

Chaudhari, Kotaha, Sobraniyān, Belhariya, Domkatār, Baksariya, Eksariya, Gautamiya, Titihā, Bhāiwadh, Kolaha, Sorhaniya, Biruār, Surohan, Birramiya, Kahatwār, Mirzapuri, Raikwār and Parasiya. Besides these are a number of sub-divisions of the Brāhmanical type, such as Dikshut, Garga, Gautam, Sāndilya, Pānē, Dūbē, Tiwār, Upādhyā, Pāthak, Shukl, Kapilgotri, Kausik, Bhāradwāja, and Payāsi Misr. They further enumerate eighty-four of the regular Brāhmanical *gotras*, such as Kasyapa, Vasistha, Pārāsara, Bhāngava, Vatsya, Katyāyana, Gargya, Gobhila, Angiras, and so on. But in carrying out the rules of exogamy the *mūl* or territorial section is alone taken account of, and not the Brāhmanical *gotra*. With this exception the prohibited degrees follow the standard Brāhmanical formula. Some of these sections are possibly totemistic, such as the Baghochhiya or "tiger" (*bāgh*), Domkatār, "Dom's knife," Belhariya, from the *bel* tree; and these sections carry with them some degree of inferiority, which results in a form of hypergamy. The Census returns give no less than four hundred and fifty-eight Bhūinhār sections: but here the territorial sections and the Brāhmanical *gotras* are mixed up together. The most important local sections according to these returns are the Chaudhari, Gautam, and Kolaha, in Benares the Gautam in Mirzapur: the Bhāradwāja, Bhṛigubansi, Dikshut, Donwār, Gautam, Kausik, Kinwār, Kistwār, Sakarwār, Sonwār, in Ghāzipur: the Asuniya, Bhagata, Domkatār, Kinwār, Manchaura, Nanauliya, and Bemwār, of Balha: the Baghochhiya, Baksariya, Gautam, Kausik, and Sonwār, of Gorakhpur: the Barasi, Bihariya, and Kausik, of Faizabad: and the Barwār Bhāradwāja, Bhṛigubansi, Donwār, Gautam, Purwār, Sakarwār, and Sāndil, of Azamgarh.

12. The *gotras* of this part of the country follow the standard Brāhmanical rules.
- Domestic ceremonies.
13. Bhūinhārs are usually Saivites and worship the *deohār* or village godlings and local deities such as Goraia, Haldiya, Bandi Māi, and the like.
- Religion.
14. Some of the *gotras* are given of the territorial sub-divisions.
- Territorial sub-divisions.
- chief territorial divisions.

15. The Kinwâr Bhuinhârs claim an origin from Padampur, in the Carnâtic, like the Kinwâr Râjputs. They have in Ghâzipur three sub-sections—Râjdhar, Makund, and Pithaur Râê.

The Kinwâr.

16. The Bemwâr Bhuinhârs say they came from Bempur and settled in Narwan in Benares. They are respectable, well-to-do people

Bemwâr.

17. The Sakarwâr Bhuinhârs are closely connected with the Râjput sept of the same name, and like them their legends connect them and their name with Fatehpur-Sikri. In Ghâzipur they are generally rich, and have retained the greater part of their ancestral property.

The Sakarwâr.

18. The Donwâr sub-division say that their original home was near Fatehpur-Sikri. When they settled in Azamgarh they were known as Bhatth. They derive their name from their parent village Donauh, which took its name from Dona Achârya, a Pânî Brâhman. Dr. Oldham says that they are frugal and industrious. The ancestor of the Donwârs of two or three villages was in the military service of one of the Delhi Emperors, and received from him for his valour the title of Khân, which is borne to the present day by all his descendants.

The Donwâr.

19. Of the Gautam Bhuinhârs one tradition runs that about the year 301 Hijri (882 A. D.) a Brâhman of the Gautam *gotra*, named Khattu Misra, came to Benares. Every day after he had bathed he used to pour some water at the root of a *madâr* tree (*Asclepias gigantea*) in which lived a Râkshasa. One day he had forgot to make the accustomed offering, and the Râkshasa appeared and implored him to relieve his thirst. He complied with the request, and the Râkshasa offered him any boon he chose. Khattu replied that he was much inconvenienced by having to dry his wet loin cloth over his shoulders whenever he went to bathe. So the demon gave him the power of throwing the cloth into the air, where it was miraculously suspended until it dried. The Râkshasa then introduced him to Vyâsa, who was living in Benares, and the fame of his miracles rapidly brought him reputation and wealth. So he built a tank at Benares, which is still known as *Misra ka pokhârâ*, and planted trees on its bank. Benares was then ruled by Râja Banâr; and one day an elephant belonging to the Râja injured one of the trees of Khattu Misra, whereat he was wroth, and the

The Gautam.

Rāja was forced to take the worthy into his favour. One day the Rāja gave Khattu a packet of betel on which he had written a deed-of-gift of twenty-eight villages. Khattu unwittingly swallowed the betel, and being considered to have thus lost status by accepting a gift, he henceforth lost the power of drying his loin cloth in the air. This estate was the present Gangapur, which belongs to his descendant, the present Maharāja of Benares, who belongs to the Bipra branch of the Gautam *gotra*, with the title of Misra. According to Mr Sherring¹ it is "of the Kauthumya *sākha*, or branch of Brāhmins following the ritual of the Sāma Veda. It has three Pravaras, distinguished by the number of knots in the Brāhmanical cord—the Gautam, Angiras, and Anthatiya. The clan intermarries with the Bhūnhārs of the Madhyandina *sākha* of Brāhmins, observing the ritual of the Yajur Veda. It is traditionally allied to the Sarwariya Brāhmins of Madhubani beyond the Ghāgrā."

20. The Bhūnhārs of these Provinces claim to observe a high standard of personal purity and carry out all the rules of the Brāhmanical ritual. They are in the villages at least quarrelsome and litigious; but they are, on the whole, a fine body of sturdy yeomen, and turn out excellent crops, though they will not plough with their own hands. To agriculture they very generally add dealing in grain and money-lending.

Distribution of the Bhūnhārs according to the Census of 1891.²

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . .	1	Basti	12,744
Benares	21,272	Azamgarh	61,425
Mirzapur	9,335	Lucknow	86
Jaunpur	4,292	Faizabād	124
Ghāzipur	54,606	Gonda	1
Ballia	25,777	Partabgarh	113
Gorakhpur	31,202		
		TOTAL	231,027

¹ *Hindu Tribes*, I, 41, sq.

² These probably include a few of the Dravidian Bhūnhārs who were not separately tabulated.

Bhuiya.—A Dravidian tribe found in the hill country of South Mirzapur¹ to the number of 889.

2. Their legend in Mirzapur runs that two ancient sages, Moma

Legend of origin.

Rishi and Kumbha Rishi, had each a son known respectively as Bhad or Bhadra and Mahesh. Bhad practised austerities in the forests of Magadhia or Bihâr, and his cousin Mahesh attended on him. Bhad once sat between two *nîm* (*melia azadirachta*) trees, and when he felt hungry ate the bark. The Bhuiyas hence know him as the Nîm Rishi. Mahesh went into the forest every morning to collect roots and fruits. Half he used to eat himself, and half he kept for his cousin. When Bhad had spent twelve years in these austerities, the Lord tempted him by sending to him one of the nymphs of heaven. She used to make some *halwa* out of flour, butter and sugar and stick it on the bark of the tree beneath which Bhad sat. Bhad knowing nothing of this used to eat it with the bark which formed his daily food. Finally his eyes were opened and he saw the lady. He fell in love with her and took her to wife, and had seven sons, from whom are descended the Magahiya, Tirvak, Dandwâr, Dhelwâr, Musahar, and Bhuinhâr or Bhuiyâr septs. From their descent from the Rishi the Bhuiyas often call themselves Rishâsan Bhuiyas. The fruits and roots which Mahesh collected he sowed in the Mirzapur jungles, and since then they have begun to grow there. This legend is very different from that recorded by Colonel Tickell, which would make the Bhuiyas descended from shell fish, and of kindred origin to Kols, Santâls, and Ghasiyas.² The Mirzapur legend asserts their kinship with the Musahar and Bhuinhâr, who claim to be distinct tribes, and disclaim any connection with the Bhuiyas.

Mr. Risley, remarking on the wide area over which the name Bhuiya has spread, thinks we should "hesitate and demand some independent evidence of affinity before we pronounce it to be an original tribal designation, and accept the conclusion that all tribes which bear the name at the present day are sprung from a common stock." He adds that "the advanced guard of the Aryan immigrants, pressing forward in quest of land, and seeking a name for the alien races whom they found in possession of scanty clearings

¹ For an account of the branch of the tribe who have lately become notorious in Bengal, see Hunter, *Orissa*, II., 124.

² Dalton, *Ethnology*, 185.

in the forest-c'ad tract of Central India, whither they had themselves been driven, would naturally ignore the tribal names of the groups with which they came in contact, and wou'd call the strangers Bhuiyas or children of the soil"¹ (*bhūni*).

3. Colonel Dalton describes the Bhuiyas of Gangpur and Bonai as
 "a dark brown, well proportioned race, with
 Physical characteristics. black, straight hair plentiful on the head but scant on the face; of middle height, figures well knit, and capable of enduring great fatigue, but light framed like the Hindu, rather than presenting the usual muscular development of the hillman. The features are very much of the same cast throughout. The cheek and jaw-bones are projecting, so as to give a breadth and squareness to the face. The nose is but slightly elevated, still neither so depressed nor so broad at the root as the generality of Turanian noses, and rather of a retroussé type: mouth and teeth well formed, and the facial angle generally good. The eyes well shaped and straight, but never very large or deep set"² On the other hand he describes the Keonjhar Hill Bhuiyas "as rather of an exaggerated Turanian type: very large mouths, thick and somewhat projecting lips, foreheads narrow and low, but not receding; eyes dark but well shaped, hair plentiful on the head, though rather frizzly and generally scanty on the face; but to this there are notable exceptions. Short of stature, averaging about five feet two inches, round shouldered, and many of them with a hump that is produced by the displacement of the muscles in carrying loads bhanga fashion. The colour of the skin varies from a deep chocolate, the predominating tint, to tawny."³ This last description seems to answer more closely than the former to the tribe as found in Mirzapur. They are distinguished with very great difficulty from the Bhuiyâr, with whom they are doubtless very closely connected, but are much less robust and active than the Korwas or Parahiya.

4. The Mirzapur Bhuiyas have not the intricate and confusing internal structure characteristic of the Bengal tribe. They describe themselves as divided into eight septs—Tirvâh, Magahiya, Dandwâr, Mahatwâr, Mahtbek, Musahar, and Bhuiinhâr or Bhuiyâr. Of these the Dandwâr,

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, I., 109, sq.

² *Descriptive Ethnology*, 140.

³ *Ibid.*, 147; also see Ball, *Jungle Life*, 4267.

Magahiya, Mahatwâr, Tirvâh, appear in the Bengal lists from Lohardaga and the Musahar in Manbhôm.¹ Some of these subdivisions are totemistic, some local, and some occupational. Thus the Tirvâh say they take their name from the fact that their original ancestor was thrown when a baby into a river. One of the Dandwâr sept rescued and brought him to the bank (*tir*). Another version of the story is that the ancestor of the sept was born on the river bank, fell in accidentally, and was rescued by a Dandwâr. The Magahiya is a local sept derived from Magadha or Bihâr, their place of origin. The Dandwâr, again, is apparently an occupational sept. They take their name from *dand*, athletic exercises, in which like Nats they are said to be proficient. The Mahatwâr derive their name from the fact that they were formerly leaders (*mahto*) of the tribe. The Musahar are so called because they eat mice and rats (*mûs*). They say that they were originally natives of Magadha or Bihâr, and emigrated into Mirzapur only some three or four generations ago. They have now no connection with their original seat in the way of marriages, pilgrimages, or deriving their priests, barbers, or tribal officers from there. The septs of the Tirvâh, Dandwâr, and Mahatwar intermarry, and the Magahiya, Mahtek, Bhuiyâr or Bhuinhâr, and Musahar intermarry. But these rules appear to be in a very uncertain state, because there seems no doubt that they also marry within their own sept, but not with a family with whom an alliance has been contracted within two or three generations, which is as far as memory runs. The internal structure of the tribe is, in fact, in a state of transition. The Musahar and Bhuinhâr or Bhuiyâr septs have practically completely separated, and this process will doubtless continue until still more endogamous groups are formed.

5. They have a tribal council which is known as Bhayyâri, or "the assemblage of the brethren." The Tribal council meetings for tribal business take place when the members collect for marriages or funerals. They have a permanent hereditary president called Mahto. The principal cases which come before the council are charges of not feeding the brotherhood at marriages and deaths, eating or drinking with outsiders, and fornication or adultery. The usual punishment when an offence is proved is that the offender is condemned to feed the brotherhood for

¹ Stanley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., Appendix II.

one or two days on goat's flesh, rice, and liquor. If the hereditary president happens to be a minor, his duties are undertaken, till he grows up, by some other person appointed by the council.

6. Marriages are strictly local, and, as a rule, a Bhuiya never goes

Marriage.

to a distance to find a wife for his son. Difference of occupation, provided other conditions are fulfilled, is not a bar to marriage. All the sub-divisions are equal as far as marriage is concerned, and the custom of hypergamy is unknown. They may have as many wives as they can buy and support. There is no rule of precedence among the wives, and all, if possible, live in different rooms in the same house. Concubinage is not permitted. Women are allowed considerable freedom both before and after marriage. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a man of her own caste her father has to give a feast to the brethren, and the girl is married to her lover. But apparently nothing short of actual detection in the act or the pregnancy of the girl is sufficient to compel the council to take action against her. If she is detected in an intrigue with a person not of her own caste she is permanently expelled. The usual marriage age for both boys and girls is twelve. The consent of the parents is essential, except in the case of pre-nuptial immorality, and by this means couples very often make up their own matches. The permanent bride-price prescribed for the whole tribe, whether rich or poor, is five rupees in cash, a cloth for the bride, four *seers* of rice, two *seers* of sugar, and one *ser* of turmeric. If after marriage either bride or bridegroom becomes idiotical, mad, leprous, impotent, or mutilated, the marriage is annulled. But this is conditional on the other party being ignorant before the marriage was carried out of such a defect.

7. Habitual infidelity on the part of either husband or wife is a

Divorce.

ground for divorce, but the fact must be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, which scrutinizes the evidence very closely. Divorced women can remarry, but the feeling is against it, and only widowers or men who cannot afford the recognised bride-price for a virgin will take such women.

8. Widows are remarried in the *sagāi* form. When a man

Widow marriage and the levirate.

marries a widow he has to repay the bride-price to the relations of her late husband. There is no ceremony. All the man does is to give the woman a sheet (*sāri*), and then takes her home, where he has to give a feast to the brethren. The levirate is

strictly enforced. It is only when the younger brother of her late husband abandons his claim on the widow that she can marry an outsider. The elder brother can, under no circumstances, marry the widow of his younger brother. If she marries an outsider her brother-in-law has a right to the custody of all her children by the first marriage. If she marries an outsider she loses all right to the goods of her first husband. Her sons by her first husband are his heirs. In the case of the levirate the levir takes over the goods and children of his late brother: if, when they come of age, they wish to separate, they are considered entitled to an equal share in the joint property with their step brothers. There is no fiction that the children of the levir are affiliated to his late brother.

9. They assert that a sonless man can adopt and pretend to have

some elaborate rules on the subject which are
Adoption. *in imitation of their Hindu neighbours.* At

any rate it is clear that there is no religious motive for adoption, and if a man does adopt an heir it is one of his brother's sons. A man may not adopt his sister's son, but he may adopt his daughter's son. A bachelor, a blind, impotent, or lame man may adopt, but not an ascetic. The rule that the person adopted should be unmarried is not enforced. Girls are never adopted.

10. The rules of succession do not differ from those of the cognate

Dravidian tribes. Genealogies are not care-
Succession *fully kept.* They remember generally the

names of four or five ancestors both in the male and female line.

11. There is no ceremony at pregnancy. The Chamáin midwife

Birth ceremonies *officiates.* She cuts the cord (*nár*) and buries
it in the exact place where the child was born,

and lights a fire there. On the day of her confinement the mother gets a decoction of flour, ginger, coarse sugar, and turmeric, mixed up and boiled in water. She then gets nothing to eat for three days, when she is fed on rice and pulse. She remains secluded in the delivery room (*saur*) for six days, during which time the Chamáin attends. On the sixth day is the *chhathi* ceremony. All the men and women of the family have their dirty clothes washed by the Dhobi. The men have their heads shaved, the women get the barber's wife to cut their finger and toe nails, and dye their feet with lac dye (*maháwar*). The house is replastered, and the old earthen vessels replaced. The Chamáin bathes mother and infant. The delivery room is first plastered by the Chamáin and then by

the sister of the child's father (*nanad*), for which she gets a present in money, clothes or cattle. If a son is born the Chamain receive four annas and her food, and two annas for a daughter. The washerman and the barber's wife get the same. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for two and-a-half months after her delivery.

12. Adoption is made in presence of the biethren, who are entertained. He acknowledges the boy as his son, and the boy acknowledges him as his father.

Adoption ceremony.

If this is not done the adoption is not recognised.

13. There is no special ceremony when boys or girls attain puberty, but at the age of five or six their ears are bored (*kanchhedana*). The boring is done by a goldsmith who gets one pie and a ration of uncooked grain (*idha*). No tribal feast is given, but the members of the household wear their best clothes and eat specially good food that day. Up to that time it does not matter what the child eats, but after the ear-boring he must conform to the rules of the caste.

14. The selection of the bride is the business of the boy's father.

Marriage ceremonies.
The betrothal. When he has made his choice he comes home and sends his brother-in-law, the tribal president (Mahto), and four or five other male friends to the father of the girl. If the proposal is accepted, the envoys are entertained for the night. Next morning the bride's father summons his clansmen. A square is made with flour in the court-yard. Her father brings out the bride, who is made to stand in the square, and her father then calls on the friends of the bridegroom and the Mahto to examine her carefully and satisfy themselves that she has no physical defect. When they are satisfied the Mahto or brother-in-law of the bridegroom's father fills the bride's hand with dry rice and sprinkles some grains (*arAhal*) over her for good luck. The bride then retires. Next the boy's father sends for four annas worth of liquor, and the girl's father for two annas worth. This is mixed, and the two fathers sit down with leaf platters (*dauna*) in their hands. These they exchange five times and drink the liquor.¹ The bride-price is then paid over to the girl's father, and the betrothal is considered complete.

This is something like the custom of the Hoo; but among them it is the bride and bridegroom who pledge each other. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 193.

15. After the betrothal the wedding day is fixed by the father of the bridegroom. Notice is sent through his brother-in-law to the bride's father. The preliminary marriage ceremonies. Three days before the wedding the *matmangara* or "lucky earth" ceremony is performed in both families. The women of the village go in procession to the village clay-pit. At the head of them goes a Chamâr playing on his drum. This drum is first worshipped by the women, and a mark (*tika*) made on it with red lead. The village Baiga then digs three spadefull of earth, which the mother of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, takes in her loin cloth, she standing behind him with her face veiled in her sheet, while he passes the earth to her over his left shoulder. This earth is placed in the marriage shed (*māuro*) which is erected in the courtyard of the house, and on it is placed an earthen jar (*kilā*) full of water, into which some mango leaves and rice stalks are thrown. Next comes the anointing (*tel hardi*) of the pair, which is done at their respective houses by five women of the family (the number five is selected as it is lucky) who rub them with oil and turmeric. A day before the wedding day the brethren are entertained at a feast (*Bhatuān*). They are also fed on the morning when the procession starts. Before the procession starts the mother of the bridegroom seats herself on the rice mortar (*okhari*). The bridegroom walks towards her and turns back four times. The fifth time he comes close to her, when she seizes him by the handkerchief which he wears over his shoulders, and will not let him go until he promises a present. Next comes the *imlighotua* or "mixing of the tamarind." The bridegroom's mother sits on the ground with him in her lap. Her brother gives him a sip of tamarind mixed with sugar and water. He spits it out on the palm of his mother, who licks it up, and receives a present for doing so from her brother. Then comes the *parachhan* ceremony as described among Majhwārs (para 16). The bridegroom then starts in procession for the bride's house accompanied by his relatives and clansmen.

16. At the bride's house a marriage shed (*māuro*) has been erected. Ceremonies at the house of the bride. The posts, nine in number, are formed of the wood of the *siddh* tree (*Hurdwickia binata*), and roofed with bamboos. The first post is erected by the village Baiga, and the work finished by the male relations of the bride. Mango leaves are hung on the pillars. At the same time a post of *siddh* wood is planted in the ground at the door of the cook-house

and covered with a cloth. This post is decorated with red lead and turmeric, and is known as "the auspicious one" (*Kalyāni*). When the procession approaches the bride's house, her relatives and friends go in a body (*paḡhar*) to receive the bridegroom. The bridegroom is led in and seated in the square (*chaṅk*, in the court-yards opposite his father-in-law, who makes a mark (*tika*) of rice and curd on his forehead. The bridegroom then with his friends retires to the place arranged for them under a shady tree near the village. This is the *januānsa*. The relatives of the bride follow them there and wash their feet. After this the bridegroom's father sends the bride a piece of stamped cloth (*chunari*), which she wears at the wedding. Her father then invites the bridegroom to his house, where he enters, and, seizing the bride roughly by the hand (an obvious survival of marriage by capture¹) brings her out into the marriage shed, and seats her on his left near a branch of the *sidukh* tree, which is fixed in the ground in the centre of the shed. He then goes through the form of marrying himself to the tree by marking it with red lead, and after this rubs red lead on the parting of the bride's hair. This done, the bride's father, or in some instances a Brāhman, who gets a fee of one rupee, ties the garments of the pair in a knot and they walk round the *sidukh* branch five times. Each time as they go round when they approach the water jar (*kalsa*²) the bride's brother pours a little rice into the bride's bosom. The bridegroom then with his party retires. Next morning is the ceremony of eating *khichari* or boiled rice and pulse. The bridegroom goes to the bride's house accompanied by five unmarried boys of the same sept as himself. It is the etiquette that he refuses to eat until he gets a present. After this the clansmen on both sides are entertained.

17. That same day the bridegroom brings his bride home in procession. When they reach his house Ceremonies on the return of the bride. two baskets are placed on the ground near the door, and they both step in these as they enter. That day the relatives and clansmen are entertained; and next morning disperse. A week after, the water jars (*kalsa*) which have been brought in the return procession are taken by the bride and bridegroom to an adjoining stream. The bridegroom first, not

¹ Among the Bhuiyas of Bengal "the bridegroom acknowledges his wife and threatens any one who attempts to take her from him." Dalton, *Ethnology*, 148.

² On the sacredness of the *kalsa*, see Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, 9.

letting the bride see him, plunges his jar into the stream. She searches for it and fishes it out, and the bride plunges her jar in, which the bridegroom recovers. Both bathe and return to the house bearing the jars full of water, doing worship as they pass it to the shrine of the village gods (*deohār*). When the bride brings her jar into the house she pours the contents of her jar over her mother-in-law and asks if she is satisfied with the match. The old woman gives her some trifling present.

18. The binding portion of the ceremony is the rubbing of red lead on the parting of the bride's hair by the bridegroom. If a betrothal is annulled the bride-price is returned, but after the marking with red lead the marriage is final until the parties are regularly divorced.

19. The forms thus described are known as the *charhauwa* or "offering" for virgin brides and *sagāi* for widows. Another recognised form is known as *gurāwal*, in which two men exchange their sisters in marriage.¹

20. No one is allowed to die in the house. The bodies of the dead are carried on a bier to a neighbouring stream, where they are placed on a pyre, the head north and the feet south. The nearest relative of the dead person walks five times round the pyre, and first scorching the mouth of the corpse with a grass torch sets light to the pyre. Leaving it burning, the man who fired the pyre with his friends goes and bathes. When they return to the house they sit in the courtyard, and one man with a wisp of grass sprinkles water on their feet out of an earthen pot. Then they sit in silence for an hour round the chief mourner, and as they go away wash their hands in a mixture of sugar and water. The next morning the chief mourner collects the bones and ashes and consigns them to a neighbouring stream. From that time until the tenth day he keeps aloof from every one, cooks for himself, and does not sleep on a bed. He eats only once a day. Each time before he eats he lays out food for the spirit of the dead along the road by which the corpse was carried to cremation.² On the tenth day the clansmen

¹ This Westermarck calls the "simplest way of purchasing a wife." *History of Human Marriage*, 890.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 80.

assemble at a tank and shave their heads. Thence they go to the house of the deceased, where a goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, some liquor is poured on the ground, and the meat is boiled with rice and eaten. They have no *śrāddha* ceremony, and no Brāhman or Mahābrāhman officiates at the funeral ceremony, nor are any spells (*mantra*) or verses recited.

21. The Bhuiyas call themselves Hindus, and, indeed, have advanced considerably in the direction of Hinduism, as compared with their brethren in Bengal, whose beliefs are almost altogether of the animistic or fetishistic type.¹ Their chief deity is the Hindu Kālī, who has doubtless succeeded some aboriginal goddess, such as the Pauri or Pahāri Devi of the Bhuiyas in Singhbhūm.² Kālī and Paramesar are worshipped in Aghan with an offering of sweet cakes and a burnt sacrifice (*hom*). Kālī's shrine consists of a rude thatched hut, outside the village, with a flag in each of the four corners. A round mound of earth on a raised platform in the centre of the shrine represents the divinity. They worship through the Baiga the village gods (*nā*) and the earth goddess Dharti Mātā in association in the month of Chait. In fact a Bhuiya usually describes his faith, as the worship of Dih Dharti.³ Goats, young pigs, and fowls, are offered to these deities. The Baiga receives as his perquisite the head of the victim, and the worshippers consume the rest of the flesh. Women do not join in this worship.

22. They have a special tribal hero named Nādu Bīr, of whom the following legend is told:—"Once upon a time there lived in Magadhia or Vihāra a Bhuiya woman of exquisite loveliness. She had a son named Nādu, who surpassed his mother in beauty. He was accustomed to roam in the forest and hunt any animal that fell in his way. One day he went out a-hunting equipped with a bow and arrows. When he got into the forest he happened to see a deer, which he pursued. He chased it till nightfall with no success. As he had gone far into the forest he lost his way, and was quite at a loss to know what to do and where to go. Thirsty and tired, he wandered about till he reached fortunately the Kuti or hermitage of an inspired ascetic,

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 115, sq.

² Dalton, *Ethnology*, 179.

³ *Ibid.*, 148.

Koela Rishi by name. Seeing the ascetic he bowed down to the earth before him and begged for water, of which he stood badly in want. Koela Rishi took pity on him, and calling his wife and daughter told them to give him what he wanted. The daughter, in obedience to her father's bidding, brought out a gourd full of water, and her mother gave him fruits and roots, the only food of the ascetic. The Bhuiya fed on the fruits and roots, and quenched his thirst with water. He passed the night there. But since he saw the daughter of the ascetic he was so much enamoured of her beauty that he became beside himself. In the morning he got up and went to take leave of the ascetic to go home. The ascetic saw through his mental eyes that the Bhuiya was enamoured of his daughter's beauty, and also that his daughter was in love with him. He consulted his wife on the subject, and with her permission he married his daughter to the Bhuiya. Nādu with his sweetheart returned to his mother, who was named Kamala. Kamala was exceedingly glad to see the wife of her son so beautiful and good. Nādu loved his wife so much that he could never bear to leave her. For a long time they lived together, but the union was unhappily not blessed with a child. Discouraged and disheartened, Nādu ran away from home without giving any notice to his wife or mother. After many days' journey he reached Kamaru Kamachcha. One day as he was taking a walk in the streets of the city the eyes of the daughter of the King of that city fell on him. She invited Nādu to dinner, and made love to him. Her name was Naina Jogini. After some time she began to dread that some other King's daughter would appropriate her lover. To avoid this she turned Nādu during the day into an ox through her magical powers, and at night changed him into a man, and lived with him. In this way some days were passed. After some time Nādu remembered his wife and home, and begged Naina to allow him to visit his native land. Naina at first refused permission, but at last finding that Nādu could not live long unless he was given leave, she granted him leave for a fortnight, and caused him through her magical powers to reach home within a couple of hours. He met his wife, stayed with her, and she became in child. Nādu, true to his promise, left home and reached Kamaru Kamachcha on the fixed day. But when he left home he wrote his address on the gate of the door. He also told his wife that the child, when born, would search him out. In nine months Kamsalya was delivered of a child most beautiful, and he

was named Tulasi Bîr. Tulasi Bîr was so powerful, even on the day of his birth, that when he saw the light he at once proceeded to the fields and brought to the house a very heavy log that was lying there to be burnt in the *saur*, or room in which his mother was secluded. At the age of five he made a *gu'li* of lead, 25 maunds in weight, and a *danda*, 52 maunds in weight, of iron. With these he used to play tipcat. When he attained his seventh year he read the writing on the gate, and having come to know that his father was a prisoner in Kamaru Kamachcha, in the hands of Naina Jogini, he flew into a passion, and started immediately for Kamaru Kamachcha. Reaching there, he commenced fighting with the forces of Naina Jogini. He set fire to the fort, and it was in a moment turned into a heap of ashes. The whole army was killed, driven back, or burnt by Tulasi Bîr. Naina used all her magical powers to defeat Tulasi, but in vain. Tulasi rescued his father and brought him home.

23. Another bold adventure of a Bhuiya hero is thus described :—In the city of Marang there lived two brothers, Ganga Râm and Gajâdhar. They had a sister, Bârij Somati by name, who was very beautiful, and for whose love many men from distant quarters fought with her brothers, were defeated, and returned home heart-broken. When Tulasi was informed of it he fell in love with her without seeing her. He started for Marang, taking leave of his mother and father. He first sent word to Ganga Râm and Gajâdhar to give their sister to him in marriage. But they paid no attention to the message. Tulasi then fought a duel with the two brothers, defeated them, and took their sister by force, and brought her home and married her. Lahang Bîr was born of Bârij Somati. He was a very powerful man. Bhuiyas still speak of his boldness and bravery in very high terms, and worship him with prayers and sacrifices after every two years outside the village or in the family kitchen. They worship him in this way :—

24. They dig a hole in the ground five or six cubits deep and one or two cubits long. They burn fire in it, and walk on it bare foot. They say that the man who is possessed of the Bîr does not feel any sensation of burning by walking on fire. They also scatter thorny branches of *ber* and *kankor* on the ground, and roll on them. They say that the thorns become blunt when a man possessed of Lahang Bîr rolls on them. Those who are possessed of the Bîr pronounce blessings on the Bhuiyas, and they believe that these blessings turn out true. Bhuiyas offer him sacrifices of goats, fowls, and hogs.

25. The only Hindu festival which they observe is the Anant Chandas (14th light half of Bhādon). They
Festivals.

fast on that day and wear a thread on the right arm, over which some rude spells (*mantra*) are recited. Then they go into the forest and cut a branch of the *karam* tree (*antiocephalus cadamba*) which they fix up in the court-yard. The men bow to it, and the women decorate it with red lead. Then they get drunk, dance round it, and sing the *karama* songs. The festival is an occasion of rude license and debauchery. It is understood that if any girl takes a fancy to a man she has only to kick him on the ankle during the dance, and the parents get the pair married forthwith. They believe firmly that persons killed by tigers become dangerous ghosts. They are worshipped periodically by the Baiga with offerings of fowls and liquor at a mud shrine erected at the place the person was killed.¹ This is called the Baghaut. They also believe in the appearance of ghostly fires in the jungle at night. One of these blazes on the Juriya hill in Pargana Dudhi. It is said to be the fire of some holy faqir, but when any one goes near the place it disappears. If any one goes into the forest wearing a red cloth the ghosts (*bhūt*) which inhabit old *mahua* (*bassia latifolia*) and *pīpal* trees (*ficus Indica*) enter into him. A person in such a state has to go into the forest and bow down before every tree of these species until the ghost leaves him. The field deity is Hariyāri Devi ("the goddess of greenness"). She is worshipped in the field by the Baiga with a sacrifice of fowls and liquor when the harvest is completed.

26. They dread the ghosts of the dead and offer sacrifices and
Ancestor worship. lay out food for them through the head of the house. If they are not fed they remain hungry in the next world, appear in dreams, and show their displeasure by besetting their living friends in the form of the night-mare, which grips their throats, sits on their breasts, and vampire-like drinks their blood at night. They appear to have no knowledge

¹ The worshippers of people killed by tigers numbered 7,784 according to the Report of 1891. Mr. Bailhe remarks (page 216), that the worship is general throughout Oudh and the Gorakhpur Districts. "In Gorakhpur, Gonda, or Behraich, it might have been expected, but it seems extraordinary that such worship has retained its hold in Sultānpur. Probably the comparative rarity of such a death in the Southern Districts of late years made it appear the more impressive and preserved its memory the longer." For Baghaut worship, see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 167.

of the remarkable mock human sacrifice described by Colonel Dalton.¹

27. Friday is their lucky day, and Saturday is unlucky. The numbers three and five are lucky. The note of the Suiya bird singing on the left is a favourable meeting omen. The East is the lucky direction. They swear on the head of their sons, and by holding the tail of a cow. These oaths are used for the decision of private disputes concerning tribal discipline. They believe in magic and witchcraft. Only special sorcerers (*ojha*) and witches (*tonakti*) have this power. They attack their victims by throwing dust on them, and making them eat some special food, which brings the victim under their influence. The *Ojha* prescribes in cases of witch or ghost possession. He names the particular bhût which is at the root of the mischief, and directs an offering of a fowl or a young pig, which he sacrifices and eats himself. *Ojhas* also pretend to be able to foretell the future. They do not believe much in dreams, except as an indication that the deceased ancestors are displeased with them. They believe in the Evil Eye, which is a power residing principally in persons born on Saturday. There are special spells (*mantra*) to obviate it. Any member of the tribe can learn and use these.

28. The women tattoo themselves in the way common to all the allied tribes. They will not touch a Dom, Dharkâr, Dhobi, or Chamâr; nor the wife of the wife's elder brother, the wife of the younger brother, or the mother of the wife or husband of their son or daughter. In the morning they will not mention a monkey or a tiger. They do not eat the flesh of the cow, buffalo, monkey, crocodile, snake, lizard, or jackal. They eat pork, fowl, fish, and rats. Women do not eat with men; the men eat first and women afterwards. They use tobacco and liquor freely, and the latter is considered to ward off malaria. But habitual drunkenness is discreditable. Younger people salute their elders in the *paélagi* form, and the elders give the blessing, *niké' raho*, "may you be happy." Old men are cared for, and women, who are much used in outdoor and domestic work, appear to be treated with a tolerable amount of consideration. But if they are disobedient, wives are beaten by their husbands. Doms and Dharkârs will eat their leavings. They will eat food

¹ *Ethnology*, 146.

fed, and the homa sacrifice performed. At such times seven places are assigned,—(a) for the *navagraha*, the nine planets including the sun and moon; (b) the asterisms (*nakshatra*); (c) the seven saints (*Sapta Rishi*); (d) the three hundred and thirty millions of deities of the Hindu pantheon; (e) the ancestral ghosts (*pitri*); (f) the deities of the quarters (*dikpati*, *dikpāla*); (g) the sacred rivers of India and of the celestial firmament.”¹

Bihishti.—(Usually derived from Persian *bihisht*, Sanskrit *varishtha*, “Paradise;” but Major Temple points out² that *bihishti* in Persian does not mean waterman, and suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *visi*, to sprinkle.)—The Musalmān water-carrier class, also known as Saqqa, from the Arabic *sagqi*, “to give to drink.” The caste does not admit outsiders, and has a large number of exogamous sections, of which one hundred and twenty-six are returned in the lists of the last Census. Many of these are well-known Muhammadan sub-divisions, such as the Abbāsi, Bahīmi, Bangash, Begi, Fārūqi, Ghorī, Hanāsī, Khurasāni, Quraishi, Mughal, Pathān, Shaikh, Sadīqi, Sayyid, Turki, and Turkomān, to which none of the caste can have any real claim. Many are the names of Hindu tribes, as Bais, Banjāra, Bhatti, Chauhān, Gaur, Gūjar, Guāl, Jādon, Janghāra, Jāt, Katheriya, Mewāti, Mukeri, Panwār, and Tomar. Others, again, are local, as Dilliwāl, Gangapāri, and Kananjiya. These sections appear, however, to have little or no effect on marriage.

2. Their marriages are regulated by the standard Muhammadan exogamic formula, and performed by the regular ritual. The levirate is permitted, but is not compulsory. Divorce is permitted in the case of proved infidelity on the part of the wife, established to the satisfaction of the tribal council.

3. To the east of the Province they worship the Pānchonpir with a sacrifice of a fowl, gram pulse, and ordinary food. They bury their dead according to the standard Muhammadan rules, and offer food to the spirits of ancestors at the festival of the Shab-i-barāt. They are Musalmāns of the Sunni sect. They worship their leathern water bag (*maskk*) as a sort of fetish, and burn incense (*udān*) before it on

¹ Neeffeld, *Brief View*, 52, sq; *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII., 265.

² *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 117.

Fridays. They conform to Muhammadan rules regarding food. They will eat food prepared by high class Hindus, but not by menials like Chamârs or Mehtars.

4. Their occupation is acting as domestic servants and supplying water on payment to Muhammadans and Christians,—a duty which for Hindus is performed by the Kahâr. The trade must be a very ancient one, as the leather bag is mentioned in the Veda and Manu.¹ There is a legend that the Bihishti who saved Humâyûn's life at Chausa, and was rewarded by sitting on the Imperial throne for half a day, employed his short tenure of power in providing for his family and friends, and caused his leather bag to be cut up into rupees, which were gilt and stamped with his name and the date of his reign. The Bihishti is very seldom before the Courts, and enjoys with the Kharâdi or turner the reputation of never being sent to jail.

Distribution of Bihishtis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dûn.	127	Etah	4,265
Sahâranpur	4,203	Bareilly	1,996
Muzaffarnagar.	4,920	Bijnor	3,476
Meerut	10,224	Budâun	2,107
Bulandshahr.	7,977	Morâdâbâd	3,380
Aligarh	12,278	Shâhjahanpur	350
Mathura	6,363	Pilibhît	695
Agra	10,573	Cawnpur	418
Farrukhâbâd	291	Fatehpur	297
Malopuri	1,111	Bânda	63
Etâwah	573	Hamirpur	78

¹ Wilson, *Rig Veda*, II., 28; Manu, *Institutes*, II, 99. There is an interesting account of the manner in, which water was supplied and cooled in Akbar's Court in Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 55, sq.

Distribution of Biluchis according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Allahâbâd	370	Unâo	20
Jhânsi	442	Râe Baroli	55
Jâlann	99	Sitapur	219
Lalitpur	6	Hardoi	18
Benares	46	Kheri	211
Ghâzipur	25	Faizâbâd	62
Ballia	265	Gonda	17
Gorakhpur	6	Bahrâich	244
Azâmgarh	2	Sultânpur	95
Tarâi	664	Partâbgarh	9
Lucknow	1,405	Bârâbanki	272
		TOTAL	80,147

Biloch, Baloch, Biluch.—Identified by Professor Max Mülle with the Sanskrit *mlechchha*, “a foreigner, outcast, non-Aryan.” The enumeration at the last Census has failed to discriminate between two different though probably originally-allied races—the ordinary Biloch and the predatory Biloch or Rind of the Districts of the Upper Duâb. Another theory of the origin of the name is given by Colonel Mœckler in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1893 :—

“This paper is mainly concerned with the Rind, one of the tribes or clans inhabiting Balochistân. Their name signifies ‘a turbulent, reckless, daring man.’ They have never acknowledged the authority of any ruler in the country. They claim to be the true Baloch, and assert that they originally came from ‘Alaf,’ which is supposed by themselves and most other people to be Haleb or Aleppo, in Syria. They say that they are Arabs of the tribe of Quraish, and were driven out from Alaf by Yezid I., for assisting

Husain, the martyr nephew of the Prophet Muhammad in 61 Hijrah. The author shows, however, from some Arab authorities that the Baloch were established in Makran more than a century before the commencement of the Muhammadan era, certainly so if, as Firdusi relates, Naushirwân punished them in Makran in 550 A. D., and still more certainly that they were located there within 22 years after its commencement, and that therefore, if the Rinds left Aleppo in the time of Yezîd I., about 61 H., the Baloch were in Makran before that date. But it is doubtful whether the Rinds ever came from Aleppo, or that they are Baloch at all. It is much more probable that they are the descendants of a certain Al Harith Al 'Alafi, that is of Harith of the 'Alafi tribe, and of the Kahtanic stock of Arabs. He was the father of two men, who, according to Tabary, in a blood feud killed an officer who had been appointed by Al Hajjâj, the Governor of Irâq, to the charge of Makran, in 65 Hijrah. They had come from 'Uman, and after the murder took possession of Makran. Subsequently, about 86 Hijrah, they retired before a punitive force of Al Hajjâj into Sindh, where their name is conspicuous in the annals of the country for the next 200 years or so. This, and other facts, show that the Rinds really are of Arab descent, but that they did not come from Aleppo, but are descended from a man of the 'Alafi tribe who came from 'Uman, and that

they are not of the Quraish but the Kahtan stock. On account of their undoubted Arab descent, the Rinds are held in very high respect by the other clans of Baluchistân who, therefore, all claim to be related to them, through one Jalâl Khân, an ancestor of the Rinds. Among the sons of this Jalâl, Makran is said to have been divided after the death of Al Hajjâj. With regard to the name Baloch, Colonel Möckler suggests its identity with the Gedrosii of the Greeks. He says that the Baloch themselves explain their name by the phrase '*Baloch Badroch*' (or *Badrosh*). Here *bad* means 'evil,' and *roch* or *rosh* means 'day.' In Pahlavi or Zend *gað* is synonymous with *bad*; therefore *Badrosh* = *gað.rosh* or *gað-rosh*, whence the Greek Gedrosii. By the interchange of the liquids *r* and *l*, *badroch* would become *badloch*, out of which the *l* must naturally drop leaving the *Baloch* = the Gadrosii, or on the other hand, the proverbial expression (*Badroch Baloch*) may have been current in the time of the Greeks in the form of *Baloch Godrosh*, and the Greeks confused the epithet with the name.

Distribution of Binds according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICT.	SUB-CASTES.			TOTAL.
	Jethwant.	Kusip-gotra.	Others.	
Faizâbâd . . . . .	..	...	1	1
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	...	137	137
TOTAL	18,469	1,040	57,477	76,986

Bisâti—(*Bisât* “goods spread out for sale; Sanskrit, *visrita* “extended”).—A small pedlar, hawker, or huckster, who sells petty goods of European manufacture, such as needles and pins, tape, buttons, stationery, hardware, etc. They are a purely occupational caste, and nearly all Muhammadans. According to the Census Returns they have a curious list of sectional names—Banjâra, Mughal, Râjput, and Shaikh. The Bisâti sells much the same class of goods as the Boxwâla (“the man of the box”), who hawks small ware at European houses.

Distribution of the Bisâtis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT	Hindus	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	7	233	240
Muzaffarnagar	33	33
Meerut	34	134	168
Bulandshahr	3	3
Aligarh	6	6
Mathura	7	7
Agra	11	11
Farrukhâbâd	11	11
Mainpuri	6	6
Bareilly	1	1

Distribution of the Bisatis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICT.	Hindu.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Bijnor	54	54
Budāun	37	37
Morādābād	66	26	92
Shāhjahānpur	2	2
Pilibhīt	17	17
Cawnpur	7	7
Fatehpur	6	6
Hamirpur	10	10
Allahābād	10	10
Jālaun	32	32
Ballia	29	29
Gorakhpur	6	6
Taīāī	112	112
Lucknow	1	1
Rāō Bareilly	17	17
Sitapur	1	1
Sultānpur	13	13
Bārabankī	27	27
TOTAL	107	852	959

Bisen.—A powerful sept of Rājputs found in considerable numbers in the Allahābād, Benares, Gorakhpur, and Faizābād Divisions. The head of the sept is the Rāja of Majhauī, in Pargana Salempur Majhauī, of Gorakhpur. They as well as the Donwār (*q. v.*) claim descent from one Mayūra Bhatta, who is said to have been a descendant of Jamadagni Rishi of the race of Bhṛigu. Regarding this personage the local tradition is very vague. Some say he came from Hastinapur and was the son of one Aswathāma; others that he was an emigrant from Mahā-

râshtra or the Marhatta country. He read Sanskrit for a while at Benares, and became a proficient in astrology. Quitting that city at last under a divine impulse he settled at Kakradih, a village in Pargana Sikandarpur, of Azamgarh. The whole of that Pargana came gradually under his authority. His domestic arrangements illustrate a period when the bonds of caste, as we know them, were unknown. He is said to have had three wives,—first a Brâhmani named Nâgseni; the second Sûrajprabha, a Sûrajans Râjputni; the third Haikumâri, a Gautam Bhuinhârin. By his wife Sûrajprabha he had a son, Biswa or Bissu Sen, who was the ancestor of the Bisen sept of Chhatris; by Haikumâri, Balkal or Bagmar Sahi, the ancestor of the Bhuinhâr families of Kuwâri and Tamkûhi; by Nâgsen, Nages, Nagesar or Nâgsen; and by a Kurmin concubine Indradawwan Mal, from whom sprang the Mals of Azamgarh, of whom a separate account will be given. He expelled the Bhars, and finally went on a pilgrimage to the Himâlaya, where he died. There are thus a family of Mîr Brahmans, and a large half Kurmi clan which claim common descent with the Majhauî Bisen family.

2. "In the reign of Akbar and with the fall of the Kalhans rule, the Bisen, who subsequently, under the

The Gonda branch.

Râjas of Gonda, took a leading position among the Lams Ghâgra powers appear for the first time on the stage of history. The clan is one of the most numerous in Eastern Oudh, and is scattered in clusters of small Zamîndâri communities throughout the Districts of Gonda, Faizâbâd, and Partûrgarh, with the river Kusno for its northern and the Ganges for its southern limit. Its principal seat is beyond the boundaries of Oudh at Majhauî, in Gorakhpur, and its members differ from those of many of the other ruling clans in having no recollection of a departure from some distant home in the West, and being unable to connect their countless houses by any intelligible pedigree. They admit that they are Bhûmiya Thâkurs, or indigenous, as far as they can ascertain, in their present territory. It is true that they assert their descent from a common ancestor, Mayûra Rishi; and in thus deriving themselves from a mythical religious character outside the distinctions of caste, agree with others of the less aristocratic among the local Chhatri families who are unable to claim any connection with the heroes of the Solar and Lunar races. The ties of common clanship are very vaguely recognised, and I believe

that the Bisen of Majhauri has always declined to confirm them by eating with even the great homonymous chieftains of Gonda and Râmpur, in Faizâbâd. Those settled in Oudh were all of them before the time of Akbar in the position of ordinary village zamîndârs, dividing their inheritance among all the males on the ordinary coparcenary principles, and it was not till later that the title and position of Râja were acquired by a few fortunate houses to the extreme north and extreme south of their settlements. At the centre, in Faizâbâd, they always remained in a subordinate position."¹

3. Of the Faizâbâd branch Mr. Carnegy writes :— "What their claim may be to being placed under the Sombansi line is not clear. Their avowed chief is the Râja of Majhauri, in Gorakhpur. In Oudh we have no less than thirteen chiefs of this clan, and their colonies are principally to be found in the Partâbgarh District, but also in Bahraich, Gonda, Daryâbâd, and Sultânpur. The local heads are the Râja of Kâlakânkâr, and the Râjas of Manikpur and Bhinga. Sir H. M. Elliot affirms that the present Râja of Majhauri is in the one hundred and fifteenth generation from Mayûra Bhatta, the devotee. The Oudh branch state that they broke off from the parent stem in the person of Râc Hûm, and settled in the Province under the wing of Mânîk Chand, the then powerful Gaharwâr Râja of Manikpur, he who so happily picked up the founding mother of all the Kâuhpuriya clan. Within the last few years the Râja of Majhauri took to himself a wife from the Râjkumâr house of Dera,— a sure indication that the Bisens (indigenous devotee Chhatris of Gorakhpur though they be) are higher in the social scale than the Râjkumâr offshoot of the Mainpuri ex-convert Chauhân."

4. From Gorakhpur it is now reported that they intermarry with the septs of the Sirnet, Hayobans, Baghel, Chauhân, Chandel, Gaharwâr, Sûrajbansi, Râjkumar, Chandrabansi, Sombansi, Gautam, Kausik, Gandhwariya, Hâra, Kachhwâha, Râna, Nâgbansi and Jâdon. In Jaunpur they take brides from the Bais, Nikumbh, Chaupat Khambh, and Kharagbâns, and give girls to the Nikumbh, Raghubansi, Bachgoti, Râjkumâr, and Sombansi. In Gonda they are reported to give brides to the Sirnet, Raikwâr, Janwâr, Chauhân,

¹ Gonda Settlement Report, 15.

Kalhans, Bhadauriya, and Kachhwāha, while they receive girls from the Bandhalgoti, Rāj Kumār, Palwār, Sūrajans, Bais, Chauhān, Kalhans, and other high class Rājputs.

Distribution of the Bisen Rājputs by the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahāranpur	4	3	7
Meerut	1	...	1
Mathura	7	...	7
Agra	6	...	6
Fairukhābād	2	...	2
Etah . . . . .	...	5	5
Etāwah	17	...	17
Budāun	34	...	34
Morādābād	31	...	31
Shāhjāhānpur	1	8	9
Filiblit	1	...	1
Cawnpur	348	...	348
Fatehpur	1,070	...	1,070
Banda	815	8	823
Hamirpur	199	...	199
Allahābād	7,809	26	7,834
Benares	3,363	...	3,363
Mirzapur	3,374	...	3,374
Jaunpur	4,356	49	4,405
Ghāzipur	2,436	2	2,438
Ballia	5,558	...	5,558
Gorakhpur	9,623	207	9,830
Basti	959	2,308	3,267

Distribution of the Bisen Rājputs by the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICT.	Hindus	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Azamgarh	8,864	1,096	9,960
Lucknow	368	36	404
Unão	1,102	22	1,124
Râe Bareilly	926	158	1,083
Sitapur	481	1,028	1,509
Hardoi	74	...	74
Kheri	276	1,001	1,276
Faizâbâd	7,212	1,272	8,484
Gonda	27,697	...	27,697
Bahraich	1,611	1,301	2,912
Sultânpur	1,586	658	2,244
Partâbgarb	4,778	...	4,778
Bârabanki	2,455	640	3,095
TOTAL	97,492	9,827	107,319

Bishnoi—(worshippers of Vishnu)—Usually, as at the last Census, classed as a sub-tribe of Banyas, but really a distinct religious sect. They are strongest in the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions, and as they are emigrants from the Panjâb, Mr. MacLagan's interesting account¹ of them may be quoted:—"The founder of the sect was Jhâmbaji, who lived towards the end of the fifteenth Century. The following is the account given by the people regarding him. At Pimpâsar, a village south of Bikâner, in the Jodhpur territory, there lived a Rājput Panwâr, named Laut, who had attained the age of sixty years and had no son. One day a neighbour going out to sow his field met Laut, and deeming it a bad omen to meet a childless man, turned back from his purpose. This cut Laut to the quick, and he went out to the jungle and

¹ Panjâb Census Report, 1891, page 139, sqq., quoting Sirsa Settlement Report, 186.

bewailed his childlessness till evening, when a faqir appeared to him and told him that in nine months he should have a son, and after showing his miraculous power by drawing milk from a calf, vanished from his sight. At the time named a child miraculously appeared in Laut's house, and was miraculously suckled by his wife Hansa. This happened in Sambat 1508 (A.D. 1151). For seven years the boy, who was an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Vishnu, played with his fellows, and then for twenty-seven years he tended cattle, but all this time he spoke no word. His miraculous powers were shown in various ways, such as producing sweets from nothing for the delectation of his companions, and he became gradually known as Achamba ("the Wonder"), whence his name of Jhām̐ba, by which he is generally known. After thirty-four years a Brāhman was sent for to get him to speak, and on confessing his failure, Jhām̐baji again showed his power by lighting a lamp by simply snapping his fingers, and uttered his first word. He then adopted the life of a teacher, and went to reside on a sandhill, some thirty miles south of Bikāner, where, after fifty-one years, he died and was buried, instead of being burnt like an ordinary Hindu.

2. "Another account of Jhām̐baji says that when a lad of five years old he used to take his father's herds to water at the well, and had for each head of cattle a peculiar whistle: the cows and bullocks would come one by one to the well, drink, and go away. One day a man named Udaji happened to witness this scene, and struck with astonishment, attempted to follow the boy when he left the well. He was on horseback and the boy on foot, but gallop as fast as he would he could not keep up with the walking pace of the boy. At last in amazement he dismounted and threw himself at his feet; the boy at once welcomed him by name, though he then saw him for the first time. The bewildered Udaji exclaimed,—"Jhām̐baji!" (omniscient), and henceforth the boy was known by this name. On attaining manhood Jhām̐baji left his home, and becoming a faqir or religious mendicant, is said to have remained sitting on a sandhill called Samrathal in Bikāner for a space of fifty-one years. In 1485 A.D. a fearful famine desolated the country, and Jhām̐baji gained an enormous number of disciples by providing food for all who would declare their belief in him. He is said to have died on his sandhill at the good old age of eighty-four, and to have been buried at a spot about a mile distant from it. A further account says that his body

remained suspended for six months in the bier without decomposing.

3. "The name Bishnoi is, of course, connected with that of Vishnu, the deity to whom the Bishnois give most prominence in their creed, though they sometimes derive it from the twenty-nine (*bīs-nau*) articles of faith inculcated by their founder. In fact, in our returns it was very difficult to distinguish the Bishnoi from the Vaishnava, who was often entered as a Baishnav or Bishno. The Bishnois sometimes call themselves Prahládansi, or Prahládpanthi, on the ground that it was to please Prahláda Bhagat that Vishnu become incarnate in the person of Jhambaji. The legend is that thirty-three crores of beings were killed by the wicked Hiranya-kasipu, and when Vishnu, as the Narasinha Avatára, saved the life of Prahláda and asked Prahláda his dearest wish, the latter requested that Vishnu would effect the salvation (*mukti*) of the remaining twenty-eight crores. To do this required a further incarnation, and Jhambaji was the result."

4. "Regarding the doctrines of the sect Mr. J. Wilson writes:—
 Tenets of the Bishnois. 'The sayings (*śabda*) of Jhambaji to the number of one hundred and twenty were written down by his disciples, and have been handed down in a book (*pothi*) which is written in the Nāgari character, and in a Hindu dialect, similar to Bāgri, seemingly a Mārwari dialect. The 'twenty-nine' precepts given by him for the guidance of his followers are as follows:—

*Tis dīn sūtak pāñch roz ratwanti nāri,
 Sera karo śhnān sil santokh suchh pyāri.
 Pāni bāni ilhni itna ligo chhān.
 Daya dharm hirdē dharo guru batāi jān.
 Chori nindya jūth barjya bād na kariyo koē.
 Amal tamāku bhang lūl dūr hi tyāgo.
 Mad mās se dekh ke dūr hi bhāgo.
 Amar rakhāo thāt bari tani na bāho.
 Amāshya barat rūkh lūlo na ghāo.
 Hom, jap samādāh pūja bāsh baikunthi pāo.
 Untis dharm ki ākhri guru batāi soē,
 Pāhul doē par chāvyā jis ko nām Bishnoi hoē.*

Which is thus interpreted: 'For thirty days after child-birth and five days after a menstrual discharge a woman must not cook food.

Bathe in the morning. Commit not adultery. Be content. Be abstemious and pure. Strain your drinking water. Be careful of your speech. Examine your fuel in case any living creature be burnt with it. Show pity to living creatures. Keep duty present to your mind as the Teacher bade. Do not steal. Do not speak evil of others. Do not tell lies. Never quarrel. Avoid opium, tobacco, *bhang*, and blue clothing. Flee from spirits and flesh. See that your goats are kept alive (not sold to Musalmāns, who will kill them for food). Do not plough with bullocks. Keep a fast on the day before the new moon. Do not cut green trees. Sacrifice with fire. Say prayers. Meditate. Perform worship and attain heaven. And the last of the twenty-nine duties prescribed by the Teacher—
 ‘Baptize your children, if you would be called a true Bishnoi.’ ”

5. “Some of these precepts are not strictly obeyed; for instance, though ordinarily they allow no blue in their
 Social life. clothing, yet a Bishnoi, if he is a servant of the British Government, is allowed to wear a blue uniform; and Bishnois do use bullocks, though most of their farming is done with camels. They also seem to be unusually quarrelsome (in words) and given to use bad language. But they abstain from tobacco, drugs, and spirits, and are noted for their regard for animal life, which is such that not only will they not themselves kill any living creature, but they do their utmost to prevent others from doing so. Consequently their villages are generally swarming with antelope and other animals, and they forbid their Musalmān neighbours to kill them, and try to dissuade European sportsmen from interfering with them. They wanted to make it a condition of their settlement that no one should be allowed to shoot on their land, but at the same time they asked that they might be assessed at lower rates than their neighbours on the ground that the antelope being thus left undisturbed do more damage to their crops; but I told them that this would lessen the merit (*pun*) of their good actions in protecting the animals, and they must be treated just as the surrounding villages were. They consider it a good deed to scatter grain to pigeons and other birds, and often have a large number of half-tame birds about their villages. The day before the new moon they observe as a Sabbath and fast-day, doing no work in the fields or in the house. They bathe and pray three times a day, in the morning, afternoon, and in the evening, saying *Bishno! Bishno!* instead of the ordinary Hindu *Rām! Rām!*

Their clothing is the same as of other Bāgris, except that their women do not allow the waist to be seen, and are fond of wearing black woollen clothing. They are more particular about ceremonial purity than ordinary Hindus are, and it is a common saying that if a Bishnoi's food is on the first of a string of twenty camels and a man of another caste touches the last camel of the string, the Bishnoi would consider his food defiled and throw it away.

6. "A number of representative Bishnois assemble, and before them a Sādhi or Bishnoi priest, after lighting a sacrificial fire (*hom*), instructs the novice in the duties of the faith. He then takes some water in a new earthen vessel, over which he prays in a set form (*Bishno gāyatri*), stirring it the while with his string of beads (*māla*), and after asking the consent of the assembled Bishnois he pours the water three times into the hands of the novice, who drinks it off. The novice's scalp-lock (*choti*) is then cut off and his head shaved, for the Bishnois shave the whole head and do not leave a scalp-lock like the Hindus; but they allow the beard to grow, only shaving the chin on the father's death. Infant baptism is also practised, and thirty days after birth, the child, whether boy or girl, is baptized by the priest (*Sādhi*) in much the same way as an adult; only the set form of prayer is different (*garbh gāyatri*), and the priest pours a few drops of water into the child's mouth, and gives the child's relatives each three handfuls of the consecrated water to drink; at the same time the barber clips off the child's hair. The baptismal ceremony has the effect of purifying the house, which has been made impure by the birth (*sūtak*).

7. "The Bishnois intermarry among themselves only, and by a ceremony of their own, in which it seems the circumambulation of the sacred fire, which is the binding ceremony among the Hindus generally, is omitted. They do not revere Brāhmans, but have priests (*Sādhi*) of their own chosen from among the laity. They do not burn their dead, but bury them below the cattle-stall or in a place frequented by cattle, such as a cattle pen. They observe the Holi in a different way from other Hindus. After sunset, on that day, they fast till the next forenoon, when, after hearing read the account of how Prahlāda was tortured by his infidel father, Hiranya Kasipu, for believing in the god Vishnu, until he was delivered by the god himself in his incarnation of the Lion-Man (*Nara-Sinha*), and

mourning over Prahlāda's sufferings, they light a sacrificial fire and partake of consecrated water, and after distributing unpurified sugar (*gur*) in commemoration of Prahlāda's delivery from the fire into which he was thrown, they break their fast.

"Bishnois go on pilgrimage where Jhāmbari is buried, south of Bikāner, where there is a tomb (*math*) over his remains, and a temple (*mandir*) with regular attendants (*pujārī*). A festival takes place here every six months in Asauj and Phūlgun, when the pilgrims go to the sandhill on which Jhāmbari lived, and there light sacrificial fires (*hom*) of *jandi* wood in vessels of stone, and offer a burnt offering of barley, sesamum (*ti*), butter, and sugar, at the same time muttering set prayers. They also make presents to the attendants of the temple, and distribute grain for the peacocks and pigeons, which live there in numbers. Should any one have committed an offence, such as having killed an animal, or sold a cow or goat to a Musalmān, or allowed an animal to be killed when he could have prevented it, he is fined by the assembled Bishnois for the good of the temple, and the animals kept there. Another place of pilgrimage is a tomb called Chhambola, in the Jodhpur country, where a festival is held every year in Chait. There the pilgrims bathe in the tank and help to deepen it, and sing and play musical instruments and scatter grain to peacocks and pigeons. The Bishnois look with special attention to the fire sacrifice (*hom*); it is only the rich who perform this daily; the poor meet together to carry out the rite on the Amāwas day only. The Gāenas or Sādhs, who are their priests and are fed by them like Brāhmins, are a hereditary class and do not intermarry with other Bishnois; nor do they take offerings from any but Bishnois. The Bishnois are a regular caste and have been shown as such in our tables; and the returns of the caste are much more to be relied on than those of the sect, for the reason given above that many Bishnois by sect must have been shown in our tables as Vaishnavas, and *vice versa*.

8. "It is said that a member of any of the higher Hindu castes may become a Bishnoi; but as a matter of fact they are almost entirely Jāts or carpenters (*Khāḍīs*), or less frequently, Rājputs or Banyas, and the Banya Bishnois are apparently not found in the Panjāb, their chief seat being Morādābād, in the North-West Provinces. The man who becomes a Bishnoi is still bound by his caste restrictions; he no

Organization.

longer calls himself a Jât, but he can marry only Jât Bishnois, or he is no longer a Khâti, and yet cannot marry any one who is not a Khâti; and further than this the Bishnoi retains the *gotra* of his original tribe and may not marry within this. *Karewa* is practised among them, but an elder brother cannot marry a younger brother's widow.

9. "There is not perhaps very much in the teaching of Jhâmbaji to distinguish him from the orthodox pattern of Hindu saints, and in some points his doctrine, more especially with regard to the preservation of life, is only an intensification of the ordinary Vaishnava tenets. But in the omission of the circumambulation (*phera*) at marriage, the cutting off of the scalp-lock, the special ceremony of initiation, and the disregard for the Brâhmanical priesthood, we find indications of the same spirit as that which moved the other Hindu reformers of the period."

10. Mahant Âtma Râm, known as Mahârâj or Mahant, the present leader of the Morâdâbâd Bishnois, gives an account of them which, as far as the legends connected with Jhâmbaji, agrees exactly with the Panjâb legend. He names nine endogamous sub-divisions of them—Jât; Bishnoi; Banya Bishnoi; Brâhman Bishnoi; Ahîr Bishnoi; Sunâr Bishnoi; Nâi Bishnoi; Chauhân Bishnoi, Bayhar Bishnoi. The rule of exogamy is that they do not intermarry in their own *gotra* or in that of their relatives as long as any tie of relationship is remembered.

11. The Morâdâbâd branch settled there when the District was in the hands of the Nawâb Wazîr of Oudh, about one hundred and fifty years ago. They do not admit outsiders except into their special sub-division as given above. Polygamy is allowed; polyandry repudiated. The marriage ceremonies are performed in the orthodox Hindu fashion. Widows can re-marry by the *sogâi* form. Besides the special worship of Jhâmbaji, they have, now following the example of their Hindu neighbours, adopted also the worship of Siva and Bhawâni. When a child is born the mother is secluded for forty days, when the Mahant sends one of his disciples who makes her throw some butter into the fire. This ceremony, is known as *basandar chhâna* or "fire touching." When a man dies the nearest male relative of the deceased draws water from the well in an unused earthen vessel, and places it at the door of the house with the opening at the top covered with a piece of new cloth. Upon this are placed some cakes (*pûris*). Just as the

sun is setting some of the clansmen assemble, and each takes a handful of water and pours it on the ground in the name of the dead man. This is repeated on the third, tenth, twentieth, and fortieth day, and after three, six, and twelve months. The corpse is thrown into the Ganges with a pitcher full of sand tied round the neck. They perform the *śrāddha* in honour of the sainted dead in the month of Kuār, as ordinary Hindus do. Those who die without issue have the *śrāddha* performed by other relations, and on this occasion clothes, etc., are given to Brāhmins. They will eat from the hands of none but their own clansmen.

12. They strictly abstain from spirits, meat, and tobacco. Wherever they are numerous they erect by subscription a shed which is known as a Vishnu temple (*Vishnu mandir*). There they assemble on the fifteenth of every Hindu month, and the songs of Jhāmājī are chanted by the Mahant or some other Sādhi or priest. This meeting is known as *jemala*. In the months of Kuār and Chait they assemble in large numbers and offer sweetmeats and money. Part of the offerings is taken by the Mahant and the rest is divided among the worshippers present. The Mahant and his Sādhs practise celibacy. The Bishnois of Bijoor appear to differ from those of the Panjāb in using the Musalmān form of salutation, *salām alaikum*, and the title of Shaikhji. They account for this by saying that they murdered a Muhammadan Qazi who prevented them from burning a widow and were glad to compound the offence by pretending to adopt Islām.

Distribution of Bishnoi Banyas¹ according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dūn	58	Morādābād	2,748
Muzaffarnagar	902	Cawnpur	7
Meerut	255	Bānda	5
Bijoor	1,626		
		TOTAL	5,601

¹ The sect recorded as Bishnoi numbers 49,559, mostly found in the Bijoor District.

Biyâr, Biâr.—A tribe of labourers and cultivators in the Eastern Districts.

1. The word Biâr means "a seed-bed," and it is suggested that this may be the origin of the name on account of their occupation, which is principally rice cultivation and the construction of tanks and embankments. They may possibly be of aboriginal origin, but the tribe appears to be very mixed, and while they have to a great extent lost the broad nose characteristic of the pure Dravidian races, like the Majhwârs or Korwas, they are not noticeably different in appearance from the Chamârs and other menial Hindu castes which surround them. They may perhaps be connected with the Bhojars of Betul, "who are said to have come originally from Upper India: they are hard-working and industrious cultivators, thoroughly alive to the advantages of irrigation, and generally expending much labour and capital in the sinking of wells."¹ The idea which at one time prevailed that they were in some way connected with the great Bhar race seems groundless. They consider themselves autochthones of Pargana Barhar, in Mirzapur, and have no traditions of emigration. They are slight, dark, wiry men, noted for their skill in earth-work, and habitually employed on excavations of all kinds: a quiet, rather depressed race, occasionally addicted to petty theft. In Mirzapur they have now formed themselves into two endogamous divisions, the Barhariya, who take their name from Pargana Barhar, north of the river Son, and the Dakkhinâba or "Southerners," who live south of the river. Those north of the Son have begun to imitate Hindus so far as to start one sub-division or sept (*Kurî*), the Chamanawa or Chandanawa, who say they are descended from the *chandan* or sandal tree, and to this is attached one *gotra*, that of Kâsîp. These sub-divisions, however, do not restrict marriage, the rules of exogamy within the two endogamous sub-divisions being of a very elementary kind. They say that when a girl is married into a family they do not permit another alliance with that family for at least three generations. Others say that only the family of the mother's brother (*mâmu*) and the father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) are barred. The tendency, however, seems to be to extend the restriction to the orthodox limit fixed in many of these tribes and to include the family of the father's brother

¹ Central Provinces Gazetteer, 48.

(*chacha*) and the maternal aunt (*mdosi*). Other members of the caste, however, name seven septs,—Kanaujiya, Sarwâr, Barwâr, Mahto, Kahto, Kâshi, and Barhar. These are exogamous, and hypergamy is said to prevail to this extent that the Kanaujiya intermarry only with the Barwâr, Sarwâr and Mahto. Three of these are purely local sub-divisions, Kanaujiya (from Kanauj), Kâshi (from Benares), Barhar (from the pargana of that name in Mirzapur). The others are probably all occupational—Sarwâr “archer;” Barwâr, “carrier of loads;” Mahto, “leader;” Kahto, “spokesman.”

2. They have a caste council (*panchayat*) which meets on occasions of marriages and funerals, and disposes of tribal business. The president (*Mukhiya*) is a hereditary officer, and he has an assistant known as Chaudhari. Offences against morality are punished by fine or castigation. The castigation is in the form of a shoe-beating, which is administered by two strong young men at the orders of the president. The fine takes the form of two or four days feeding of the clansmen. When the offender agrees to do this he is restored to caste privileges. If a man marries into a family already excommunicated he has to give a two days' feast of goat flesh and liquor to the clan. If a poor man pleads poverty, the fine is sometimes reduced, but if he disregards the sentence he is excommunicated for two, four, or even ten years. If the Mukhiya or Chaudhari is a minor, the council select some relative to act for him. The Chaudhari is always appointed by the council.

3. Difference in wealth or social station is no bar to marriage. A man may marry as many wives as he can support. The senior wife is mistress of the house, is respected among the relations, and joins in the family worship. If a man marries a second time, and he or she annoy or ill-treat the first wife, the council interferes in her favour. As a matter of fact the senior wife generally selects the junior wives, and urges her husband to polygamy, as their labour saves her trouble. If there are more wives than one they live in separate huts in the same enclosure, but, as a rule, they get on well together and live in common. Concubinage, if the concubine (*rakhui*) is a member of the tribe, is permitted. The abhorrence with which they regard even the idea of polyandry is sufficient to show that it could never have been an institution of the tribe. Women have considerable

freedom both before and after marriage. If a woman is caught in an intrigue with a stranger to the tribe she is expelled. If her lover be a member of the tribe, the fathers of both have to feed the clansmen: but it is a peculiarity of this tribe that they will not allow the lovers to marry. The reason is because such cases give rise to a feud between the girl's family and that of her lover, which is usually so serious that a marriage alliance between them is out of the question. In such cases of incontinence the girl's father has to feed the tribesmen on *pakki rasoi*, that is to say, butter cakes (*pāri*) and goat's flesh, and the next day on *kachchi rasoi*, that is, boiled rice and pulse (*dāl, bhāt*). The tribal punishment for the lover used to be fifty stripes with a cane, but British law has put a stop to this, and he now gets fifty blows of a shoe. After the beating is over he has, in addition, to give the same feast as the girl's father.

4. The marriage age for boys and girls is from six to twelve.

Marriage and divorce.

The headman arranges the match: the consent of the parents is essential, and the parties have no right of choice. The bride-price fixed by invariable custom is four rupees in cash, two cloths (*dhoti*), four *sers* coarse sugar (*gur*), and a little turmeric. No physical defect which appears in either party after marriage is sufficient to break the tie; but this is not the case if fraud is established against the parents of either party: and it is understood that a woman may refuse to live with her husband if he is unable to support her, or is impotent. A man can divorce his wife for adultery: in fact, if after adultery is established, a man does not discard his wife, he is punished by the council. But all separations must be by the sanction of the headman, and he will not give leave until he has enquired and heard evidence in the case. If a man marries a woman who has been divorced for adultery he is put out of caste. The sons of the senior wife are called *jethri* or superior: those of the second *lauhi* or inferior. These two sets of children succeed equally, while the children of a concubine have no rights, and receive only whatever their father may please to give them during his lifetime. If the concubine was a woman of the tribe, the children receive full caste rights and can be married in the tribe: not so, if the mother was of another tribe. Her children are called *Biyar* after their father, but have no rights of marriage or commensality.

5. A man may take a widow to live with him without any ceremony. For a while the clansmen will not eat with him, but when he feeds them he is generally restored to caste on condition that he goes to bathe at Benares or Gaya. The levirate is allowed under the usual restriction that the younger brother can marry his elder brother's widow, and not *vice versa*. If the levir abandon his claim to her she may marry an outsider. She takes with her only children at the breast; the others remain with her late husband's brother. Once she marries again she loses all rights in her husband's estate. Their uncle manages the property for his nephews, and they succeed when they come of age. So in the case of the levirate the mother manages the property for her sons by the first marriage. Her second family has no claim to share. There is no fiction by which the sons of the levir are attributed to the first husband.

6. Only a sonless man can adopt, and that only with the consent of his brethren and the council. A man usually adopts his brother's son, though occasionally the adoption of a daughter's son is allowed. A man may adopt if his only son is a permanent outcast. During the life of one adopted son a second cannot be adopted. Curiously enough a bachelor can adopt, but not a blind man, or a cripple, or an impotent man, or a Jogī, or a woman, except a widow following distinct instructions from her late husband given before witnesses. But in any case she can adopt only one of her husband's brother's sons. A man cannot give his only or eldest son or only brother in adoption. A boy once married cannot be adopted: nor can a girl be adopted: nor a sister's son: nor a daughter's son except in most exceptional circumstances. As a rule a son adopted by another loses all rights to his father's estate, but cases are quoted to the contrary. If he be his father's only son he inherits in both houses. If a natural son be born after adoption he and the adopted son share equally.

7. The custom of Beena marriage or *ghar-jaiyān* does not prevail.

8. In all cases the sons of a man are his heirs. Primogeniture is so far observed that the eldest gets a tenth in excess of everything, and the children of the first or senior wife get something more than the others. The shares go by the sons, not by the mothers. A man cannot select a special son in his lifetime to be heir in excess of the others. Even if one

son be better off than the others by self-acquired property, dowry, etc., he gets his usual share. Grandsons get their proportionate share in the inheritance of their fathers. If there are no sons the associated brothers inherit equally. The widow has a right to maintenance so long as she continue chaste: if she becomes unchaste her husband's brothers can expel her. A daughter has no rights, but it seems to be usual for the brothers to give her some of the family jewelry, etc., and if she is badly treated by her husband or his friends she has a right to come back to her original home and claim maintenance there. If a man die without a son or widow his associated brothers succeed. If a widow marries while pregnant, and a son is born, he will succeed to his real not to his step-father. If the widow on remarriage takes little children with her the step-father is bound to support them until they grow up and get them married. If a man become an ascetic his sons get his estate: but a remarkable rule prevails that in such case the sons get only the acquired property of their father, while the ancestral property goes to his brothers. Village and tribal offices such as that of *makto* are ancestral: but if the eldest son of the deceased proves unfit, the duty is made over to one of his elder brothers.

9. Families in which sons are married or from which sons-in-law come are considered relations. There is nothing peculiar in the general system of relationship. They do not, as a rule, remember the names of ancestors beyond the grandfather.

10. When a woman is being delivered she sits on the ground facing east. She is attended by the Chamâin midwife, who cuts the cord with a sickle and buries it in the place where the child was born, lighting a fire on the spot, which is kept burning while the woman remains in seclusion. After birth the child is rubbed with a mixture of barley flour and oil. The first day the mother is fed on *halwa*, which is made of wheat flour, coarse sugar (*gur*), and ghi. After this she is given butter cakes (*pûri*), but in poor families only rice and pulse. Every morning and evening she is given a mixture of *gur*, ghi, and turmeric, which is known as *kâra*. On the sixth day the Chamâin bathes mother and child, the Dhobi takes her clothes to the wash, the barber's wife cuts her finger and toe nails and colours her feet with lac dye (*mahâwar*). On that day the men of the family shave and put on clean clothes, and the woman's husband's sister (*usad*)

cleans the delivery room (*saur*), for which she receives a present in cash, clothes, or jewelry. The wives of the barber and Dhobi get four annas each, and the Chamāin the same with her food for the days she has been in attendance. That evening the clanspeople, male and female, are fed. From that date the attendance of the Chamāin ceases. On the twelfth day (*barah*) the mother bathes in warm water, and the barber's wife cuts her nails and those of all the other women of the family. From that time the mother is considered pure, and cooks for the family. On this day the old earthen vessels of the family are replaced. The couvade so far prevails that on the day the child is born the father does no work, and has to take the first sip of the draught given to his wife. The husband does not cohabit with his wife till the child is six months old, and is first fed on grain (*annaprāṇa*).

11. No adoption is valid unless the adoptive father and the boy appear before the Mukhya, Chaudhari and council and make mutual engagements.

12. There is nothing very remarkable about the marriage ceremony. The bride is selected by the boy's

Marriage ceremony
father and approved of by the Mahto. The boy's father then on a date (*lagan*) fixed by a Brāhman sends or takes to the bride's father a present which fixes the betrothal. This is known as *neg bharna*, and in some places consists of four rupees in cash, two *seers* turmeric, two *seers* oil, and two *seers* coarse sugar (*gur*), in others of one and-a-quarter *seers* turmeric, one and-a-quarter *seers* sugar, and one and-a-quarter *seers* of oil. The marriage pavilion (*mānro*) has the middle post of *siddh* wood (*Hardwickia binata*). It is erected by the sister or paternal aunt of the bride, who receives a small present for doing this. Five days before marriage the *mat-mangar* ceremony is performed in the usual way as described in the case of the Bhuiyas, except that the earth is dug by the father's sister's husband (*phūpha*) of the bride, and is brought home by five unmarried girls of the bride's sept, who make out of it a rude altar (*bedi*) in the marriage shed, on which is placed the lucky water jar (*kalsa*), and a rude representation of parrots (*suga*) sitting on a tree, which is made by the village carpenter out of the wood of the cotton-tree (*semal*). On this day the family priest (*purohit*) sprinkles the bride and bridegroom with a bunch of *dūb* grass soaked in turmeric and oil (*kaldi charhāna*). This is done five times. Before the procession starts the bridegroom's mother does

the "waving" ceremony (*parakkhan*), as described in connection with the Bhuiyârs. The bridegroom's procession is met by the bride's friends outside the village, and they embrace (*meli jhoki*). On reaching the reception place (*janwânsa*) the bridegroom's father takes the wedding present (*charhauwa*) to the bride. This consists of some jewelry and a sheet for the girl and her mother. When the bridegroom arrives he and the bride are seated on leaf mats or stools in a square (*chauk*) made under the marriage shed: the bride's father washes the feet of the bridegroom, and her mother does the same for the bride. Then the hands of the pair are joined, and the bride's father pours water over them, while the Pandit¹ reads the *sanka'pa* or "verses of donation." They then walk five times round the parrot images and water jar, the girl's brother pouring a handful of parched rice (*lawâ*) over them each time they pass; while some parched grain is thrown on the sacred fire (*hom*), which is kept burning in the shed. Then the pair sit down, and the bridegroom marks the right foot of the bride with red lead and taking five pinches of it between the thumb and the first finger of his right hand rubs it in the parting of her hair. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. Then the wife of the bride's brother (*bhanjâi*) sprinkles some red lead (*sandur chhirakna*) over the bridegroom and gets a small present. She then escorts the pair into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are marked with rude figures drawn in red clay (*geru*). Over these the bridegroom pours some oil, and has to submit to a good deal of coarse practical jokes from the female relations of the bride.² Next morning is the *khichari* or ceremony of *confarreatio*, when the bridegroom and bride eat together. After this is the *mânro hilâi* or "shaking of the marriage shed." The father of the bridegroom pulls up and pitches away one of the poles of the pavilion amid the shouts of his party. This may possibly be a survival of marriage by capture. On the bridegroom arriving at his house his sister, apparently with the same idea, blocks the door, and will not admit the bride until she gets a present. At the bridegroom's house the *kohabar* ceremony, as above described, is again performed. A day or two after this, on a day fixed by the Pandit, some woman of the family takes the wreaths of mango leaves (*bandanwâr*) which decorated the door and

¹ It need hardly be said that this custom of Brahmins condescending to perform ceremonies for people of low caste is irregular. See Mann, III. 65, IV., 61, 81, 99.

² For the significance of the *kohabar* ceremony see Majumdar, paragraph 38.

the sacred water jar (*kalsa*), and throws them into a stream. The deities that preside over marriages are Gauri (Devi) and Ganessa. Images of them made of cow-dung are placed in the marriage shed, and are rubbed with a little of the red lead before it is applied to the head of the bride. A marriage can be broken off after the first embassage (*puchhāwa*) of the headman, but once the red lead is applied it is final.

13. The three forms of recognized marriage are the *charhawwa* and the *sagāi* for widows. There is also the *gurāwat*, or marriage by exchange, when two persons exchange sisters.¹

14. The dying person is removed into the open air before death.² The ceremonies are performed in the ordinary way. After cremation a stalk of the tall reed-like grass (*jhuraī*) is planted on the edge of a tank. This is apparently like the vessel (*ghant*) hung on a pīpal tree, intended as an abode for the spirit (*pret*) during the time which elapses before the funeral ceremonies are complete.³ During the next ten days the man who fired the pyre goes daily to the tank and pours ten vessels (*lota*) of water over the grass-stalk. When the mourners return from the pyre they sit and lament the deceased for a short time, and each touches with his big toe a little vessel of water which is laid in the court-yard. For ten days mourning goes on. The man who fired the pyre cooks his food in an earthen vessel without salt, eats only once a day out of a leaf platter (*dauna*), and the relations do not eat *pāu* or turmeric or put oil on their heads. The chief mourner goes about with a knife and brass *lota* in his hands to keep off ghosts. On the day after the cremation the women of the family go to the tank. The dead man's mother walks in front of the widow, and all sing songs of mourning. When they arrive at the tank the widow washes the red lead off the parting of her hair and pours ten handfuls of water on the stalk of grass which embodies the spirit of her husband. All the women do the same, and the same ceremony is performed daily for ten days. On the tenth day (*daswān*) all the male relations shave at the tank and get a Brāhman to offer up three balls (*pinda*) of barley flour, which are thrown into

¹ See *Bhutya*, paragraph 18.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 453.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 152.

the water in the name of the deceased. They then return to the house, where the funeral priest (Mahâpâtra, Mahâbrâhman)¹ attends and receives the bed, clothes, and vessels of the dead man, and one and-a-quarter rupee in cash from the person who fired the pyre. These, it is believed, will pass on for the use of the deceased in the next world (*svarga*).² "How could he get on in the next world without these things?" is what they say; but of a future in which felicity awaits the good and retribution meets the evil-doer they have only the very vaguest idea.³ On that day his brother-in-law binds a turban on the head of the dead man's successor, and *pân* and betel-nut are distributed and the clansmen fed. On this day, to mark her abandonment of married life, the widow floats away (*serwa dena*) her little box which contains the red lead for the parting of her hair (*sendûra*) and forehead spangles into the water.

15. At the period sacred to the dead (*pîtra paksha*) in the month of Kuâr they plaster a little space under the eaves of the house, spread there a little rice and flowers, and a vessel (*lota*) full of water and a tooth-brush (*datwan*) for the use of the dead. On the 15th day of Kuâr they give some dry grain (*vîlha*) to a Brâhman, and feed a few of the kinsfolk in the name of the dead. If this is not done, their spirits beset them in dreams, cause the nightmare, and bring disease and death.

16. Their special deity is Mahâdeva in the form of the *lingam*. As local deities they worship Sewanriya, the deity of boundaries, and Dharti Mahâdeva, the earth-god. These local deities have a shrine on the village boundary consisting of a mud platform under a *semal* (*bombax heptaphyllum*), *bahera* (*terminalia bellerica*), or *pîpal* (*ficus indica*) tree. A small red flag marks the shrine, near which are placed images of elephants. This is the shrine of Sewanriya, the deity of boundaries. In the name of Dharti and Mahâdeva two stone pillars are set up in the ground on the outskirts of the village. When the harvest is cut both these are propitiated by a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) of sugar and butter (*gur, ghrî*). People who are in trouble make vows there, and, when the evil is removed, sacrifice a goat or fowl, and sprinkle some liquor through the Baiga. For this he receives some

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 481, 483, 490, 492, 495.

² *Ibid.*, II., 75.

grain and a couple of pice. The women have a special worship to Amina Devi,¹ in which men do not join. They make a burnt offering and light a lamp in her honour. If this deity is not worshipped the deity mounts on their heads and drives them into a fit of ecstasy (*abhuāna*). They have the usual custom of boring the ears (*kanchhedan*) of children when they are five years old. That day special food is served, and after this the child must conform to caste usages in the matter of food. Their religious business is done by a low class of Pânre Biāhmans. On the day a child's ears are bored a goat is offered to Juāla-mukhi Devi, and the meat is consumed by the worshippers and their friends.

17. On the Rāmnaumi of Chait they have the heads of their children shaved at the shrine of Juāla-mukhi Devi at Kota in the presence of the priest (*panda*) in charge of the temple. On that date they offer a goat and a burnt offering (*hom*). On the snake festival, Nāgpanchami, held on the fifth bright half of Sāwan, they will not plough, and make a white protective mark round the walls of their houses, oil the horns of the oxen, and give them salt. On the Dasahra, the tenth light half of Kuār, they eat specially good food. On the first of lamps, Diwālī, in the last day of the dark fortnight in Kārttik, they plaster the house, light lamps, and on that day the Ahir herdsmen come and dance at the houses of their employers, and get some old clothes and a small money present. At the Thī Sankrānt, in the end of the month of Pūs, they all eat rice boiled with pulse (*khichari*) after a Biāhman has first touched the food and blessed it. On the thirteenth light half of Pūs they bury the old year (*Sambat gārna*). There is a regular place outside the village in which a stake of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*) is planted in the ground. Three days after all the villagers collect fuel round this, and on the day of the full moon (*pūsanmāshi*) the village Biāhman fixes a time for burning the old year (*Sambat*). The fire is lit by the village Bauga, and then all the people apply fire to it, and parch stalks of barley in the fire and eat them. They also make small jumps of cowdung and throw them into the fire. Next morning all collect and sprinkle the ashes of the Sambat into the air. This is known as *rākharāna*. After marking their foreheads with the ashes they return home. Next day, up to

¹ Amina Sati is one of the Pānchenpir.

midday, the men sing abusive songs, and throw earth and cowdung at the women. After midday they bathe, put on clean clothes, throw about the powder of ground mica or talc (*abîr*), eat wheat cakes (*pûri*) fried in butter, and drink liquor. The feast winds up with a regular saturnalia in which decency and order are forgotten.¹

18. Places like wells and tanks where any one has been drowned are considered as specially haunted.² If any Ghosts. one goes alone to bathe in such places the ghost pushes him in and drowns him. They also have the same idea about deaths by a fall from a tree, which are regarded as the work of the offended tree spirit. If they happen to walk under a tree where such an accident has happened they bend their heads and bow. To keep off such ghosts people take a piece of iron about with them, such as a knife, a key, etc. They believe that if you can succeed in catching one of these malicious Bhûts and cutting off his scalp-lock, he will serve you for the rest of your life.

19. The women tattoo themselves in the usual way among these jungle tribes.³ They believe that if they are Tattooing. not tattooed God (Bhagwân) brands them in the next world with a torch of dry grass.⁴

20. The lucky days are Sunday and Monday and Friday; Tuesday and Saturday are unlucky. Among Various superstitions, omens, omens, witchcraft, etc. numbers 5 and 3 are lucky, 13 unlucky. They take omens from the *kurlî* bird, whose song on commencing a journey or business is lucky. A jackal crossing the road is inauspicious. The house door may face the North, East, or West, but not the South. Every one has two names, that fixed by astrology (*râs*), and that in ordinary use. They swear by putting the hand on their son's head or touching a Brâhman's feet. In the first place if they tell a lie the son dies, in the second they lose their property or life. They are much in dread of witchcraft (*tona*). Such cases are treated by the Ojha, who has power to drive off or summon Bhûts, and can thus revenge himself on an enemy. Dreams only mean the displeasure of the

¹ This festival has obvious analogies in European custom. Mannhardt considers them to be sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to secure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants. See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 268.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 109.

³ See Agariya, para. 22.

⁴ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 451.

sainted dead at inattention, and are not specially interpreted. Some women, particularly those born on a Saturday, can cast the Evil Eye. When a child is thus affected its eyelashes stand out straight, and when babies are struck they refuse the mother's breast. Even big children are affected. The sign of the arrival of a person with this power is that the person affected if eating immediately vomits. All disease is due to demoniacal influence. It is only Ojhas who can recognise the particular Bhût which is at the bottom of the mischief, and having marked him down they are able to prescribe the appropriate offering or expel the evil spirit by bringing the victim into a state of ecstasy (*abhuâna*).

21. Their dress presents no peculiarities. The women wear jewelry, the *satua* on the fore-arm, rings (*mundari*) on the fingers, the *bakunta* on the upper arm, the palm leaf ornament (*tarki*) in the ears, necklaces (*hanxuli*) and strings of beads on the neck, heavy anklets (*paiiri*). They do not wear the nosering. They use liquor and tobacco freely. They will not eat the flesh of monkeys, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, or rats. They eat pigs, goats, sheep, fowls, and all kinds of fish. Women do not eat pork. Children eat first, then the men, and last of all the women. They will not touch a Dom, Chamâr, Dharkâr, or Bhangî; nor the wife of the younger brother, the wife's elder sister, and a connection (*samdhan*) through the marriage of children. They will not speak by name of the wife or mother, or of the dead if it can be avoided. In the morning they will not speak of death, disease, or quarrels, or of a lame man or a cripple, or of a village where bad characters live or where there was in former days a murder or a fight. They sow, if possible, on the tenth light half of Jeth. Fields for the spring crop are ploughed five times, for the autumn crop twice. They salute by the *pâclagi* form, and seniors give the blessing *nîkê raho*, "Live happily!" If a woman's relation visits her she seizes him by the feet and weeps. Then in a sort of sing-song she describes all her troubles to him, and ends by washing his feet and giving him tobacco.¹ When a guest comes he is expected to bring with him some parched grain and coarse sugar for the children. Then if he is a clansman the householder seats him in the cooking place (*chanka*) and feeds him. Women are

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 51.

respected, as they work very hard. Men who ill-treat their wives are divorced by the tribal council, and put out of caste for a year or two as a punishment. Old people are taken care of and given only light work. In the hot weather they all collect in the evening under a tree, and chat on village business. In the cold weather they assemble at each other's houses, sit round a fire of rubbish (*kaura*), and the house master finds them in chewing tobacco. They are very clannish and detest and distrust strangers. They will eat both kinds of food (*pakki* and *kachchi*) only from a Brâhman. No one but a Dom will eat or drink from their hands.

22. Their business is ploughing (*halwâhi*) and doing earthwork on embankments and tanks, in which men, women, and children join. When they take service as ploughmen they get on the first day a pot (*hânri*) full of grain and a rupee in cash, and the same when sowing is over. Their daily wages are three sers of barley or *sdwân* millet. The Byârs are a very quiet, respectable tribe, and are very seldom seen in our Courts.

23. They have a sort of local organisation (*eka*) in which three or four villages join, but it is weak and ineffective, and as a tribe they are little more than serfs, *ascripti glebæ*; a few are now beginning to cultivate as sub-tenants.

Distribution of the Biyârs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Benares . . .	3,214	Ballia . . .	579
Mirzapur . . .	14,398	Tarâi . . .	93
Ghâzipur . . .	537	TOTAL . . .	18,821

Bohra.—(Sanskrit, *vyavahâraka*, "a trader")—A general term for any trader or money-lender. Those recorded under this name at the last Census are almost entirely confined to the Meerut Division. They claim to be and are usually admitted to be Brâhman. Of them Sir H. M. Elliot¹ writes—"The Bohras of these Provinces either come from the neighbourhood of Jaypur, or are descendants

¹ *Supplemental Glossary. s.v.*

of the original settlers from that quarter, and preserve some peculiarities of speech and dress by which they are readily known. An inferior class of Bohras is called Kaiyân, who are said to take their name from their trick of constantly saying *Kahi, Kahi*, 'Why?' or Rahti—the continually revolving nature of their dealings and monthly visits to their debtors have with reference to the constant revolutions of the *rahat* or Persian wheel and buckets procured them the designation of Rahti." Another name for them is Athwariya because they take interest every eighth (*dthwen*) day. The Bohras, according to Sir H. M. Elliot, have larger dealings and with higher classes than the Rahtis have, but, like the latter, are generally eager to acquire possession of profitable estates. There is, however, this difference between them, that the Rahtis lend and will take in return only money; whereas the Bohras are ready to receive every marketable article, including the produce of the soil as well as cattle, among which may be enumerated horses, camels, sheep and goats in payment of their debts.

2. Those in the Upper Ganges Jumna Duâb, claim to be Paliwâl Caur Brâhmans, from Pâli, in Rajputâna.¹ Trade is not lawful for a Brâhman except in times of scarcity and under certain conditions.² Hence to mark their separation from Brâhmans with whom they do not mess or intermarry, they associate with the Mahâbrâhman, who is an abomination to the Hindu on account of his functions as a funeral priest.

3. In Kumaun the Bohras call themselves Khasiya Râjputs, but claim to have been originally money-lenders. They are now thriving agriculturists.³ To the east of the Province the trading Brâhmans are called Bâona, and are analogous to the Bâbhan or Bhuînâr.⁴ Quite distinct from these trading Brâhmans are the Bohras of Central India, who are Musalmâns. They are wholesale merchants of the first class, as well as pedlars. They render implicit obedience to their elected Mullas. They are of the Hasani tribe,—once so dreaded in Egypt and Persia for acts of murder and desperation. The principal Bohra colony at Ujjain, where they have four special quarters (*muhalla*).⁵ In the Panjâb, as in these Provinces, all the Bohras are Hindus.

¹ Bâja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 151, sqq.

² Bühler, *Sacred Laws*, 1, 72.

³ Atkinson, *Himalayan Geographer*, III, 344, sq.

⁴ Buchanan, *Eastern India* II, 454.

⁵ Malcolm, *Central India*, i, III, sq.

4. Their exogamous sections would lead to the conclusion that their origin is mixed. The Kâchhi and Khangâr seem to represent a non-Aryan element. Besides these are the Bachguâr, Balâ, Bâtham (from Srâvasti), Bhatiya, Chaiwâr, Dasâti, Deswâl, Kama Kâsib, Kundal, Maheswari Nâgar, Samel, Syâmî, and Sundi.

Distribution of the Bohras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	622	Aligarh . . .	386
Muzaffarnagar . .	13	Etah . . .	32
Meerut . . .	2	Hardoi . . .	1
Bulandshahr . . .	75	TOTAL . . .	1,131

Boriya.—A tribe of village servants and cultivators found chiefly in the Cawnpur and Hardoi Districts. Their sub-castes show that they are closely connected with, if not an offshoot of, the great Pâsi tribe. Thus we find among their sub-divisions Ara'kh, Bahe-liya, Gûjar, Khangâr, Kisân, Lumya, Pâsi, Râjpâsi, Rakhpâsi. Some, again, are local sections, such as Ajudhiyabâsi, Antarbodi, Baiswâr, Banâriasi, Bijbâsi, Kanaujiya, Mahobiya; others imply some connection with other tribes as Bhutiya, Chauhan, Ghosi, Hâra, Kathiya, Kathwâns, and Sombansi. Others are occupational, as Ghurcharha, "horsemen;" Khetwâl, "field men."

Distribution of the Boriyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Kath-wans	Pâras-rani.	Pâsi	Others	TOTAL.
Cawnpur . . .	2,990	6,831	4,739	3,591	18,151
Fatehpur . . .	985	232	346	86	1,652
Hamirpur . . .	...	...	...	2	2
Hardoi . . .	...	...	7,031	69	7,100
Bahrâich . . .	..	...	...	4	4
TOTAL . . .	3,975	7,063	12,119	2,752	26,909

Brāhman.¹—The levite class of the Hindu caste system. The word **Brāhmana** is derived from **Brāhman** (root *brīh, vrik*,) “religious devotion regarded as an impulse or feeling gradually growing up and expanding so as to fill the soul.” To quote one of the latest and best authorities²—“The common term used in the Veda for the officiating priest is **Brāhman** (masculine, nominative singular, **Brahma**) originally denoting, it would seem, ‘one who prays,’ ‘worshipper,’ or ‘the composer or reciter of a hymn.’” In some passages the word also signifies a special class of priests who officiated as superintendents during sacrificial ceremonies, the complicated nature of which required the co-operation of several priests. The fact that the terms **Brāhmana** and **Brahmaputra**, both denoting the son of a **Brāhman**, are used in certain hymns as synonymous of **Brāhman**, seems to justify the assumption that the profession had already to a certain degree become hereditary at the time when the hymns were composed.” The term **Brāhman**, as Dr. Muir³ remarks, must have been originally applied to the same persons who are elsewhere in the Vedic hymns spoken of as **Rishi**, **Kavi**, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify one particular kind of priest with special duties. The original Aryan priest was the house father, and we still find among the lower Dravidian races that the family worship is done either by the head of the household or by the son-in-law or brother-in-law; and it was only when the service of the gods became a more complicated and difficult function that a special class of officiants was created for this purpose. This differentiation of function took place, of course, at an early date in the history of the development of Hinduism. Dr. Haug⁴ believes that the differentiation of the functions of the classes of priests, **Hotris**, or repeaters of the **Rik** verses, the **Udgātris**, the

¹ Principally based on notes by Pandits Rāmcharib Chaudh and Dhān Pradīp Tiwari.

² Professor Eggeling, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v., *Brāhmanism*.

³ *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 243, 2nd edition; *Newbold, Calcutta Review*, CLXVII, 258.

⁴ *Atiareya Brāhmana*, I, Introduction, 9.

chanters of the Rik verses, and the Adhvaryus, or manual labourers and sacred cooks must have been at an early date, certainly not posterior to the collection of the Mantras, and the dicta of the Brāhman priests into separate works.

2. But, as Dr. Muir goes on to say :¹—"Though towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood probably became a profession, the texts do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste or at least a caste separated from of all others by insurmountable barriers as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession and even a hereditary order in caste in the fully developed Brāhmanical sense. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood, even if we admit its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families, may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen." This theory, then, that even the Brāhmins themselves are probably of mixed origin, and that the caste, as we find it now, is in a great measure occupational in origin, goes to the very root of the Brāhmanical caste system of modern India, and deserves to be established by some examples from the immense mass of evidence which might be adduced in support of it.

3. In the first place it may be noted that under the general
 Composite origin of
 Brāhmins. head of Brāhman are included various classes which are almost generally admitted to be of distinct origin, such are the Mahābrāhman or funeral priest who on account of his functions, is detested by all Hindus who pretend to purity; the various kinds of beggars and astrologers, such as the Joshi, Dakaut, and his brethren, and the Ojha or devil priest, who is almost certainly the Baiga or ghost-finder of the Dravidian races, who has been imported into Hinduism. Next, the supposition that the early so-called Brāhmins were strictly endogamous, is contradicted by much evidence. Dr. Muir² on the evidence of the early texts shows that they not only intermarried with women of their own order or even with women who had previously remained single, but were in the habit of forming connections with the widows of Rajanyas or Vaisyas, if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were still alive.

¹ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; 283, sq.

² *Ibid.*, I, 282, sq.

4. Secondly, we have a mass of facts pointing to the creation of certain classes of Brāhman in comparatively modern times. Thus in Partābgarh¹ there is a current legend that the celebrated Oudh chieftain, Mānik Chand, created Brāhman wholesale out of various Kurmis, Ahirs, and Bhars. A similar case occurred in Fatehpur.² In Unāo, again, a story is told of Rāja Tilok Chand, that one day while hunting he was very thirsty, and having no attendant he asked a Lodha, who was present there, to fetch him some water, which he brought in his own drinking vessel. The Rāja after drinking the water discovered that the owner of the vessel was a low caste man, so he asked him to call himself a Brāhman under the title of Pāthak of Amtara, as he was watching the mango (*ām*) trees. This title still remains with his descendants, who are acknowledged as Brāhman.³ Sir J. Malcolm⁴ in Central India found many low caste female slaves in Brāhman houses, the owners of which had treated them as belonging to their own caste. Under the head of *Dusādī* a reference has been made to the curious Bihār story of the clever Dusādī girl who married a Brāhman.⁵

5. Thirdly, this intermixture of castes comes out very clearly in the earlier legends of the race. Thus we find that the Angirasas, or sons of Angira, were Brāhman as well as Kshatriyas. So the descendants of Garga, although Kshatriyas by birth, became Brāhman.⁶ In the Mahābhārata Bhīma is married by his brother Yudhishtira to the Asura woman Hidimbi, and the marriage rites were regularly performed, and Draupadī, a Kshatriya girl, accepts as a husband in the Swayamvara Arjuna, who pretends to be a Brāhman.⁷ According to a passage in the Mahābhārata⁸ all castes become Brāhman when once they have crossed the Gomati on a visit to the hermitage of Vasistha. The Brāhman Drona acts the part of a Kshatriya in the great war. Kakshivat was the son of Dirghatamas by Usij, a female servant of the Queen of the Kalinga Rāja, whom her husband had desired to submit to the embraces of the sage in order that he might beget a son. The Queen substituted her bondmaid Usij. The sage, cognisant of the deception, consecrated Usij, and begot by her a son named Kakshivat, who

¹ *Settlement Report*, 117.

² *North-West Provinces Gazetteer* VIII, Part III, 49; VI, 351, sq.

³ *Oudh Gazetteer*, I, 305, 365; III, 229.

⁴ *Central India*, II, 201.

⁵ Vol. II.

⁶ *Archæological Reports*, VIII, 102, sqq.

⁷ Wilson, *Vishnu Purāna*, 859.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 451.

⁹ III, 8, 26

through his affiliation to the Rāja was a Kshatriya ; but as the son of Dirghatama was a Brāhman.¹ So Visvāmitra, a Kshatriya, by the force of his austerities, compelled Brahma to admit him into the Brāhmanical order in order that he might be on a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarrelled.² Even up to the time that Vasishtha wrote the legality of a twice-born man marrying a Sūdra woman seems to have been at least arguable.³ Numerous instances of similar mutability of caste in comparatively modern times might easily be given.⁴

6. The legends throw little light on the origin of Brāhmans as a caste except to establish the substantial unity of the Aryan peoples. By one account the Brāhman was produced from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisya from his thigh, and the Sūdra from his foot. In the Purusha Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda the primæval man is hewed by the gods into four parts, which form the four great divisions of the race. A later legend bases the division on purely moral grounds, and degraded those Brahmans who gave themselves up to anger and pride into Kshatriyas ; those who lived by agriculture and flock tending, the yellow Vaisyas ; and those who gave way to lying and immorality, the black Sūdras.

7. The usual division of Brāhmans is into ten great orders. First the five Drāvidas south of the Vindhyan range, consisting of the Mahārāshtras who dwell in the country where Marāṭhi is spoken, the Andras or Tailangas of the Telegu country ; the Karnātas of the Canarese country ; and the Gujjaras of Gurjarāshtra or Gujarāt. Secondly, the five Gauda or Gaur, north of the Vindhya, consisting of the Sarasvatas, who take their name from the Sarasvati river ; the Kanyakubjas or Kunaujiyas, from Kanayakubja or Kanauj ; the Gaudas or Gauras who are said to take their name either from Gaur in Bengal or Gonda in Oudh ; the Utkalas of Orissa, and the Maithilas of Mithula, the modern Bihār and its neighbourhood.

8. At the last Census the Brāhmans of these Provinces were recorded under twenty-one main sub-castes,—Bangālī, Chāubē,

¹ Wilson, *Rig Veda*, I, 42, note.

² *Ibid.*, II, 339.

³ Bühler, *Books of the East*, II, 6.

⁴ Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 58, sq. ; Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, II, 286.

Drāvira, Gangaputra, Gaur, Gujarāṭi, Jhujhautiya, Kansujiya, Karnātak, Kāshmiri, Khandelwāl, Maharāshṭri, Maithila, Ojha, Palliwāl, Sakaldīpi, Sanādh, Saraswata, Sauriariya, and Utkal. Besides these divisions, which are in a large degree territorial, there are others, such as Achārya, Hotri, etc., which are occupational. The Brāhmanic sub-castes will, for the sake of convenience, be discussed in separate articles. The complete lists give no less than nine hundred and two Brāhmanical divisions, but here tribes and *gotras* are inextricably compounded.

9 Among the sub-divisions of local importance, we find in Dehra Dūn the Gangāri; in Muzaffainagar, the Achārya, Dakaut, and Taga; in Meerut, the Achārya, Bohra, Chaurasiya, Dakaut, Dasa, and Gautam; in Aligarh, the Abhinashi, Agnihotri, Baiwāna, Gautam, Parāsara, Pathak, and Upādhyā, in Mathura, the Gautam and Nāgar; in Agra, the Chaurasiya and Gautam; in Farrukhābād, the Mahābrāhman; in Etah, the Diclūt, Gautam, Rajauriya, and Upādhyā; in Budāun, the Parāsara, Pathak, Tiwāri, and Upādhyā; in Morādābād, the Gautam and Mahābrāhman; in Hamīrpur, the Bhagorē and Sanaurluiya; in Allahābad, the Mālavi and Rāthi; in Jhānsi, the Bhagorē, Dakkhni, Karāri, and Sagarmodi; in Jalaun, the Aiwāsi; in Lāhnpur, the Bhagor and Singnekh or Singnishi; in Benares, the Audch, Bhāradwāja, Nāgar, and Vedi; in Mirzapur, the Sāndil; in Jaunpur, the Kantil and Rajbhāt; in Ghāzipur, the Bhāradwāja, Chhatri, Gautam, Pachhaiyān, Parāsaragotia, Sāndil, Vedi, and Yajurvedi; in Ballia, the Gautam; in Basti, the Sāndil; in Bahānich, the Belwāri; and in the Hills, the Bais, Bhal, Bhāt, Gangāri, Joshi, Khas, Lakhpāl, Lohri, Pāmē, Panth, Pāthak, Sarola, Tripāthi, Tiwāri, Upādhyā, Upetri. Of many of these some account will be found in other articles.

10 The great sub-castes already named are for the most part endogamous, but the rule appears to be occasionally relaxed when the scantiness of brides in the small local group is an obstacle to marriage. Thus there seems to be no doubt that in parts of the country at least the Gaur and Saraswata sub-castes intermarry. According to Manu persons are forbidden to marry who stand in the relationship of *sapindas*, that is, who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the mother, and seven on that of the father. The person himself constitutes one of these degrees, that is to say, two persons stand to each other in the *sapinda* relationship if their common

ancestor, being a male, is not further removed from either of them than six degrees, or four degrees when the common ancestor is a female. This rule reinforces the principle that the *gotra* is an exogamous unit. It is needless to say that this *gotra* system has been developed to an extraordinary extent, and they have become so numerous that it is practically impossible to procure any well established list of the *gotras* of any of the chief tribes. The word *gotra* means primarily a "cow-pen," and has hence been extended to the descendants of a common ancestor. Most of them are what has been called eponyms, that is to say, they claim to be descended from and to derive their names from some Rishi, or saint, who is supposed to have been their first ancestor. All the Brāhmanical *gotras* have eight great ancestors only—Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bhairadwāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kasyapa, and Agastya.¹ These occupy with the Brāhmans about the same position as the twelve sons of Jacob with the Jews, and only he whose descent from one of these great Rishis was beyond doubt could become the founder of a *gotra*. The Brāhmanical system of *gotras* has, again, by a fiction been extended to other tribes, such as the Rājput, Banya, Khatri, or Kāvasth, but among them the institution is exotic, and naturally much less vigorous than among the tribe from whom it was derived.

11. There is again another Brāhmanical division, that of the *charana* or *sākha* and the *pravara*. The *sākha* or *charana* is usually applied to the body of persons who follow one of the various schools of Vedic teaching, which are said to be as many as 1,130, of which there are 1,000 for the Sama Veda, 100 for the Yajur Veda, 21 for the Rig Veda, and 9 for the Atharva Veda. The institution of the *pravara* is, again, purely religious. The *pravara* or *arsheya*, which are generally regarded as synonymous terms are those sacrificial fires which several *gotras* had in common. It was left to their own choice to which they wished to repair.

12. Under the articles dealing with the separate Brāhmanical tribes an account of some of the domestic ceremonies has been given. A few points may here be noticed, principally derived from the customs of the Sarwariya Brāhmans of the Eastern Districts of the Province.

¹ Haug, *Actareya Brāhmanam*, II, 479.

13. What is commonly known as the *rajodarsan* (*rajas*, "pollution," *darsana*, "seeing") is the time during

The *Rajodarsan* :
 . . . *garbhadāna*. which women remain impure for four days

after the menstrual period, and while in this state do not touch the drinking water or cook for the household. This is, it is hardly necessary to say, consistent with the common practice of the most primitive tribes.¹ The pollution is removed by the *rajasnān* or ceremonial bathing on the fourth day. Immediately on marriage follows the "impregnation rite," *garbhadāna*. In ancient times no bridegroom approached the bride till the fourth night after the completion of the marriage ceremony. This interval is prescribed by Gobhila. The present interval of two, three, or four years in the case of child-marriages is quite unsupported by the authority of ancient lawyers. Dhanavantari (in the *Sūśruta*) declares that the *Garbhadāna* should not take place till a girl is sixteen. Dr. Bühler has shown from the *Vivaha Mantras* that, in olden times girls were married long after they had reached the age of puberty, and infant marriages were unknown; moreover that the human husband is the fourth husband, the three gods, Soma, Visvavasu, and Agni, being the first three at the period of a girl's becoming marriageable. As it should take place on the fourth day, the consummation rite was sometimes called *Chaturthi karma*.² During the previous day the young married woman was made to look towards the sun, or in some way exposed to the rays. In the evening she was required to bathe. Her husband also performed his ablution and went through other prescribed forms. Before approaching his wife he was careful to secure the solemn imprimatur of religion on an act which might lead to the introduction of another human being into the world. He therefore repeated two *mantras* or texts of the *Rig Veda* (X, 184), the first of which may be thus translated,—“Let (all-pervading) Vishnu prepare her womb; let the Creator shape its forms; let Prajapati be the Impregnator; let the Creator give the embryo.”³ At present, in Bengal, the girl is subjected to a period of isolation which exactly corresponds to that described by Mr. Frazer in the case of various primitive races, the idea being that at this period of her life dangerous influences emanate from the girl which it is necessary to counteract. In Upper

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 293, seq.

² Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 353.

India the rite appears to consist in the worship of the *kula devata* or family god, and if the head of the family is rich or illiterate, a Brāhman is employed to read the Durgapātha or songs in honour of the goddess Durga. This rite is intended to obviate the danger of a miscarriage.

14. Next follows, in the sixth month of pregnancy, the *śimanta* *pūṇa savana*, or the rite of male production, done with the object of securing a male heir, the desire of every Hindu mother. The expectant mother is bathed, dressed in red clothes which are sent from her father's house, and some fruit, the emblem of prolificacy, is placed in her lap. She then goes to the family shrine and worships the household god.

15. When the child is born, and before the cord is cut, the head of the family does the *nandimukh śrāddha*. He lays some *kusa* grass on the ground and offers a *pinda* over it. After this the cord is cut and it is buried in the room in which the delivery took place. Over it a fire (*pasanghi*) is lighted, and wood of the *tendu* tree is burnt. For twelve days the lamp is fed with *nīm* oil. During this time the mother is fed with cakes (*pūri*, *halwa*), caudle (*achhwāni*), and ginger (*sonth*). Bread and pulse cannot be given to her, because during the period of pollution only substances cooked with ghi, milk, or parched gram, can be taken from the family cookhouse. The members of the family are impure for twelve days after a confinement in the house; during this time no Deota can be worshipped, nor can any one drink water from their hands. After the sixth day the Chamār midwife is dismissed, the mother and child are bathed, and after that the Nāin or barber's wife attends on her. But it is not absolutely necessary that this rite should take place on the sixth day in case the omens are adverse. In that case it is postponed for one or two days. At this rite one of the women of the house waves some barley in a sieve or basket over the mother and child, and this grain is given to the midwife. If the first child die, the next born is usually put in a sieve, or it is weighed in a scale against barley, which is given to the midwife. The general rule appears to be that if a child die within six days after birth the corpse is buried; if it die between that time and the investiture with the sacred cord (*janeu*) it is thrown into a river (*jal pravāh*); after investiture the dead are cremated. The corpses of girls up to

the age of seven are thrown into running water ; if over that age or married they are cremated.

16. On the twelfth day after birth is the *barahi*, when the mother and child are bathed and the baby is shown to its male relations, who are expected to put a money present in its hand. The maternal grandmother sends a yellow sheet (*pīari dhōti*) for the mother, and for the child a little coat (*jhola*), and a cap (*topi*). On that day all the women friends collect and have their nails cut, while a barber woman rubs them with a mixture of oil and turmeric (*ubtan*). If the baby be a boy, the lady friends give the wife's mother, or in her absence the father, two annas each ; in the case of a girl, the contribution is half that amount. This is known as "the nail cutting" (*nakh katiya, nakh tarāshi*). A list of these donations is made at the time, so that the receiver may reciprocate them when a similar occasion occurs in the family of the donor. The women also give a pice or two to the barber's wife, who does the anointing. All the women then sit down and sing the birth song (*sohar, Sans : sobha*). This is the only song (*rāg*) which can be sung at any time of the day ; for the others appropriate times are fixed.

17. If the child be born in the asterism of Mūla, the *mūla sānti* rite is performed to obviate the ill-luck attaching to this period. In this case the woman and child are kept in the delivery room for twenty-seven days from the date of birth, and during that period the father is not allowed to see the face of the baby ; he is also not allowed to shave or change his clothes. There are two kinds of the Mūla asterism, "the light" (*halka, lāg*) ; the other "heavy" (*bhāri, drish*). If the birth occur in the latter, he must not see his child for twelve years, and in that interval can neither shave nor change his clothes. Many persons, under such unfortunate circumstances, become Jogis. On the day of the *mūla sānti* rite everything follows the number twenty-seven, the number of the asterisms (*Nakshatra*) ; water is drawn from twenty-seven wells, the wood of twenty-seven varieties of trees, sieves made with twenty-seven kinds of knots, blankets of twenty-seven breadths, earth from both banks of the Ganges, clay that has been pressed by the foot of a horse or elephant, and from the King's gateway, which at Chunār is the main gate of the fort, are collected. The child's father bathes and goes into the courtyard. There a barber woman makes a square of

flour, and in it places a stool for him to sit on. Near him is placed a jar (*kalsa*) filled with Ganges water. The Purobit or family priest then worships Gauri and Ganesa. The earth and blankets are put into the sieves and laid on the father's head, while over him is poured the water drawn from twenty-seven wells. After this the barber's wife receives the blankets as her perquisite, and a small money present. This done, the father is considered pure, and he is allowed to come out, shave, and bathe. Then he returns to the square, where he worships a small brass or gold image of Vishnu. Near him is placed a brass saucer (*kalori*) which is filled with ghi from a black cow. The ghi is melted until it becomes quite thin. The saucer is placed before the father, who keeps his eyes fixed upon it. The mother comes up from behind with the child in her arms, and she holds the baby so that the father may see its image reflected in the ghi. After this the child is seated in his lap, and he makes it a present in money. In case the child is born in Mûl, the twelfth day rite is postponed, and carried out with the observance on the twenty seventh day. The ceremony ends with the feeding of twenty-seven Brāhmanas, and the presenting of gifts to the friends and relatives who have attended the ceremony.

In the families of learned Brāhmanas, such as Panditas, when the child is two months old it is dressed in
Dolārohana. a new cap and coat and placed in a swing (*hindola*). Up to that time it remains on a bed. This rite is known as *dola rohana*. On that day the family god is worshipped, and rich food (*pūri, bakhr*) is cooked for the household.

19. Pandits have also another rite known as "the bringing out," *vahir nisarana*. The usual custom
Vāhir nisarana. is that the child is not brought out of the house until "the grain feeding," *annoprāsana*. But if it is desired to bring the child out before it is fed on grain, he performs this rite. The baby is dressed in a new coat and cap of blue cloth, the colour of the sky. These clothes are first dedicated at the house shrine (*diuhari*), and then the child's forehead is marked with lamp-black (*kājal*) and a necklace of holy seeds (*bajarballa*) and tiger's claws (*baghnaka*) tied round its throat. All these are devices to repel the Evil Eye. It is then brought out; but as an additional precaution a black piece of cloth, a colour which frightens evil spirits, is hung round its neck, or at any rate the coat

is bound with black braid. In former times this bringing of the child into the open air was known as the *nishkramana*.

20. According to the early ritual the "food-giving" rite or *annaprāsana* was performed in the sixth month after birth. "The child was carried

The *Annaprāsana*.
in the arms of its father and placed in the midst of a party of friends, including the family priest, who offered prayers for its welfare and presented it gifts. A little food (generally rice) was then for the first time placed in its mouth, and various qualities were supposed to be imparted, according to the nature of the food given, whether rice, butter, honey, milk, or the flesh of partridges or goats."¹ Now-a-days in the sixth month a lucky day is selected. Rich food (*puri*, *baklir*) is cooked; the waist string of some old member of the family is broken and tied round the waist of the baby to ensure its long life. Then a tray containing rich food is laid before the oldest man in the family. He takes a little out, and after making a holy circle round it with water, offers it to Vishnu. The reason of this is that there was once a foolish Brāhman whose children used to die one after the other, so he made a vow that if his child lived, he would eat its ordure. The child did live, and he was fain to avoid performing his rash vow; so he went to a learned Pandit at Benares, who directed him to take out a little of his food that day in this manner, and so his vow would be satisfied. Hence Brāhmans before eating always take out a little food in this way, and offer it to the Thākur. After this has been done the old man before whom the food has been placed takes up a little of the food on one of the silver coins of the ancient kings or on a gold mohur of the Emperor Akbar, and puts it into the child's mouth. No English coin will answer the purpose. After this, if the family can afford it, a few Brāhmans are fed. If they are poor they consume the food which has been prepared for the rite, and give a Brāhman some raw grain. Until the *annaprāsana* is done the child is never left alone lest the witch Jambua, who is really the impersonation of the infant lock-jaw, which is so fatal to children owing to the cutting of the cord with a blunt instrument and the neglect of all antiseptic treatment, should carry off the baby. Hence a woman or child is always left in charge. As an additional precaution, they also place near the bed an iron

¹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 353.

lamp-black box (*kajrauta*), and anoint the child four or five times with a mixture of oil and turmeric (*uḍḍan*) in the belief that as it is rubbed its strength will increase.

21. In the fifth year the rites of head-shaving (*mūnran*) and ear-piercing (*kanchhedan*) are performed.

The Mūnran and
kanchhedan.

The regular ritual prescribes that the tonsure, shaving and cutting off the hair should be done separately. They were known as *chaula*, *chūḷakarma*, *kesanta*, and *lahaur*. "When performed for the first time they were held to have a purificatory effect on the whole character. In the case of a Brāhman the ceremony of tonsure was performed in the third year, but was often delayed, and sometimes did not take place till the seventh or eighth year. According to Asvalayana the child was to be placed on the lap of its mother to the west of the sacred fire. The father was to take up his station to the south of the mother, holding in his hands twenty-one stalks of *kusa* grass. He was to sprinkle the head of the child three times with a mixture of warm water, butter, and curds. He was to insert three stalks of *kusa* grass into the child's hair on the right side saying,—'O divine grass! protect him.' Then he was to cut off a portion of the hair and give it to the mother with the recitation of various texts, leaving one lock (*sikha*, *chūḍa*) on the top of the head, or occasionally three or five locks, according to the custom of the family."¹ At present it is usual for the Eastern Brāhmans to have this rite performed at some shrine, such as that of Devi of Bindhāchal. For three days before the shaving rite a song is sung in honour of Devi, and many Brāhmans who have lost children, vow that if the life of the last is spared, the mother will carry the whole way to the shrine a clay pot (*bursi*) full of fire, and will eat nothing on the road but parched grain. When they reach the courtyard of Devi's temple, they place the fire pot before the Panda, whose parishioners they may happen to be. Next day, after bathing the child in the Ganges, the parents take it to the temple, and the Panda instructs them how to perform the usual circumambulation (*parikrama*). After this the baby is seated in its father's lap near the shrine, and a barber shaves its head. A few sweets (*laddu*) are given to the child, and then a Sunār comes up from behind and pierces both its ears. They take home with them a striped handkerchief (*chundars*) which

¹ Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 359.

they tie round their necks for good luck, and some sweetmeats, which they distribute among their friends as the holy food (*prasād*) of the goddess.

22. The rites of childhood close usually with the Pāthana or commencement of learning. A lucky day is selected, and with earth and water from the

The Pāthana rite.

Ganges a little platform (*chavātra*) is made. When it is ready some dry earth is sprinkled over it. Below the platform the child is seated facing east, while the family priest faces west. Ganesa, the deity of good luck, is first worshipped. Then a cowry shell is placed on the platform and worshipped. Next the priest puts the shell in the boy's hand and makes him write with it five times the words *Sri Ganesa namah*. This he has to obliterate with his right hand. Some Brāhmanas are fed if the family can afford it; and from that day the boy's education begins.

23. After this comes the important rite of initiation known as

The Upanayana rite.

upanayana. A Brāhman should be initiated when he comes to be eight years old, dating from the time of conception. A time should be selected when the stars are auspicious, and it should not be performed in the evening or during a thunder-storm. First of all a shed (*mānro*) is erected with bamboo supports. In the centre a ploughshare is placed, and near it a jar (*kaśa*) filled with water. Under the thatch a square (*chauk*) is marked out with flour, and on this two leaf mats (*palari*) are laid, and under them some grains of barley are sprinkled. On these mats the parents of the boy sit with the corners of their garments knotted together and facing the east. The father wears a yellow loin-cloth, and has a handkerchief (*angachha*) over his left shoulder. The mother wears a yellow sari. Then the officiating Purohit places in the father's right hand some holy rice (*achhat*) and flowers, repeating at the same time some texts and directing him to pour the contents of his hand on the ground. Next the Purohit puts some gold or copper coins in his hands, and reads the *saukalpa* or formula of dedication. Then he invokes Dharitri Mātā or Mother Earth, and the father puts the money on the ground, which he touches reverently. He then sprinkles the earth with water from a bunch of *kusa* grass, and offers Malayagiri or Malabar sandal-wood and incense to Mother Earth. Then Ganesa is worshipped in the form of a representation of an elephant which is made on the water jar (*kaśa*). The picture is drawn with red

lead or turmeric. Then an image of Gauri is made of cow-dung and placed near the water jar. Some make seven images of cow-dung to represent Gauri and her sisters.

24. Next the jar is filled with water by the father of the boy, and over the mouth is placed a saucer containing some of the sacred grains, the *sāwān* millet, unhusked rice or barley. This is followed by the worship of the nine planets (*nannagṛaha*). To the north-east of the jar is made an altar (*vedi*), and on it a square is marked out with flour, in which images of the planets are made in various ways. That of the Sun is made of flour; Mangal or Mars of red lead; that of the Moon of rice-flour; that of Viṇhaspati or Jupiter of turmeric; that of Budha or Mercury of turmeric; that of Venus or Sukra of rice-flour; that of Sanischara or Saturn and Rāhu and Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes, of *śiśi* or sesamum. Then with the recital of appropriate texts offerings are made to each,—to the Sun, a cow, copper, wheat, red sandal, and red cloth; to the Moon, a conch shell, Malabar sandal, white cloth, a white cow, and rice; to Mangal, a red ox, red cloth, copper, treacle, and rice; to Budha, camphor, *mūṅg* pulse, green cloth, a black cow, and gold; to Viṇhaspati, a yellow cow, yellow cloth, gram, and turmeric; to Sukra, Malabar sandal, white cloth, rice, and a white horse; to Sanischara, oil, sesamum, black cloth, a black cow, and iron; to Rāhu, a buffalo, or goat, a blanket, cotton and its seed, *urad* pulse, and sesamum; to Ketu, cloth of various colours, grain, iron, sesamum, and *urad* pulse.

25. All these offerings, except those made to the last three deities, are taken by ordinary Brāhmanas; those to Sanischara by the Bhandariya or Dakaut.

26. When the offerings are complete, the parents are dismissed, and the boy who desires initiation is called. All his hair is shaved, and he is invested with a waist-string (*kardhana*) of *mūṅg* fibre, a small loin cloth (*topi*), and he is given a *dand* or bamboo stick, to the end of which is tied a cloth containing some rice and pulse. This signifies that he has adopted the role of the Sannyāsi. The Purohit repeats texts, and five other Brāhmanas sprinkle the eight parts of his body with a mixture of rice and turmeric. Then another square is made, and seven lamps and twigs of mango are tied together and placed within it. Beside them are laid seven images of Gauri made of cow-dung, and he worships the lights and the images of the goddess. Next he worships the water jar, and

goes to the house door, on each side of which seven images of Gauri are made. These he worships with an offering of cakes (*pūrs*), red lead, sacred grass, incense, lamps and *naivedya* or a mixture of treacle, curds, ghi, honey, and water. After this he returns to the house, and in the inner room (*koḥabar*) worships ten images of Gauri in the same way. Next he pours ghi on the images of all the deities whom he has up to this time worshipped. Then his parents are recalled, the corners of their garments are knotted together, and they are made to sit in a square facing the south. All the ancestors are invited to appear and sit on leaf mats placed close by for their reception. When their spirits are supposed to have taken their places, some rice, *ber* fruit, treacle, ghi, honey, and sesamum are mixed together and formed into a lump. This is offered to the sainted dead, and afterwards placed in the shed. Again the parents are dismissed, and the boy is called in. Eight Brāhman are called in and fed on *pakki* under the shed. The boy sits in the midst of them, and each Brāhman gives him a morsel of his food, which he eats. On this occasion the boy is not allowed to eat salt. When the meal is finished, the floor is again plastered.

27. Next three altars are made in the shed. Each altar should be the length of the distance of the point of the thumb from that of the ring finger. The father entrusts his son to a priest of the Achārya grade, and humbly requests him to instruct the lad and make him a full Brāhman. The Achārya signifies his consent by taking the boy by the arm, and the lad has to make an offering of eight Brāhmanical threads (*janeū*). One is offered to the sacred water jar, one to Ganesa, five to five Brāhman, and one the lad keeps himself. Further, the lad presents a full suit of clothes to the Purohit, Guru and Achārya, and one to another Brāhman, who is regarded as the representation of Brahma. Then beginning from the north-east he spreads *kusa* grass evenly on the three altars, and the Achārya calls for fire, which is brought in a vessel made of bell metal (*lāṇsa*). Upon this is heaped up wood of the *madār* (*asclepias gigantea*) *palāsa* (*butea frondosa*), *khair* (*acacia catechu*) *chirchir* (*aclyranthus aspera*), *pīpal*, *gūlar*, *sami*, and some *dūb* grass. This collection of wood is technically known as *samiḍh*. When this is ready the lad makes a present to the Brāhman who represents Brahma, and asks him to watch over the sacrifice and prevent any interruption of it. Then the Achārya repeats the appropriate text one hundred and eight times, and all the time keeps

pouring *ghī* on the wood. This oblation of *ghī* is known as *ahuti*, and is done with a leaf or twig of mango. Pieces of dry cow-dung (*goitha*) and three sticks of *palāsa* wood are also thrown on the fire, and so with all the *kusa* grass which had been spread on the altars. On the top are placed some betel and coconuts. On this five Brāhmans hold a Brāhmanical thread and invest the lad with it, repeating the appropriate text.

28. After this the lad is bathed with water from eight jars, and he puts on another sacred thread. He is dressed in yellow garments and golden ornaments and wears wooden sandals (*kharauṇ*) stained with turmeric. He next begs from all present.

29. He then runs out in the guise of a Brahmachāri with the object of attaining religious knowledge, and is dissuaded by his parents from adopting the life of a recluse. When he consents to return the women of the house put treacle and washed rice in his hands, and kiss the eight parts of his body. The deities and sainted ancestors who have graced the rite with their presence are humbly requested to return to their own abodes, and the rite is complete.

30. The ceremony, though disguised by an elaborate Brāhmanical ritual, is obviously based on the same general principles of which an elaborate account, derived from the usages of various primitive races, has been given by Mr. Frazer.¹

31. Some account of the other domestic ceremonies of Brāhmans
 Other domestic ceremonies. has been given in connection with the Brāhmanical rites, and need not be repeated here.

32. The religious functions of the Brāhman are various. If the
 The functions of the Brāhmans word is, as Professor Schrader² suggests, philologically the same as the Flamen of

Rome, we have a link with the religious practices of two branches of the great Aryan race. We have first, the Upādhyāya or Pādha, who is the officiating priest, with whom may be classed the Achārya, Hotri, and similar functionaries whose business it is to superintend the more elaborate and mysterious rites of the faith which can be performed by none but those deeply conversant with the Vedic ritual. Next comes the Parohit or Purohit, "one placed in front," the *prepositus* or *praeses* of the Roman world. The institu-

¹ *Golden Bough*, II, 342, sqq.

² *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 416, 420.

tion of the Purohita, who was not only a mere house priest, but a political functionary, goes back to the early Aryan times. In Vedic times he was regarded as a confidential and virtuous minister of state; but by the time of Manu¹ he had fallen to a lower status, and was regarded as inferior to other Brāhmans. His duties consist in superintending the domestic rites at birth, initiation, and marriage. He must be acquainted with the appropriate *mantras* or texts which are used on these occasions, and he generally knows a modicum of astrology (*jyotiṣhā*) by which he is enabled to cast horoscopes and announce the lucky and unlucky days for the performance of the various family rites, the commencement of agricultural operations, and the like. The ordinary village Purohit is, it is hardly necessary to say, very seldom proficient in Sanskrit or religious learning. He is able to mumble a few texts without understanding them; but he rarely makes any attempt to inculcate morality or improve the lives of his parishioners. This duty, so far as it is done at all, he leaves to the Guru, who may or may not be a Brāhman. The lowest class of semi-religious Brahman is that which, as Mr. Ibbetson² says, "exist only to be fed. They consist of the younger members of the Purohit families, and of Brāhmans who have settled as cultivators or otherwise in villages where they have no hereditary clients. These men are always ready to tender their services as recipients of a dinner, thus enabling the peasant to entertain the desired number of Brāhmans on occasions of rejoicing, as a propitiatory offering, in token of thanksgiving, for the repose of his deceased father's spirit, and so forth. The veneration for Brahmins runs through the whole social as well as religious life of the Hindu peasant, and takes the practical form of either offerings or food. No child is born, named, betrothed, or married; nobody dies or is burnt; no journey is undertaken or auspicious day selected; no house is built, no agricultural operation of importance begun, or harvest gathered in, without the Brāhmans being fed; a portion of the produce is set apart for their use; they are consulted in sickness and in health; they are feasted in sorrow and in joy; and though I believe them to possess but little real influence with the people, a considerable portion of the wealth of the Province is diverted into their useless pockets." This is pretty much the state of the

¹ XII, 46, and see Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 123, note.

² *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 286.

Bráhmans further east. As Mr. Sherring¹ says of the Benares Bráhmán :—" Light in complexion in comparison with the rest of the people, frequently tall in stature, with the marks of a clear penetrating intelligence depicted plainly, and sometimes in a striking manner, upon his countenance, erect, proud, self-conscious, the Bráhmán walks along with the air of a man unlike any I have ever seen, in which self-sufficiency, a sense of superiority and a conviction of inherent purity and sanctity are combined."

33. Besides these sacerdotal Bráhmans there are, it is needless to say, numbers who have no religious functions whatever, who serve as soldiers or messengers, clerks in our offices, and the like. There is also a large body of Bráhmán agriculturists, though most of them will not themselves touch the plough.

Distribution of Bráhmans according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT	Number.
Dehra Dun	15,027
Sahāranpur	44,250
Muzaffarnagar	41,427
Meerut	108,071
Bulandshahr	92,000
Aligarh	131,798
Mathura	113,936
Agra	122,636
Farrukhābād	78,220
Mainpuri	56,301
Etāwah	91,019
Etah	53,313
Bareilly	47,086

¹ *Sacred city of the Hindus, 14.*

Distribution of Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICT	Number.
Bijnor	27,118
Pudann	57,002
Morâdâbâd	43,578
Shâhjahânpur	60,453
Pilibhit	25,147
Cawnpur	178,399
Fatehpur	68,180
Bânda	99,041
Hanâmpur	49,570
Alahâbâd	196,349
Jhânsi	34,633
Jâlaun	48,269
Lalitpur	21,745
Benares	102,978
Mirzapur	165,885
Jaunpur	150,908
Ghâzipur	68,379
Bâlîa	103,547
Gorikhpur	265,550
Basti	196,412
Azamgarh	110,103
Kumaun	134,841
Garhwâl	97,581
Târâi	6,705
Lucknow	41,414
Unâo	122,056
Râo Bareilly	108,676

Distribution of Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICT.						Number.
Sitāpur	.	.	.	.	.	103,850
Hardoi	.	.	.	.	.	113,190
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	69,654
Faizābād	.	.	.	.	.	139,637
Gonda	.	.	.	.	.	230,507
Bharāich	.	.	.	.	.	87,481
Sultānpur	.	.	.	.	.	102,509
Partābgarh	.	.	.	.	.	124,424
Bārabanki	.	.	.	.	.	86,091
TOTAL						4,719,882
						<div> Males 2,455,791 Females 2,264,091 </div>

Brindabani.—A sub-caste of Guṣṭhins who take their name from Brindaban, in the Mathura District (*brindāvana*), "the grove of *tulasi*" or basil). It is not quite clear to which section of the Vaishnavas the term is applied. The relation of Brindaṇ to the modern school of Hindu reformers has been elaborately discussed by Mr. Growse.¹

Distribution of the Brindabani Guṣṭhins according to the Census of 1891

DISTRICT	Number	DISTRICT.	Number
Muzaffarnagar . .	2	Mirzapur . . .	24
Cawnpur . .	1	Kheri . . .	11
		TOTAL . .	38

¹ Mathura, 179 sqq

Bughāna.—A class of Hill Brāhmins who by one account are descended from Gaur Brāhmins of Benares ; others say, that they have the same origin as the Nāthāna Brāhmins (*q. v.*). They have the same relations with Sarolas and Gangāris, are intelligent, and, when educated, make useful clerks and officials.¹

Bundela.²—A sept of Rājputs almost entirely confined to the Bundelkhand country, to which they have given their name, now included in the Allahābād Division. According to the Muzapur tradition they are descended from a family of Gaharwār Rājputs, resident at the village of Gauna, near Bindhāchal. Of their ancestors one took service with the Rāja of Panna, an independent state between Banda and Jabalpur. The Rāja died childless, and the Gaharwār adventurer took possession of his fort. He had no son, and being disgusted with life, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Vindhyabāsinī Devi, at Bindhāchal, where he offered his head to the goddess. Out of the drops of his blood which fell upon the altar a boy was born, who was called Bundela, because he sprang from the drops (*būnd*) of blood. He returned to Panna and founded the clan which bears his name. In their own country they are known among themselves as Bundela, but by outsiders as Gaharwār. They do not marry among Baghels, Bais, Gaur, Umath, or Sengar Rājputs, who are known as the Sakuri group. They intermarry with Panwārs, Dhanderas, or Chauhāns. Mr. Sherring's assertion that they are endogamous is contradicted by them. The prohibitions against marriage are the loss of religion, residence among foreign peoples, disregard of tribal custom, and engaging in occupations practised by low caste people. The Bundelkhand branch represent themselves to be the descendants of Panham, Rāja of Benares. During the reign of Nasir-uddin Mahmūd, Emperor of Delhi, (1246-1266 A D.) Arjuna Pāla, a descendant of Rāja Panham, left Benares for Mahoni, and made that place his capital. One of his descendants became Rāja of Kudār ; his name was Saho Pāl and his descendant founded Orchha, and thence his descendants spread over Bundelkhand.

2. The stages in the marriage ceremony are—

Marriage.

1st.—*Phaldān*, the betrothal, when the family priest of the bride's family gives the

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 270

² Partly based on a note by Diwan Brij Bahādur Singh of Lalitpur
Vol. II.