenty one had completed PUC. BA/B.Com, B.Sc.accounted for 60 people, the largest grouping, and M.A/MBA accounted for another nine. Other degrees like LLB accounted for two. Surprisingly, no M.Phil. or Ph.D.degree holders were in the group studied. This lack of higher educational qualifications might be due to the small sample studied, or other reasons which have not been discovered.

Table No. 1. G.i. Traditional Kodava clothing customs followed

Graph No. 1. G.i. Traditional Kodava clothing customs followed

Table No. 1. G.i. Analysis: Of the hundred respondents asked whether clothing customs were the domain of the men, or the women, or both men and women, all the Kodavas, men as well as women said that both the men and the women were tasked with the responsibility of safeguarding Kodava clothing traditions. The Amma Kodavas on the other hand differed. The sole Amma Kodava man thought that the domain of keeping clothing tradition safe was that of a man's, and the older Amma Kodava woman too felt that upholding Kodava clothing tradition was the domain of the woman.

Table No. 1. G. ii. Reasons for younger generation of women not wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G.ii. Reasons for younger generation of women not wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1.G. ii. Analysis: This question was aimed at the 18 to 40 age group in both Madikeri and Virajpet (Weddings were not part of this question). The top reason given was that they preferred Western clothes for social occasions (15). The next two reasons were moving out of Coorg (5) and working outside Coorg (3). There were no takers for Indian clothing replacing the Kodava podiya. Two people did not give any response.

Table No. 1. G. iii. Occasions for wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G. iii. Occasions for wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1. G. iii. Analysis: Of the 50 people interviewed, only two women over the age of 41, both from Virajpet, wore the Kodava podiya at home. None of the interviewees wore the Kodava podiya to work. The turnout of Kodavathis wearing Kodava podiya to festivals like Huthri and Kail Podh, was quite high – 12 below the age of forty and 10 above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and eight below the age of forty and 11 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet. For social engagements like weddings, bethrothals, 15 women below the age of forty, and nine above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 12 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For funerals too, 14

below the age of forty, and 9 above the age of fortyone in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 11 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya, mostly in a white combination. To attend naming ceremonies, 14 below the age of forty, and seven above the age of fortyone in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 12 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For Satyanarayana homas, or housewarmings, nine below the age of forty, and another nine above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and five below the age of forty and 12 above the age of forty one in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For religious functions as in temples, just eight women in Virajpet and an equal number in Madikeri wore the Kodava podiya. For visiting other Coorgs, just one woman below forty in Madikeri, and three women (one below forty, and two above forty) in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya.

Table No. 1. G. iv. Frequency of wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G. iv. Frequency of wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1. G. iv. Analysis: This table is allied to the previous table, 1.G.iii. All the women wore the Kodava podiya, married, widowed and single, student or working woman. But only three women (two women from Madikeri and one from Virajpet, all in the 41+ age group) reported wearing the Kodava podiya on a monthly basis as well as on all social occasions. The rest 47 women wore the Kodava podiya only for various social occasions such as weddings, religious festivals, naming ceremonies, and Coorg festivals like Huthri and Kail Podh, as and when they came. Daily and weekly uses of the Kodava podiya have not been noted.

Table No. 1. G. v. Kodava podiya colors worn

Graph No. 1. G. v. Kodava podiya colors worn

Table No. 1. G. v. Analysis: There were forty four married women, of which one woman had had a court marriage and had not worn a red bridal Kodava podiya. The remaining six single women all said they would wear a red silk Kodava podiya for their weddings. Red silk Kodava podiyas were uniformly considered proper bridal dressing. There were three no responses, except for funeral dressing. Everyone said that white or very light shades like cream, was the color for funerals. For other people's weddings, any color silk saree except white and red could be worn. A few ladies said that they would not wear white or black for weddings, naming ceremonies, festivals or housewarmings. The clothing for housewarmings, and naming ceremonies was lightcolored and simple. Both Amma Kodava women, both below forty, had the exact same choices in Kodava podiya colors for different occasions as the Kodava women.

Table No. 1. G. vi. Clothing worn as a bride

Graph No 1. G.vi Clothing worn as a bride

Table No. 1. G. vi. Analysis: Fortytwo of the 44 married women (both Amma Kodava and Kodavas) wore the red silk Kodava bridal podiya. Thirtyeight of the women wore the musque (the Coorg veil). The same 38 women also wore the vastra (head covering) as brides. A distinction must be made here – *vastra* is worn for the *urkudva* ceremony, and *musque* is worn for the *murta*. Both are head coverings. Three people did not give complete answers. Two people wore only the red bridal Kodava podiya without *musque* or *vastra*. One person, who had a court marriage, wore no Kodava clothes at all. Only one person mentioned wearing the Coorg jacket-blouse (a.k.a. *kala kupya*), which was commonplace in the past.

A 'strange' part of the answers received was that 13 women as brides wore footwear, baffling because all Kodava wedding ceremonies should be done barefoot by the bride and groom, and the huge amount of foot jewelry would make it cumbersome for the bride to wear any form of footwear.

Table No. 1. G. vii. a. & b. Traditional Kodava bridal accessories

Table No. 1.G. vii. a & b. Traditional Kodava bridal accessories

Table No. 1. G. vii. a. & b. Analysis: The women were questioned about 32 items of bridal accessories – neck, hand, face, hair, foot and saree ornaments. Six single women did not respond, though they all had opinions about the color of the bridal podiya they would wear as brides. There were no responses at all from two married women (one had a court wedding). Forty two married women responded about bridal accessories used during their weddings.

Bridal neck accessories included pavale male (a.k.a. dhund sara) - 36, pathak (the cobra medallion) - 39, kokethathi (crescent moon pendant) - 39, kari mani (string of black beads) - 39, double strand jomale (a necklace that resembles a string of cardamom pods) – 42 responses.

Hand ornaments included kaisare - 34, jodi kadaga (the double rod bracelet) - 35, glass bangles - 38, api ballae - 17, pin ballae- 13, vajra katti ballae - 17, and pounch - 25. Face ornaments included nethi da bottu (the bindi on the forehead) - 41, pearl or diamond nose ring - 11, vajra vale (diamond ear ring) - 3, muththu vale (pearl ear ring) -11, ponnu vale (gold ear ring) - 34, and jhumki (gold and pearl ear ring) 24 responses.

Hair ornaments included maatal - 13, chauri katti (plait decoration) -16, jadae billae - 19, gold and lacquer full moon hair decoration -6, gold and lacquer crescent moon hair decoration - 1, gold and lacquer rectangular hair decoration -1, pure gold jasmine flowers in decreasing size - 17, and poomale (real flowers) – 39 responses.

Next came foot ornaments such as kaal pilli (different design silver toe rings with chains covering the foot and connected to anklet) - 31, toe ring on second toe - 25, kaal gejje (a silver chain anklet) - 29, padasarae (a Kannada word tha stands for a set of toe rings linked by chains to anklet) - 20, and anklets of varying design – 27 responses. The padaga (anklet), pilli (is the silver foot ornament toe rings and chains that cover the entire foot andconnectedtoan anklet), kalsara (anklet chain) and gaggara (gejje bells that jingle) are silver foot ornaments. Foot ornaments netted 20 to 31 responses.

The last covered podiya (saree) decoration was the brooch – 40 responses. The brooch got 40 responses, logical because the Kodava podiya has to be clasped together with the brooch. The tribals of Coorg who wear the Kodava podiya too, use a knot instead of the brooch. Being economically better of than some of the tribals may be one reason Kodava women use brooches for their weddings.

Neck ornaments got the maximum responses - from 36 to 41. The pathak, which is hooded cobra on a gold coin, is considered the Kodava mangalsutra, or wedding symbol. It got 39 responses. It is given to the bride by her own mother on the *ur kudva* ceremony, the night before the wedding. The kokethathi and karimani too got 39 responses each. The karimani is a borrowing from mainstream Hinduism, and was worn quietly by the Kodava girl when she got ‘mature’, as a symbol that she was now ready for marriage. This wearing of the karimani to signal maturity and readiness to get married backs the historical fact that the Kodavas have never had child marriage, as both the groom and the bride needed to be physically ‘mature’ to be married. For women, the sign of maturity – the karimani - signaled to the community that she was now of marriageable age. The kokethathi with its crescent moon shape is a common piece of wedding jewelry for the Kodavas.

The toe ring on the second toe is again a borrowing from mainstream Hinduism probably infuenced by Mysore, as is the kaal gejje, a thinish silver anklet chain. The complicated silver kaal pilli seems to be a uniquely Kodava piece of jewelry, with a different design toe ring for each toe, all connected to the anklet through fine silver chains.

Some hand ornaments were common – glass bangles, jodi kadaga and kaisare netted 38, 35 and 34 responses. Glass bangles (ballae) are a very central symbol of bridal jewelry for the Kodavas (and for most communities in India), and for ages the bangle seller has been an

important part of pre-wedding rituals in Kodava households. The pounch is a tricky and very sharp edged gold bracelet, which has the propensity to get caught in clothing, but was quite popular, netting 25 responses. Other hand ornaments were not that common, ranging from 13, 17 and 17 for pin ballae, api ballae and vajra katti ballae. Ballae can be roughly translated as 'bangle', though the Coorg ballaes were and are more like bracelets than bangles.

Table No. 1. G. viii. Traditional clothing colors of bride's mother & mother-in-law

Graph No. 1. G. viii. Traditional clothing colors of bride's mother & mother-in-law ADD cells in WORD

Table No. 1. G. viii. Analysis: One bride each had no mother or mother-in-law. The remaining brides' responses seemed to have a common color code for both their mothers and their mothers-in-law. Red was the commonest color for sumanglis - both mothers and mothers-in-law, for both the Kodava podiya (10) and the vastra. (23); pink was the next most common color netting eight responses for the Kodava podiya, and five for the vastra. Interestingly, one bride's mother, who was a widow had worn pink for both podiya and vastra. Blue was the next most common color for sumanglis with six responses for podiya and the same number for vastra. Orange was next with five each for podiya and vastra. One Coorg widow wore a white vastra and a yellow podiya – light colors that mark widowhood. The footwear color most preferred was black netting eighteen responses. Other colors used for footwear were orange (5), silver, gold, brown, and maroon (2). The responses are in tandem with other questions asked about significant colors – white, red, black, and the not so significant colors - pink, orange and blue. Sixteen women did not respond.

Table No. 1. G. ix. Continuing clothing traditions

GraphNo. 1. G. ix.: Continuing clothing traditions – to check if all the tables above go with the analysis done on 14 april

Table No. 1. G. ix. Analysis: The white umbrella held over the bride by the *bojakarti* (matron of honor) and the white cloth spread on the ground by the washerman for the bride to walk on was mentioned by 43 of the 44 married women. This clearly shows that the protective function of umbrellas to shield the bride in case of heavy rain remains unchanged, and that the lower castes still play a prominent part in Kodava *mangalas*, especially Kodava weddings in laying out the white cloth for the barefooted bride to walk on.

No married women mentioned wearing a white podiya with a colored border the day after the wedding, which we can assume means the dying out or slow disappearance of this particular tradition.

Table No. 1.A. Population covered in Kodagu

Graph No. 1.A. Population covered in Kodagu

Table No.1.A Analysis: Fifty Madikeri and fifty Virajpet residents were chosen. To make the assessment more comprehensive, fifty respondents were in the 18 to 40 years age group, and the rest fifty were in the 41+ age group. The third division was that fifty were men and fifty were women. A bais that has crept into this group is that although the study started out being on the Kodavas of Kodagu, three of the respondents were Amma Kodavas, and the rest, ninetyseven, were Kodavas. This fact was noticed only after the questionnaire answers were being tallied after field work was over.

Table No. 1.B. Cases covered in Kodagu

Graph No. 1. B. Cases covered in Kodagu

Table No. 1 B. Analysis: Of the fifty respondents chosen in Madikeri, fortynine were Kodavas, and one was an Amma Kodava. In Virajpet, fortyeight were Kodavas, and two were Amma Kodavas.

Table No. 1 C. Men and women distribution

Graph No. 1.C. Men and women distribution

Table No. 1.C. Analysis: Fortynine Kodava men and one Amma Kodava man, fortyeight Kodava women and two Amma Kodava women were interviewed.

Table No. 1.D. Age-wise cases in Madikeri and Virajpet

Graph No. 1.D. Agewise cases in Madikeri and Virajpet

Table No. 1. D. Analysis: There were twentyfive women in the 18 to 40 age group, and twentyfive women in the 41+ age group. There were twentyfive men in the 18 to 40 age group, and twentyfive men in the 41+ age group. There was one Amma Kodava man in the 41+ age group, and there were two Amma Kodava women, one unmarried student (in Madikeri) and one married (from Virajpet), both in the below 40 age group.

Table No. 1. E. i. Marital status

Graph No. 1. E. i. Marital status

Table No. 1. E.i. Analysis: There were seven single men, below the age of forty, the rest were married in the 18 to 40 age group in Madikeri and Virajpet combined. There were six single women, all in the 18 to 40 age group combined in Virajpet and Madikeri. All six single women were students. The rest were married. Fortythree men and fortytwo women were married with living spouses. Two women over the age of forty were widows.

Table No. 1. E. ii. Number of offspring for the men

Graph No. E.ii. Number of offspring for the men

Table No. 1.E. ii. Analysis: There were a total of fortythree married men among the respondents. The Kodava male respondents in Madikeri had eleven boys and eighteen girls. In Virajpet, the men had eight boys and twentyseven girls (eight in the below forty category, and nineteen in the above fortyone category. Two respondents in the 18 to 40 category in Virajpet said they had no children. In Madikeri, seven respondents, separately, marked that they had children but not the number or the sex. Another four respondents in Madikeri and three in Virajpet were single, and had no children. This data shows that the girl child is more prevalent than the boy child among Kodavas. The data also clearly shows that begating offspring is intimately connected to the security of a marriage.

Table No. 1. E.iii. Number of offspring for the women

Graph No. 1. E.iii. Number of offspring for the women

Table No. 1. E.iii. Analysis: There were a total of fortyfour married women, including two widows in Virajpet, who were both over the age of fortyone. Continuing the same trend as the men, the number of girl children outnumbered the boy children. In Madikeri, the women had five boys and nine girls, and in Virajpet, they had eleven boys and nineteen girls. Eleven respondents marked that they had children but not the number or the sex. Four women in Madikeri had no children and one respondent had no children in Virajpet. There were two single women in Madikeri, and three single women in Virajpet, all below the age of forty, with no offspring. One more Amma Kodava girl was married but a student, and had no offspring. It clearly shows that, as with the men, begating offspring only happens with the security of a marriage, and that a skewed sex ratio - having girl children is more common then boy children. Of the married women, one Amma Kodava below the age of forty, had one daughter.

Table No. 1. E. iv. Children's settlement patterns for the men

Graph No. 1. E. iv. Children's settlement patterns for the men

Table No. 1. E. iv. Analysis: Among the men respondents of Madikeri, 10 offspring were settled within Karnataka, and about 26 were settled outside Kodagu, but within India. There was no information for four children, and only child one was settled outside India. In Virajpet, 10 children were settled in Karnataka, one within Kodagu, 15 within India outside Karnataks, four outside India, and there was no information for one child. Both Madikeri and Virajpet had the same kind of settlement trends – with India having the largest settlement, followed by Karnataka.

Table No. 1. E. v. Children's settlement patterns for the women

Graph No. 1. E. v. Children's settlement patterns for the women

Table No. 1. E. v. Analysis: Of the 44 married women, four women in Madikeri and one respondent in Virajpet had no children. Eighteen children from Madikeri, and, 17 children from Virajpet were settled outside Karnataka. Seven children were settled within Karnataka, two within Kodagu, two outside India, and one was unspecified. Offspring settlement patterns reflect the same trends that appear in men's offspring settlement patterns.

Table No. 1 E. vi. Occupation profile for men

Graph No. 1. E. vi.Occupation profile for men

Table No. E. vi. Analysis: As is the common stereotype, the largest number of Kodagu respondents followed some occupation in agriculture. Estate owners, farmers and plantation owners were in the majority among the men. Thirteen people in Madikeri, and 21 in Virajpet were either planters or farmers. Sixteen others had other occupations. In Virajpet, eight people (three in the 18 to 40 age group, and five over 40) had day jobs as well as owning estates. A few of the jobs included HRD managers (two), IT, BEML (three people), gemologist, value added agricultural jobs like soft drink industry, lawyers (four), etc. The sole Amma Kodava man had a fish business and was also a planter. Six of the single men who were also students had neither a job nor an estate.

Table No. 1 E. vii. Occupation profile for women

Graph No. 1 E. vii. Occupation profile for women

Table No. 1 E. vii. Analysis: As with the men, the largest number of women owned estates – seven in Madikeri, and 15 in Virajpet. Nine women in Madikeri and four women in Virajpet did not respond. The next listing was the housewives – two in Madikeri and nine in Virajpet. Almost all the housewives also had estates. There were seven students, and only one student had an estate. There were two Amma Kodava women, both below the age of forty; the married Amma Kodava woman owned an estate in Virajpet and also had a day job as a Civil Judge. The Amma Kodava girl was a student in Madikeri.

Table No. 1. F. i. Mother tongue Kodava-thak

Graph No. 1. F. i. Mother tongue Kodava-thak

Table No. 1. F. i. Analysis: All respondents used Kodava-thak as their mother tongue at home. Ninety seven Kodavas and three Amma Kodavas all spoke Kodava-thak. Since all responses were in English, it is concluded that all the respondents were bilingual, if not multilingual. (Kannada is the official language

Table No. 1. F. ii. Education levels

Graph No. 1. F. ii. Education levels

Table No. 1. F. ii. Analysis: As far as education was concerned, both men and women showed more or less the same responses. Respondents gave varied answers from 10^{th} standard to the Master's degree for level of education completed. Eight respondents had completed upto 10^{th} standard. Twenty one had completed PUC. BA/B.Com, B.Sc.accounted for 60 people, the largest grouping, and M.A/MBA accounted for another nine. Other degrees

like LLB accounted for two. Surprisingly, no M.Phil. or Ph.D.degree holders were in the group studied. This lack of higher educational qualifications might be due to the small sample studied, or other reasons which have not been discovered.

Table No. 1. G.i. Traditional Kodava clothing customs followed

Graph No. 1. G.i. Traditional Kodava clothing customs followed

Table No. 1. G.i. Analysis: Of the hundred respondents asked whether clothing customs were the domain of the men, or the women, or both the men and women, all the Kodavas, men as well as women said that both the men and the women were tasked with the responsibility of safeguarding Kodava clothing traditions. The Amma Kodavas on the other hand differed. The sole Amma Kodava man thought that the domain of keeping clothing tradition safe was that of a man's, and the older Amma Kodava woman too felt that upholding Kodava clothing tradition was the domain of the woman.

Table No. 1. G. ii. Reasons for younger generation of women not wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G.ii. Reasons for younger generation of women not wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1.G. ii. Analysis: This question was aimed at the 18 to 40 age group in both Madikeri and Virajpet (Weddings were not part of this question). The top reason given was that they preferred Western clothes for social occasions (15). The next two reasons were moving out of Coorg (5) and working outside Coorg (3). There were no takers for Indian clothing replacing the Kodava podiya. Two people did not give any response.

Table No. 1. G. iii. Occasions for wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G. iii. Occasions for wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1. G. iii. Analysis: Of the 50 people interviewed, only two women over the age of 41, both from Virajpet, wore the Kodava podiya at home. None of the interviewees wore the Kodava podiya to work. The turnout of Kodavathis wearing Kodava podiya to festivals like Huthri and Kail Podh, was quite high – 12 below the age of forty and 10 above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and eight below the age of forty and 11 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet. For social engagements like weddings, bethrothals, 15 women below the age of forty, and nine above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 12 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For funerals too, 14 below the age of forty, and 9 above the age of fortyone in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 11 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya, mostly in a white

combination. To attend naming ceremonies, 14 below the age of forty, and seven above the age of fortyone in Madikeri, and 13 below the age of forty and 12 above the age of fortyone in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For Satyanarayana homas, or housewarmings, nine below the age of forty, and another nine above the age of forty one in Madikeri, and five below the age of forty and 12 above the age of forty one in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya. For religious functions as in temples, just eight women in Virajpet and an equal number in Madikeri wore the Kodava podiya. For visiting other Coorgs, just one woman below forty in Madikeri, and three women (one below forty, and two above forty) in Virajpet wore the Kodava podiya.

Table No. 1. G. iv. Frequency of wearing Kodava podiya

Graph No. 1. G. iv. Frequency of wearing Kodava podiya

Table No. 1. G. iv. Analysis: This table is allied to the previous table, 1.G.iii. All the women wore the Kodava podiya, married, widowed and single, student or working woman. But only three women (two women from Madikeri and one from Virajpet, all in the 41+ age group) reported wearing the Kodava podiya on a monthly basis as well as on all social occasions. The rest 47 women wore the Kodava podiya only for various social occasions such as weddings, religious festivals, naming ceremonies, and Coorg festivals like Huthri and Kail Podh, as and when they came. Daily and weekly uses of the Kodava podiya have not been noted.

Table No. 1. G. v. Kodava podiya colors worn

Graph No. 1. G. v. Kodava podiya colors worn

Table No. 1. G. v. Analysis: There were forty four married women, of which one woman had had a court marriage and had not worn a red bridal Kodava podiya. The remaining six single women all said they would wear a red silk Kodava podiya for their weddings. Red silk Kodava podiyas were uniformly considered proper bridal dressing. There were three no responses, except for funeral dressing. Everyone said that white or very light shades like cream, was the color for funerals. For other people's weddings, any color silk saree except white and red could be worn. A few ladies said that they would not wear white or black for weddings, naming ceremonies, festivals or housewarmings. The clothing for housewarmings, and naming ceremonies was lightcolored and simple. Both Amma Kodava women, both below forty, had the exact same choices in Kodava podiya colors for different occasions as the Kodava women.

Table No. 1. G. vi. Clothing worn as a bride

Graph No 1. G.vi Clothing worn as a bride

Table No. 1. G. vi. Analysis: Fortytwo of the 44 married women (both Amma Kodava and Kodavas) wore the red silk Kodava bridal podiya. Thirtyeight of the women wore the musque (the Coorg veil). The same 38 women also wore the vastra (head covering) as brides. A distinction must be made here – *vastra* is worn for the *urkudva* ceremony, and *musque* is worn for the *murta*. Both are head coverings. Three people did not give complete answers. Two people wore only the red bridal Kodava podiya without *musque* or *vastra*. One person, who had a court marriage, wore no Kodava clothes at all. Only one person mentioned wearing the Coorg jacket-blouse (a.k.a. *kala kupya*), which was commonplace in the past.

A 'strange' part of the answers received was that 13 women as brides wore footwear, baffling because all Kodava wedding ceremonies should be done barefoot by the bride and groom, and the huge amount of foot jewelry would make it cumbersome for the bride to wear any form of footwear.

Table No. 1. G. vii. a. & b. Traditional Kodava bridal accessories

Table No. 1.G. vii. a & b. Traditional Kodava bridal accessories

Table No. 1. G. vii. a. & b. Analysis: The women were questioned about 32 items of bridal accessories – neck, hand, face, hair, foot and saree ornaments. Six single women did not respond, though they all had opinions about the color of the bridal podiya they would wear as brides. There were no responses at all from two married women (one had a court wedding). Forty two married women responded about bridal accessories used during their weddings.

Bridal neck accessories included pavale male (a.k.a. dhund sara) - 36, pathak (the cobra medallion) - 39, kokethathi (crescent moon pendant) - 39, kari mani (string of black beads) - 39, double strand jomale (a necklace that resembles a string of cardamom pods) – 42 responses.

Hand ornaments included kaisare - 34, jodi kadaga (the double rod bracelet) - 35, glass bangles - 38, api ballae - 17, pin ballae- 13, vajra katti ballae - 17, and pounch - 25. Face ornaments included nethi da bottu (the bindi on the forehead) - 41, pearl or diamond nose ring - 11, vajra vale (diamond ear ring) - 3, muththu vale (pearl ear ring) -11, ponnu vale (gold ear ring) - 34, and jhumki (gold and pearl ear ring) 24 responses.

Hair ornaments included maatal - 13, chauri katti (plait decoration) -16, jadae billae - 19, gold and lacquer full moon hair decoration -6, gold and lacquer crescent moon hair

decoration - 1, gold and lacquer rectangular hair decoration -1, pure gold jasmine flowers in decreasing size - 17, and poomale (real flowers) – 39 responses.

Next came foot ornaments such as kaal pilli (different design silver toe rings with chains covering the foot and connected to anklet) - 31, toe ring on second toe - 25, kaal gejje (a silver chain anklet) - 29, padasarae (a Kannada word tha stands for a set of toe rings linked by chains to anklet) - 20, and anklets of varying design – 27 responses. The padaga (anklet), pilli (is the silver foot ornament toe rings and chains that cover the entire foot andconnectedtoan anklet), kalsara (anklet chain) and gaggara (gejje bells that jingle) are silver foot ornaments. Foot ornaments netted 20 to 31 responses.

The last covered podiya (saree) decoration was the brooch – 40 responses. The brooch got 40 responses, logical because the Kodava podiya has to be clasped together with the brooch. The tribals of Coorg who wear the Kodava podiya too, use a knot instead of the brooch. Being economically better of than some of the tribals may be one reason Kodava women use brooches for their weddings.

Neck ornaments got the maximum responses - from 36 to 41. The pathak, which is hooded cobra on a gold coin, is considered the Kodava mangalsutra, or wedding symbol. It got 39 responses. It is given to the bride by her own mother on the *ur kudva* ceremony, the night before the wedding. The kokethathi and karimani too got 39 responses each. The karimani is a borrowing from mainstream Hinduism, and was worn quietly by the Kodava girl when she got ‘mature’, as a symbol that she was now ready for marriage. This wearing of the karimani to signal readiness to get married backs the historical fact that the Kodavas have never had child marriage, as both the groom and the bride needed to be physically ‘mature’ to be married. For women, the sign of maturity – the karimani - signaled to the community that she was now of marriageable age. The kokethathi with its crescent moon shape is a common piece of wedding jewelry for the Kodavas.

The toe ring on the second toe is again a borrowing from mainstream Hinduism probably infuenced by Mysore, as is the kaal gejje, a thinish silver anklet chain. The complicated silver kaal pilli seems to be a uniquely Kodava piece of jewelry, with a different design toe ring for each toe, all connected to the anklet through fine silver chains.

Some hand ornaments were common – glass bangles, jodi kadaga and kaisare netted 38, 35 and 34 responses. Glass bangles (ballae) are a very central symbol of bridal jewelry for the Kodavas (and for most communities in India), and for ages the bangle seller has been an important part of pre-wedding rituals in Kodava households. The pounch is a tricky and very sharp edged gold bracelet, which has the propensity to get caught in clothing, but was quite

popular, netting 25 responses. Other hand ornaments were not that common, ranging from 13, 17 and 17 for pin ballae, api ballae and vajra katti ballae. Ballae can be roughly translated as 'bangle', though the Coorg ballaes were and are more like bracelets than bangles.

Table No. 1. G. viii. Traditional clothing colors of bride's mother & mother-in-law

Graph No. 1. G. viii. Traditional clothing colors of bride's mother & mother-in-law

Table No. 1. G. viii. Analysis: One bride each had no mother or mother-in-law. The remaining brides' responses seemed to have a common color code for both their mothers and their mothers-in-law. Red was the commonest color for sumanglis - both mothers and mothers-in-law, for both the Kodava podiya (10) and the vastra. (23); pink was the next most common color netting eight responses for the Kodava podiya, and five for the vastra. Interestingly, one bride's mother, who was a widow had worn pink for both podiya and vastra. Blue was the next most common color for sumanglis with six responses for podiya and the same number for vastra. Orange was next with five each for podiya and vastra. One Coorg widow wore a white vastra and a yellow podiya – light colors that mark widowhood. The footwear color most preferred was black netting eighteen responses. Other colors used for footwear were orange (5), silver, gold, brown, and maroon (2). The responses are in tandem with other questions asked about significant colors – white, red, black, and the not so significant colors - pink, orange and blue. Sixteen women did not respond.

Table No. 1. G. ix. Continuing clothing traditions

GraphNo. 1. G. ix.: Continuing clothing traditions

Table No. 1. G. ix. Analysis: The white umbrella held over the bride by the *bojakarti* (matron of honor) and the white cloth spread on the ground by the washerman for the bride to walk on was mentioned by 43 of the 44 women. None of the married women mentioned wearing a white podiya with a colored border the day after the wedding, which we can assume means the dying out of this tradition.

Accessories for men

Table No. 1. H. i. & ii. Bridegroom distribution & ownership of white kupyas

Graph No. 1. H. i. & ii. Bridegroom distribution & ownership of white kupyas

Table No. 1. H. i. & ii. Analysis: There were seven single men below the age of forty, who did not own a white kupya, which is the traditional wedding costume for Coorg men. Forty three married men were interviewed – 42 Kodavas, and one Amma Kodava. Twentyone were from Virajpet, and 22 were from Madikeri. Seventy percent of the men owned only one white kupya, which is the traditional bridegroom's dress. Sixteen percent of the men owned between two to four white kupyas. On closer scrutiny of the data, it revealed that these 16% had a high degree of participation in village ceremonies – they were important for community functions. So they wore the kupya not only as bridegrooms, but also while participating in traditional religious and other ceremonies – for them, the white kupya doubled as a bridegroom's costume as well as being a symbol of local status. The phrase '*kala kupya'* is used for the bride's long-sleeved silk blouse, which makes us assume that the word 'kupya' is a chest covering for both men and women.

Table No. 1 H. iii. Ear piercing (kemi kuthu mangala)

Graph No. 1. H. iii. Ear piercing (kemi kuthu mangala)

Table No. 1. H. iii. Analysis: The Kemi kuthu mangala is one of several mangalas that the Coorg men can participate in. Fortythree married men and seven bachelors responded to this question on Kemi kuthu mangala (ear-piercing ceremony). Five bachelors had had the Kemi kuthu mangala, but did not wear the traditional Kodava ear ring called the *kadaku*, though they did wear ear rings. Some of the younger married men, below the age of 40, commented that it was not compulsory. Only

one of the married men wore ear rings. None of the over forty married men wore ear rings or had had the Kemi kuthu mangala. Virajpet had two bachelors, and Madikeri had four bachelors, all below the age of forty, with ears pierced. The only married man with ears pierced who also wore ear rings, was below the age of forty, and lived in Madikeri. From the respondents, it seems the Kemi kuthu mangala has come full circle – it has skipped a generation (the over forties), and made a resurgence with bachelors and the under forty crowd. This could be because ear rings are considered 'cool' by youngsters all over India, and Coorg boys want to be considered 'cool' too, or they have embraced a part of their heritage. According to Srinivas, the Kemi kuthu mangala was performed only after a boy reached puberty, and he was considered an adult after that fit for adult functions like marriage – it was an important rite of passage.

Table H. iv A. Kodava bridegroom's traditional attire

Graph H. iv A. Kodava bridegroom's traditional attire

Table H. iv A. Analysis: There were 43 married men, 42 Kodavas and one Amma Kodava. The white kupya, the silk chele, the mande thuni or turban, the silk vastra, and the silk red, white and gold check scarf were worn by all the bridegrooms showing uniformity and conformity in traditional wedding costume. Only one bridegroom did not wear the silk red, white and gold check scarf.

Table No. 1. H. iv. B. Accessories of the Kodava bridegroom

Graph No. 1. H. iv. B. Accessories of the Kodava bridegroom

Table No. 1. H. iv. B. Analysis: Forty three of the respondents were married and spoke about their experiences as bridegrooms. In Madikeri, 20 respondents were married, eight below 40, and 12 above 40. In Virajpet, 14 married men were below 40, and nine were above 40. Almost all accessories were worn by the men for their weddings. The *pavala maale* was worn by 42 respondents. The lunulate *kokathathi* was worn by 41 of the bridegrooms. Next in number (41) was that mainstay of male Kodava dressing – the Coorg dagger, *piche kathi.* The *odikathi* (Coorg sword), with its accompaniment the *thodangu* (clasp) and the Coorg staff (*gejje thandi*) were mentioned by 39 grooms. But only one bridegroom wore ear rings, in Madikeri.

Table No. 1. H. iv. C. Incidence of bare or shod feet of bridegroom on dias

Graph No. 1. H. iv. C. Incidence of bare or shod feet of bridegroom on dias

Table No. 1. H. iv. C. Analysis: The responses for this question was a bit confusing, or the bridegrooms have become very Western. All rituals during the wedding for both bride and groom

should be done with bare feet as a mark of respect. However, only 17 bridegrooms were bare foot on the dias, six of them reported wearing footwear, and the rest did not respond.

Table No. 1. H. v. Gifts from groom to bride

Graph No. 1. H. v. Gifts from groom to bride

Table No. 1. H. v. Analysis: Continuity of tradition is evident in wedding rituals. Traditionally, one (or many) gold sovereigns called *pauns* were given to the bride from the groom's party during the wedding ceremonies. The day after the wedding ceremony, the brides were given the wedding band. Of the 43 married men, 34 gave gold sovereigns (*paun*), and 18 gave the wedding bands to their brides. There were 9 no answers for the *paun* and 25 did not give the wedding bands to their brides. The gold band on the hand of a married woman is a British Christian custom, and points to a cultural borrowing from the pre-Independence days when the British had colonized Coorg.

Table No. 1. H. vi. Continuing clothing traditions for the bridegroom

Graph No. 1 H. vi. Continuing clothing traditions for the bridegroom

Table No. 1. H. vi. Analysis: The white umbrella held over the bridegroom by the *bojakara,* and the white cloth was spread on the ground by the washerman, was symbolic on two planes. First, as a protection for the bridegroom, as a safeguard against the lashing monsoons of Coorg when the bridegroom's party walked to the *murta* location, and the second, the entwinement of other Kodagu communities in the lives of the Kodavas, protecting the bare feet of the bridegroom in case of wet mud or painful pebbly paths in his ceremonial walk to the *murta* location.

Table No. 1. H. vii. a. Knowledge of significance of odikathi (Coorg sword) & piche kathi (Coorg dagger)

Graph No. 1. H. vii. a. Knowledge of significance of odikathi (Coorg sword) & piche kathi (Coorg dagger)

Table No. 1. H. vii. a Analysis: The Odikathi is the Coorg sword, traditionally worn with the bridegroom's costume. The Odikathi is kept in a clasp (thodangu) with the aid of a silver chain. Knowledge of the significance of the Odikathi was 58%. Fortytwo percent did not answer questions on the Odikathi.

The Pichekathi is the Coorg dagger, coupled with a sheath. All Kodava men wear the Pichekathi with the black and white kupyas, making the dagger an appendage that completes the traditional male assemblage of kupya, chele, mandethuni and Pichekathi. Knowledge of the significance of the Pichekathi was 64%. Fortytwo percent did not answer questions on the Pichekathi.

Table No. 1. H. vii.b. Reasons for use of odikathi and piche kathi

Graph No. 1. H. vii.b. Reasons for use of odikathi and piche kathi

Table No. 1. H. vii.b. Analysis: Different uses for the Odikathi identified by the users included its importance in Kodava male traditional costume, as a symbol of bravery, symbolic of Coorg warriorhood, usefulness in hunting, protection from wild animals, and during war, a necessary part of the Coorg bridegroom's costume, for the *bale ketho* (plantain honor) ceremony, and self protection. The Piche kathi was an important and necessary part of Coorg male clothing, and was always worn with the kupya, chele and mandethuni.

Table No. 1 .H. viii. A. Black kupya ceremonial wear

Graph No. 1.H. viii. A. Black kupya ceremonial wear

Table No. 1. H. viii. A. Analysis: Ceremonial wearing of the black kupya was universal, through both age groups – below and above 40, single as well as married, Kodavas as well as the sole Amma Kodava, and all of Madikeri and Virajpet. Black kupyas were worn only outside the home for ceremonies like weddings, engagements, housewarmings and Kodava festivals like Kail Podh and local temple festivals, and can be and is, worn by both married and single men.

Table No. 1 .H. viii. B. Lifespan of the black kupya

Graph No. 1.H. viii. B. Lifespan of the black kupya

Table No. 1. H. viii. B. Analysis: Many of the older men (above forty) said that their black kupya had lasted them more than 31 years – a classical, living, example of slow classical fashion, tradition and environment friendly clothing. Only three married men above the age of forty (two in Virajpet and one in Madikeri) said that they had stitched more than one black kupya – this was due to the fact that they wore them to most occasions like weddings, local village festivals as well as Kodava festivals like Kail Podh, etc.

Table H. viii C. Agewise distribution of black kupyas owned by one person

Graph H. viii C. Agewise distribution of black kupyas owned by one person

Table H. viii C. Analysis: In the 18 – 40 age group, 13 in Virajpet and 12 people in Madikeri owned one black kupya. In the 41+ age group, 10 in Virajpet, and 12 people in Madikeri owned one black kupya. In the 41+ age group, two in Virajpet, and one person in Madikeri owned between two to four kupyas. The men who owned more than one kupya were also important people in their respective villages, and participated more in village traditional functions. Hence the need to stitch more of these black kupyas. This is indicative of the staying power of these black kupya, an item of slow traditional eco-friendly fashion. The one Amma Kodava man over the age of forty owned only one black kupya.

Table H. viii D. Geographic distribution of black kupya ownership by one person

Graph H. viii D. Geographic distribution of black kupya ownership by one person

Table H. viii D. Analysis: In the 18- 40 age group, Virajpet had three single men and Madikeri had four single men who owned one black kupya. In the 41+ age group, Virajpet had 20 and Madikeri also had 20 married men who owned one black kupya. Two married men from Virajpet and one married man in Madikeri owned between two to four kupyas. The trend in ownership points to the older, married men owning upto four kupyas, who also were socially important, and thus the wear and tear on the kupyas was much more.

Table H. viii E. Accessories traditionally worn with black kupya`

Graph H. viii E. Accessories traditionally worn with black kupya

Table H. viii E. Analysis: While recording responses in Madikeri on the traditional accessories worn with the black kupya - the Pichekathi, chele and turban – each got 25 responses. In Virajpet, the responses for the same three accessories were 21, 22, and 21, respectively. The Odikathi – the Coorg sword - got nine responses in Madikeri, and fourteen in Virajpet. Several people did not respond especially to the question on the Odikathi, partly because the Odikathi is of ritual use only during the plantain honor. .

Table H. viii F. Marital status of kupya wearers

Graph H. viii F. Marital status of kupya wearers

Table H. viii F. Analysis: The white kupya was worn by only married men, below and above the age of forty in both Virajpet and Madikeri. The kupya, whether white or black, is stitched for the specifications of each Kodava or Amma Kodava bridegroom. None of the single men had had one stitched. The black kupya, was universally worn by all Kodava men, and the sole Amma Kodava man, who also owned a white kupya that he had worn for his wedding.

Table H. iii. G. Traditional ceremonies for kupya wear

Graph H. iii. G. Traditional ceremonies for kupya wear

Table H. iii. G. Analysis: All the respondents wore the black kupya for other people's weddings, and those who were married wore white for their own weddings as bridegrooms. The sole Amma Kodava respondent wore the kupya to engagements, housewarmings, village functions, and festivals like Huthri and Kail Podh. The Kodava respondents wore them overwhelmingly for festivals like Huthri

and Kail Podh, which are very village and community oriented, as well as for funerals, housewarmings and village functions.

Table No. 1. I. i. Protective clothing worn during monsoon

Graph No. 1. I. i. Protective clothing worn during monsoon

Table No. 1. I. i. Analysis: One of the chief functions of clothing has always been protection. In Coorg, protection against the extensive monsoons is a necessity. Raincoats, umbrellas and rubber boots were commonly used to shield and protect against Coorg's Cherapunji-like monsoon. (Cherapunji is famed for the maximum monsoon in India). Umbrellas were followed by raincoats, rubber boots, sweaters, jackets, pullovers, and other warm clothing – in that order of prevalence.

Table No. 1. I. ii. Colors and clothing of the bride and bridegroom's fathers

Graph No. 1. I. ii. Colors and clothing of the bride and bridegroom's fathers

Table No. 1. I. ii. Analysis: The traditional Kodava wedding is spread over several functions, with at least two days of festivities. The 43 married men spoke of their father and the bride's father's clothing. The black kupya and turban were worn by almost all respondents's fathers and fathers-in-law for the main function. Formal shirts and trousers were worn for other smaller functions when only the immediate family and very close friends were invited, and there was less formality. Shoes and other footwear were only worn off the dias when receiving guests. On the dias, everyone was barefoot.

Chapter VIII: Audiovisual material

8.1. Introduction

Audiovisual anthropology can save, record, and depict basic conditions that help pin down change. Audiovisual anthropology witnesses, documents, protects, celebrates, and reveals. The best narrative happens when effective and

authentic audiovisual anthropology documents, and by record-keeping, protects a way of life. This thesis will make use of audiovisual records to pin down a certain stage of Coorg culture. Photographs and video films have been collected on the Kodavas, as well as audiovisual material. Audiovisual cues by humans communicate their status and their identity, sometimes even without spoken or body language. The visual perceptions come through the eye and help identify the classification of symbols couture brings with it. Mahendrakumar, 2013 (Mann: 1987), says that visuals are behaviors or symbols and they possess obvious meanings. For many years now, anthropologists have used record keeping photography to capture human culture, and this is useful to back up research aims at one point in time and space.

8.2. Visual anthropology

Visual anthropologists have mastered and contributed to film-making methods. Sahay's (1993: 3) comment that 'Visual anthropology… studying man and his culture by employing the camera as its principal instrument of investigation… may produce either still photographs or moving images… on screen.' Today, in 2014-2015, with the cell phone, e-mail, and many types of Internet enablement, photographic documentation can pin down a culture in the throes of change. This is especially important when an ethnic group like the Coorgs (Kodavas) absorbs influences like Indianization, Anglicization, and

localization, and still comes up with accoutrements that show their independence in the face of giddying, all out change.

8.3. The importance of ethnographic films in anthropological research…

Ethnography is the study of individual cultures. An ethnic group like the Coorgs changing at a giddying pace needs to be documented, and this thesis will attempt to do justice to this aspect.

The ethnographic film marries anthropology to film making. And the result is an encapsulated bit of history of a local culture. In the history of anthropology, Felix-Loius Regnault who filmed a Wolof woman making pots in 1895 was the first anthropologist to use filmmaking in ethnography. 'An ethnographic film is an audiovisual record… for research, study and analysis.' (Mahendrakumar, p48) The audiovisual film will record - apart from the acoustic, non-verbal and visual cues, points, and features - 'true' behavior, like nuances of body language, social posturing and hierarchy, color symbolism, gender differences captured in clothing, etc. The audiovisual, ethnographic film encapsulates primary data such as interviews, celebratory song and dance, colorful wedding rituals, the somber moods of death with its funerary rites, individual house warmings, etc.

The audiovisual media is the base for ethnographic film, documentary and research filming. Most anthropological research has photographic evidence to back its claims. To this is added the extra data derived from film making, an addition to photographic data as it combines visuals and sounds and is an excellent backup to written records.

The films, to carry relevance, must capture basic cultural patterns of the social groups studied. And the importance of ethnographic films grows with each passing year, as TV, politics and other globalization events impact ethnic groups, making the ethnicity ever more like the rest of the communities in any given geographical locale. As a historic record, the various types of ethnographic films are preserved on CDs, DVDs, the Internet, etc.

The anthropological perspective in film making includes a social science based focus on man and culture. Social anthropology covers social status, family and kinship, weddings and funerals, economic, historic, religious and political features that impact current day society, law, social processes, systems, and changes, etc. of an ethnic group. The foci of cultural anthropology have always been *homo sapiens* in their wide ranging behavior.

8.4. Case histories on film

Case histories and filmed interviews are good examples of how audiovisual anthropology can be used - with visuals, audio, and content for a

topic all in one. Audiovisual records of interviews with the Kodavas will aim to include full fledged two-part interviews with both Kodava men and women in Madikeri and Virajpet.

This thesis will condense the communicative, protective and decorative aspects of clothing of an ethnic group (the Kodavas or Coorgs) at work, play, festivity, etc. in film. An anthropological film is a dose of realism, a factual picture of life and culture of a society at one given point in time. Some times, a raw documentary could also serve as anthropological film.

8.5. Five features in communication

The *World Book Encyclopedia* says communication is the exchanging of info. The five features of communication are:

1. Who ---------- the communicator
2. Says what ---------- content
3. In which channel ---------- media
4. To whom ---------- audience
5. With what effect ---------- result

Sounds in the air, marks on paper, computer screen or cell phones, body language, the senses of smell, taste, touch, sight, etc are forms of communication common in the civilized world. Right at the beginning, in our evolution into humans, verbal communication – meaningful sounds in the air -

was an important component. Verbal communication combines sounds in logical, meaningful sequential arrangements (combining lexis and syntax and semantics). With each communication breakthrough, there is an upward jump for the *homo sapien,* leading to making the world a smaller place. Satellites, the cell phone and Internet increase the pace of communication and have lead to an info overload. The speed with which media conveys information has created an increased exposure and democratization of ideas, and may lead to a lower adhesion to older ethnic customs, especially in clothing tradition. Have these information overloads led to a loss of classic cultural features, in areas like traditional clothing? Information collected by questionnaires, participant observation, audiovisual record keeping, will all be guaged to come to an informed logical, conclusion.

8.6. Record keeping with photos and films

There are claims that a picture is worth a thousand words. But some words have the appeal of a thousand pictures. A valuable photograph is an asset, aiding the preservation of cultural protocol – it records people, places, actions, or things in one time, and at one place. Louis Alexander, once mentioned (in 1987) that, 'a combination of words and pictures – a word-picture partnership is best.' Visual anthropology is the cultural lessons learnt through visual picturization. First and foremost, in anthropological methodology, we have 'participant observation', which uses anthropological data collection, and

involves both the visual faculty and hearing. Recording participant observation through audiovisual methods is an important means of record keeping. Video films capture entire sequences and events of important situations. More widely used in the past, still photography records and captures important moments.

Audiovisual anthropology … the study of audiovisual behavior of man and the use of audiovisual media… document(s) man's culture. (Mahendra Kumar, 1997)

'Mass communication is the sharing of info with many people in many places with the help of machines.' Machines manufacture books, magazines, newspapers, radio programs, TV programs, and films that are the media (means) of mass communication. 'Electronic communication has made it possible to send messages over long distances in a fraction of a second.' Think Internet, SMS, e-mail, spam, cell phone, landline phones, Amazon, Google, Facebook, Twitter, satellite TV, Wikipedia, music and movie downloads. And a whole host of other interfaces used in the last half of 2014.

8. 7. Audiovisual anthropology

a) Audiovisual anthropology captures homeostasis, history, change, and development, and includes i) documentation, ii) a study of vanishing culture, iii) synchronic, iv) diachronic and v) an emic and etic view of culture and language. A study on vanishing or changing Kodava is

important as their couture change may capture the fast pace of change in a community that is at the crossroads of time.

b) Audiovisual anthropology documents lifestyle change. Kodavas are known as friendly and hospitable. Most of the photography and filming in Kodagu was done in only a few parts of Kodagu - the whole place and the complete community could not be surveyed.

c) Audiovisual anthropology envelops individual, families, communities, residences, communities, villages, districts, synchronic change, and many more unexpected aspects of the human condition.

d) The boundaries of anthropological film making

Anthropological film making has limited applications because though anthropological films should be scientific studies and documentation of culture through audiovisual means, it cannot always be on the mark. This is because all cultural human behavior is not recordable, occuring in its own time space, and may not present itself to the student of audiovisual anthropology.

Chapter: IX. Findings and conclusion

When Locke (1690) wrote *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, his major premise was that we humans do not see every thing, and that some bits of knowledge will definitely be more truthful than others. This understanding is also true of this thesis… a first hand exploration of Kodava clothing traditions in the Kodagu of 2015.

In anthropology, there are different methods of dealing with clothing (Hilda Kuper, 1973: 348-367). We can look at the origins of items of clothing. Or approach them as social and style symbols or as a backlash after colonialism left the country. Or they could be interpreted as an enfoldment of the present on the past, and an evolution into the future. In the case of the Kodavas, there is one more dimension – the realm of myth.

Mythology, according to the *Word Power Dictionary*, is the study or science of myths. A myth is a traditional story containing ideas or beliefs about ancient times, or about natural events. The *Pocket Oxford Dictionary* says that a myth is a traditional story usually involving supernatural or imaginary persons, and embodying popular ideas on natural or social phenomena. Mythology is the body or study of myths.

Kodavas are mythologically, and sartorially, attached to the River Kaveri. The style of the Coorg saree is connected to two different myths about Mother River Kavery. Kavery and Sage Agastya had a happy marriage. Kavery had stipulated to her husband that he was not to leave his residence until he had informed her. On one occasion, Agastya forgot this and stepped out without informing his wife. Upset with her husband's behavior, Kaveri decided to turn into a river. When Agastya tried to restrain his wife by pulling her saree, the pleats twisted to the back. And as a form of respect for the river, Coorg sarees (the podiya) are all worn with the pleats at the back. Agastya pleaded so hard, that Kaveri split into half, with one half becoming an everflowing river, and the other remaining his wife.

The second legend has its timing after King Chandravarma crowned his son Devakanta the king, and retired to the Himalayas. Before he left, he instructed Devakanta to always worship Lord Shiva, his wife Parvathi, and the Brahmanas. Two days before Tula Sankramana, Goddess Parvathi appeared in a dream to King Devakanta, and asked him to assemble his people in Valamburi. Whereupon the river Kaveri came rushing down the valley and the fierce waters twisted the women's pleats to the back. So Coorg ladies still wear their pleats at the back in obesiance and respect for the first bathing of their people in the waters of the Kaveri in Valamburi, a.k.a. Balmuri.

Continuing with different approaches to clothing, we can define them as tools of modesty and vanity of humans. We can approach clothing via changing fashions and their relationship with social upheavals. We can approach clothing

customs before and after India's Independence as a colonial hangover, via differences in situations and styles. Clothing can also be approached from the triumvirate of decoration, communication and protection, or as a set of items with diverse origins, or the slow versus fast clothing that leave their footprints in the ecosystem. The concept of slow fashion is related to environmental sustainability. Longevity - a by-product of good design and classic style - is an antidote to fashion waste. In a slow and sustainable fashion trend, people wear clothes for a long time, impervious to shifting, seasonal fashion. Classic styles are an antidote to fashion junk. Kodava male traditional attire has presented a picture of slow fashion – extending product lifespan to save natural resources – long before intellectuals in the West made it a benchmark principle to follow in the garment industry.

Localism covers both producers and local residents, and authenticity is proved through a high degree of skill in production and exclusivity. All these features lead to environmental sustainability, the plus points of the black and white kupyas. Within Kodagu, in Virajpet, a textile shop called Badshah, regularly brings consignments of the silk chele from Benaras. In Benaras, several generations of a Muslim family of weavers have been weaving and providing the specially made silk cheles for generations of Kodava men… a beautiful, cultural connect of producers and local residents for several generations. During the 1800s, when Rice wrote his account, he mentioned that the chele, which he refers to as silk cummerbands, were made in the north-east in the village of Sirangala. There is no record of when Siringala lost out to Benaras, because the latter is now the place to get it from.

The written records over two centuries prove one thing – that Kodava traditional clothing has not changed much for traditional functions which occur when outside the house, but there is a fall in traditional clothing being worn at home, by both men and women. We can come to the same conclusion from the data gathered from Virajpet and Madikeri.

What emerges from all these writings is the concept of clothing as a 'universal and visible cultural element consisting of sets of body symbols deliberately designed to convey messages at different social and psychological levels' (1973:348). Whatever the reasons, the Kodavas, a community on the cusp of both the past and the present are....

In the heirarchy of influence, ethnic characteristics should be succeeded by the state, then the nation and lastly, the multination … a spreading, wave like system.

EXTRA INFO

The mangalas

There are seven *mangalas* according to Appaiah.

Manepedhas covered included the following:

. The emergence of modern but haphazard townships is fuelled by non-Kodava migrants. But Kodava culture continues to thrive in the community.

Wedding rituals

There is a ritual called the Ganga puja, which is part of Kodava wedding ritual (*mangala*), even though the actual River Ganga is quite far from Kodagu. The Ganga puja is usually done after donning ritually pure garments, as part of the *mangala*. A coconut is broken at the water, either at a tank or if not available, a bucket of water.

Plantain honor – When the bridegroom and his party advance toward the bride's place, the bridegroom's party has to chop off the 'heads' of the banana stems placed in the ground. A high degree of physical stamina and strength is required to weild the odikathi and chop of the banana stem tops. Physical strength is a requisite for a bridegroom, and for this reason child marriage never happened in the Kodava community, because it is quite impossible for children to chop off the banana stems, and thus gain entry into the bride's wedding house.

Giving *pombone* (gold coin(s)) and money gifts during weddings are a must. Money is also given during funerals, babies' naming ceremonies, to the bridesmaids, the bridegroom's family friends.

Funerals - A gold coin put on the head of a corpse (*batte pana*, way fare), was supposed to fund the dead person's journey in the afterlife. This

practice was discontinued when grave robbers began to dig up graves for the gold coin. Today, the gold has been replaced by a gold-colored coin like the five-rupee coin.

Funerals – Close relatives of the dead person, according to Srinivas, bring white cloths (muri) as presents. During the mourning ritual, mourners close to the dead person use them as shoulder cloths and waist cloths. The white cloths can also cover the corpse while it is lying in the house. Besides these, the white cloths are also given to beggars and servants of the dead person's family as charity.

The corpse of a widow is dressed in a white podiya, white blouse, and white cotton scarf, with no colored borders on any item. The corpse of a married woman, however, is clothed in a colored silk podiya with a silver or gold border.

A point to be noted: purification includes taking a bath and dressing in 'pure' clothes. Purity and cleanliness are sometimes the same, and sometimes different. *Tike* or death pollution means that people who are first grade mourners, close to the person who died, must avoid touching people who are non-mourners.

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Appendix A

Questionnaires

Traditional Dress Patterns And Clothing Of Kodavas In Kodagu: An Anthropological Study: The Questionnaire

1. **Personal Info:**
    a) Manepedha (Clan/family name):
    b) Name:
    c) Age:
    d) Sex:
    e) Marital status: Tick one:

Single
Married
Divorced
Widowed

    f) Have children: Yes/no

Number of boys:
Number of girls:

    g) Where are the children settled:
    In Coorg:
    Outside Coorg, in Karnataka:
    Within India:
    Outside India:
    h) Where do you live?
    i) Occupation:
    Do you work in Coorg?
    Or outside Coorg?
    j) Do you have an estate? Yes/no
    k) Do you speak Coorg language at home? Yes/no
    l) How far have you studied:
    10th
    PUC
    BA/B.Sc./B.Com.
    MA/M.Sc.
    M.Phil.
    Ph.D.
    MBBS
    MD
    m) Who is more responsible for maintaining Kodava traditional culture through Kodava traditional clothing?
    Kodava men:

Kodava women:

Both Kodava men and women:

n) During the monsoon, what kind of protective clothing do you use?

(i) Raincoat
(ii) Umbrella
(iii) Rubber boots
(iv) Anything else?

2) For women:

(a) Do you feel the younger generation of ladies and young girls in your family (daughters, sisters, grand-daughters, sisters-in-law, nieces, daughters-in-law) has stopped wearing traditional clothing (Kodava Podiya): Yes/no?

If yes, why?

(i) Moved out of Coorg
(ii) Working outside Coorg
(iii) Prefer Western clothes
(iv) Want to look Indian by wearing Kannada saree, churidhar, salwar kameez
(v) Any other reason?

If no, when and where do they wear it in Coorg?

(ii) At home, daily
(iii) At work, daily
(iv) For special Coorg festivals like Huthri, Kail Podh
(v) For social occasions like engagement, weddings, etc.
(vi) For social occasions like funerals
(vii) Any other place?

(b) When do you wear the Kodava Podiya?

(i) At home:

(ii) During housework:
(iii) While visiting other Coorgs:
(iv) During traditional occasions such as:

(c) How often do you wear the Kodava Podiya?

(i) Daily:
(ii) Weekly:
(iii) Monthly:
(iv) Only for social occasions such as:
(v) Never:

(d) What occasions do you wear the Kodava Podiya?

(i) Weddings:
(ii) Funerals:
(iii) Naming ceremonies:
(iv) House warming ceremonies/Satyanarayana pujas:
(v) Festivals like Kail Podh:
(vi) Other occasions:

e) What color Kodava Podiya do you wear for the following occasions? If you do not wear the Kodava Podiya, what other clothes do you wear?
(i) As a bride:
(ii) Other people's weddings:
(iii) Funerals:
(iv) Naming ceremonies:
(v) House warming ceremonies/Satyanarayana pujas:
(vi) Festivals like Kail Podh:

f) What clothing did you wear as a bride?

(i) Kodava Podiya:

(ii) Vastra:

(iii) Musque:

(iv) Footwear:

(v) Any other clothing:

g) Was your head bare as a bride? Yes/no

h) As a bride, what color was your bridal saree {podiya}?
Red:
Dark pink:
Any other?

i) Do you wear Musque on other occasions? Yes/no

If yes, what occasions?

3. Accessories for women:

j) Are you married? Yes/no

k) As a bride, what were the most important accessories you wore with traditional Kodava Podiya?

Neck ornaments

(i) Pavala male (dhund sara)
(ii) Pathak
(iii) Kokethathi
(iv) Kari mani/karta mani
(v) Double strand Jomale

Hand ornaments

(vi) Kaisare
(viii) Jodi kadaga
(ix) Glass bangles
(x) Api ballae
(xi) Pin ballae
(xii) Vajra katti ballae
(xiii) Pounch

Face ornaments

(xiv) Nethi da bottu
(xv) Pearl/diamond nose ring
(xvi) Vajra vaale (diamond ear ring)
(xvii) Muththu vale (pearl ear ring)
(xviii) Ponnu vaale (gold ear ring)
(xix) Jhumki (gold and pearl ear ring)

Hair ornaments

(xx) Maatal
(xxi) Chauri katti (plait decoration)
(xxii) Jadae billae
(xxiii) Gold and lacquer full moon hair decoration (on top of plait)
(xxiv) Gold and lacquer crescent moon hair decoration
(xxv) Gold and lacquer rectangular hair decoration
(xxvi) Pure gold jasmine flowers in decreasing size
(xxvii) Poomale (flowers)

Foot ornaments

(xxviii) Kaal pilli (different design silver toe rings with chains covering the foot and connected to vonti kadaga or anklet
(xxix) Toe ring on second toe
(xxx) Kaal gejje
(xxxi) Padasarae (a set of toe rings link by chains to an anklet)
(xxxii) Anklet

Saree ornaments

(xxxiii) Brooch
(xxxiv) Any other bridal decoration?

l) During your wedding, what colors did your mother wear for these items of clothing, if she was a widow, *sumangli*, divorcee?

Kodava Podiya:
Vastra:
Footwear:

m) What colors for these items of clothing did the bridegroom's mother wear for these items of clothing, if she was a widow, *sumangli*, divorcee?

Kodava Podiya:
Vastra:

Footwear:

n) What is the significance of the following colors when worn by women?
   White:
   Red:
   Black:
   Other important colors:

o) Did you wear white Podiya with colored border the next day after your wedding? Yes/no:

p) Was a white umbrella used during wedding rituals?

q) Did the washer man/dhobhi lay white cloth on the ground for you to walk on?

r) For what reason, do Coorg women wear the Kodava style of saree? Is there any myth?

s) (i) Are you married? Yes/no
   (ii) Is your husband still alive? Yes/no
   (iii) What jewelry can you now wear?
   (iv) What jewelry is now forbidden for you?
   (v) What color clothes can you now wear?

4. For men:

a) When do you wear the Kodava Kupya?
   (i) At home:
   (ii) During housework:
   (iii) While visiting other Coorgs:
   (iv) During traditional occasions such as:
   Engagements

Weddings
Naming ceremonies
Funerals
Housewarmings/Satyanarayana pujas
On festivals like Huthri, Kail Podh, Kaveri Sankaramana, etc.
Other important occasions such as:

b) What color Kupya did you wear for the following occasions?
   As a bridegroom:
   Weddings:
   Funerals:
   Naming ceremonies:
   House warming ceremonies/Satyanarayana pujas:
   Festivals like Kail Podh:

c) Are you married? Yes/no
d) What clothes did you wear as a bridegroom?

   White Kupya:

   Chele:

   Red vastra:

   Turban:

   Mande thuni:

   Silk red, white and gold check head scarf:

   Or was your head bare?

   Any other traditional clothing:

   Footwear on the dias:

   Footwear off the platform/dias:

e) What colors and items of clothing did the bride's father wear?
   Formal shirt:
   Formal trousers:
   Black Kupya:
   Turban:
   Footwear:

f) What colors and items of clothing did your father wear?
   Formal shirt:
   Formal trousers:
   Black Kupya:
   Turban:
   Shoes:

g) What is the significance of the following colors when worn by men in traditional clothing like Kupya and chele?
   White:
   Red:
   Black:
   Other important colors:

h) If you do not wear a Kupya, what other clothes do you wear?
   As a bridegroom:
   Weddings:
   Funerals:
   Naming ceremonies:
   House warming ceremonies/Satyanarayana pujas:
   Festivals like Kail Podh:

5) Accessories for men:

(i) Are you married? Yes/no:

(ii) How many white Kupyas were stitched for you until now?
   a) 1
   b) 2-4
   c) 5

(iii) Have your (or your male family members) ears been pierced? Yes/no
If yes, did you undergo the *kemi kuthu mangala* (the ear-boring ceremony)? Yes/no
Do you now wear ear rings called the *Kadku*?

(iv) What accessories did you wear as a bridegroom?
a) Pommale
b) Pavala maale
c) Kokathathi
d) Kathibalae
e) Piche kathi
f) Odikathi
g) Thodangu (clasp to hold the *odikathi*)
h) Gejje thand (rosewood and silver staff)
i) Ear ring
j) Anything else?

(v) Did you give a Paun (gold sovereign) to your bride? Yes/no:

(vi) Did you give her a wedding band after the wedding? Yes/no:

t) What is the significance of the odikathi (Coorg sword) worn with the white Kupya of the bridegroom?

u) Why is the piche kathi (Coorg dagger) worn with the Kupya?

v) Was a white umbrella used during wedding rituals? Yes/no

w) Did the washer man/dhobhi lay white cloth on the ground for you to walk on during the wedding? Yes/no

(vii) Do you own a black Kupya? Yes/no

(viii) How long does your black Kupya last?

a) 0-5 years
b) 6-10 years
c) 11-20 years
d) 21-30 years
e) 31 and above

(ix) How many black Kupyas were stitched for you until now?
a) 1
b) 2-4
c) 5

(x) What accessories are compulsory with black Kupya?
a) Piche kathi
b) Odikathi
c) Turban
d) Chele
e) Anything else?

Appendix B

LEXICON OF CLOTHING ITEMS IN KODAVA-THAK

Men's clothing and accesories

Women's clothing and accessories

On the Kodavas

Talakaveri There are several legends about how the river Kaveri came into being. Chapters 11–14 of the Skanda purana (also known as the Kaveri purana) relate many of them. According to the most well known version, when the great ocean was churned by the devas and the asuras in order to obtain amrita, the elixir of life, Lord Vishnu turned into Mohini, a non-pareil of infinite charm and appeal, to distract the asuras and restore the elixir to the devas. Goddess lakshmi also sent along Lopamudre, an apsara to assist Mohini. After the elixir was successfully restored to the devas Lopamudre was brought up by Brahma as his daughter.

After some time Kavera, a sage of renown, came to the Brahmagiri to meditate. Kavera was lonely and prayed to Lord Brahma that he might bless him with a child. Brahma was pleased by his devotion and gave him Lopamudre for a daughter. Lopamudre was renamed Kaveri after the sage.

Kaveri was very keen that her father should have every happiness and prosperity in life and a blessed land full of good and happy people. So she went to the Brahmagiri too and prayed to Lord Brahma that she might turn into a river and flow through the country, pouring her blessings on the people and turning the land green and fertile. She also prayed that her waters might be so holy that all those who took a dip in it might be absolved of all their sins. Brahma granted her both the boons readily and Kaveri was really happy.

But something else was to happen to her first. Sage Agastya happened to see Kaveri when she was deep in meditation on the Brahmagiri. He fell in love with her and asked her to marry him. Although her heart was set on turning into a river of blessings, Kaveri could not refuse Agastya. But she made him promise that if ever he left her alone too long, she would have the right to forsake him and go her way. Agastya promised and kept his word faithfully for some time. But one day he got busy in a theological discussion with his disciples and lost track of time. Kaveri waited patiently for a while but after some hours had passed she jumped into agastya's special holy tank and flowed from it like a river. As soon as the disciples of agastya saw what had happened they tried to stop her from flowing away. But Kaveri promptly went underground and appeared again at Bhaganda Kshetra and flowed on toward Valambari and finally into the Bay of Bengal. And it has been worshipped as a sacred river – throughout its course – ever since.

There is yet another interesting belief according to which the river Ganges also joins Kaveri underground once a year, during the Tulamasa, in order to wash herself free of the pollution caused by the crowds of sinners who bathe in her waters all the year round. Kaveri is considered to be as sacred as the Ganges throughout its course, with the same power to wash off all one's sins. There are temples all along its banks visited by thousands of pilgrims. Kaveri is joined by several rivers, the most important ones being Kummahole, Hemavathi, Lakshmanatirtha, Shimsha etc., it flows into the Bay of Bengal in Thanjavur district in Tamil Nadu.

During the month of Tula, devotees take holy dip (tula snanam) in the Kavery in the pilgrim centers in its banks across the two states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, most prominent of them being Bhagamandala in Karnataka and Mayavaram in Tamil Nadu. The cult of the river Goddess began in Kodagu and was centered in Bhaganda Kshetra (Bhagamandala).

2. Dravidian Languages

The *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2008) provides a two level classification of the Dravidian languages (23 languages) with the following subgroups (in order of geographical contiguity):

–

South Dravidian: Badaga, Betta Kurumba, Kannada, Kodava, Kota, Malayalam, Tamil, Tamil (spoken), Toda, and, Tulu

–

South Dravidian I subgroup's ancestral node is polytomous as well. We can conclude that the Ethnologue tree is at least not as resolved as the tree given by the comparative method at the highest level subgrouping of the Dravidian language family (Krishnamurti 2003) and that there are quite a number of nodes which are polytomous. The Ethnologue tree shows the same subgroups as the tree given by Krishnamurti (2003). It differs largely in the placement of languages in the SDI subgroup, where the two trees differ in the placement of Koromfe and Kodava in SDI subgroup.

Figure 3. Ethnologue Tree for the Dravidian languages present in ASJP database

from six South-Central Dravidian languages qualified for a particular sound
–
Three Nilgiri languages – Kota, Toda, Kodagu – are classified under a single node.
–Among the Nilgiri languages,
Toda-Kota and Irula-Kurumba are grouped together. Kodagu occurs with the Irula-Kurumba language group.
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