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Budubudakkalas, the Traditional Beggars in South India

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Abstract: India is known for four-fold category of population codifying the 'law of Manu', mentioned in the ninth book of Rig-Veda. There is a reference of various crafts being notified as the professional classes which later on divided into several working groups, more so in the last category of caste system, the Sudras. In due course of historical time since Mauryan, Satavahana, Gupta and succeeding periods, a micro-level division of castes had occurred in view of economic pursuits due to two important factors namely 'assimilation and survival', which acted as two dynamic processes. As a result there was adoption or imitation of manners and customs of one community by another due to mutual contact. It is this gradation of Indian society that stand as a best example of regular evolution of social life based on occupation producing distinct caste categories, either partially or entirely, defining the social status that extended over generations. The present paper is one of such attempts to visualize various subcastes within Sudra community hitherto known as beggar classes (Table.1: List of Beggar communities in South India, i.e., Andi Pandaram, Banda, Bairagi, Balasanthosha, Bhatraju, Dakkala, Dasari, Devara, Dommara, Gandalla, Gangireddula, Giddidki, Golla Monda, Golla Pedditi, Gondhli/Gondaliga, Gosangi, Helava/Pichchiguntla, Helevadasari, Jangam, Jogi, Kakirettalavallu/ Kakirettalavandlu, Kalladisiddham, Mailari, Mandula, Mastiga, Naravaidyavaru, Pagativeshagallu, Panasa, Pandaram, Ramajogi, Sakunapakshulu, Samayavallu, Sanyasi, Sudugadusiddha, Tambalas and Viramusti) in the manifestation of their economic and social status and their sociological as well as cultural aspects in South India with special reference to Budubukkala community. As such, it presents a complete picture of Budubukkala community

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Runjala, R.K. 2021. Arogyasree and Public Hospitals: A Case Study of Post-Hospitalized Aarogyasri Patients in Hyderabad City, *Skylines of Anthropology*, 1: 2, pp. 87-109 in view of its historical, socio-cultural, economic and other aspects within the purview of its social behavior as a beggar community as a best example involving themselves in socio-cultural and religious aspects within the South Indian society.

Introduction

India is known for four-fold category of population codified in the law of Manu and analogous to this appears in the ninth book of Rig-Veda. There is reference of various crafts being notified as professional classes which later on divided into several working groups and it is more so in the last category of caste system, the Sudras. In due course of historical times, i.e., the Mauryan, Satavahana, Gupta and succeeding periods, a micro-level division of castes had occurred in view of economic pursuits due to two important factors, i.e., assimilation and survival, which acted as two dynamic processes resulted in the adoption or imitation of manners and customs of one community by another due to contact. It is this gradation of Indian society that stand as best example of regular evolution of social life based on occupation producing distinct caste categories, either partial or entire, defining the social status that extended over generations. Earliest reference of caste is found in the Rig Veda in which the existence of four castes being originated from Brahma. Among them the Sudras are described as the servant class and similar reference to the origin of caste is found in Satapatha Brahman (II-4-11), the Taittiriya Brahmana (III-12-9,3), Vajaseneva Samhita and the Atharva Veda. However, it seems from the beginning of Vedic period to the middle of Sutra and Buddhist periods, the so called four-fold division represents only classes through the statements found in the Srauta-Sutra of Drahyana and in the Puranas dealing with the functions of priests and warriors. Whereas, in the ninth book of Rig Veda a famous passage refers to various crafts¹ on the occupation of populations during that period and according to Blunt, there is no reference to restrictions of the characteristics of modern Hindu social system. Megasthanese, an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya around 300 BC. and on account of the then existing caste system in which the 6th and 7th group of people refer to professional classes definitely belonged to Sudras in a social classification. Dutt² explains that Vaisyas (third of the four Hindu castes, i.e., merchants and farmers) and Sudras (worker castes of the lowest of four Hindu castes) were not found as pure castes and they represent groups anywhere, therefore, there is no mention of any professional caste belonged either to a Dasya varna or

Sudra varna . It is during the early Buddhist period 'Gahapat' or 'Gahapati', as a landowning mercantile class ranked below Kshtriyas and Brahmans. He also states that Vaisyas underwent a kind of social degradation resulted in separation of occupations as they confined to mercantile and all other professions in connection with agriculture and other domestic as well as social works fell into the hands of Sudras.

Several scholars have defined caste (derived from casta of Portuguese, Lat. castus= pure or chaste) used to denote the division of the Hindu society into various sections or jati based on varna or color with the main idea involving the concept of caste as a homogeneous community, hereditary group or a collection of such groups bearing a common name having the same traditional occupation by claiming a common descent from the same source and commonly regarded as a single homogeneous community³. More precisely, Risley⁴ defines 'caste' as a collection of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor which profess to follow the same hereditary into a single homogeneous community which is always associated with a specific occupation. It is because of assimilation and survival of different population influenced by the dynamics of occupational class in which two important factors are involved, i.e., at first the tendency of one community imitate the manners and customs of another community with which it comes in contact and secondly, by following the customs of the higher castes, in course of time, resulted in the conversion of lower culture into a higher one in which religion also played a role. It is the gradual evolution of tribes (the original inhabitants of India) into caste is an important factor in the development of caste system. The contact of races of different cultures and its composition influenced the Hinduism in attraction and assimilation of diverse elements, influence of a sacerdotal order to regulate multifarious groups.

The present paper is an attempt to deal with a homogeneous community in South India inhabiting Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Telangana, namely Budubukkalas/Budbudki who pursue their traditional occupation of begging alms, a kind of charity that other communities bestow on them as an act of giving something voluntarily or freely as a matter of charitable deed connected to the concept of merit (punya), rebirth (punarjanma), heaven (swarga) and liberation(moksha), the guiding impetus among the Hindus which has been historically analyzed as a cultural set of practices or charity of donations or gifts, dana (food grains/cooked food) and dakshina (money). This has further connotation of humanity, social responsibility, name and fame of the whole Indian society in general and particularly practiced by a community. While studying the Budubukkala⁵community the present author attempted to list out 36 beggar communities (for details see Appendix) belonging to various sub-castes within Sudra community such as Andi Pandaram, Banda, Bairagi, Balasanthosha, Bhatraju; Dakkala, Dasari, Devara, Dommara, Gandalla, Gangireddula, Giddidki, Golla Monda, Golla Pedditi, Gondhli/Gondaliga, Gosangi, Helava/ Pichchigunta, Heleyadasari, Jangam, Jogi⁶; Kakirettalavallu/Kakirettalavandlu, Kalladisiddham⁷, Mailari, Mandula⁸; Mastiga, Naravaidyavaru, Pagativeshagallu⁹; Panasa, Pandaram, Ramajogi, Sakunapakshulu, Samayavallu, Sanyasi, Viramusti¹⁰; Sudugadasiddha, and Tambalas,¹¹ in order to understand the general and specific character of begging communities inhabiting various parts of South India, especially Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

I. Origin, Legend/Folklore and Features of Budabudakkala/ Budubudikkis (Hindu): The Budubudiki/s or Budubudikki (known in Karnataka State) or Budabukkala/s (known in Andhra Pradesh) are a caste of gipsy (taken as wanderer or roamer in pursuit of alms) beggars and fortune tellers/soothsayers, recall migration from Maharashtra State centuries back. They speak a corrupt form of Marathi within the family and kin group and Kannada or Telugu or Tamil, in local convenience, use local script and accordingly in a strict sense they do not form a caste but only a tribe. They pretend to consult birds and reptiles to predict future events. The name is derived from Budubudiki, an hour glass-shaped, double headed drum. This is sounded by means of the knotted ends of strings attached each of it when the operator turns it deftly and quickly from side to side, a sharp and weird sound is emitted, having a rude resemblance to the warbling of birds. The traditional folklore current among them is that when the first Budubudikki appeared on the earth it was considered as belated product of world's creation and then the scheme of human evolution completed. Finding difficult to maintain his livelihood and in dilemma appealed the goddess, Amba Bhavani, who out of pity, presented him her husband's drum, saying 'My son, there is nothing else for thee than this, take this and beg and thou shall prosper'. Among beggars, these Budubudukalas constitute themselves as superior beggars, to whom the handful of rice usually dole out is not acceptable. His demand, in which more often than not he succeeds, is for clothes of any description, good or bad, or new or old, torn or whole and realized that a cloth is a marketable community, which, when exchanged for money, fetches more than the handful of rice.

They are also called Dasarivandlu, Budabukkalollu or Budabudike or Are Budubudikki Or Marathi Budbudikki, in Andhra Pradesh sparsely found in Rayalaseema and heavily concentrated in coastal districts and also in Telangana State, where they are known as Ganta Budbudikki. In Tamil Nadu, they are found more in North Arcot, Kanchipuram and other adjoining areas of present Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Their community identification mark is the typical male dress, turban, *tilakapubottu* (bindi on the forehead) and budabudiki instruments.¹² There are local variants among themselves which might have occurred in due course of time, i.e., similar community in some areas prefer to call themselves as Sakala Budbudiki who have two subgroups, Peda and Pamula, the former mean poor and the latter snake.



Figure 1: A Budabukkala man is seeking alms



Figure 2: A Budabukkala man with his traditional dress pattern

They wear a special turban, shawl, coat (Fig.1&2), and carry an umbrella when they go for begging. They can be identified with a bell, mini-drum, vibhuti marks on the forehead, saffron-colored dress, multi-colored bead necklace and rudraksha garland. They are identified in two groups with respect to the economic status and profession of the people and posses different surnames (intiperlu: housename) which regulate marital alliances like Pratap, Darla, Dasari, Devarollu, Pedalavallu, Perlavallu, etc¹³. The traditional occupation of Sakala Budubudikke was begging and their primary occupation is piggery and subsidiary occupations are labour, riksha pulling, snake-charming, working as amid servants, etc.¹⁴

Community Pattern

Like other begging communities in South India as discussed in appendix, this community has endogamous groups such as 1. Are or Mahratta Budubuduki, 2. Telugu or Uppara Budubuduki, 3. Dasan Budubuduki (Dasarivandlu) and 4.Musulman Budubuduki. The Telugu Budubudiki/kkalas have two divisions namely Pasupanati and Mallelu and some of the local Budubudikis in Karnataka claim that they are the same stock as the Gondaligas and Killekyatas. It is confirmed by the fact that Mahratta Budubudikis outside the State intermarry with the Gondaligas and Telugu Budubudikis who claim to be Telugu Banajigas said to intermarry with the Killekyatas. It has exogamous clans, Kulas or Gotras namely Bhagavant, Bharat, Bhise, Bhosale, Chavan, Dhumal, Gaikwad, Ghati, Garud, Goghare, Gorse, Gudikar, Jadhav, Kadan, Malakar, Mandlakar, Mane, Multya, Naikar, Povar, Sasana, Sigamda, Shinde, Shingam, Vakkoda, Vashter and Vaguda. Surname exogamy is the marriage rule among them.¹⁵ They have *kula panchayats* (caste councils) comprising three or four elders as mediators to settle the disputes pertaining to diverse, elopement and remarriage and impose fine in the form of both physical torture and cash. Are Budubudikki have several clans and surnames which are useful in regulating marriage alliances and indicating descent Korivi, Pappu and Tupakul;a. Burrakatha Budabukkala and Dasari Budabukkala are the two subgroups found among them.

Economic Pattern

The traditional economy of the Budabudakala community is begging and fortune-telling but some of them appear to be mendicants as well, wander or roam in the villages or towns for alms. It is interesting to notice the begging performance of a Budubudikki and he appears continuously on the tramp and regulates his movements according to the seasons of the year. As a rule he pays visit to the rural parts after the harvest is gathered, for it is then that the villagers are at their best position to handsomely remunerate him for his pains. A Budubudiki, when get ready for collecting alms, appear like a person with a huge parti-colored turban, surmounted by a bunch of feathers, a pair of ragged trousers, a loose long coat, very often out of elbows, and a capacious wallet underneath his arm, ordinarily constitute his dress pattern. Occasionally, he indulges in the luxury of wearing a tiger or cheetah (leopard) skin, which hangs down his back and contributes his dignity of calling. In addition to this a mixture of clothes suspend on his left forearm. He appears to predict the future of human beings by the flight and notes of birds in the form of chant he recites and burden of the chant is invariably stereotyped and purports to have been gleaned from the warble of the feathered songsters of the forest. His performance prognosticates peace, plenty and prosperity to the house, the birth or a son to the fair, lotus-eyed house-wife and wordy advancement to the master, whose virtues are as countless as the stars and have the power to wipe out his enemies. His appeal holds a tempting prospect of coming joy in an unknown shape from an unknown quarter and concludes with an appeal for a cloth. If the appeal is successful, well and good, otherwise, he has the patience and perseverance to repeat his visit the next day, the day after that and so on until, in sheer disgust, the householder parts with a cloth.

A Budubudiki goes for alms from house to house shouting out impending or prospective events to the members thereof, and sounding his drum as he turns it deftly and quickly from side to side when a sharp and weird sound is produced. This is generally done in the early morning after his worship of Kali from the cremation ground, pretends to have divined the future of the householder by means of the chirping of birds in the early dawn. If some member is seen inclined to persuasion, he promptly takes advantage of it and begins to read the palms and predicts small evils which will happen, but cannot be warded off except by some gifts to his deities. When he gets them, he would demand some clothes worn by the person. He rubs a little of ashes on the evelashes and profess to be acquainted with black magic. Dasari Budubudiki also beg by going from house to house but they distinguish themselves as Dasaris and Sanyasavandlu and carry with him a Garuda Kamba (a lamp post), a conch, a gong and a drum who are largely found in YSR Kadapa and Kurnool districts. Their women take part in agricultural operations, animal husbandry and in other traditional economic activities.

Customs and Traditions

The Hindu Budubudikis worship all Hindu Gods and their tribal Goddess is Amba Bhavani(known locally as Yellamma) and their worship contains the pictures of the Goddess. Hanumantha is also largely worshipped. They worship their drum as Sarasvati during Dasara, Deepavali, Nagapanchami and Ganapati festivals. Brahmin officiate their marriage ceremonies while their own caste men are engaged in funerals. They pay homage to *Gurus* (preceptors) at Srisailam and Ujjain, and say that they have obtained 12 insignias from the *guru* at Srisailam who levied one chain from each family. They also attend the annual festival celebrated in honour of Amba Bhavani at Vellore in North Arcot district during Dasara days.

They accept water and cooked food from all communities except the Agara,Korcha,Dombar, Holeya and Madiga. However, raw food is accepted and exchanged from all. Are Budubudikis accept food and water from Braman, Komati, Raju, Kapu,Balija and Kamma. They are non-vegetarians, who eat pork and other non-vegetarian flesh except beef and their staple cereal is rice, ragi and jowar or bajra. Men take alcoholic drinks like toddy and arrack. In Karnataka, this community take animal food and drink liquor and in matter of diet they have no restrictions, and include the flesh of lizards, jackals, field rats, wild and domestic dogs, crows, cats and of animals that have died a natural death. On the other hand, Sakala Budubudike of Andhra Pradesh traditionally accept food and water from all the communities except the Scheduled castes and they interdine and intermarry with the Pamula Budubudike.

Marriage is endogamous and is settled through the parents of the parties. Once betrothal is performed, it cannot be withdrawn. If the bride's father revokes the contract, he has to pay a fine to the caste assembly and pays the cost to the other party. If the other party does it, he cannot claim his cost. If a betrothed girl to one man is married to another, the latter has to bear the expenses. The system for giving the bride-price is common though denied by some. This amount varies from Rs.10 to Rs.20, (it may be much more now-a-days) which is said to be utilized in supplying drink to the caste men. Besides this the girl's father is supposed to subscribe Rs.20 and the bridegrooms father Rs.121 (the amount may change according to demand now-a-days), for the same. The marriage expenditure is met by the latter and except for one day which is borne by the former.

Marriage ceremonies last for five days which is normally take place in the house of the bridegroom. On the day pandal is put up with 12 posts and family deities are worshipped in which the caste men are treated with a feast. Five married women carry *ariveni* pots in procession from the well or the river close to the pandal. A Brahman priest officiates the marriage ceremony and ties the *tali* round the girl's neck in Karnataka while in the Telugu States it is tied by the bridegroom. *Tali* consist of a number of black beads passed through a piece of cotton among the Vashter and Vakhod and a woolen among the Mukka and Nayikals in the exogamous clans. Nagavali is celebrated on the morning of the fifth day in which the married women take part in the erection of the milk post. The bridegroom puts on the toe-ring in token of being married and the removal of milk post concludes the end of the ceremonies after the priest is given rations and *dakshina* (payment of cash).

In Karnataka, when a Budubudiki girl attains her puberty, she is kept apart for five days, and on the 6th day, she is given bath and a dinner is given to the caste men. No ceremonies are observed for the consummation of marriage. No special ceremony is performed for a woman who is going to become mother and after the delivery, both the mother and the child are bathed in warm water and the mother is confinement to a special course of diet and on the fifth day after the birth, the mother and the baby are bathed, a feat is given to caste men. The child is named after some gods or ancestors, Hanumantha is often met with. Ramanna, Venkoji, Papayya, Muniyappa, Lachmana, Marappa, Narasimha, Nanjaiya and Madda with their corresponding feminine names are used by them. In some areas of Karnataka, child birth pollution is observed for three days. Certain pre and post-natal restrictions are also imposed. Puberty rites and nine days of pollution are observed. The important marriage rituals observed by them are *nischitartham* (marriage settlement), *mangala* snanam(sacred bath), muhurtham(time of marriage) and Kanyadnam (giving away the bride).

Consanguineous Marriage with one's father's sister daughter, mother's brother's daughter or elder sister's daughter is allowed irrespective of the region among this community. Junior sororate is also permitted. Adult marriages settled through negotiations and they follow monogamy as a common practice. A marriage pendant (medallion or necklace or *Tali*) and toe-rings are the symbols of married woman. Among Are Budubudikis toe-rings, vermilion (sindoor) and a marriage pendent with 101 beads are the symbols of marriage. Among Sakala Budubudiki of Andhra Pradesh, birth pollution is observed for two days and naming ceremony is performed on the third day along with mundane (tonsure) ceremony and a sacred thread is tied for both male and female children. The important rituals associated with marriage are the tying of *Tali* (marriage badge) round the bride's neck by the groom, and pouring

(*thalambralu*) vermilion rice at the bridegroom's residence and the marriage is conducted by an elder clan priest (*Devaravadu*).

Widows can marry any number of times, under a method namely 'Sireuduke' form by paying the bride-price which varies from Rs.12 to Rs.20. Married women do not take part in this type of ceremony and *Tali* is not tied. The remarried widow is given a white 'Saree' to wear and the Ganachar of the caste officiate the marriage who is paid some money and a little tobacco is placed in a *Gaudugudi* (Hooka) in Karnataka. Widow marriages are allowed among this community in other regions of South India. Regarding adultery, a married women eloping with a man is allowed to marry him on payment of a fine to the caste men of the village. No part of it is paid to her first husband as it is tantamount to her being sold. In some places, the paramour is required to pay Rs.140., to the caste men. If the man refuses to pay the fine, he is excommunicated from the caste and the woman is admitted into the caste on payment of fine. An unmarried woman become pregnant by a man of her caste is married to him under *Sireudike* method. Adultery with a man of higher caste is condemned by payment of a fine. Divorce is granted by a *Kula panchayat* (caste council) of the higher caste men in which the woman, her husband, her father and other members of the family are present. If they find that the couple cannot live together both are fined and to be given to caste men. The father of the woman passes a thread through the eye of a needle and hands it over to the husband who breaks the thread and keeps the needle indicating that his relation with her has ceased. Among Are Budubudikis divorce, remarriage for the divorced and widowed of both sexes and sororate are permissible and among Sakala Budubudikis some get spouses by elopement under marumanuvu (second marriage of a woman) custom.

Generally, the Budubudikis have their caste councils to enquire into social matters and these may be known as Kula panchayats and they have got several duties to perform. During marriages, the Vakhod must erect the booth and bless the couple with rice thrown on the couple when seated on the blanket. In the case of Vakhod division an elder person is the priest or the Gauda (Patel) of the Mukka and also for Shanbhog and Vashter. The Bhagant must tie the Bhashinga, marriage chaplet, on the foreheads of the couple. For these services, each of them gets five coconut halves, five dates, a turban and *pan supari* (betel leaves and nuts). It is the Gauda or headman who circulates notice for convene the meating. During marriage and other occasions the office bearers of the council are given two additional *tambulas* (betel nuts and betel leaves).

The dead are buried in a sitting posture in the usual begging dress of a Budubudiki holding the drum in his hand in Karnataka as per traditional method. The corpse is rolled up in a quilt and carried to the grave by four men, each holding the corner of the quilt. Before lowering the body into the grave, the corpse is stripped off its clothes and they are taken home. All return to the house of the deceased and wash themselves in front of the house before entering it. The relatives of the chief mourner give them toddy to drink. On the third day or the seventh day after the death, the caste men raise a subscription and purchase a hen out of it. They make an oblation of milk and ghee over the grave, and sacrifice the hen to it. They make *yede* (offer) of cooked food that the deceased liked best in his lifetime. Toddy and *hookka* (pipe smoking) are freely indulged in the morning for ten days in continuation. The caste men are treated with a feast on 12th day and the mourners are purified by Brahman. It is also referred that in some regions of Karnataka this community cremate the dead and death pollution is observed for 12 days. Whereas, among Are Budubudike of Andhra Pradesh the dead are buried naked in a sitting position and observed for 14 days, whereas Ganta Budubudikki of Andhra Pradesh, the dead are buried, offering *pindadana* (an offering to the dead elders) and worship their ancestors annually on Sankranthi day and the Budubukkalas of Rayalaseema region the dead are buried and death pollution is observed for ten days. The Sakala Budubudike in some parts of Andhra Pradesh buries the dead and death rituals are performed on 3rd and 11th days, and pollution is observed for ten days. They also follow *peddaladinam* (elders mourning day) a day devoted for ancestral worship to show their reverence, especially on Sankranthi day.

Regarding the social status, this community does not labor under any social disabilities and like other communities but they get service from village washer man and barber. They can use pubic wells and enter temples to certain extent and are loved to live in villages. The Hindu Budubudikis do not take food in the houses of Harijans, Agasasm Muhammadans, Sukalis, Korachas, Vaddas, Dombars and Bedas. They admit the caste people of superior castes, i.e., Telugu Nanajigas, Kumbars, Bestas and Vakkaligas on payment of Rs.12 to the caste men. The Budubudike in Mysore district does not beg from Holeyas and Madigas, own substantial houses and make periodical begging tours, especially in the harvest season. Nuclear family is the predominant type of their society and all sons enjoy equal rights in the ancestral property, the elder son succeeds as head of the family. The women also go for begging alms, food and clothes. In the Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh, the Budubudikkalas worship village deities such as Gangamma,Poleramma and other regional deities such as Tirupati Venkateswara swamy, Tiruttani Subramanya swamy, Ambabhavani. Water and food are accepted from all communities except few like the Mangali, Chakali,Mala and Madigas. Patron-client, landlord-tenant and cultivator-labor relationships are maintained by the Budubukkalas wih other communities.

They are found in all shades of complexion indicating that they are recruited from all sections of the society. They are a little broad headed and well shaped and their face is a little oval. They express intelligence while begging and belonged to more average stature. Wearing a loose trouser and a long shirt and hang about their persons all sorts of old pieces of colored clothes on their long coats and have a turban on which they tie a piece of cloth generally a red kerchief almost covering their ears. A number of clothes, as many as 20 to 30, hang over from their necks. Some quills of peacock or of the *pingala* or *sakuna* bird are stuck to their turbans. All sorts of anklets, amulets, beads and bangles on the wrists and elbows are put on and the face is painted with red lead or ashes. He carries a wallet for alms on the left shoulder and a tiger or leopard skin on his back and sometimes Rudraksha garland round his neck, sometimes adorn his personal shells.¹⁶

II. Faqir Budbudikkis (Muslim): This community is another form of beggars known by the same name but formed due to the result of intercommunity marriages with the Hindus. They are found in all parts of South India, especially in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, with little variation while pursuing their profession in South Indian society. In Andhra Pradesh, the Faqir, who are called Faqir Budbudkki lead a nomadic life. They are divided into five subgroups namely Mushq, Shazilal, Rafhayi, Banwa and Blethefha and they have synonyms like Ghatifaqir, Ghanta-Saibulu and Turuka Budbudki who speak Urdu at home and Telugu with others. He is identifiable by tiger or deer skin, a red headgear (pheta), a cap of the Kallgi bird's feathers (kaliqi-quvva turra), a silver crescent (half moon) and a bell (ghanta). The first two and the last group are treated as brothers and marriages among them are strictly restricted but alliances are settled with the other two groups as they are differentiated on the basis of work and instruments being used by them. Now-a-days, intermarriages are taking place with the Sheikh group of Muslims. A black bead badge (lachcha), toe-rings (chelle) and glass bangles (bangadi) are the marriage symbols. Their traditional and primary means of occupation is begging.

In Karnataka, these Faqir Budbudki are known as Darvesh, Bava, Sai and Pir and there are four divisions among them namely Rafai, Banwa, Jalali and Malang, in which only Rafai division perform masochistic acts like self-injury and removing blood in order to get alms. The Bava faqir are called Mamu and Baba is either prefixed or sufficed to their names and they are mainly found in Hubli, Savanur, Hirebegewadi, Baba Budan Giri, Belgaum and Nagalavi. They also speak Urdu among themselves and Kannada with others, use Perso-Arabic script. A Typical Faqir in Karnataka wears a lungi and kurta, a green turban or a cap, along with a green cloth known as qalaph on the shoulder. A necklace of red beads called kantha and another of white beads known as tasbih are worn by a Faqir. Similar marriage symbol is followed by the women in Karnataka as well.

In Tamil Nadu, the Faqir are distributed in areas like Tiruvarur, Kdikal Palem, Adiyaka Mangalam, Podakandi, Attikkadai and Salem, speak Tamil within the family as well as with others and use Tamil script. They wear a headgear (pheta), waist-band(kamar bandh), lower garment(lungi) and upper garment (kafan) and carry a drum(daira). They belong to five divisions, namely Rafai, Banwa, Jalali, Malang and Mandal, who are named after their ancestors. Similar marriage symbol is followed by the women of this community. The Rafai Faqir is considered superior among them.

It is interesting to note that the social customs and traditions followed by these Faqir Budbudki community in the above three States is similar to that of Hindus but little-bit vary in the performance and name of the event. Their method of domestic and social life-ways like birth pollution, rituals of child birth, naming ceremony, cradling, tonsure ceremonies, circumcision, marriage rituals, diverse, widow marriages, etc., are similar to those of Hindus with several social restrictions, outside and inside the community. Nuclear family set-up is common among them and Faqir women have a role in the social and religious spheres and also contribute to family income by beedi-making, running petty business, etc. Monogamy is practiced among them and property is divided among sons and daughters. The dead are buried and death pollution is observed on the third and fortieth days, respectively and ancestor worship is performed at the time of Bakr-Id festival. Their traditional occupation is seeking alms(beeque) in which Rafai use a drum (daira), the Banwa a stick(chota), the Jalal play a horn(punga), while the Malang and Mandal play a small flute, both the punga and the nagara, while go out for alms. Every year they attend Urs and Kandari festivals of the Nagore saint.

The Faqir Budbudikkis or Muhammadan Budbudikkis, while begging their alms, posses a bed (jholi), a bell and two sticks. One stick is fastened to jholi and the bell which rings at every step and the other stick is kept to drive away dogs that bark at them on hearing the sound they make while begging. Their leader is called Gudusha Faqir who lives at Matur, six miles from Shahabad. In religion and ceremonial events they are like other Muhammadans.

The begging method or seeking alms by Faqir Budbudkis is different from that of the Hindu Budbudukis. In the case of former they seek alms in the early hours of the morning, whereas, the latter seek even during day time. But in some areas of Andhra Pradesh, they also engage in the begging activity in villages in the morning hours as well. The Faqir Budubudki use a single thread for the typical small drum with threads (Budbudki), whereas, the Hindu Budbudukki use a double thread. Marriage ceremonies last for two days in the form of Muslim customs like nikah (contractual marriage) in which Muslim priest (Hazrat) of the local jamat conduct in the case of Faqir Budbudki and they are non-vegetarian who take beef, goat, sheep and camel meat, the Hindu does not take beef.

Now-a-days, this community is making use of the welfare programs such as formal education, health care, ICDS (Integrated Child Development Services), public distribution system, etc. As there are only a few literate people among them, they are economically backward. Development programs of the government have little impact on them in certain areas where they inhabit. However, Are Budbudiki's in Andhra Pradesh sell the old clothes received as alms and collect clothes in exchange for steel, plastic and other household items and majority of them have set up business and also work as farm laborers. However, a few still pursue their traditional occupation of begging.¹⁷

Conclusion

In a general point of view, according to Hindu philosophy and religion, the process of giving (donating) and accepting (receiving) alms, in which the patron and beneficiary, the former fulfill his/her charitable deed and the latter gets economically benefited. However, the historicity of charity appears ancient in Indian religious or social context and it is as old as the origin of Hindu Dharmasastra. It exemplifies that some part of one's earning should be donated for the welfare of society or to any other individual that is in need and it is a kind of *punyakarya* (meritorious deed) to attain mok sha after one's death in the other world. It is very much clear by looking at several examples known through Indian history as most of the kings spent lavishly for the construction

of temples as well as donating lands and services for their maintenance as part of welfare program of the society in which even common people, guilds, etc., took active part. In the present context it is rather difficult to imagine the origin of Budubudiki/Budubudakkala caste in South India as traditional beggars depending on south Indian society through receiving alms from all sections of people irrespective of religion and caste. As this community being recruited from various castes but not confined to a particular group of people who are historically defined as traditional beggars as part of Hindu society who had to pursue their livelihood. It is the profession that made legitimate for those who are economically weak. The legend illustrating their profession as beggars may not be applicable to all the other castes, who got recruited into the present community under discussion, perhaps in the later period of time, for example Faqir Budbudikkis. But it can be considered as an important beggar community for a social cause because while begging they aspire for the benefit and welfare of the patron as if he really consulted the birds to tell about the future of events although it is an art of begging. In this way they adorn a significant dress pattern distinctly suitable for their traditional occupation. In view of fast changing economic pursuits, there is an urgent need of recording the traditional occupations of many communities so as to enrich the social anthropology of Indian people, especially in South India.

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S. No.	Caste name and Sept./sub- groups (bracket indicates the reference)	Traditional occu- pation/Language/ distribution/way of life	Food habits/ Social status/ Customs/ Traditions	Present Oc- cupation	Other important information, etc.
1	Andi Pandaram ^{1(p,45-47)} Endogamous and sur- name exogamy(Yangam Andi, Jogi Andi and Kovil Andi sub-groups) recruited from all class of Sudras. Endogamous and surname Exoga- mous ^{. 8(p,92-93)}	Begging/ Telu- gu speakers conversant in local languages, originally from Andhra Pradesh and migrants to Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu in the remote past. Begging is compulsorily done on Monday and Friday.	Pure vege- tarians but occasional non-vegetari- ans in Kerala / rice as staple food/SC in T.N. and OEC in Kerala. Bury the dead and follow all Hindu customs/tra- ditions.	Agricultural laborers and masons	High self-per- ception, Siva- gotra, number of lineages and Monogamy.
2	Banda ^{1(P.146)} (A.P) /Mondi or Mond- aru ^{13(p.217-24)} (T.N); Endogamous and surname exogamous/ Uru Mondaru,Kakalu Mandaru/Sikhandi Mondaru,Kasturi Mond- aru ^{8(p.240-42)}	Begging/ Telugu, Kannada and Tam- il/ Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh/ wandering / live outside villages under trees or in the deserted temples.	Non-vegetar- ian /alcohol con- sumers , (Kakalu Mond- aru are crow eat- ers), low social status/Beg from all castes including Madigas. Fol- low all Hindu Religious faiths and customs	A small caste of beggars rather low in social status, still beg- gars by profes- sion	Unclean wan- dering class of People not generally touched even by non-Brah- mans

Appendix: List of Beggar Communities in South India.

3	Bairagi ^(1:130-33) (religious mendicants inhabit in Karnataka)endogamy at community level/exoga- my at clan level/ divided into Occupational groups ^{8(p.197-8) and 11(p.87-93)}	Sooth saying and Begging/herbalists and physicians/ Telugu at home and conversant in Kannada/	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and ragi staple food/ Hindu customs and traditions.	labors,	Cremate the dead/divided into 7 clans.	
4	Balasanthosha ^{1(p.133-34)} / Balasanthu, a local community in Telangana districts/ endogamous groups(Ga- nadi jangam and Uroo jangam and surname exogamous like sirigiri,Kadamanacholla, Sirvattollu,Mariyala, etc. ^(8:217-18)	Traditionally associated with folk-drama, their mimicry and pucy-dress shows their performance as a professional performing artists to seek alms.	Non-vegetari- an but do not eat beef/ jowar staple food/bury the dead and observe rites.	Small caste of performing artists and fortune tellers	groups trace	
5	Bhatrajus ^{1(223-30),} the caste of bards and genealogists ^(8:423-24) and ^{11(p.259-76)}	Specialist singers in Praise of king's and get donations/ alms,etc. Telugu and Kan- nada/ Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka	Some are vege- tarian and some others are non-vegetar- ians. Worship Siva and Vishnu without any difference. Family god Gurumurti and Siddeshwara. Follow all Hin- du customs and traditions life.	Other profes- sions in the past, as land- lords(Patels, (Patwaris) in Telangana and now Teachers, poets, govt. officials.	Their origin is traced as the offshoot from the parents of Brahman and Vaisya. Canarese burn the dead and Telugu bury the dead	
6	Dakkala ^{2(p.104-05)} /Dakkal/ Dakkaliga(SC), descen- dant of Jambavanthudu, _{8(p.745-46)}	Collecting alms from Madigas by narrating their genealogies and folklore/Telugu, Kannada and Tam- il/Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka	Non-vegetar- ian (beef and pork),rice and jowar as staple food/low social status.	No other profession, reside outside the Madiga Settlements for one or two days.	to serve them food,	

7	Dasari ^{2(p.112-119)} / endogamous groups, i.e., Bukka or Butta Dasari,Paga Dasari, Dande Dasari, Kunchalya Dasari, Chin- na Dasari, Mala Dasari, Hole Dasari, Chenchu Dasari, Bhagawat Dasari etc. Surname Exogamous ^{8(p.767-69)}	Wandering beg- gars/ Vaishnavite beggars/ temple servants (recruit- ed from several Telugu and Kanara castes), Telugu/ Occupation Division clusters through out Andhra Pradesh and Kar- nataka.	Non-vegetar- ian but some are do not eat beef/Low social status/all Hindu customs and traditions. Accept food from all Hindu castes	Other profes- sions like business, Traders, Priests per- forming mar- riage rituals, agriculture, etc.	Lived by begging alms from door to door/follow ancestral worship and bury the dead
8	Devara ^{8(p.792-93)} (Pujari/ Ganga Pujari), No- madic endogamous groups(Muthyalam- ma-vallu, Sunkulam- mavaru and Mutrasi Devara) surname exogamous.	carrying Devar- lu(idols of god) and begging alms/ Telugu/	Non-vegetar- ians/rice and jowar staple food but also accept food from all Hindu castes	Animal hus- bandry and poultry	Usually Mo- nogamous/ Bury the dead
9	Dommara ^{2(p.185-90)} (also called Dom/Dombara/ Dombar), Two sub- groups Kadu Dombar and Goru Dombar, ^{8(p.873-76),12(p.139-174).}	Traditional acrobats/ tradi- tionally known as vagabond dancers, actors, gymnasticians, perform magi- co-religious activities.	Non-vegetar- ians/ Follow all Hin- du customs and traditions. accept food from all Hindu castes except from Madiga and Holeyas.	Pig rearing and agricul- ture labour, jugglery, etc.	An entire- ly Telugu origin/ bury the dead
10	Gandalla ⁸ (p.944.45)(record- ed as exogamous sept of the Balija known as Gandhavallu) Endogamous/surname exogamous.	Selling of sandal- wood paste/ Telugu, mostly concentrat- ed in Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh	Non-vegetar- ian/ Hindu traditions and customs/ staple food rice.	Men are tinkers, locksmiths and repair umbrellas/ took up varying occu- pations like sooth-saying and acting.	Men do not wear upper garment when go for begging and carry a gong stamp- stand/bury the dead.
11	Gangireddula ^{2(p.258-63)} , A semi-nomadic commu- nity/ Also identified as Puja Golla or Puna-Golla/ endogamous/surname exogamous ^{8(p.958-59)}	Staging and exhibiting the bull performances in public and begging alms/only found in Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu	Non-vegetari- an but not beef as a taboo/ Hindu customs and traditions/sta- ple food	Men attend their tradi- tional occupa- tion some- times assisted by women.	During ja- tras walk on fire/ either cremation or burial in sitting position.

12	Giddidki ⁸ (p.1014-1015), (also called as Pingle in Karna- taka)/ exogamous sub-groups	Fortune telling and Begging/ Marathi but conversant in Kannada/Karnata- ka/use Devanagari script with family and Kannada with outsiders.	Non-vegetar- ians rice and jowar/ Hindu customs and traditions.	selling alumi- num utensils and plastic boxes, vegeta- ble vendors.	Thuljapur, the sacred centre. Bury the dead.
13	Golla Monda ^{8(p.1037-1038)} / identified themselves as Golla and Yadava in Tamil Nadu/ community endogamy	Performers of Moni (magical tricks)/ seeking alms/ re- fuse to leave unless alms are not given/ Telugu within their family but in Tamil with others/Tamil Nadu/ uses Tamil script/	Non-vegetar- ians/ follows all Hindu customs and traditions.	Still shep- herds and cow herders.	Bury the dead
14	Golla Pedditi ^{8(p.1038-1039)} /identified themselves as Modi or Garadi Gollas or Yerra Gollas/ surname Exogamous.	Livelihood by performing Modi or begging and Flattery/ numer- ically small com- munity in Andhra Pradesh	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar staple food. Hindu tra- ditions and customs/ low social status.	Agriculture wage labour,, Tattooing.	Bury the dead/some members live on beg- ging Only.
15	Gondhali/ Gondaliga ^{2(p,296-97)} , also known in Karnataka as Gondali/ Ghodali/ Gondahalli/Endogamous groups and surname ex- ogamous ^{8(p,1068-69),12(p,243-49)}	Begging by per- forming Gondala, a kind of torch-light dance in honor of Amba Bhavani immediately after the marriages and beg for alms in the Desastha Brahma- na houses/Marathi mother tongue but conversant in Kan- nada language/ northern Karnataka .	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar staple food/ worship all Hindu gods/	Entrepreners, creative artists, wood works, wage labors, basketry and making of blankets.	Practice either burial or crema- tion, women tattoo their bodies and men wear a turban.

16	Gosangi ^{2(p,298)} (a synonym for Madiga recorded as Kosangi in Madras cen- sus report,1910) , claim descendants of Jambavanta, ^{8(p,1089-90),} 12(p,254-59)	Begging/Telugu/ Andhra Pradesh and TamilNadu/ as mendicants attached to Madigas.	Non-vegetar- ians/ Hindu customs and traditions	As agriculture Labors/any other labor works	Women dress like men and sing songs while beg- ging/ claim de- scendants of Jambavan- tha
17	Helava ^{2(p.328)} / Pichchi- gunta (custodians of village histories)/endogamous and surname exoga- mous, ^{9(p.1277-79),12(p.309-19).}	Begging/ Andhra Pradesh and Kar- nataka/ Telugu and Kannada/ suppose to beg only from Okkaligas in Kar- nataka.	Vegetarians/ not considered as out caste/ Hindu customs and traditions/ staple food rice and ragi/	engaged in other manual works	Helava invariably carry a bell and a beg- ging pouch. beg from Okkaligas at least once in an year. Bury the dead
18	Holeyadasari ^{2(p.329-51)} / endogamous and surname exoga- my, ^{9(p.1299-1300),12(p.320-52)}	Seeking alms through begging / Karnataka/ Kannada.	Non-vegetar- ians, except beef /rice, jowar and other type of cereals.	Animal hus- bandry, Agriculture laborers, collection of fuels.	Serve as priests of Holeya and Madiga. Bury the dead
20	Jogi ^{2(p,494)} /(also known as Pandi jogis in Telugu and Handi jogis in Kannada/ Endogamous groups and surname exoga- mous ^{9(p,1399-1400)}	Wandering tribe/ Begging and Pig rearing, Herbalists /Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka/ Telugu and Kan- nada.	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and Jowar staple food/ Hindu customs and Traditions.	Engaged on other occupa- tions	While begging a single caste/ but different occupations gave rise to two divi- sions, Pa- kanati jogis and Palunte Jogis
21	Kakirekkalavallu ^{3(p.44)} (also known as crow feather people)/Endog- amous and surname exogamous.	Begging (from Mutrachas)/ Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar staple food/Hindu customs and traditions.	Engaged in variant occu- pations.	Mendi- cants/ while begging tie crow feathers round their waists.

22	Kalladisiddham ^{3(p.52)} / endogamous and sur- name exogamy	Begging (alms like Mondi)/ Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu/Telugu and Kannada	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar./Hindu customs and traditions	Hunting and Casual labour	Fond of eating Crows/bury the dead
23	Mailari ^{4(p.328)} /(Balajan- gam)/ called as Kancha- viralu and Virabhatalu/ endog- amous Groups and surname exogamous clans ^{9(p.2105-} 107),13(p.181-184).	Begging/ Karna- taka and Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu And Kannada	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar/Hindu customs and traditions(Sai- vas)	Mailara dance for collection of alms/other occupations	Bury the dead
24	Mandula ^{4(p.447-48)} / endoga- mous groups and surname exoga- mous ^{9(p.2171-72)}	Wandering beggars/Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh/Telugu and Tamil	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice staple food/Hindu customs and traditions	Selling drugs and powders/	Beggars by choice/ bury the dead/ women act as midwives
25	Mastiga ^{5(p.49)} / endogamous and surname exogamous groups.	Begging(beg from Gollas, Malas and Madigas)/ Telugu and Kannada, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka	Non-vegetar- ian/ rice as staple food/ Hindu customs and traditions	Other occu- pations like business, work- ers,etc.	Illegiti- mate de- scendants of Malas/ perform various acrobatic feats
26	Naravaidyamvaru ^{5(p.248)} / Vipravinodis(jangam by caste)/ endogamous and surname exogamy	Beggars and acrobats before Brahmans/Andhra Pradesh	Vegetarians/ rice staple food/Hindu customs and traditions	Other profes- sions like trade and commerce, priests, etc.	Bury the dead
27	Pagativesham ^{5(p.454)} / Endogamous groups and surname exoga- my ^{10(p.2702-03)}	A class of Telugu beggars/Andhra Pradesh	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar staple food/ Hindu customs and traditions	Other profes- sions like manual labor,etc.	Disguise while begging,/ bury the dead

28	Panasa ^{6(p.42)} / endogamous groups and surname Exogamy.	A class of Telugu beggars/ Andhra Pradesh/Telugu	Vegetarians/ beg from gold-smiths (kamsalas) and , Beri komatis. Hindu customs and traditions	Other profes- sions like manual labour, etc.	Appear every year and ex- pect alms from their pa- trons and collect arrears/ bury the dead
29	Pandaram6 ^(p,45-52) /endogamous and surname exoga- mous, ¹⁰ (p.2742-45)	A wandering class of beggars in Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice staple food/Hindu customs and traditions	Other profes- sions, labour, work- ers,etc.	Name by occu- pation rather as caste/bury the dead
30	Ramajogula ^{6(p.195-6)} (Pan- dula jogi or Handijogi / endogamous groups/sur- name exogamy ^{10(p.2965)}	A wandering beggars/Medi- cants/Telugu and Kannada/Andhra Pradesh and Kar- nataka	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar as staple food/ Hindu customs and tradtions	Other profes- sions like agricultural lobour, etc. accept food from all castes	Bury the dead
31	Sakunapakshulu ^{6(p.262)} (also known as Gudda- gantalavallu, Chakali- banda, Bukkala)/ endogamous and surname exoga- mous ^{10(p.3097-98)}	Nomadic men- dicants/ beggars/ Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar staple food/Hindu customs and traditions	Major by beg- ging in villages in bands/ other professions	Migrate from one place to another for beg- ging/ bury the dead
32	Sanyasi ^{6(p.295-6)} (also known as Jangamaka- pulu) /Exogamous clan and Endogamous groups ^{10(p.3114-115)}	Begging/mendi- cants/ Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh/ Telugu and Kan- nada	Vegetarians/ rice and jowar as staple Food/Hindu customs and traditions	No other profes- sion/ wear ochre-col- ored clothes, jolige, beads, decorate ashes, a conch,a bell, a gourd pitcher and twisted hair.	Different from Lingayat Jangams and call them- selves As ghanta jangams/ bury the dead
33	Samayavallu ^{6(p.295-6)} / Endogamous groups and surname exoga- my ^{10(p.3115-116})	Semi-nomadic beggars/ Andhra Pradesh/Telugu	Non-vegetar- ians/ rice and jowar as staple food/ go for begging only to Padma- salis / Hindu customs and traditions	Other profes- sions like work- ers, labourers,	Differ from Bha- traju's/ belongs to only one gotra/ bury the dead

34	Sudugadusiddha ^{13(p.600-08)} Endogamous groups/ exogamous clans (also known as Telugu jangams,Gombeyatada- varu, Pakanati Gollas and sometimes named as Kadupappas.	Wandering beg- gars/ mendicants/Kar- nataka	Non-vegetar- ians inspite of caste / rice and other materials depending on alms/Hindu customs and traditions	Settled people in villages/invite Okkaligas and other castes in to their community	Does not eat cow or monkey/ bury the dead
35	Tambalas ^{7(p.5.6)} /endoga- mous groups/surname exogamous	A class of beggars Disguised different Costumes/ Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu/Telugu and Tamil	Vegetarians/ Hindu customs and traditions.	Telugu speak- ing priests and differ socially according to localities	Wear sacred thread but Sudras/ worship Siva, beat drums. Beg and eat only with Brahmans
36	Viramusti ^{6(p.406-11)} /endogamous groups/ surname exogamy	Beggars/mendi- cants/ Several occupa- tional sub-divi- sions	Vegeterians / beg only from Devangas and Komatis, washerman/ Hindu customs and traditions	Professional acrobats appear with daggers and sticks, etc.	Bury the dead