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Bundelkhand Castes

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By

C.E. Luard

V.C

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JIJHAUTIA OR JIJHOTIA BRAHMANS.

Introductory.—The Jijhautia Brāhmans are a local section of the Kanaujiyas. In Central India 53,781 were returned of whom 37,589 were returned from Bundelkhand and 8,374 from Gwalior.

Name and origin.—The Jijhautias are a local section of the Kanaujiyas or Kānyakubjas. The tradition runs that in V. S. 821 or 764 A. D. Rājā Jhujhār, a Parihār chief, wishing to perform a sacrifice invited some Kanaujiya Brāhmans to officiate. This sacrifice was carried out on Wednesday, 12th *Vaisākh* V. S. 821, according to the story.

These Kānyakubjas settled down in the country, then known as Jijhauti, ¹ and became a local group of Brāhmans losing all connection with the parent stock.

Subdivisions.—The Jijhautias are divided into three groups of respectively 3, 13, and 59, of which the two first are considered of superior rank and status. See Appendix.

Some uncertainty, however, exists as to the sections of the caste.

As to the names they explain themselves. *Chaubes* which is a contraction of *Chatur-vedin* (one who reads four Vedas); *Dube* or *Dwi-vedin* (or a reader of two Vedas); the *Bājpsi* were performers of the *Vājpeya* sacrifice; *Pāthaks* from having committed the Vedas to memory (*Pāth*); *Arijaria*, from *ari*, an enemy, and *jar*, to consume.

Among these three groups Nos. 1 and 2 intermarry but no one can marry either into the same *gotra* or the same *spada*, i. e., a Garga cannot marry a Garga, a Mishra a Mishra, or a Samele a Samele.

But a man of the Pānde *spada* and Garga *gotra* can marry a girl of any *spada* excepting their own and that of their maternal uncle.

Marriage.—A man must marry a girl of a different *gotra*.

He may marry a girl of the same sept as his mother, but five degrees distant in relationship. He may also marry into the sept of his paternal and maternal grandmother but not a member of her family. Marriage is infant, and a girl over 10 years of age still unmarried is considered a cause of dishonour to her parents.

An infant bride remains with her parents until of age. When she goes to reside with her husband, the *Chalas* ceremony is performed.

All marriages are arranged by the parents.

The "Jijhautia Mahati Sabha" is trying to reform marriage and at a meeting on 29th December 1904, passed a resolution fixing the age of marriage at 10 to 12 for girls, and 15 to 20 for boys. These rules, however, are very difficult to enforce.

Ceremonies.—The *Mitākshara* rules are followed in marriage, the *Brāhm-wivāha* form being that employed. The various parts of the ceremony may be thus summarized :—

1. The comparison of the horoscopes of the boy and girl.
2. The *Phaldān* ceremony, when a cocoanut is sent to the bridegroom to show acceptance of his suit.

1. Inscriptions give the old name of Bundelkhand as *Jejaka-bhukti* which contracted to Jijhauti.

(2)

3. The *Sudhākara* ceremony, when the auspicious moment for the wedding is selected by the astrologer.
4. The *Lagan* ceremony, when a written statement of the day and hour fixed by the astrologers is sent to the bridegroom by the bride's parents. Some money, clothes, etc., are also sent as gifts.
5. The *Chhei-māti* ceremony which takes place a few days before the actual wedding. The women-folk of the bride's family collect the lime (*Chhei-māti*) required for whitewashing the house and bring it to the house in state.
6. The *Mutiyan-hao* ceremony which consists in the women-folk of the bride's family going in procession to the spot from which the earth is taken to build the hearths (*chūlas*) at which the marriage feast is prepared. They take offerings of rice, sandal wood, red lead and camphor, etc., in a dish and invoke the ancestors of the bride, calling on them to attend the wedding and bless the union. On their return the dish with its offerings is carefully placed opposite the household deities.
7. The *Mandwa* ceremony consists in the erection of the marriage canopy.
8. The *Maiyāno* or *Maihar* ceremony is performed by both parties the day before the bridegroom leaves his house to proceed to that of the bride. Just before his arrival at the bride's house small cakes of flour called *māgen* are distributed among the members of the family, the household gods being carefully set up between sixteen lines made with *ghī* and worshipped.
9. The *Raksha* ceremony consists in the visiting by the bridegroom (just before he leaves) of all the local village gods.
10. The *Dulha-nikāsi* is the setting out of the bridegroom.
11. The *Barāt* is the journey of the marriage procession towards the bride's home.
12. The *Peshwai*, a meeting on the border of the village in which the bride lives, of members of each party.
13. The *Paunchhak* or courteous gift sent by the bride's father to the bridegroom's father.
14. The *Tika* ceremony or making of the *tika* on the bridegroom's forehead.
15. The *Durga-janeo* or putting on of a fresh *janeo* on to the bridegroom, immediately after the *tika* has been made.
16. The *Charhao* or approach of the procession to the bride's home.
17. The *Gaorarya-khilāna* takes place at the bridegroom's house (after his departure) on the day of the wedding. It consists in the feasting of seven or ten married women.
18. The *Lahakaur-dena* (or *Lalikor-dena*) ceremony consists in certain women of the bride's side going to the place where the bridegroom's party are staying and singing obscene songs and throwing red powder (*gulāl*) over them. In some cases the bridegroom has to eat food left by the bride on this occasion.
19. The *Larki-ki rachh* ceremony.
20. The *Rachh-bei* ceremony is the buying of new jars (*bei*) by both sides from the local potter. New jars are used at the wedding.

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21. The *Bhanwar* ceremony consists in the surrender of the girl to the bridegroom and the circumambulation by the pair of the *mandapa*.

22. The *Rachh-badhāwa* ceremony takes place when the last is over. The pair go to the place where the bridegroom's party are staying and each gives the other some *batāshas* (a sweetmeat) to eat. On this occasion the bridegroom's relatives make their gifts (*bēohār*).

23. The *Got-nathai*. The pair are conducted by the women-folk to the room in which the bride's household gods are kept. An effigy of a god is made in flour and the bridegroom transfixes it with a dagger, and receives some money.

24. The *Got-milai* ceremony consists in the bridegroom's putting out two lighted wicks with a piece of gold leaf. This takes place at the same time as No. 23. He is then again given some money as a gift.

25. The bride's people then prepare a feast of *pakki* for the bridegroom's party.

26. The *Daija* or dowry agreed on is paid.

27. The *Phāg* ceremony in which the red powder is once more scattered.

28. The bridegroom then unties the knotted string from the *mandapa*.

29. The *Sajan-bhet* or departure of the *Barāt* now takes place.

30. The *Mochayana* ceremony is carried out when the bride enters her husband's house for the first time. On this occasion the male elders of the bridegroom's family are allowed one glance at the bride's unveiled face and each one gives her a present of cash or an ornament.

31. The village gods are then worshipped.

32. The ceremonies conclude with the *Mātrika-visarjan* or *Dashawanani* ceremony when the *mandwa* is taken down and leave is taken of the household gods, rice being scattered over them.

The only really important and essentially binding ceremony is the *Bhanwar*.

Expenses.—The cost varies within wide limits according to the fancy and position of the parties.

The sums lavished are often vastly disproportionate to the means of those concerned and the "Jijhanti Mahati Sabha" at meeting on 28th and 29th December 1905, laid down certain limits, *viz.* :—

Income.	By bride's people.	By bridegroom's people.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
100	75	50
100-200	100	66
500-510	255	170
800-810	405	270
990-1,000	500	333
2,000-2,100	875	583
10,000-11,000	2,150	1,433

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These rules are, however, difficult to enforce.

Widow re-marriage.—This is absolutely prohibited.

Adultery.—The penalty is outcasting, no fine will condone the offence, in the case of a woman.

Religion.—The Jijhautias are orthodox Hindus following the regular forms.

Death.—The usual Hindu ceremonies are observed, the body being cremated and the ashes committed to a stream.

Shrāddh is performed on the ninth day (*Navaka-shrāddh*) and on each anniversary (*Kshaya-shrāddh*), and on other occasions, in conformity with Hindu custom.

Where a child is born prematurely the days of mourning are repeated according to the number of months it has been in the womb, *e. g.*, for a three month's child, three days' mourning.

A child which dies before its teeth are cut is buried, not cremated, only bathing is necessary. If the mother has put on her bangles again *Chuda-karna*, three days' mourning is required. In other cases ten days are necessary.

Children who have died of smallpox are buried.

Propitiatory worship.—Such worship is done on behalf of ancestors, children and others, and for those who have died a violent death. A *shrāddh* is observed usually in *Kunwār* (September-October) and also on the anniversary. The deceased's first wife is propitiated by the effigy of a woman which is stamped in silver or gold and worn round the neck by the new wife.

Occupation.—Their original occupation is that of Brāhmans, to officiate at ceremonies and perform sacrifices. Now, however, only about 25 per cent. of this caste are engaged in priestly offices, other being agriculturists, shop-keepers, money-lenders, and grain-dealers. Many serve in States and Government Offices.

They are not a highly educated caste only.

Food.—The Jijhautias eat no flesh and never touch liquor. *Pakki* is accepted from Jijhautias, *Kanaujias*, *Sanādhyas* Brāhmans, *Bhārgava* Brāhmans, and many others, and from *Gaur Kshatriyas*.

Kachehi is only accepted from Jijhautias. Water may be taken from *Nais* and *Dhīmars*. Smoking was formerly absolutely forbidden and is still considered highly derogatory by strict members of the caste. The Jijhautias claim that all will take food from them. This is unfortunately not a fact as *Dekhanis*, *Shenwis*, and *Kāyastha Prabhus* will not do so and there are certainly others also.

Janeo.—All wear the *janeo* which is given them at eight years of age.

Dress.—They dress like others and wear similar ornaments. Hair is worn in *Kakwa Chuda'iya*, *Kailo*, or *Girda* fashion, in the *Kakwa*.

Tattooing.—Women are tattooed after marriage only, on hands, chin, calf of leg, and breast.

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APPENDIX.

JIJHAUTIA SUBDIVISIONS. ¹

The Three Pata or Spada.

GOTRA.		SPADA.	
(1) Garga	Pānde.
(2) Gautam	...	...	Chauhe (Six families) of
			1. Rupnaul.
			2. Wānsi.
			3. Dadari.
			4. Kālinjar,
			5. Mūrjā.
			6. Kūchhaura.
(3) Shāndilya	...	Arjariya of all families	...
			1. Chaubes of Saunakpura.
			2. " " Sānkrit Gotra.
			3. " " Kutuwa.

THE THIRTEEN PATA.

Number.	Spada (Title).	Description of the family.	Gotras.
1	Rāwat	1 Vakra Rāwat	1 Rāwats of Lalitpur belong to Vasishta Gotra.
		2 Rāwats of Midarka	2 Do. of Salaia do.
		3 Senāpati Rāwat	3 Do. of Konch do.
		4 Kekānya Rāwat	4 Do. of Manjaljiron do.
2	Nāik	1 Nāiks of Pipri	Vasishta.
3	Richhāria	1 Of Churāra	Jātrakarna.
		2 " Pipra	Kātyāyana.
		3 " Kuwa	
4	Bhanderiha Tiwāri	1 Of Bhānder	Yeka Vasishta.
		2 " Simardha	
		3 " Dewalwāra	
		4 " Dewarāi	Vasishta.
		5 " Harpura	
		6 " Tilauta	
5	Mishra	1 Shāndilya	Shāndilya.
		2 { 1 Kariya Mishra	{ Maunas.
		2 Maunasia Mishr	
		3 Waugele Mishra	Kāshyapa.
		4 { 1 Mishra of Bhatenwāra	{ Koundinya.
		2 " " Patanra	

1. A list was also given in the Census of 1901.

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Number.	Spada (Title).	Description of the family.	Gotras.
6	Pāthak	5 Mishra of Bhūra ...	} Kāshyapa.
		6 " " Bhagoria ...	
		7 " " Weri ...	
		1 Pāthak of Rora ...	} Upamanya.
		2 " " Chhitarwāra ...	
		3 " " Barauda ...	
7	Awasthi	4 " " Kalyānpura ...	} Vatsa.
		5 " " Sutta-Singār ...	
		6 " " Marwārī ...	
		1 Of Prabhākar ...	} Shāndilya.
		2 " Bhṛugāni ...	
		3 " Thutt ...	
8	Patairia	1 Of Sāipur ...	} Kāshyapa.
		2 " Kadāri ...	
		3 " Wanda ...	
		4 " Sijaura ...	
		5 " Chachauli ...	
9	Bājpei	1 " Winwāra ...	} Kāshyapa.
		2 " Yadnyapura ...	
		3 " Pannā ...	
		4 " Charkhārī ...	
10	Gangele	1 " Madhai ...	} Gautam.
		2 " Indurkhi ...	
		3 " Tareta ...	
11	Sullere	1 " Tikariā ...	} Pārāshar.
		2 " Dhūmardās ...	
		3 " Saugar ...	
		4 " Jijau ...	
		5 " Nandana ...	
12	Dikshita	1 Of Patairaya ...	} Kāshyapa.
		2 " Simaria ...	
		3 " Kaidia ...	} Kaushila.
		4 " Kānkar ...	
		5 " Indurkhi ...	} Kāshyapa.
		6 " Nārāyanpura ...	
13	Tiwārī	1 Tiwārī of Aizi ...	Bhāradwāja.

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THE FIFTY-NINE PATA.

Number.	Spada (Title).	Gotra.
1	Gautinua	Gautama.
2	Bilgaiya	Kāshyapa.
3	Barāma	Kaushila.
4	Timraiya	Mudgala.
5	Raneiya	Gautama.
6	Lutauria	Bhāradwāj.
7	Sirwaiya	Kaushika.
8	Saunikiya	Shaunaka.
9	Kausikiya	Kaushika.
10	Upādhyā	Vatsa.
11	Bhatewaria	Kāshyapa.
12	Babele	Parāshar.
13	Bhandele	Vasishta.
14	Sungele	Atri.
15	Samele	Parāshar.
16	Padele	Vatsa.
17	Nisrele	Bhāradwāj.
18	Ruhele	Mudgala.
19	Dunele	} Kāshyapa.
20	Badele Mishra	
21	Hutāsane	
22	Naik—	} Yeka Vasishta.
	1 Bindrābanī	
	2 Of Biājra	
23	Bamori ke Naik	Kaushila.
24	Nat Naik	Gautama.
25	Kuchwār	Kaushila.
26	Sūra Dube	Jātukarna.
27	Purohit Bithūr ke	Kridmātriya.
28	Purohit	Bhāradwāj.
29	Dube—	} Shāndilya.
	1 Shāndilya Dube	
	2 Achārya Dube	
	3 Khadauria Dube	
	4 Dulāria Dube	
	5 Orchhā ke Dube	
30	Pastor	Kāshyapa.
31	Agnihotri (living in Padwārī)	Vasishta.
32	Bagmar	Kāshyapa.
33	Advarya (Pāndes in the East)	Bhāradwāj.
34	Tiwārī of Dalāmau	Dhaumra.
35	Tiwārī of Sarāf-rai-pur	Vatsa.
36	Bājāj (Prathama Pāde Aī)	Bhāradwāj.
37	Bharoria Dube	Vatsa.
38	Shukla (of Tarī)	} Bhāradwāj.
39	Soti	
40	Gundla Dube	Bhārgava.
41	Dubes of Imtola	Kāshyapa.
42	Jafada Dube	Mudgala.

Number.	Spada (Title).	Gotra.
43	Dubes of Sirsa (Syāsa Dube) ...	Vatsa-Lilārpuria.
1	Silārpuria ...	
2	Thinga Dube ...	
3	Chhiraaulia Dube ...	Bhāradwāj.
44	Dubes of Chhitarwāra ...	
45	Padviya Dube (Pada-baiya Dube) ...	
46	Dubes of Mainchha ...	Gautama.
47	Makrāria Dube ...	Kāshyapa.
48	Kulpahāria Dube ...	Kaushila.
49	Pangara Dube ...	Vasishtha.
50	Kānkar ...	Kaushila.
51	Widuwa ...	Atri.
52	Tiwāri ...	Dhananjaya.
53	1 Vishwa Dewa Tiwāri ...	Vatsa.
2	Teiya ke Tiwāri ...	
3	Lugāsia Tiwāri ...	
54	{ 1 Tiwāri of Pathredi ...	Bhāradwāj.
2	" " Dhabāri ...	
55	" " Dhawāra ...	
56	{ 1 " " Dadari ...	Pārāshar.
2	" " Binwār ...	
3	" " Hatna (Hastgaon) ...	
57	{ 1 " " Warauni (Baruwā) ...	Shāndilya.
2	" " Agaria ...	
58	" " Malpura ...	
59	{ Jotishi ...	Kāshyapa.

NOTE.—It is from the local knowledge and from references to books that the abovementioned *spadas* (titles) and the Gotras of the Jijhautia Brāhmans has been given. Inquiries, however, are being made by the "Jijhautia Sadar Sabha" and the result will finally settle everything.

Spada means respect or title given.

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THE KHANGARS.

Introductory.—The information given here is that obtained from the mouths of members of the caste themselves.

In the Census of 1901 32,983 Khangars were returned, distributed as follows in the Agencies :—

Bundelkhand	...	...	...	...	18,442
Gwalior	...	...	...	...	10,674
Bhopāl	...	...	...	...	2,409
Baghelkhand	...	...	...	...	894
Bhopāwar	...	...	...	...	420
Mālwa	...	...	...	...	129
Indore	...	...	...	...	110

From this their distribution is clearly shown. They belong primarily to Bundelkhand, as eastern Gwalior and eastern Bhopāl are both situated topographically in Bundelkhand, according to native reckoning.

Baghelkhand adjoins Bundelkhand and it is curious that there are so few returned from that Agency, and also strange that there should be so many in Bhopāwar, but probably some confusion of similar names has arisen. The Indore Khangars come from the Alampur *pargana* which lies in Bundelkhand.

Name and origin.—The Khangars have two legends as to their origin. One relates how after the creation was complete and *prasād* and *charanāmrita* had been given to all certain individuals turned up late. Bhagwān was thereupon obliged to give them the scourings (*Khāngar*) of the vessels he had used. These scourings they drank and so obtained their name.

Another legend relates how when the four Agnikulas were created at Abu the sage Vasishtha made the *Khāngars* out of the scourings of the vessels used.

They state that originally they acted as cooks to the Kshatriyas. Indeed the original name, according to one tale, was *Khāngar* (खँगर) but was changed into its present form thus :—

In the days when Buddhism was struggling for supremacy with Brāhmanism, a Brāhman one day came to seek assistance of the Kshatriyas. The Kshatriyas being already engaged to start on an expedition passed the Brāhman on to the Khangars. The Khangars took charge of him and put him into a room where he was locked in to protect him from insult. Unfortunately the Khangars forgot their guest for many days and when at length they recollected his existence and went to seek him they found him dead of thirst and starvation.

This awful crime of being guilty of a Brāhman's blood caused them to lose caste. The *janeu* which they had hitherto worn was removed and their name changed to *Khangār*.

After this fall in status they could no longer look for their Kshatriyas so went to Delhi and took service as soldiers with the Tonwāra chief of that place. They continued to act as soldiers to Muhammadan times and ultimately settled at Garh-Kundār, Gwalior, and Junāgarh. So the legend has it.

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At these three places they in time became ruling chiefs. The accuracy of this statement is doubtful, except as regards Garh-Kundār. This place, now a ruined fort, lies in the Tahrauli *tahsil* of Orchhā State in 25° 29' N. and 78° 57' E.

The Khangār annals state that the first ruler was called Bucha. He had eight sons to whom he assigned the eight forts of :—

Tahrauli	(टहरौली),
Timrauli	(टिमरौली),
Bamora	(बमोरा),
Kachra	(कचरा),
Malhara	(मलहरा),
Chhoti-Parāsīn	(छोटी = परासीन),
Kānta-Kamta	(कांटा-कमटा), and
Sikri-Sunta	(सिकरी-सुंटा),

These sons were known as the *Ath-garhaiyāwālas*, a name which clung to their descendants.

After a rule of 85 years Bucha died and his son Bhūp Singh succeeded. From his day the decay of the clan dates. He rose to great power and held most of the country now forming Orchhā State and Western Bundelkhand. Finally his pride led him to demand in marriage the daughters of the local Rājput families he had subdued, although his minister and family *guru* besought him not to do so.

He persisted and sent for the leading Rājputs. Great was their consternation and secret wrath on hearing Bhūp Singh's demand. They, however, dissembled and asked for time to reply.

A plan was then formed and carried out. The Rājputs, pretending to agree to Bhūp Singh's proposal, suggested that the fusion of the two castes should be inaugurated by a great feast. Bhūp Singh's Rānī guessing that some plot was being hatched, besought the Khangār chief to refuse, but he rejected her suspicions and accepted.

When the Khangār chief and his suite were intoxicated the Rājputs fell on them and slew them, and then attacked the palace. A pregnant Rānī escaped and took refuge with the Parihār Rājputs. The Rājputs followed her and her attendants and she fled to Junāgarh. Finally the Rājputs went to expostulate with the Parihārs. A marriage of one of the Parihār chief's daughters was then in progress. The Rājputs asked if any Khangārs were then being given asylum. The Parihārs replied in the negative. Thereupon the Rājputs said they would accept this reply only if the chief would distribute the *maiḥar* or marriage gifts to every person present in the place. To keep his word the Parihār chief did so, including the refugee Khangārs among the recipients. To this day in some places Parihārs and Khangārs exchange *Maiḥar* (or *Mar-maya*). The Rājputs satisfied retired. Later on the Parihār chief came to congratulate the Bundelā chief on the birth of a son and he then interceded for the Khangārs who were being treated as outcasts by the Bundelās.

The Bundelā chief thereupon admitted them to his presence and appointed them mace-bearers, but forbade them to touch or present *pān* or water to the Rājputs.

Members of the *Ath-garhaiya* families were at the same time appointed *Khās-bardārs* to the Bundelā chief, *Faujārs*, *Harkāras*, and *Kotwāls*; the twelve villages of Tola, Barāru, Haibat-pura, Pahāri, Kachirkankuan, Khangār-man, Dharwar, Karāra, Sungra, Sahna, Kharwarh, and Maletra were made over to them to reside in.

Restrictions were also imposed, viz. :—

1. They were never to wear red turbans.
2. Never to touch *kathris*.
3. Never to drink liquor.
4. Their females were never to put red lead on the hair parting.
5. Never to allow widows to remain unmarried.
6. Never to eat *rotis* sold in public.
7. To eat no *kachchi* touched by a Kshatriyas, Vaishya, or Shūdra.

Subdivisions.—The subdivisions of the caste are very difficult to obtain with any certainty. The names are given in an appendix.¹ These septs are exogamous, the Khangār caste being an endogamous group.

Marriage—Girls are usually married at 10 or 11 and boys at 15 or 16, but girls often marry much later, especially poor people's children, and no opprobrium attaches to the presence in a house of a girl who has reached puberty.

Puberty.—No ceremony is performed when a girl reaches puberty.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is permitted but Polyandry is unknown.

Marriage ceremonies—The marriage ceremonies fall into fifteen sections :—

1. The comparison of the horoscopes (*Janma-kundali-ka-milān*).
2. The betrothal (*Phal-dān*).
3. The fixing of the wedding day (*Lagan*).
4. The preparation of the house by *lāp* (*Chheyi-mātī*).
5. The erection of the canopy (*Mandwa*).
6. The *Mayano* ceremony.
7. The anointing of the bride and bridegroom with oil (*Tel-charhāna* or *khaur kādhna*).
8. The marriage procession (*Barāt*).
9. The *Tika* ceremony, when the mark is placed on the bridegroom's forehead at the door of the bride's home.
10. The *Charhao* or start of the bridegroom.
11. The *Lakor* ceremony.
12. The *Bhanwar* or surrender of the girl by her parents to the bridegroom.
13. The *Rachh-badhao* ceremony.
14. The giving over of the dowry (*Dahej*).
15. The giving of rewards to Bhāts, musicians, etc. (*Kamīn-chukīna*).

The *Bhanwar* ceremony is the essential and binding part of the proceedings.

The bride's father pays from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 in cash to the bridegroom.

The total cost of a wedding is about Rs. 200 to the bride's parents and Rs. 150 to the bridegroom's, but varies according to the condition of the people concerned.

1. It differs from that given in the Census. Moreover the Arakhs are not mentioned. It is impossible to reconcile the accounts

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The expenses may be thus distributed :—

<i>Bride's share.</i>						Rs.
Phaldān	5
Lagan	20
Mandwa	5
Barāt	...	...	...	...	...	50
Tika	...	...	...	...	...	10
Bhanwar	...	...	...	...	...	20
Dahej	...	...	...	...	...	50
Departure of bride	...	...	...	...	...	30
To Bhāts, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	10
TOTAL						200

<i>Bridegroom's share.</i>						
Phaldān	...	...	...	...	...	2
Lagan	...	...	...	...	...	15
Mandwa	...	...	...	...	...	5
Barāt	...	...	...	...	...	25
Tika	...	...	...	...	...	5
Charhao	...	...	...	...	...	30
Lakor	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bhanwar	...	...	...	...	...	10
Rachh-badhao	...	...	...	...	...	5
Bhāts and miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	21
TOTAL						170

Widow remarriage—This is not permitted.

Divorce.—Only possible in cases of a wife's adultery, a divorcee can never remarry and a fine cannot condone the offence.

Inheritance.—Follow Hindu customs.

Religion.—The Khangārs are orthodox Hindus, but only employ Brāhmans in important ceremonies, the eldest member of a family acting when required as a *purohit*.

Death.—The dead are cremated in the usual way and the ashes are committed to a stream. Mourning follows the usual Hindu rules and *Shrāddh* is carried out.

Occupation.—Their original occupation was that of cooks to the Kshatriyas; afterwards the Khangārs became soldiers and latterly, as has been related above, mace-bearers, etc.

Now many are agriculturists, a necessity due to these times of peace.

Food.—Mutton, goat, pork and fish are eaten and some drink liquor.

Pakki is accepted from a barber or a Dhīmar, but *kachhi* is taken only from Brāhmans. Water is taken from barbers and Dhīmars. None of the Hindu higher castes will take either food or water from a Khangār.

The presence or touch of a Khangār does not, however, defile and they can use the village well and employ the village barber, while all temples are open to them.

Dress.—They dress like their neighbours, but wear no *janeu*.

Married women tattoo the hands, chin, breasts, cheeks, and nose.

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APPENDIX.

Serial number.	Vernacular.	Transliteration.	Vernacular.	Transliteration.
	गोत्र	Gotra.	खैरो	Khairo or place of domicile.
1	मगरगोत्र	Magar Gotra.	गढ़-कुंठार	Garh-Kundār.
2	साम्हरगोत्र	Sāmhar „	गिरनार (जुनागढ़)	Girnār (Junāgarh).
3	सोनगोत्र	Son „	ग्वालियर	Gwalior.
4	घुरगोत्र	Ghur „	टहरोली	Tahrauli.
5	घुरगोत्र	Ghur „	टिमर	Timar.
6	घुरगोत्र	Ghur „	बुड़ खेरा	Budkhera.
7	घुरगोत्र ¹ .	Ghur „	बामोर	Bāmor.
8	भर्तगोत्र	Bhart „	खरवाच	Kharwāch.
9	शार्दुलगोत्र	Shārdul „	सरगाय	Sargāi.
10	मगरगोत्र	Magar „	सिखहिया	Sikhhiya.
11	वेलगोत्र	Vel „	कचीर	Kachīr.
12	नागगोत्र	Nāg „	कुमराड़	Kumrād.
13	काँडिलागोत्र	Kaundila „	कांटा कमटा	Kānta Kamta.
14	फूलगोत्र	Phūl „	कोटारा	Kotara.
15	वेलगोत्र	Yela „	वरारू	Warārū.
16	हतगोत्र	Hat „	भुमिहा	Bhumihā.
17	सृजगोत्र	Srij „	सिकरी	Sikari.
18	सिंहगोत्र	Sinh „	करारा	Karāra.
19	नीमगोत्र	Nīm „	श्रीनगर	Shrinagar.
20	तवागोत्र	Tawā „	गढ़ी मलारा	Garhi Malāra.
21	कमलगोत्र	Kamal „	धरवार	Dharwār.
22	सड़करगोत्र	Sadkar „	कुँवरपुर	Kunwarpur.
23	हाडिलगोत्र	Hādil „	डिहिया	Dihiya.
24	गोहरगोत्र	Gohar „	परासीन बड़ी	Parāsīn Barī.
25	गुवाहगोत्र	Guwāha „	परासीन छोटी	Parāsīn Chhotī.
26	करीलगोत्र	Karīl „	लिलबहिया	Lilbahiya.
27	हनूमतगोत्र	Hanūmat „	तेंदुवाह	Tenduwāha.
28	चूल्हागोत्र	Chūlha „	Not known.	...
29	डोमगोत्र	Dom „		
30	नाहरगोत्र	Nāhar „		

1. Apparently sections of the same stock.

THE PARIHARS OF BUNDELKHAND.

Introductory.—The Bundelkhandi Parihars are an offshoot of the well-known clan, and still hold the Alipura and Jigui *jāgīrs* in Bundelkhand and the Nāgod State in Baghelkhand.

Name and origin.—The origin of the Parihars from the fire-pit at Abu is too well-known to require re-capitulation here.

Nothing is known of when or how the present local group was formed.

They are of the *Kaushalya gotra* and are divided into 12 septs, *viz.* :—

1 Bhimādra, 2 Bhodal, 3 Andada, 4 Jagdele, 5 Mortia, 6 Jangkesar, 7 Patkesar, 8 Phakira, 9 Bhij-hā, 10 Kannaujia, 11 Kasmār, 12 Kalahān.

They intermarry with Sengar Rājputs, Kachhwāhas, Solankis, Chauhāns, Tonwārs, Bha-daurias, Rāthors, and Chandels.

These castes, however, consider themselves superior and will accept but not give daughters to the Parihars.

The Parihār boys marry with Vaishyas, Banāphars, Chandels, and Gaurs.

Husbands are easily obtained but not wives and often a heavy bride-price has to be paid.

With Kachhulias (Kalachuris), Dhanderas, Gaurs, and Parmārs they do not intermarry.

Marriage—Marriage is in accordance with Hindu usage and custom and is carried out in nine parts, *viz.* :—The comparison of horoscopes, betrothal (*Sagai*), procession (*Barāt*), *Tika* ceremony, *Charhao*, or departure from the bride's home, *Bhūmcar* or surrender of the bride to the bridegroom, *Rachh-badhao*, and *Palkachar*.

The amount paid varies but is often heavy on the part of the bridegroom, brides being difficult to obtain.

Roughly Rs. 200 is the expense borne by each side.

Widow's re-marriage and divorce.—Widows cannot re-marry. Divorce is allowed for adultery, this offence not being condoned by a fine.

Inheritance.—The Mitākshara rules are followed in inheritance.

Religion.—The Parihars are orthodox Hindus, a large number being Shakti worshippers. Brāhmans are employed.

Death.—The usual Hindu customs are observed and *shrāddh* is performed.

In all other respects they are similar to Hindus generally.

THE BUNDELKHAND RAJPUT GROUP.

Introductory.—The three clans here dealt with inhabit the tract known as Bundelkhand, and form a local endogamous group, which intermarries only within the group, having now no connection with the well-known Rājput clans of Rājputāna and elsewhere.

As their habits and customs are similar and of the ordinary type I have condensed such information as has been received into this account.

The three clans dealt with are the Bundelā, Dhandera, and Parmār Rājputs of Bundelkhand.

History.—The history of the Bundelā occupation of the tract which now bears their name, so far as can be ascertained, is this.¹

The Bundelās trace descent from the Gaharwārs of Benāres, who at one time held all the land between Benāres and Mahoba. Ousted from their possessions in Bundelkhand by the Parihār Rājputs in 600 A. D. they did not regain their hold over the tract for 800 years, when the Bundelās, their descendants and representatives, acquired this region.

According to tradition one Karanpāl or Kandpāl was the Gaharwār ruler of Benāres in the eleventh century. He had three sons—Vira, Hem Karan, and Aribrahma or Arivarma.

Hem Karan was his father's favourite, and was nominated his heir, but was, on the father's death, expelled from the State. Hem Karan, better known as Pancham Bundelā, then proceeded to the shrine of Devi Vindhya-vāsini, near Mirzāpur, where his devotion enlisted the support of the goddess. This is said to be the origin of the name of the clan, Bundelā being a corruption of Vindhya. Two specific dates are traditionally assigned for the promise of future greatness made by the goddess—*Vaisākh sudi* 14th, V. S. 1105, or A. D. 1048, and *Sāwan sudi* 5th, V. S. 1112, or 1055 A. D.

Sunday is considered the day of its grant and drums are still sounded in the Orchhā capital on this day in commemoration of the event.

Retiring as an ascetic Hem Karan was, in 1071, succeeded by his son Virabhadra. He married five times, his wives being daughters of the Bais Rājput, chief of Dondiākhera, of the Baghela chief of Rāmpura, of the Bais chief of Chhinparsonda, of the Chauhān chief of Mānpur, and of the Tonwāra chief of Pātan.

Karanpāl, the eldest son, succeeded in 1087. His wives were a Parihār, the daughter of the Chauhān chief of Mori, and two Rāthor girls.

His son Kannar Sāh (1012-30) died soon and was followed by Saanakdev (1130-52) who was married to a daughter of the Rāthor of Pirthipur. Nannakdev, his brother (1152-69) married a daughter of the Gaur chief of Indurkhi. His successor Maubhanpati (1169-97) died childless, and his brother Abhayabhūpati (1197-1215) succeeded. He married a daughter of the Chauhān chief of Nimrāna, and of the Gaur chief of Ater. His son Arjunpāl (1215-31) married a Chauhān girl from Shāhābād, a Tonwāra girl, and a Dhandera (Chauhān) girl.

Sohanpāl (1231-59), the first historical personage we meet, made expeditions into the surrounding country ultimately defeating the Khangārs of Garh-kundār. Sohanpāl had already married a daughter of Raghunāth Singh, Dhandera of Bhavāna, by whom he had two sons.

¹ See Central India *Gazetteer*, State Series, Orchhā.

We now come to the period at which the Bundelās form a local endogamous group with the Dhanderas and Pamārs of Bundelkhand. When Sohanpāl married his daughter to Punyapāl, the Pamār chief of Panwāya, all the Rājput clans refused to attend except the local Pamārs and Dhanderas.

These two local sections of the Pamārs and Chauhāns had been associated with Sohanpāl in his campaign against the Khangārs, in which the ostensible cause of dispute was the enforced marriage of Rājput girls to the Khangārs. From this date, 1257 A. D., onwards these three local groups have married only among themselves, no matrimonial alliances being made with the other Rājput clans with whom, as it will be seen above, alliances were freely made in earlier days.

Name and origin.

Bundelās.—The origin of this clan is given in the historical section of the Orchhā State Gazetteer. Briefly they claim descent from the Gaharwār Rājputs of Benares, their particular ancestor being Pancham Bundelā, or to give him his proper designation, Hem Karan, who lived in the 11th century A. D.

The name Bundelā is derived from "bund," a drop (of blood) or, which seems more probable, from Vindhya corrupted to Bundelā.

2. *Dhanderas.*—The Dhanderas are an offshoot of the Chauhāns who give their name to Dhandel-khand, the tract in which the petty state of Khaniādhāna lies.

Their traditions assert that they migrated to Bundelkhand from Kacchh and Bhuj, but nothing is known as to the time or reason for this change of habitation.

They now form an exogamous local group intermarrying only with the Bundelās and Bundelkhand Pamārs.

3. *The Bundelkhand Pamārs.*—Claim descent from the well known Agnikula clan of the Paramāras, who so long ruled in Mālwa.

They say that their particular caste is now formed of two sections, the Dhār Ponwārs, and themselves. There is, however, no real connection between them at the present day as the Dhār family is a Marāthā house; possibly it is merely a tradition founded on the claim to Paramāra descent which is made by the Dhār and Dewās families.

Locally they are often called Pamār or Panwār.

Caste subdivision.—There are no subdivisions in these castes each forming an exogamous group which is included in the endogamous group of Bundelkhand Rājputs.

The three groups marry between themselves only. The Bundelās belong to the *Kāshyapa gotra*, the Dhanderas to the *Vatsa gotra*, and the Pamārs to the *Vashistha gotra*.

Marriage.—As already noticed these three clans form a single endogamous group. Hypergamy is unknown. Each member of one of these clans is obliged to marry into one of the other two. A man may marry a girl from the clan to which his mother or either of his grandmothers belonged.

Social status is not theoretically a bar to marriage but in practice is apt to become so, geographical position is also no bar theoretically, but actually marriage is almost confined to groups living in Bundelkhand.

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Difference of sect or occupation, provided no degrading work is performed, is no bar to marriage.

Age.—Girls are ordinarily married by 8 or 9 years of age and boys by 12 or 13.

Lately, however, the local "Sabha" has passed a resolution fixing the age at 13 to 14 for girls and 18 to 20 for boys. The enforcing of this rule is not, however, easy and is more honoured in the breach than the observance, and infant marriage is common.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is allowed, but polyandry is unknown.

Hypergamy.—This practice is not in vogue in this group.

Marriage ceremonies.—Marriage is always arranged by the parents.

Marriage is according to *Brāhmivāha* and the ceremonies, which are of the ordinary type, fall into nine sections :—

1. The comparison of horoscopes (*Janam-patra-ka-milān*).
2. The betrothal (*Nasegai or Nazar-nichārwar*).
3. The fixing of the marriage day (*Lagan*).
4. The formation of the procession (*Barāt*).
5. The marking of the *Tika* on the forehead of the bridegroom.
6. The departure of the bridegroom for the bride's house (*Charhao*).
7. The surrender of the bride to the bridegroom (*Bhaunre, Bhanwar, or Kanya-dān*).
8. The *Rachh-badhao* ceremony.
9. The *Palakachar* ceremony.

Of these proceedings No. 7 is the essential one, when the bride and bridegroom circumambulate the sacred fire and the custody of the bride passes theoretically to her husband. In practice when the girl is an infant, she returns to her parents' house.

The two last ceremonies are only social and are sometimes omitted.

Expenses of wedding.—The bride's parents usually pay a bridegroom price in cash (*pan*), the sum varying in every case. Besides this the wedding costs about Rs. 300 to the bride's people and Rs. 200 to the bridegroom, but rich parents lavish vast sums on these ceremonies and even those in poor circumstances. The local "Rajput Hitkārini Sabha" is trying to limit these expenses, and it is hoped that something may be achieved in this regard.

In case of infant marriage the usual *Gauna* ceremony takes place when the bride goes to her husband's home.

Widows.—Widows cannot remarry under any circumstance.

Puberty.—No ceremony takes place when a girl reaches puberty. To have an unmarried girl, who is of age, in the house is considered wrong though no actual penalty is enforced. Such cases are almost unknown however.

Divorce.—Divorce is allowed for adultery on the wife's part, but for no other offence. Adultery can, in no case, be covered by a fine.

Inheritance.—The ordinary Hindu rules of inheritance are followed by the three clans. Disputes are usually settled by a *panchāyat*.

Religion.—All members of the three clans belong to one or other of the well-known Hindu septs.

Brāhmans are employed to carry out all ceremonies and act as *purohīts* in families.

Death ceremonies.—The dead are cremated in the usual way. The ashes are committed to a sacred stream.

Mourning lasts for 13 days, the males of the family shaving their heads on the 10th day (*Dasha-gātra*) and feeding Brāhmans on the 13th (*Terāhīn*).

The same day six months after the death (*Chhe-māsi*) and the first anniversary (*Barsi*) are also kept.

The *shrāddh* is regularly performed for the souls of the departed. A special *shrāddh* is kept for those who die a violent death. For children who have not cut their teeth one day's mourning (*sutak*) only is kept, and the corpse is buried and not cremated. In honour of persons of the same clan three days' mourning is observed, while in the case of a connection only, of another clan, one day only is kept.

Occupation.—All three clans being Kshatriyas were originally warriors. Now agriculture is largely followed.

Some are ruling chiefs such as Orchhā (*Bundelā*) and Chhatarpur (*Pamār*) and many are Thākurs and Zamindārs. Poorer members are tenant cultivators, or simple labourers.

Dietary.—Flesh is eaten in the form of mutton, goat, venison, pork, fish and many game birds. Liquor is drunk.

Social characteristics.—*Pakkī* food may be accepted from Banias, but not from Porwār Jains, *kuchchī* is only taken from Brāhmans or Vaishyas and water from the hands of Nais, Dhimars, Kāchhis and Daowas. Jijhautia Brāhmans will accept *pakkī* from these three clans, and take water from their hands.

Dress, etc.—As regards dress, ornaments, etc., they differ in no way from Hindus generally.

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