

bridegroom a sacred thread (*janæu*), some rupees, cloth, and a betel-nut, in the presence of the elders of his family. The money is distributed as alms among the Brâhmanas.

2nd.—*Lagan patrika*, or the fixing of the date for the marriage.

3rd.—*Paurpatsakâr*, the reception of the party (*bârâl*) of the bridegroom at the door of the bride's house.

4th.—*Charhau*, offering of ornaments by the relatives of the bride to the bridegroom.

5th.—*Suhâq*, the rubbing of red lead by the bridegroom on the parting of the bride's hair.

6th.—*Kanyâdân*, the giving away of the bride to her husband by her father.

7th.—*Panigrahana*, the holding of the bride's right hand by the bridegroom as an indication that he promises to support her as long as she lives.

8th.—*Ahuti karna*, the making of the fire sacrifice.

9th.—*Parikrama*, the revolution of the pair round the sacred fire

10th.—*Dhruva sakshi karna*, the promise of the bridegroom, in the presence of fire, water, the sun, and other natural objects, that he will be faithful to her and she to him.

11th.—*Sayyadân*, the presenting of a bed to the married pair.

12th.—*Darja, dahuj*, or *jahæ dena*, the giving of the dowry. Women can be divorced for adultery, impurity, violation of tribal rules, and neither divorced women nor widows are allowed to remarry.

3. They belong to the Vaishnava sect, and are either Râmâwats or worshippers of Râdha Krishna. In all respects they follow the ceremonial usages of high class Hindus.

4. They believe their original profession to have been soldiering, and some of them serve in our Native regiments. They hold land as landlords and tenants. They will eat the flesh of goats, deer, wild pig, and fish; but those who abstain from meat are considered more respectable. Spirits are forbidden. They eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from the hands of Brâhmanas, and can eat *pakki* with Banyas and Khatris, by which is meant that they will eat with them on the same floor, but not from the same dish. They can drink water from the hands of Kahârs and Nâus. They smoke only out of a pipe used by their

clansmen. The Bundelas, on the whole, are a fairly respectable Rājput sept, but they are occasionally given to lawlessness, daccity, and similar crimes of violence.

5. In Jalaun they give brides to the Dhandhera and Panwār septs, from whom also they take wives. They profess to belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*. These Panwārs with whom they intermarry are the Rāj Panwārs or inferior grade in Bundelkhand.

*Distribution of Bundela Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT	Number	DISTRICT.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . . .	25	Allahābād . . . .	114
Mathura . . . .	1	Jhānsi . . . .	1,942
Agra . . . .	15	Jālaun . . . .	189
Farukhābād . . . .	58	Lalitpur . . . .	6,152
Etawah . . . .	6	Gorakhpur . . . .	2
Etah . . . .	4	Basti . . . .	96
Shahjāhānpur . . . .	29	Lucknow . . . .	2
Cawnpur . . . .	2	Faizābād . . . .	2
Fatehpur . . . .	43	Partābgarh . . . .	7
Hamīrpur . . . .	618		
		TOTAL . . . .	9,307

**Burhela.**—A sept of Rājputs in Râê Barch,<sup>1</sup> who are not separately entered in the Census Returns. Their sons marry girls from the Raghubansi and Bais septs; their girls marry Amethiya and with difficulty Bais boys.

## C

**Châi,<sup>1</sup> Châin, Châini.**—A cultivating, fishing, and thieving caste found in Oudh and the Eastern Districts. Nothing certain is known as to the origin of the name. It has been suggested that they are the representatives of the Chârya,<sup>2</sup> a degraded Vaisya class, or that the word is totemistic (meaning the seed of a tamarind; Sanskrit, *chârmika*, "leather"). Mr. Risley<sup>3</sup> writes of them :—"They are probably an offshoot from some non-Aryan tribe. They are found in Oudh, where Mr. Nesfield connects them with the Thârû, Râji, Nat, and other broken and gypsy-like tribes inhabiting the base of the Himâlayas, and traces in their physiognomy features peculiar to Mongolian races. Mr. Sherring, again, in one place speaks of them as a sub-caste of Mallâhs; in another as a class of jugglers, thimble-riggers, and adventurers, who attend fairs and other festivals like men of the same profession in England. A sub-caste of the Nuniyas bears the name Châin, but the Nuniyas do not admit any affinity. Mr. C. F. Magrath, in his Memorandum on the Tribes and Castes of Bihâr, published in the Bengal Census Report of 1872, says they closely resemble Binds in their occupation, being chiefly boatmen, who also engage in fishing. Châins are thickest south of the Ganges, while Binds are most numerous in North Bihâr. Mr. Magrath adds that their reputation as thieves, impostors, and swindlers, is in his experience not altogether deserved, as the men whom the common people, and even the police of Bihâr, describe as Châins, usually turn out on enquiry to be Maghaiya Doms, Nats, or Rajwârs." Their customs, according to Mr. Risley's account, do not differ from those of Mallâhs.

2. In Oudh, according to Mr. Carnegie,<sup>4</sup> they live chiefly by fishing, cultivation, and making reed mats. They smoke with but do not eat with Mallâhs. They frequent the neighbourhood of lakes and rivers, and are divided into the Eastern and Western branches, which do not intermarry.

<sup>1</sup> From enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Babu Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

<sup>2</sup> *Mann, Institutes*, X, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Tribes and Castes*, I, 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes*, 15.

In January they go to the hills to collect catechu (*khair*). They worship the monkey-god Mahâbîr, Satunârâyan, and Devi Pâtan; to the first they offer rice-milk (*khîr*) in October; to the second a mixture of cooked rice and vetch (*urad*), called *phâra*; to the third, cakes (*pûri*) and new rice, coriander, and molasses to Mahâbîr. They eat pork and drink spirits. A woman who sins with one of her own tribe may be absolved by feeding the brethren; but not so if her paramour is of another caste. They are thimble-riggers, ornament-snatchers, swindlers, and impostors. According to Mr. Risley they rank with Binds, Nuniyas, and Pâs s, but nowhere do they rise to the distinction which Binds and Nuniyas sometimes attain, of giving water and certain kinds of sweetmeats to Brâhmanas.

3. In Kheri the rule of exogamy bars the line of the maternal uncle and father's sister. They can marry two sisters in succession, but polygamy is forbidden. Infidelity, even intertribal, is reprobated. Marriage takes place at the age of ten or twelve, and is settled by the caste Chaudhari. No money is paid by the relations of either party. Widow-marriage is prohibited; but they can live with a man of the tribe, the phrase used being *ghar-baithna*. The children of such connections are recognised as legitimate, but they are not admitted to full caste privileges. The levirate on the usual terms is permitted. There is no custom of adoption or initiation into caste. Betrothals are made in infancy, and the marriage ceremony is of the standard type, the *bhanwari* or walking round the sacred fire being the binding portion of it. They worship Mahâdeva, Sûrajnârâyan, and Kâli, who receive sacrifices of goats and rams on a Monday. They will not take any food or water from, or smoke with, any other caste. They have given up their occupation of mat-making, and now live by fishing and thieving at fairs.

4. In the returns of the last Census they are classed as a sub-caste of Mallâh. The Châin is what is known as an Uchakka, Uthaigîra, or Jebkatra—one who picks pockets and cuts with a little knife or sharp piece of glass the knots in their sheets in which natives tie up their valuables. They frequent fairs and bathing places, and the boys are put on to steal, while the men act as "fences" and engage the attention of the victim, or facilitate the escape of the thief.





**Chamār.**<sup>1</sup>—The caste of carriers, tanners, and day-labourers found throughout Upper India. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit *charma-kāra*, a “worker in leather.” Traditionally the Chamār is the offspring of a Chandāla woman by a man of the fisherman caste. The Kārāvara of Manu,<sup>2</sup> “who cuts leather,” is descended from a Nishāda father and Vaideha mother. The Nishāda, again, is said to be the child of a Brāhman and a Sūdra woman, and the Vaideha of a Vaisya father and a Brāhman mother. On this Mr. Sherring<sup>3</sup> remarks:—“If the workers in leather of the present day are lineal descendants of the workers in leather in Manu’s time, the Chamārs may fairly consider themselves as of no mean degree and may hold up their heads boldly in the presence of the higher castes.” Mr. Sherring appears to have been impressed with the high-bred appearance of some Chamārs. This may, perhaps, be to some extent accounted for by *liaison* with some of the higher castes; but most observers will agree that Mr. Risley<sup>4</sup> is right in his opinion, that “the average Chamār is hardly distinguishable in point of features, stature, or complexion from the members of those non-Aryan races from whose ranks we should *prima facie* expect the profession of leather-dressers to be recruited.” Mr. Nesfield believes the Chamār to have sprung out of several different tribes, like the Dom, Kanjar, Hābhāra, Chero, etc., the last remains of which are still outside the pale of Hindu society. “Originally he seems to have been an impressed labourer (*begār*) who was made to hold the plough for his master, and received in return space to build his mud hut near the village, a fixed allowance of grain for every working day, the free use of wood and grass on the village lands, and the skins and bodies of the animals that died. This is very much the status of the Chamār at the present day. He is still the field slave, the grass-cutter, and the carrion-eater of the Indian village.” But it is, perhaps at present, until the existing evidence from anthropometry is largely increased, premature to express a decided opinion of their origin further than this, that the tribe is in all probability occupational, and largely recruited from non-Aryan elements. Among

<sup>1</sup> Principally based on enquiries at Mirzapur; an elaborate note by Bābu Vinhyaswari Prasad, Deputy Collector, Ballia, and notes by the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Agra, Bareilly, Budāun, Bijnor, Pandit Rāmavatar Pānṛ, Karwi, and the Deputy Commissioner, Saṭānpur.

<sup>2</sup> *Institutes*, X, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Hindu Tribes and Castes* I, 302.

<sup>4</sup> *Tribes and Castes*, I, 176.

In the Indo-Aryan races the use of hides for clothing prevailed in primitive times.<sup>1</sup> The Vishnu Purâna<sup>2</sup> enjoins all who wish to protect their persons never to be without leather shoes; and Mann<sup>3</sup> warns the Brâhman never to use shoes that have been worn by another. In the Râmâyana Bharata places on the vacant throne of Ajudhya a pair of Râma's slippers, and worships them during his exile. The Charmas of Pliny's list have been identified with the inhabitants of Chama Mandala, a district of the West, mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, and also in the Vishnu Purâna under the title of Charma-Khanda.<sup>4</sup>

2. One curious legend of the origin of the tribe has been referred

to in connection with the Agarwâla Banyas. —  
Traditions of origin

Once upon a time a certain Râja had two daughters, Châmu and Bâmu. These married, and each gave birth to a son who was a prodigy of strength (*pahlwân*). An elephant happened to die in the Râja's palace, and being unwilling that it should be cut up, he searched for a man strong enough to take it out whole and bury it. Chimu undertook and performed the task. Bâmu pronounced him an outcast, so the Banyas are sprung from Bâmu, and the Chamârs from Chimu. Another legend tells how five Brâhman brothers were passing along together. They saw a carcass of a cow lying on the way. Four of them turned aside, but the fifth removed the dead body. His brethren excommunicated him, and since then it has been the business of his descendants to remove the carcasses of cattle. Another tradition makes them out to be the descendants of Nona or Lona Chamârin, who is a deified witch much dreaded in the eastern part of the Province. Her legend tells how Dhanwantari, the physician of the gods, was bitten by Takshaka, the king of the snakes, and knowing that death approached he ordered his son to cook and eat his body after his death, so that they might thereby inherit his skill in medicine.<sup>5</sup> They accordingly cooked his body in a cauldron, and were about to eat it, when Takshaka appeared to them in the form of a Brâhman, and warned them against this act of cannibalism. So they let the cauldron float down the Ganges, and as it floated down, Lona, the

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 327, sq.

<sup>2</sup> II, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* IV, 66.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary* VI, 342, Note

<sup>5</sup> For instances of this belief see Spencer *Principles of Sociology*, I 241.

Chamārin, who was washing on the bank of the river, not knowing that the vessel contained human flesh, took it out and partook of the ghastly food. She at once obtained power to cure diseases, and especially snake-bite. One day all the women were transplanting rice, and it was found that Lona could do as much work as all her companions put together. So they watched her, and when she thought she was alone she stripped off all her clothes (nudity being an essential element in all magic), muttered some spells, and throwing the plants into the air they all settled down in their proper places. Finding she was observed she tried to escape, and as she ran the earth opened, and all the water of the rice fields followed her, and thus was formed the channel of the Loni river in the Unāo District.

3. The Census Returns show eleven hundred and fifty-six subdivisions of Chamārs - of these the most important locally are—

Sahāranpur—Ajmar, Bahyān, Dhamaun, Mochi, Sagaliya, Sirs-wāl,

Bulandshahr—Bharwariya, Chandauiya or Chandauriya, Lāl-man,

Aligarh—Chandauiya, Harphor, Kathiyāra, Mochi, Ojha

Mathura—Chaurasiya, Kadam, Tingai.

Mainpuri—Loniyān, Pajhasiya, Sujji.

Etāwah—Amrutiya, Bisali, Nakehlukua.

Etah—Nagar, Nunera.

Bareilly—Bardwāri, Bhusiya, Chandauiya, Nona

Bijnor—Sakt.

Budāun—Baharwār, Chauhān, Kokapāsī, Utiya.

Morādābād—Bhayār, Rāmanandi.

Cawnpur—Gangapāri, Rangiya.

Fatehpur—Desī, Dhuman, Domar, Panwāi, Rangiya, Turkatwa.

Bānda—Barjatwa, Dhaman, Dhūndhiya, Dhundhor, Janwār, Rangiya, Seth, Sorahiya, Ujjain.

Hamīrpur—Dhindhor, Rangiya, Umrē.

Allahābād—Autarbedi, Chand Rāē, Ghatiya, Kahār, Turkiya.

Lalitpur—Bhadauriya.

Benares—Dhuriya.

Mirzapur—Turkiya.

Jaunpur—Banaudhiya, Turkiya

Ghāzipur—Kansujiya.

Ballia—Kanauiya.

Gorakhpur—Bamhaniya, Belbhariya, Birhariya, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Ghorcharha, Ghosiya, Kanauiya, Mohahar, Râjkumâri, Sarwariya, Siudas, Tatwa, Uttarâha.

Basti—Birhariya, Chhagoriya, Chamarmangta, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Mohahar, Sarwariya, Tanbuna, Uttarâha.

Azamgarh—Guâl, Kanauiya.

Lucknow—Chauhân, Dusâdh.

Unâo—Chauhân.

Râê Bâcli—Chandel, Dhaman, Dhundhar, Dhuriya, Ghorcharha, Gorait, Harphor, Khalkatiya, Kulha, Nona, Tanbuna.

Sitapur—Chauhân, Pachhwâhân.

Sultânpur—Banaudhiya, Dhaman, Nona, Tanbuna.

Partâbgarh—Banaudhiya, Chandel, Dhaman, Dhingariya, Jogeya, Nona, Smahiya, Tanbuna, Turkiya.

Bârabanki—Jogiya, Pachhwâhân.

4. In the detailed lists we find the Chamârs of the Province classified into sixteen main sub-castes. Aharwâr (principally found in the Allahâbâd Division), Chamâr (chiefly in Meerut); Chamkatiyas (mostly in Bareilly); Dhusiyas (in Meerut and Benares); Dolars (in Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahâbâd, Lucknow); Golê (in Etâwab); Jaiswâras (strongest in Benares, Allahâbâd, Gorakhpur, and Faizâbâd); Jatwas (in Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand); Kôris (in Faizâbâd, and Gorakhpur); Korchamras (in Lucknow); Kurils (in Lucknow and Allahâbâd); Ngoti (a small sub caste chiefly in Mainpuri); Patthargotis (in Agra); Purabhyas (in Lucknow and Faizâbâd); Râêdâsis (tolerably evenly distributed throughout the Province), and Sakarwârs (in Agra and Allahâbâd). But there is hardly a District which does not possess, or pretend to possess, the sevenfold division which is so characteristic of castes of this social standing. Thus, in Ballia, we find Dhusiyas, Jaiswâras, Kanauiyas, Jhojhiyas, Jatwas, Chamartantos, and Nonas; in Agra, Mathuriya, Jadua, Domara, Sakarwâr, Batariya, Guliya, and Chandaurya. Some of these sub-castes are of local origin, some are occupational, and some take their name from their eponymous founder. Thus the Aharwâr are connected with the old town of Ahâr, in the Bulandshahr District, or with the Ahar tribe; the Chamkatiyas take their name from their trade of cutting hides (*châm kâtna*). This sub-caste claims to have produced the saints Râê Dâs and Lona Chamârin. The Jatna or Jatiya have, it is said, some unexplained connection with

the tribe of Jāts. The Kaīyān is also a sub-caste of the Bohras, and is said to be derived from their habit of always saying *kahē*, "what?" "when?" The Jaiswāras trace their origin to the old town of Jais, though some have a ridiculous story that it is a corruption of *Jinswār*, in the sense that they are agriculturists and grow various crops (*jins*). The Koli or Kori, a term usually applied to the Hindu weaver, as contrasted with the Julāha or Muhammadan weaver, are connected by some with the Kols; by others with the Sanskrit *Kaulika*, in the sense of "ancestral" or a "weaver." They say themselves that they take their name from their custom of wearing unbleached (*kora*) clothes. The Jhusiya, and also perhaps the Dhusiyas, have traditions connecting them with the old town of Jhūsi, near Allahābād. There are again the Azamgarhiya of Azamgarh; the Jatlot of Rohilkhand, who like the Jatiya say they are kinsfolk of the Jāts; the Sakarwār connect themselves with Fatehpur Sikri; in the Central Duāb are the Saksena, who say they come from Sankisa, and the Chanderiya from Chanderi. In Mirzapur we find the Jaiswāra, Jhusiya, Kanaujiya, Kurla, Dusādhn, kinsmen of the Dusādhs, the Kori, the Mangta or "beggars," the Dolidhauwa or "palanquin carriers," the Azamgarhiya, and the Banaudhiya, who are residents of Banaudha,—a term which includes the western parts of Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Benares, and the south of Oudh. To these Mr. Sherring adds:—In Benares the Rangua (*rang*, "colour") who are dyers; the Katua or "cutters," (*kātua*) of leather; and the Tantua, who manufacture strips or strings of leather known as *tānt*. According to the same authority some of these sub-castes are differentiated by function. Thus, many of the Jaiswāra are servants; the Dhusiya or Jhusiya, who trace their origin to Sayyidpur, in Ghāzipur, are shoe-makers and harness makers; the Kori, weavers, groomers, and field labourers; the Kuril, workers in leather; and the Jatua or Jatiya, labourers. The Jaiswāras will not carry burdens on their shoulders, but on their heads, and are liable to excommunication if they violate this rule. They supply most of our syces, and are liable to be expelled if they tie up a dog with a halter, which they worship. Any one who offends in this way is fined five rupees and a dinner to the brethren. The Mangatiyas or Mangtas live on alms, which they take only from the Jaiswāras. In Mirzapur they describe these functions somewhat differently. There the Jaiswāras make shoes and work as day labourers; the Jhusiyas are labourers and keep pigs, which is



also the occupation of the Dusādhu ; the Koris make shoes and weave cloth ; the Dolidhauwas carry palanquins, the Azamgarhiyas are menial servants of Europeans, and tend swine. The Banaudhiyas tend swine and are day labourers. There is again another local division of the Eastern Chamārs into Uttarāhas or "Northerners," and Dakkināha or "Southerners," who live respectively north and south of the River Sarju, and do not intermarry. The Chandaurs or Chandauriya, of the Central Duāb, claim to be descended from Chānūra, the famous wrestler of Kansa, who was killed by Krishna.

5. These sub-castes are now all, or practically all, endogamous ;

Rules of exogamy.

but there seems reason for believing that this fissure into endogamous groups may be comparatively recent. Thus there seems no reason to doubt that in the east of the Province the Dhusiya and Kanaujiya intermarry. The rule of exogamy within the sub-caste seems to vary. Those who are more advanced say that marriage is prohibited within seven degrees in the descending line. Others say that they do not intermarry as long as any previous relationship between the parties is known or ascertainable. In Ballia, a careful observer states that they do not marry in a family from which their mother, grandmother, or great grandmother has come ; nor do they marry in the family of their parent's sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not a daughter of a brother-in-law. The descendants of one common stock are called Dayād, and among them marriage is prohibited. Besides, this occupation plays a very important part in marriage alliances ; thus, those who remove manure or night-soil cannot intermarry with those who practise the cleaner duty of horse-keeping. As a rule they marry locally within their own neighbourhood, if a suitable match can be so arranged. If a Chamār entice away the wife of a clansman, in addition to the punishment inflicted by the tribal council, he is obliged to repay her marriage expenses. If a girl is detected in an intrigue with a caste-fellow, her parents are fined one and-a-quarter rupees, and in Mirzapur the same is the punishment inflicted on a man who marries again while his first wife is alive. In fact, polygamy is discouraged unless the first wife be barren, when a second marriage will usually be sanctioned by the council. Among Chamārs in particular it seems to be believed that rival wives do not get on together ; and this sort of quarreling has the special name *sautya dāk*—"the ill-will between the co-wives." Other sayings to the same purport are *Kāh ki saut*



*bhī buri hoti hai*,"—Even a co-wife of wood is an evil ;" and when one wife is being carried to the burning ground, the other says :—*Mor jiya na patidwe ; sāt ka pair hilla jāvō*,—"I cannot believe that she is dead ; I am sure her legs are shaking still." In Ballia it is said that if a Chamār marries a second time, the first wife usually leaves him, and that her desertion for this reason is recognised as according to tribal custom.

6. Chamārs have a particularly well organised and influential tribal council or *pañchāyat*. The head of Tribal council. every family is supposed to be a member of the *pañchāyat*, and nearly every village has a headman (*pradhān*, *jamaḍār*). In large towns there is often more than one headman. In small matters the village council is competent to decide ; but for the settlement of weightier questions the councils of several villages assemble under their own headman, and then a general meeting is formed. Custom varies as to whether the headman is a permanent official or not. The most usual rule is that, if the son of the late headman is competent, he is generally appointed ; if he be found guilty of misconduct, the headman is as liable as any of the members to fine and excommunication. The cases which come before the council may be classified as (a) cases of illicit sexual relations or violation of tribal rules concerning food, etc. ; (b) matrimonial disputes ; (c) petty quarrels, which would not come under the cognizance of a Court ; (d) disputes about small money transactions ; (e) cases in connection with *Jajmāni* : this last is very common. Every Chamār family has assigned to it a certain number of families of higher caste, which are known as its *Jajmān* (Sans. *Yajamāna*) : for which its members perform the duties of cutting the cord at births, playing the drum at marriages and other festive occasions, removing and disposing of the carcasses of dead cattle, and in return for these services they receive money fees, cooked food, and sometimes grain, flour, etc. In return they sometimes supply shoes at marriages, a certain number of shoes annually in proportion to the hides they receive, and also do repairs to leather articles, such as well buckets used in cultivation. These rights are very jealously watched, and any interference with the recognised constituents of a family is strongly resented and brought before the tribal council. These orders of the council in the way of fine or entertainment of the clansmen are enforced under penalty of excommunication, of which the most serious result is that, until the ban is removed, all

marriage alliances with the family of the offender are barred, and if any one marries a member of such a family, he at once becomes liable to the same punishment as that which they are undergoing. Every council has a mace-bearer (*chharidār*), who goes round and calls the members to the meetings, and he is allowed a small money fee for this service. The amount of fine varies from one to five rupees, and it is very seldom that the process of excommunication has to be used to enforce payment. If a person think fit to lay a charge before the council he has to pay a fee of one and-a-quarter rupees to the chairman, who will not take up the case until the fee is paid. This money, which to the east of the Province is known as *nālbandi* or *lehri*, is spent in purchasing spirits for the refreshment of the members.

7. Chamârs show an increasing tendency to the adoption of infant marriage. The usual age to the east of the Province is between four and eight, and it is not uncommon in Ballia for little girls of three to be married. It is very seldom that a girl remains unmarried after the age of eight. There are no regular marriage brokers employed; the negotiations are conducted by a member of the family who is known as *agua*. As among other Hindu castes marriage is looked upon as a sacrament, and not based on contract. It is complete and binding once the prescribed ceremonies are gone through, and its validity does not depend on the express or implied consent of the parties. But no marriage is carried out without the consent of all the relations, even those who are distant, and the descent and family connections of both bride and bridegroom are carefully enquired into before the engagement is made. In Mirzapur the bride-price payable to her relations is two rupees and five *seers* of coarse sugar. In Ballia they deny that there is a bride-price, but it is admitted that, if the parents of the bride are very poor, the father of the bridegroom may give as much as four rupees to defray the marriage expenses. As has been said, both bride and bridegroom are carefully examined as to whether they are free from any physical defect, and, as a general rule, if such be subsequently ascertained, it would not be a valid ground for annulling the marriage. If the husband become a lunatic after marriage, the wife in Ballia would not be entitled to leave him, provided his relations continued to support her; and in the same way the husband of a mad wife is held bound to support her. Impotence or such mutilation as renders sexual

intercourse impossible is valid grounds for dissolving the marriage. But, as a matter of fact, impotency, proved to the satisfaction of the council, is the only valid reason for a wife abandoning her husband. Divorce in the strict sense of the term is unknown; but a husband may turn his wife out of the house for proved infidelity, while she cannot leave him even if he be unfaithful to her, provided he gives her food and clothes. A woman, whose expulsion has been recognised by the council, can remarry by the *sagāi* or *karāo* form. The offspring of such informal marriages rank equally for purposes of inheritance with those of regularly-married virgin brides. As regards the offspring of illicit connections they follow the caste and tribe of the father unless the mother was a Musalmān, or of some tribe lower than a Chamār in the social scale. Such people are known by the name of Suratwāl or Suratwāla. When a Chamār takes a woman from a caste superior to his own, their children will be recognised as members of the caste; but if she be inferior to him, their children are considered illegitimate, and will not inherit. This is always the case when the woman is a Bhangi, Dom, Dhobi, Kūchbandhua, or Musahar.

The child of a Chamār at Ballia by a Dusādh woman is known as Chamār Dusādha, and this is the only case in which a similar fusion of castes is known to have been recognised. The importance of such facts in connection with the problem of the origin of the mixed castes is obvious.

8. Widow marriage is, as has been said, fully recognised; but among Chamārs, who have, like those at Cawnpur, risen in the world, there seems a tendency to prohibit it. The levirate is recognised, but the widow can live only with the younger brother of her late husband. If the widow be young, and her younger brother-in-law of a suitable age, they usually arrange to live together; if this cannot be arranged, she usually marries some widower of the tribe by the *sagāi* or *karāo* form. In this case the brother and father of her late husband have a right to the custody of the children of the first marriage: this rule is relaxed in the case of a baby, which accompanies its mother. In some cases the widow is allowed to take with her to her new home all the children of the first marriage. Any dispute as to matters of this sort is settled by the tribal council. If a widow marry an outsider she loses all claim to the estate of her

first husband, and so do any children she takes with her to the house of her new husband.

In such cases the property passes to the brothers of her first husband. If, on the contrary, she marry her husband's brother, she or her husband will inherit only if there was no male heir by the first marriage. At the same time, though Chamars are quite ready to lay down definite rules on this subject, the tribal custom does not appear to be quite settled, and when there are in the case of the levirate or widow-marriage two families, the matter is usually left to the council, who make a partition.

9. Among some branches of the tribe, as, for instance, at Sultānpur, when the first pregnancy of a wife is announced, a ceremony known as *sathái* is performed, which consists of the distribution of cakes (*pūri*) to the clansmen at their houses. But as Chamars are particularly exposed to fear of witchcraft and diabolical agency generally, careful precautions are taken to guard the woman from evil. To the east of the Province promises of offerings are made to Vindhya-sini Devi of Bindhāchal, Bānru Bîr, Birtiya, and to the sainted dead of the family if they vouchsafe an easy delivery. Thorny branches of the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) are hung at the door of the delivery room to intercept evil spirits, who are also scared away by the smoke from an old shoe, which is burnt for that purpose. The woman sits on her heels during accouchment, and is supported by her female relatives. She is attended by a woman of the caste for six or twelve days, which is the period for impurity. When it is announced that the child is a boy, the women sing the *sokar* or song of rejoicing. Much of this consists of the invocation of *Māta*, the goddess of small-pox. After the cord is cut, if the child be a boy, the mother is bathed in warm water; if a girl, she gets a cold bath. After the mother and baby are bathed, she gets a meal consisting of molasses, turmeric, and oil, and after twelve hours she is given some *kālwa* sweetmeat. Next day she gets her ordinary food. All through the period of impurity the singing of the *sokar* is repeated. At the door of the delivery room (*sauri*; Sans: *sutika*) a fire is kept constantly burning, and into it some *ajwain* (*linguisticum ajowan*) is occasionally thrown. At least for the first six days a light is kept constantly burning. On the night of the sixth day the women sit up all night and worship Shashti or Chhathi, the goddess of the sixth, with an offering of cakes made of barley-flour and

rice boiled with sugar. These are presented in a leaf platter (*danna*), and then eaten by the members of the household. An iron cutting instrument is also kept near the mother and child during the period of pollution. If the child be a boy the father is expected to entertain his friends which is usually done on the twelfth day.

On that day the parents or brothers of the mother—if they can afford it—send her a coat and cap made of red cloth for the baby, and a yellow loin-cloth for the mother. This present is sometimes accompanied by a special sort of sweetmeat known as *suthaura* (*south*, dry ginger) made of sugar, ginger, and other spices; sometimes with the *suthaura* is sent some caudle (*achhuran*). There is no distinct trace of the convade, except that the husband has to take the first sup of the cleansing draught given to the mother, and that he does not shave for six days after his wife's delivery. There are no special ceremonies in connection with twins, but they are considered inauspicious. If during the pregnancy of a woman an eclipse happen to occur, she is made to sit quiet while it lasts with a stone pestle in her hand, and is not allowed to move or touch any cutting instrument. If she move, it is believed that her child will be deformed, and if she touch a cutting implement that it will be born mutilated. The child is named by the senior member of the family. On the fourth or fifth day after the mother rejoins her family, the child's head is shaved (*mūran*), and when about six months old, it is fed for the first time on grain (*annaprāsān*); it is at this time that it is usually named. At the age of five or seven its ears are bored (*kanckheṭan*), and this constitutes the initiation: after this the child must conform to the rules of the tribe regarding food.

10. When it is proposed to adopt a boy, the clansmen are invited and in their presence the parents make  
 Adoption. over the boy to the adopter with these words,  
 —“You were my son by a deed of evil (*pāp*); now you are the son of so-and-so by a virtuous act (*dharma*).” As the boy is accepted, the members of the caste sprinkle rice over him, and the adopter gives a feast.

11. The customs of betrothal vary somewhat in different places. Thus, in Mirzapur, when a marriage is proposed, the bridegroom's father with his uncle  
 Betrothal and other near relations visit the bride. She is carefully examined

to make sure that she has no physical defect, and, if approved, the boy's father gives her a rupee, and some coarse sugar is distributed. Then her father entertains the party. Next follows the regular betrothal (*burrekhi*). This generally takes place at the village liquor shop, where the two fathers exchange platters (*daana*) full of liquor five times, and at the last turn the bride's father puts a rupee into the cup of his relation-to-be. Liquor is served round, two-thirds of the cost of which is paid by the father of the boy, and one-third by the father of the girl. On this day the date of the wedding is fixed by the Pandit. In Bailia, on the contrary, the parents and relations of the girl go to the boy's house and present him with a rupee and loin-cloth. This is known as *paupūja*, or "the worshipping of the feet" of the bridegroom.

When these presents are received in the presence of the members of the caste the engagement is complete.

12. Marriage is of two kinds—the *shādi*, *churh*, or *charhana*, which is the respectable form, and the *dola*, used by poor people. In Mirzapur the wedding invitation is distributed by the father's sister's husband of the boy. The marriage pavilion (*mānra*) is then erected. In the Gangetic valley it consists of four bamboos; Chamārs above the hills make it of nine poles of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*) in obvious imitation of the Dravidian races by whom they are surrounded. On this day the Pandit ties round the wrist of the bride an amulet formed of mango leaves and thread. The next day is devoted to feeding the clansmen, and cakes of various kinds are offered to the sainted dead. Then follows the *matmangara* ceremony, which is done, as already described in the case of the Bhuiyas. Then as the procession starts, the bridegroom's mother does the wave ceremony (*parachhau*) to keep off evil spirits. With the same object the bride's mother puts some lamp-black on the bride's eyelids, and hangs a necklace of beads round her neck. At the same time, as an assertion or acknowledgment of maternity, she offers the girl her breast. The bridegroom's father is expected to take with the procession five ankle rings (*mathiya*) for the bride. The marriage is then performed by making the pair revolve five times round the ploughbeam (*karix*), which is fixed in the centre of the pavilion. There also is erected a rough wooden representation of a flock of parrots (*suga*) sitting on a tree. When the marriage is over all present scramble for the wooden parrots; but the pole on



which they were hung is carefully kept for a year. During the marriage, a special dance, known as the *natua nách*, is performed by members of the tribe, some of whom dress in women's clothes. Chamáris can give no explanation of this practice, which may possibly be a symbolical ceremony done with the hope that the first child may be a boy, as the Argive brides used to wear false beards when they slept with their husbands<sup>1</sup>. It is specially to be noticed that Bráhmans are not employed in the marriage ceremony. The whole business is done by the uncle and brother-in-law (*phúpha, bahnoi*) of the bridegroom. Before they leave the pavilion a goat or ram is sacrificed to Paramesari Devi, and the flesh is cooked at the marriage feast. The marriage ends with a general carouse at the nearest liquor shop.

13. The *dola* marriage is done in quite a different way. The following is the ritual at Ballia. The friends and relations are invited to attend at the bridegroom's house, and they are supplied with a meal known as *kalcua*, which ordinarily consists of rice and pulse or parched grain (*sattu*) or wheat cakes. The men then proceed to the bride's house and halt about a mile off to take refreshment. The boy's father subscribes twelve pice and the others two pice each with which liquor is purchased. The sum given by the boy's father is known as *batsári* or *nisári*, and that contributed by his friends *behri*. After drinking they go to the bride's house, which they reach usually about sunset. There the guardian of the boy pays twenty-four pice, known as *neg*, to the father of the bride, who supplements it with sufficient to provide another drink for the party. Then they are all fed, and next morning they go away with the bride. The boy's guardian presents two sheets (*sári*), one for the bride and one for her mother, and gives a couple of rupees to her father, who in return gives a loin cloth (*dhoti*) and a sort of handkerchief worn over the shoulder (*kandhūwar*) to the boy, as well as a sheet for his mother. The barber, washerman and village watchman receive a present of two annas each on this occasion. Sometimes the owner of the village charges a rupee as *marnachh* or *maruāni*, (*mānro*, the nuptial shed), which is paid by the father of the bridegroom, and may perhaps be a survival of a commutation of the *jus primæ noctis*, but is more probably one of the ordinary village dues levied from tenants by the landlord.

<sup>1</sup> Fraser, *Totemism*, 79. *Folklore*, II, 151.



This, however, is not invariably taken, and in return he usually supplies some wood, etc., for the wedding. The bride is supplied by her guardian with a sheet (*sāri*), brass bracelets (*mālāṅ*), and anklets (*paṭri*), made of bell metal. Her brother or some other person as her representative accompanies her to the house of the bridegroom. It is a peculiar custom that on this occasion he always walks behind the bride. In the *dola* form of marriage the bridegroom or his father very seldom goes to the house of the bride. The duty of escorting the bride home is left to some relation or clansman.

14. After the bride has arrived that very day or very soon after the date of the wedding (*lagan*) is fixed. The family barber takes ten pieces of turmeric, of which he gives five to the bride and five to the bridegroom. With this he brings one and-a-quarter *seer* of paddy, which he divides equally between them. The turmeric is ground into a paste, which is rubbed on the foreheads of the pair, and the paddy is parched and made into *lawa* for use in the ceremony of *lawa parakhana*. This part of the ritual is called *kaldī* or *kaldīdhān*. The next day or a day after comes the ceremony of *matkor* or "the digging of the earth." This commences by the bridegroom's mother worshipping a drum (*dhol*). If his mother be dead, this is done by his aunt or some other elderly female relation.

Turmeric and rice are ground into a paste (*aipan*). The woman smears her hand in this and applies it to the drum. This is known as *thappi lagāna*. A leaf of betel, a betel nut, and two pice are also placed on the drum, which are the perquisite of the owner. Five marks (*līkā*) are then made on the drum with vermilion, and the women form a procession and go into a field, led by the drummer playing away vigorously. The senior woman then worships Dhartī Mātā or Mother Earth, and digs five spadeful of earth, which are brought home and placed in the courtyard. In the middle of the yard are placed an earthen pot full of water with its top covered with a mango leaf and an earthen lid. Near it is a ploughbeam (*kuris*) and a green bamboo fixed in the earth. The earthen pot is known as *kalan*. In the evening there is a feast known as *matkora*. It may be noticed here that there are in all five marriage feasts—the *kaldīdhān* and *matkora* already described and the *byāḥ*, *marjād* and *kankan* or *biddi*. From the commencement of the *kaldī* ceremony up to the end of the marriage ceremonies the women sing songs both morning and evening.

15. The actual marriage always takes place at night. No Brāh-

man is called in, but the village Pandit is consulted as to the auspicious time, and he receives two pice for his trouble. For the marriage a square (*chawk*) is marked out in the courtyard with barley-flour, and the bride and bridegroom are seated within it, the bridegroom on a stool (*pīrāa*) or on a mat made of leaves (*patul*). The service is done by some one in the caste who knows the ritual. He begins by the *gotra* *ucāchāra* or recital of the names of the couple, their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Then the marriage jar (*kālās*) is worshipped, and an offering of butter, rice, and barley is made to the fire which is lighted close beside the jar, and a similar offering is made to a fire which is lighted in the oratory (*deokurī*) sacred to the household god. The bride's father then gives her away to the bridegroom (*kanyādān*). He accepts the gift and marks her forehead with a line of vermilion, which is the binding part of the ceremony. The ceremonies in the *dola* and *charhaua* marriage are practically identical. The only difference is that in the former the ceremony is performed at the house of the bridegroom; in the latter at that of the bride.

16. Those who have been initiated into the Siva Nārāyaṇi or Sri Nārāyaṇi, Kāhīrpanthi or Rāmanandi sects are buried, unless before death they have expressed a wish to be cremated. Their corpses are removed to the burial-ground on a gaily decorated bier without any marks of mourning and accompanied with shouts of *Rām! Rām! Sat Sai*, "The Lord is the Lord of Truth." Ordinary Chamārs are burnt in the usual way. Those who are poor only scorch the face of the corpse (*mukhāg*). The ashes, when the body is properly cremated, are thrown into some neighbouring stream. The chief mourner who has fired the pyre on the day after the cremation places outside the house an earthen pot full of milk and rice gruel (*mānr*) with a pitcher of water for the use of the disembodied spirit. On the third day after death comes the *tīrātri* ceremony which consists of the offering of oblations and cakes of barley-flour (*pinda*) to the departed soul. On the tenth day (*dashmān*), this ceremony is repeated, and the castemen are fed. On that day the person who fired the pyre (*dasika*) is purified by being shaved. On the eleventh the utensils and private property of the dead man are made over to his sister's husband (*śakṣai*), who acts as the officiant priest—perhaps a survival of the matriarchate. In some places, however, and particularly where Chamārs are becoming rich and influential, the Mahābrāhman

offers the sacred balls (*pinda*). When the service is done by a member of the tribe he says,—*Ar Ganga, pār Ganga; Bihāri ka beta, Rāmbaksh ka nāti, pinda det; Ganga Māi bujbuji det*—“Ganges on this side, Ganges on that side; the son of Bihāri (or whatever his name may be) the grandson of Rāmbaksh offers the cakes, but mother Ganges gives only bubbles in return.” Some plant a few stalks of grass near a tank as an abode for the spirit which wanders about until the funeral ceremonies are complete. On this water is poured daily for ten days. Some again give a tribal feast on the twelfth, some on the sixteenth day after death. On the anniversary of a death twelve balls are offered, and, if the family can afford it, the clansmen are fed. Some, again, after the usual balls and oblations during the fortnight (*pitrapaksha*) sacred to the dead, join in removing the corpse, and each of the five touches his mouth with a burning brand. By this procedure none of the five incurs any personal defilement.

17. Chamars in the main conform to the popular type of village Hinduism. To the east of the Province all, except the richer and more advanced members of the caste, dispense with the services of Brāhmans, except in so far as they usually consult them about the marriage auspices. To the west their marriage ceremonies are performed under the guidance of the low Gurra or Chamaiwa Brāhmans. To the east, as they become rich and influential, they employ Sarwariya or Kanaujiya Brāhmans of a degraded type. To the west the mourners accompanying the corpse address the Creator in the words—*Tūhi hai; tain ne paida kiya, aur tain ne mār liya*. “Thou art He; Thou hast created and then destroyed.” In Rohilkhand their clan deities are Bhawāni, Jagiswār or “the lord of the world,” Kāla Deo, Gaja Dewat, Zāhir Pīr, and Nagarāen. In Agra they call themselves of the Gorakhi sect, and worship Devi, Chamara, and Kuānwāla, “he of the well.” In Ballia they usually worship a deity whom they call Parameswar or “the Supreme Being.” The godling is supposed to dwell in a mound of earth erected in a room of the house. On the day of the Dasahra festival seven wheaten cakes and some *halwa* are offered, and some cloves and cardamoms are ground up and mixed in water, which is poured on the ground. This is known as *chhāk*. Sometimes the offering consists of a young pig and some spirits. When a person is absent from home, he does not erect any mound or oratory (*deokur*) until he returns. In Mirzāpur they have a special

deity known as Terha Deva or "the crooked one;" they also worship the Vindhyaśini Devi, of Bindhāchal; Bāru Bīr, a demon of whom they know nothing but the name; Sairi Devi, Birtiya, and the sainted dead (*purkhā log*). All these deities are worshipped in times of trouble with the sacrifice of a young pig, the meat of which is eaten by the worshippers and with a libation of spirits. On the Pachainyān festival milk and parched grain are offered at the hole occupied by the domestic snake. Those who have no children fast and worship the sun godling, Sūraj Nārāyan, in the hope of offspring. Fire and the moon are also occasionally worshipped. To the east their chief festivals are the snake feast at the Pachainyān; the Kajari, which is a sort of saturnalia held in the rainy season, when women drink and the rules of modesty are held in abeyance; the Tij, on which women fast for the welfare of their husbands and sons, and next day at cakes (*pūri*); the Phagua or Hori. A second wife wears an image representing the deceased, known as *śiṛāṇa*, round the neck, and when she puts on fresh clothes or jewelry she touches them first with the image as a sign that they have been offered to the spirit of her predecessor. If this be not done, it is believed that the offended spirit of the first wife will bring disease or death.

19. But the most remarkable form of worship is that of the The Sīnārāyani or Sīnārāyani sect. domestic, revivalist sect of the Sīnārāyani or Sīnārāyam. The founder of this sect was Rāēdās or Ravidās, who was a disciple of Rāmanand. Curiously enough in the Dakkhin quite a different legend has been invented and the so-called Rohidas is said to have been born at Chambhargonda now Ahmadnagar, and is described as a contemporary of Kabīr in the twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The Northern India legend, as recorded in the commentary of Priya Dās on the Bhaktimāla, tells how a Brāhman disciple of Rāmanand used daily to receive the necessary alms from the houses of five Brāhmins. This was cooked by his preceptor, and offered to the Creator before being eaten. One day as it was raining and the houses of the Brāhmins were at a distance, the Brahmachārī accepted the supplies from a Banya. When Rāmanand cooked it, the Divine Light refused to accept it, as it was unclean. The preceptor made enquiries and discovered that the Banya had money dealings with Chamārs

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gasetteer*, XVI, 71.

and that the food was hence defiled. Rāmanand, in his displeasure caused his disciple to be reborn in the womb of a Chamārīn; and so it happened. When the infant was born, remembering its past life, it refused to suck from the breast of its mother because she was not initiated. Then a voice from Heaven spoke to Rāmanand and warned him that the punishment he had inflicted on his disciple was disproportionate to his offence. He was directed to go to the hut of the Chamār and initiate the whole family. He was compelled to obey this order. The child was named by his parents Râédâs. When he reached the age of eighteen he began to worship a clay image of Rāma and Jānaki. This was displeasing to his father, who turned him out of doors. Râédâs then set up business as a shoemaker and continued his mode of worship. He used to present all wandering ascetics with new shoes. One day a saint appeared before him and gave him the Philosopher's stone. Râédâs took no notice of it; but the Saint touched his shoemaker's knife with it and turned it into gold. This had no effect on Râédâs, and the saint finally left the stone in the thatch of his hut. Returning some time after he found Râédâs in poor circumstances, and learned to his surprise that he had not used the stone. The saint then promised that before morning five gold coins would appear in front of the divine image which Râédâs worshipped. These he also refused to accept. But he was warned in a dream not to continue to despise wealth; so he converted his shed into a magnificent temple and established regular worship. This enraged the Brāhmins, who appealed to the Rāja in a Sanskrit verse which means—"Where unholy things are worshipped and holy things are defiled, three things follow—Famine, Death, and Fear."

19. Râédâs was summoned before the Rāja and ordered to exhibit his miraculous powers. He replied that he could do only one miracle—that the Sâlagrāma or ammonite representing Vishnu would at his word leave its place and come down on the palm of his hand. The Rāja ordered the Brāhmins to perform a similar miracle. They failed and Râédâs succeeded. This miracle so affected the Rānī Jhālī, whom one version of the legend makes out to have been a Princess of Chithor, that she became initiated. On this the Brāhmins refused to eat in the palace, on the ground that it had been defiled, and some raw grain was given them which they began to cook in the garden. But as they were eating they suddenly saw Râédâs sitting and eating between two Brāhmins. So they fell at

his feet, and then he cut his skin and showed them under it his Brāhmanical cord; so he was proved to have been a Brāhman in his former life.

20. The Grantha or Scriptures of the sect are believed to have existed for eleven hundred and forty-five years, but to have been unintelligible until Sitala, an inspired Sannyāsi, translated them. The present recension is the work of the Rājput Sivanāiāyana, of Ghāzipur, who wrote it about 1735 A.D. The most important of these works are the Gurunyāsa and the Santa Virasa. The former is compiled from the Purānas, and gives an account of the ten Avatāras of Vishnu or Nārāyana in fourteen chapters, of which the first six treat of the author, of faith, of the punishment of sinners, of virtue, of a future state and of discipline. The latter is a treatise on moral sentiments. The opening lines are,—“The love of God and his knowledge are the only true understanding.”<sup>1</sup>

21. Siunārāyanis have a meeting house known as Dhāmghar, or “House of Paradise;” Somaghar, or “House of meeting,” and Girja Ghar, or church, a word derived through the Portuguese *igreja* from the Greek *ekklesia*. It usually contains pictures of the Saints Gorakhnāth, Rācdās, Kabīrdās, Sūrdās, and others. The scriptures are kept rolled up in cloth on a table at the East. They are carefully watched and never given to any one but members of their own congregation. They meet here on Friday evenings, and any educated man among them reads and expounds passages from the Gurunyāsa. The only occasion when the Santavirasa is read is at death; it is then recited from the moment of dissolution until the corpse is buried. They are not allowed to eat meat or drink spirits before going to the weekly service, but this is the only restriction. On the Basant Panchami, or fifth light half of Māgh, a Halwāi is called in, who cooks some *halwa* sweetmeat (which is known as *manbhog*, or “food of the mind”) in a large boiler (*karhdo*). This is first offered to Siunārāyana before the Scriptures of the sect, and until this is done no Chamār is allowed to touch it. The explanation of this is that Siunārāyana was a Chhatri, and it would be defilement to him if any Chamār touched it before dedication. An offering of the same kind is made to Guru Nānak by the Sikhs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 265.



22. The title Bhagat which they take does not imply that they abstain from flesh and spirits, but they are monotheists (Sans: *bhākta*, "devoted"). They say that their chief conventicle is at a place called Barsari, in the Ghāzipur District, about which they repeat the verse,—“As pās Chandrawâr men, Ghāzipur Sarkâr; Bindu nirauni karat sab Bâgh Râê ke pās.” “In the neighbourhood of Chandrawâr, in the Ghāzipur District, all meet together and discuss the doctrine of Unity. This place is near the Râê's garden.”

23. Persons of any caste may join the Siunârâyani sect. When a candidate wishes to affiliate himself, they first warn him of the difficulties before him and test him for a few days, when, if approved, he is directed to bring a present according to his means to the headman, known as Guru or Mahant. The candidate comes before the Guru, who sits with the scriptures opposite him, and first makes a sacrifice by burning camphor and *dason*, or ten kinds of perfumes. These are thrown on fire, and the sweet savour which arises is their form of worship. Then some camphor is burnt before the scriptures, and all present rub the smoke over their faces. The candidate then washes the big toe of the Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). Next the Guru recites privately into his ear the formula (*mantra*) of initiation, which is carefully concealed from outsiders. After this the initiate distributes sweets to the congregation. He is then considered Sant or initiate, and receives a small book which he is permitted to study, and which serves as a pass of admission to future meetings. If he loses it he has to appear at the next Basant Panchami meeting, and pay two and-a-half rupees for a new copy, as well as a fine of five rupees for his negligence. At these meetings there is music and singing, men and women sit apart, and after the Mahant has finished his reading, he receives the contributions of the faithful. They are not allowed to drink in the Dhâmghar, but they may smoke *gânja*, *bhang*, or tobacco there. They never practise exorcisms (*ojhâi*), nor do they get into a state of religious frenzy and deliver oracles. As already stated the dead are buried with signs of rejoicing. Some camphor is burnt in the grave before the body is laid there, and then all present join in filling up the grave. All initiates, male and female, are buried in this way. Children and persons not initiated are interred without any ceremony. If the wife of an initiate die, her relatives can take away her body and cremate it. They marry like ordinary Chamars, and get a Brâhman to fix a lucky time. A similar movement among the Chamars of



Biláspur, in the Central Provinces' took place under Ghásidás between 1820 and 1830, and in Bikanér under Lálgi about fifty years ago. Their sole worship is said to consist in calling on the invisible lord (*Alakh, Alakh*).

24. The ordinary Chamár believes that disease, death, and all troubles are due to demoniacal influence.

Demonology When a person falls ill a sorcerer (*ojha*) is called in and he points out the particular evil spirit which is responsible for the mischief, and the appropriate sacrifice by means of which he can be appeased. In the same way barrenness in women is held to be due to her possession by some demon. A widow is very careful to worship the spirit of her deceased husband. In this case, as with a deceased wife, no image is used, but a piece of ground is plastered, and on it is placed a new loin cloth (*dhoti*) and a waist chain (*kurthani*). Sometimes a pig is sacrificed. The soul of a dead husband is called *manushya deva* or "the man-god." Persons who die in any sudden or unusual way become malevolent spirits (*bhût*), and must be carefully propitiated. Their offering is a young pig and an oblation of spirits. Chickens are offered to Ghâzi Miyân, goats to Devi, and pigs to the family godlings and evil spirits. These are offered at the house shrine, while offerings to godlings and saints are made at their temples or tombs. The regular feast in honour of the dead is the Mahâlâya Amâwas, Pitr-bisarjan, or Pitrasnanan. Among trees they respect the *pîpal* *tulasi*, and *nîm*. The *pîpal* is the abode of Vasudeva, the *tulasi* of Lakshmi, the *nîm* of Sîtala. Mother Ganges (*Ganga mât*) is a special object of reverence. The favourite method of propitiating evil spirits of those who have died by accident is to pour spirits near the place occupied by the Bhût, and to light some *gânja* in a pipe-bowl. For ghosts of high caste persons, the proper offering is a fire sacrifice (*hom*). The ordinary malignant evil spirit is called Bhût or Ditya; that of a Muhammadan Shahîd Mard, the Jinn is higher and more powerful than these. To the Shahîd Mard and Jinn the sacrifice is not a pig but a fowl and flowers.

25. The Chamár from his occupation and origin ranks even below the non-Aryan tribes who have been quite recently adopted into Hinduism. He is considered impure because he eats beef, pork, and fowls, all abomination.

Social regulations.

to the orthodox Hindu. He will eat cattle which die a natural death, and numerous cases have occurred where Chamārs have poisoned cattle for the sake of the hides and flesh. He keeps herds of pigs, and the Chamrauti or Chamār quarter in a Hindu village is generally a synonym for a place abounding in all kinds of abominable filth, where a clean living Hindu seldom, unless for urgent necessity, cares to intrude. One proverb describes a man setting up to be Gopāl, a respectable Krishna worshipper, while his pots and pans are as filthy as those of a Chamār (*Nem tem Gopāl aisau ; hānri charui Chamār aisau*), and another says,—“The worthy are dying and the unworthy living because Chamārs are drinking Ganges water,”—*Lajālu marē, dhithau jige ; Ganga jal Chamārāu piyē*). This repugnance to him is increased by his eating the leavings of almost any caste except Dhobis and Doms, and by the pollution which attaches to his wife (Chamārin, Chamāin), who acts as midwife and cuts the umbilical cord. But in spite of his degraded social position, the Chamār is proud and punctilious and very conservative as regards the rights and privileges which he receives in the village community. Their women wear, at least in the east of the Province, no noserings; they have metal bangles (*mathiya*) on their wrists; arm ornaments (*bājū*) and heavy bell-metal anklets (*pairi*). Chamārs swear by Rāma, the Guru, the Ganges, Mahādeva Bāba, the shoemaker's last (*pharukh*), and their sons' heads. They will not touch a Dom or Dhobi, nor the wife of a younger brother or nephew, nor will they call their wives by their names. Women eat after the men. They salute relatives and clansmen in the forms *Rām ! Rām !* and *pādēlagi*.

26. The Chamār practises a variety of occupations. His primary business is curing skins and shoemaking, and the latter business has developed what is really a separate caste, that of the Mochi (Sans : *mochika*); in a village he provides all leathern articles used in husbandry, such as whips, thongs, well buckets, and the like. As a rule, he has a circle of constituents (*joimdu*) whose dead cattle he receives, and to whom he gives leather and a certain number of shoes in return. His wife has similarly a certain number of families to whom she acts as midwife and performs various menial services at marriages and festivals. The Chamār himself is the general village drudge (*bepār, pharait*) runs messages, and does odd jobs, such as thatching when he is called Gharāmi, and the like. Sometimes he receives wages in cash or kind, but perhaps more generally an allowance of

grain per plough belonging to the family he serves, or a patch of rent-free land. Another part of his duties is to beat drums and blow trumpets during a marriage or when cholera or other epidemic disease is being exorcised from the village. Large numbers of Chamars take to field labour, act as ploughmen, carters, grooms, or emigrate to towns, where they do various kinds of unskilled work. In Partābgarh they are said to have usurped the business of carrying palanquins, the hereditary occupation of Kahars. The extension of the leather trade at Cawnpur has made it a great Chamâr centre. Many of them have become wealthy and aim at a standard of social respectability much higher than their rural brethren, and some have begun even to seclude their women which every native does as soon as he commences to rise in the world.

27. The system of tanning pursued by the ordinary village Chamâr is of the most primitive kind. The skins are placed in a pit and covered with water, containing lime (*chūna*) and impure carbonate of soda (*sajji*); after ten days they are taken out and the hair removed with an iron scraper (*khurpi*). They are again removed, sewn up in the form of a bag, which is again filled with the bark solution, and hang on a tree or stand. This process lasts five days, when the tanning is considered complete.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hoey, *Monograph*, 90, *sqq.* It is in curious contrast to the Homeric system of preparing hides, which consisted in rubbing with fat and stretching. *Iliad*, XVII, 383

Distribution of Chamars by sub-castes according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Abharwar.	Chamar.	Chamkalya.	Dhusiya.	Donar.	Gola.	Jaiswar.	Jalwa.	Kori.	Korhanma.	Kuril.	Nigoll.	Pathargoll.	Purabjya.	Raddhal.	Sakarwar.	Others.	Total.
Dahra Dui	358	4,866	...	...	48	...	769	622	630	107	137	...	...	...	1,478	...	8,169	16,403
Sahranpur	...	146,176	...	8,118	...	...	812	3,082	20	...	47	...	...	...	1,400	...	29,082	187,728
Muzaffarnagar	...	97,695	...	6	...	...	17	18,478	...	...	2	...	...	8	5,162	...	2,005	111,327
Meerut	...	31,219	...	608	...	...	2,014	175,159	...	9	...	...	...	...	68	...	7,900	217,088
Bolnadsbahr	6,186	6,088	...	3,914	...	...	...	87,319	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,660	...	44,732	103,078
Aligarh.	...	800	...	...	...	...	...	64,623	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,697	...	94,614	103,634
Mathura	34	76	...	...	...	...	1,013	101,714	...	...	331	...	61	246	366	...	3,166	107,094
Agra	...	...	...	36	239	...	1,546	159,083	8	...	63	214	622	46	460	746	10,949	164,696
Farrukhabad	16,850	...	...	30	23,038	...	625	47,919	406	324	376	...	...	...	12	...	932	69,316
Mainpuri	649	...	...	359	73	...	23	84,307	...	68	10	521	19	...	1	612	14,761	101,208
Bidwar.	499	...	801	159	66,427	3,461	1	46,991	...	...	684	...	...	...	4	1,078	3,226	111,439
Etah	22	...	...	...	...	11	...	38,166	...	...	34	...	...	9	361	...	797	96,890
Bareilly.	1,430	...	65,925	...	6	...	...	19,713	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,061	...	4,067	96,148
Bijnor	...	113,971	...	...	...	...	20	8,743	...	...	1	...	...	...	994	...	969	124,088
Budoun	...	...	...	...	...	...	829	120,360	...	...	...	...	...	...	762	...	3,390	124,031
Moudadab	...	12,631	...	...	...	...	111	16,594	95	...	...	...	...	...	1,438	...	6,308	178,847
Shahjahanpur	...	...	...	...	61,632	...	8,418	36,262	...	...	6	...	...	368	90	...	1,044	96,799
Pilibhit	...	...	...	...	14,600	...	184	17,400	...	...	...	...	...	404	...	...	160	32,818

Champur	1,197	...	...	...	2,446	1,979	...	9	66,500	...	11,804	...	39,470*	140,809
Fatehpur	29	...	1,883	...	28,016	642	...	1,117	14,713	...	6,711	...	23,616	71,731
Meerut	11,320	...	...	...	107	...	...	...	3,662	...	8,898	421	80,847	110,716
Hamirpur	67,919	...	24	607	95	290	...	...	2,470	...	66	1,963	1,721	74,919
Almohad	2	...	137	...	60,438	...	885	2,654	179	...	17,356	...	64,606	144,944
Jhansi	40,940	...	27	...	468	1,261	...	...	7	...	229	...	1,942	56,373
Jaloun	3,417	...	...	...	17	6,220	...	...	14	...	139	23	26,600	61,369
Lalitpur	35,419	...	...	...	9	...	1	...	...	...	184	...	1,113	33,785
Bonares	...	...	31,377	...	67,071	...	...	...	232	...	1,113	...	4,476	104,368
Mirzapur	...	...	164	43	117,000	...	...	...	1	...	6,205	...	23,897	147,386
Jaunpur	...	...	344	...	184,538	...	...	...	250	...	1,0	643	1,180	187,997
Ghazipur	...	...	...	...	6,796	...	...	...	...	...	576	...	186,659	133,971
Bellia	...	...	44,631	...	276	...	...	...	...	...	101	...	73,453	66,773
Gorakhpur	...	...	89	11,445	42,798	580	1,758	...	1,944	...	1,929	...	300,810	361,331
Basti	...	...	1,034	192	77,985	...	50,931	4,253	1,049	...	261	57,743	88,238	276,980
Azimgarh	...	...	...	502	102,916	...	...	372	607	...	...	2,473	151,842	298,393
Kumaon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	203	303
Gazhwal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	34
Tarai	...	453	...	...	198	18,788	...	...	...	...	132	...	1,937	21,345
Lucknow	...	40	608	...	125	372	28	47	54,668	...	3,856	898	4,242	63,446
Unao	...	...	...	...	46	...	171	...	85,079	...	2,923	...	1,372	98,881
Rae Bareilly	1,671	1,524	6,764	...	14,610	2,877	1,330	15,727	33,850	...	1,135	16,603	9,608	98,963

Distribution of Chamars by sub-castes according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Aharwar	Chamar	Chamkalia	Uhuayla	Dohar.	Gola	Jalwar.	Jalwa.	Korl.	Korluamra.	Kurli	Nigoli.	Puthargoli.	Punblya	Raadasi	Sakarwar	Others.	Total.
Sheepur.	.	.	906	..	4		231	891	88	34	1,504	..		121,828	1623		19,164	144,070
Mardoa.	.	.		..	103,835		47	4,515	..	67,058		..		8,513	57		433	187,971
Kheri.	.	.		..	35,932		231	409	..	11	163	..		77,354	8		3,746	117,865
Feistbad.	.	.	1,745	..			97,781	1,177	48,200		987	..		2,367	15,689		8,821	165,758
Gonda.	.	.	62	..	..			7	1		2,170	..		14,634	6,430		18,830	41,665
Bahrach.	.	.		..	..		79				184	..		90,875	14		60,671	75,341
Seilaupur.	.	.	5,017	..	..		22,063		96,312	107		..		15,197			6,934	148,478
Pardibganb.	.	.	145	..	..		16,494		39,961	886	901	..		16,106			39,904	106,968
Barebanki.	.	.	826	..	..		12				24,950	..		35,306	2,680		18,438	81,530
Total.	193,949	403,680	84,065	102,800	319,451	3,872	910,125	1,504,874	334,022	26,515	367,913	755	65	289,847	230,073	4,919	1,358,570	5,816,063

**Chamar Gaur.**—A sept of Rājputs of whom Sir H. M. Elliot<sup>1</sup> writes—"Among the Gaur Rājputs the Chamar Gaur who are subdivided into Rāja and Rāḍ, rank the highest, which is accounted for in this way :—When trouble fell upon the Gaur family, one of their ladies, far advanced in pregnancy, took refuge in a Chamār's house, and was so grateful to him for his protection, that she promised to call her child by his name. The Bhāts and Brāhmans to whom the others fled do not appear to have had similar forbearance, and hence, strange as it may appear, the sub-divisions called after their name rank below the Chamar Gaur." Pargana Sandila, of Hardai, was, so it is said, occupied by Thatheras,<sup>2</sup> who by one theory are identical with the Bhars, and then Chamar Gaurs came in from near Bijnaur in the time of Jay Chand. They came in under two chiefs, bringing with them Dikshat Brāhmans, who up to the present are their recognised priests. They differ entirely from Chamar Gaurs, who came from near Cawnpur, and have for their priests Tiwāri Brāhmans. The writer of the Hardoi Settlement Report<sup>3</sup> speaks of the Chamar Gaurs as "a refractory, quarrelsome, ill-conditioned set, then one redeeming quality (owed probably to the fact that they are Rājputs in name rather than in reality) is that they do not murder their daughters." Their ancestor, Ganga Sinh, known as Kāna, or "one eyed," is said to have driven out the Thatheras.

*Distribution of the Chamar Gaur Rājputs according to the Census of 1891*

DISTRICT	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Agra . . . . .	15	Benares . . . . .	8
Farrukhabād . . . . .	352	Gorakhpur . . . . .	26
Mainpur . . . . .	72	Basti . . . . .	11
Etāwah . . . . .	185	Lucknow . . . . .	76
Shāhjahanpur . . . . .	32	Rāḍ Bareilly . . . . .	57
Cawnpur . . . . .	1,351	Sitapur . . . . .	9
Fatehpur . . . . .	103	Hardoi . . . . .	118
Bānda . . . . .	2,121	Kheiri . . . . .	103
Hamirpur . . . . .	226	Faizābād . . . . .	55
Allahābād . . . . .	1	Bahrāich . . . . .	1
Jhānsi . . . . .	14	Sultānpur . . . . .	5
Jālaun . . . . .	59	Partābgarh . . . . .	29
Lalitpur . . . . .	10	Bāranbanki . . . . .	12
		TOTAL . . . . .	5,048

<sup>1</sup> Supplementary Glossary, s.v., Gaur Rājput.

<sup>2</sup> Oudh Gazetteer, III, 307.

<sup>3</sup> P. 173.



**Chanamiya.**—A sept of Rājputs, not separately recorded in the Census Returns, found in Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Gorakhpur. They are generally, according to Sir H. M. Elliot,<sup>1</sup> included among the Bais of inferior descent and are sometimes identified with the Gargbans.

**Chandauriya.**—A Rājput sept found in Fāizābād. They are an offshoot of the Bais of Baiswāra, who emigrated under their leader, Uday Buddhē Sinh, who gained his estates under the protection of a noted faqīr known as Kāh Pahār. The title of Chandamiya from the village Chandauri is said to have been conferred on the sept by the Rāja of Hasanpur.<sup>2</sup>

**Chandel.**<sup>3</sup>—(Sanskrit *Chandra*, “the moon”).—An important sept of Rājputs. They claim descent from the moon, Chandia, up to Brahman. According to one version of the tribal legend Hemāvati was the daughter of Hemrāj, the family priest of Indrajit, the Gaharwār Raja of Kāshi (Benares), or of Indrajit himself. With her at midnight the moon had dalliance. She awoke and saw the moon going away, and was about to curse him saying,—“I am not a Gautam woman that I should be thus treated.” When he replied,—“The curse of Sri Krishna has been fulfilled. Your son will become a mighty hero, and will reign from the sunrise to the sunset.” Hemāvati said,—“Tell me that spell whereby my son may be absolved.” He answered,—“You will have a son and he will be your expiation,” and he gave her this spell,—“When the time of your delivery comes leave to Asu, near Kalinjar, and there dwell. When within a short time of being delivered, cross the River Ken and go to Khajrain, where Chintaman Banya lives, and stay with him. Your son shall perform the great sacrifice. In this iron age sacrifices are not perfect. I will appear as a Brāhman and complete the sacrifice. Then your absolution will be complete.” The fruit of this amour was Chandia Varma, said to have been born in A. D. 157, and from him to Parmal Deo, whose fort Kalinjar was taken by Kutb-ud-dīn in 1202 A. D., there are said to have been by one account forty-nine and by another twenty-three generations.

2. By another version their original birthplace was Kalinjar. The King of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the

<sup>1</sup> *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Settlement Report*, 295.

<sup>3</sup> Partly based on notes by M. Jumna Din, Teacher of the Samarpur School, and M. Ramulāy, teacher of the School at Mahoba, Hamirpur District.

day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (*páran-mási*), whereas it was really the Amâvas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear at once full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared, and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house; so she wandered into the jungle, and there her child was born. There a Banâphar Râjput saw her and took her home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone, and as his name was Mani Râm, he is now worshipped as Maniya Deva. The Chandel ascendancy in Bundelkhand between the supremacy of the Gond and the advent of the Muhammadans is a well-known historical fact; it was during this period that the great irrigation works in the Hamîrpur District, the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygarh, and the noble temples of Khajurâhu and Mahoba were built.

3. All these legends may point indirectly to some flaw in the tribal pedigree. We know that the Mirzapur legend of Oran Deo closely connects them with the aboriginal Sonis as the Oudh story suggests kinship with the Bhars.<sup>1</sup> The Unâo branch say they come from Chanderi, in the Dakkhin, whence they emigrated after the overthrow of the Bundelkhand kingdom of Mahoba by Prithivi Râja in spite of the bravery of the Banâphar heroes Alah and Udâl.<sup>2</sup> Part of them emigrated to Unâo as late as the reign of Aurangzeb. As for the Eastern branch of the sept they are admitted to be of Sombansi origin, but do not intermarry with the leading tribes. The Bundelas are by one account a spurious breed between them and slave girls.<sup>3</sup> One of the Cawnpur families fasten their coats on the right side of the chest like Muhammadans. They say they do this in memory of the Dehi Emperors who remitted their tribute.<sup>4</sup>

4. In Bundelkhand they are reported<sup>5</sup> to give their daughters in marriage to Jâdons, Sisodhiyas, Sengars, Kachhwshas, Bhadauriyas, and Tomars; but

Manners and customs.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirzapur Gazetteer*, 120, sqq. Bennett, *Clans of Rdé Bareils*.

<sup>2</sup> *Oudh Gazetteer*, Introduction, XXXVI, *Indian Antiquary*, I, 265 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Elliott, *Chronicles of Unco*, 23-54.

<sup>4</sup> *Stephanian, Eastern India*, II, 458.

<sup>5</sup> *Settlement Report*, 20.

they take girls only from tribes of the higher rank. After the bride is brought to her husband's house, Devi is worshipped with the accompaniment of singing and dancing, and then the bride marks the door with her spread hand smeared with *aspan* or a mixture of powdered rice and turmeric. The maximum number of wives that a man can take is seven; but the usual number is two or three. Betrothal is usually performed in infancy and marriage very early in life. The family barber often arranges the match, but now-a-days a regular marriage broker is sometimes appointed. Some dower is always given by the father of the bride. A wife may be divorced if she contracts leprosy or if she be unfaithful. Such women cannot marry again.

5. When the pregnancy of a woman is announced the ceremony of *chauk* is performed in the fifth or seventh month. The husband and wife are seated in a sacred enclosure (*chauk*), while a Brâhman recites texts. After the ceremony parched rice and sweetmeats are distributed to the brethren. At her confinement the mother is attended by a sweeper woman for three days, and by a barber woman for forty days. When the delivery takes place, an old woman of the family smears her hand with oil and makes a mark on the wall of the room, after which the cord is cut. The mother bathes on the third day, after which the ceremony of *charua* is done, and this is followed by the usual sixth day observance (*chhatthi*).

6. The betrothal (*mangni*) consists in the bride's barber coming to the house of the bridegroom and marking his forehead (*ikku*). Their marriage and death ceremonies are of the ordinary orthodox form.

7. Their special god is Mahâdeva, who is worshipped by men, and Devi by women and children.

8. In Oudh the Chandels take brides from the Chauhân, Gaharwâr, Raikwâr, Janwâr, and Dhâkrê septs: and give wives to the Gaur, Sombansi, and Punwâr. In Azamgarh they receive wives from the Baranwâr, Kâlan, Singhel, Udmatiya, Donwâr and Gaharwar septs: and give their daughters to the Garghansî, Gautam, Palwâr, Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, Kausik, Raghubansî, Bais and Chandrabansî.

*Distribution of Chandel Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahāranpur . . . . .	18	24	42
Muzaffarnagar . . . . .	17	...	17
Meerut . . . . .	2	...	2
Bulandshahr . . . . .	265	1	266
Aligarh . . . . .	45	.	45
Muthura . . . . .	32	10	42
Agra . . . . .	119	.	119
Farrukhābād . . . . .	1,319	16	1,365
Mainpuri . . . . .	220	45	265
Etāwah . . . . .	681	...	681
Etah . . . . .	82	...	82
Eareilly . . . . .	342	...	342
Budāun . . . . .	1,088	29	1,067
Morādābād . . . . .	60	...	60
Shāhjahanpur . . . . .	5,632	85	5,717
Pilibhīt . . . . .	228	...	228
Cawnpur . . . . .	12,868	...	12,868
Fatehpur . . . . .	1,765	4	1,769
Bānda . . . . .	958	...	958
Hamirpur . . . . .	554	94	648
Allahābād . . . . .	1,659	27	1,686
Jhānsi . . . . .	84	31	115
Jālaun . . . . .	978	117	1,095
Lalitpur . . . . .	125	...	125
Benares . . . . .	1,944	58	2,002
Mirzapur . . . . .	4,947	..	4,947
Jaunpur . . . . .	7,901	8	7,909

*Distribution of Chandel Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus	Muham- madans	TOTAL.
Ghāzipur . . . . .	806	257	1,063
Ballia . . . . .	3,109		3,109
Gorakhpur . . . . .	3,429	60	3,489
Basti . . . . .	228	602	830
Azamgarh . . . . .	5,186	88	5,274
Lucknow . . . . .	810	15	825
Unāo . . . . .	2,834	74	2,908
Rāo Bareilly . . . . .	1,037	51	1,088
Sitapur . . . . .	491	267	758
Hardoi . . . . .	5,379	37	5,416
Kheri . . . . .	480	121	611
Faizābād . . . . .	906	21	927
Gonda . . . . .	301		391
Bahīāch . . . . .	195	40	235
Sultānpur . . . . .	751	131	882
Partābgarh . . . . .	315	12	327
Bārabanki . . . . .	886	19	905
TOTAL . . . . .	71,146	2,344	73,490

**Chandrabansi.**—Properly the race of the moon (*Chandra-vansa*). One of the two great divisions of the Kshatriya race, of whom a full account is given in the second chapter of Colonel Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." In these Provinces it is the title of a separate sept, who are quite distinct from the Chandels who claim to represent the ancient children of the moon. They are most numerous in the Bulandshahr District.

2. In Azamgarh they claim to belong to the Bhārgava *gotra*; they receive brides from the Bisen, Sakarwār, Nandwak, Rāthaur, Palwār, Gautam, Ujjani, Chandel, Bais, Udmatiya, Singhel, and Kansik septs; and marry their daughters to the Garghansi, Raghu-

bansi, Sûrajbansi, Chauhân, and Sirnet. In Aligarh they take girls from the Gahlot, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Bargûjar, Solankhi, Bâchhal, Jais, Janghâra, and Pundîr, and give brides to the Chauhân, Gahlot, Bargûjar, Puzwâr, Tomar, Râthaur, Kachhwâha, Janghâra, and Dhâkra septs.

*Distribution of the Chandrabansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . . .	7	Jhânsi . . . .	81
Muzaffarnagar . . .	2	Jâlaun . . . .	3
Meerut . . . . .	40	Benares . . . .	509
Balandshahr . . . .	2,340	Ghâzipur . . . .	12
Aligarh . . . . .	1,007	Bellia . . . . .	79
Mathura . . . . .	205	Gorakhpur . . . .	121
Agia . . . . .	60	Basti . . . . .	94
Farrukhâbâd . . . .	411	Azamgarh . . . .	883
Mainpuri . . . . .	14	Kumaun . . . . .	25
Etâwah . . . . .	10	Tarâi . . . . .	51
Etah . . . . .	16	Râi Bareli . . . .	22
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	13	Sitapur . . . . .	7
Shâhjâhanpur . . . .	32	Hardoi . . . . .	63
Cawnpur . . . . .	14	Kheri . . . . .	126
Fatehpur . . . . .	26	Sultânpur . . . . .	13
Bânda . . . . .	1	Bâbanki . . . . .	1
		TOTAL . . . . .	5,788

**Charandâsi.**—A Vaishnava sect which takes its name from its founder, Charan Dâs, of the Dhûsar caste, who was born at Dehra, in the Alwar State in 1703. His father was Murli Dhûsar, who died when his son, then called Ranjît Singh, was only five years old. "The boy then emigrated to Delhi and lived with some relations



there. He became a disciple of Bāba Sukhdeva Dās, a religious faqīr of high religious attainments, at the age of nineteen, at Sukra Tāl, near Muzaffarnagar, who gave him the name of Rāmcharan Dās. Afterwards Charan Dās established a separate religious order in his own name, and, like others, preached, and made many disciples. His principal disciples were Swāmi Rāmrûp, Gusāin Jagatān, and a woman named Shāhgolāi. Each of these established a monastery in Delhi and obtained grants from the Mughal Emperors, which have been confirmed by the British Government.<sup>1</sup>

2. Of the tenets of the sect, Prof. Wilson<sup>2</sup> writes:—"Their doctrines of universal emanation are much the same as those of the Vedānta school, although they correspond with the Vaishnava sects in maintaining the great source of all things, or Brahma to be Krishna; reverence of the Guru, and assertion of the pre-eminence of faith above every other distinction, are also common to them with other Vaishnava sects, from whom probably they only differ in requiring no other qualification of caste, order, or even of sect, for their teachers; they affirm, indeed, that originally they differed from other sects of Vaishnavas in worshipping no sensible representations of the deity, and in excluding even the *tulasi* plant and the Sālagrāma stone from their devotions; they have, however, they admit, recently adopted them, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Rāmanand: another peculiarity in their system is the importance they attach to morality, and they do not acknowledge faith to be independent of works; actions, they maintain, invariably meet with retribution or reward; their moral code, which they seem to have borrowed from the Mādnavas, if not from a purer source, consist of ten prohibitions. They are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to offer violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations are,—to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Māya, created the universe, and

<sup>1</sup> MacLagan, *Panjab Census Report*, 1880, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays*, I, 178.

has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Krishna at Brindaban.

3. "The followers of Charan Dâs are both clerical and secular; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order, the former lead a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments, and a single streak of sandal or *gopichandana* down the forehead; the necklace and rosary are of Tulasi beads. They wear also a small, pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous; in fact, though they profess mendicancy they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples. It is possible, indeed, that this sect, considering its origin and the class by which it is professed, arose out of an attempt to shake off the authority of the Gokulastha Gusâins. The authorities of the sect are the Sri Bhâgwat and Gîta, of which they have Bhâsha translations; that of the former is ascribed, at least in parts, to Charan Dâs himself; he has also left original works, as the Sandeha Sâgar and Dharma Jihâj, in a dialogue between him and his teacher, Sukhdeva, the same, according to Charan Dâs, as the pupil of Vyâsa and narrator of the Purânas. The first disciple of Charan Dâs was his own sister, Sahaji Bâi, and she succeeded to her brother's authority as well as learning, having written the Sahaj Prakash and Solah Tat Nunâja. They have both left many Sakdas and Kavita. Other works in Bhâsha have been composed by various teachers of the sect. The chief seat of the Charan Dâsis is at Delhi, where is the Samâdh or monument of the founder. This establishment consists of about twenty resident members. There are also five or six similar Mathas at Delhi and others in the upper part of the Duâb, and their numbers are said to be rapidly increasing."

4. Unlike other dissenting sects the Charandâsis keep idols in their temples and respect Brâhmanas, who are found as members of the sect. Their sacred place is Dehra, the birthplace of their chief, where there is a monument over his navel string, and his garment and rosary are kept. "The Charandâsi breviary (*gufka*) exhibits more Sanskrit learning than those of the other sects, and instead of passing allusions to mythology, goes into details regarding Sri Krishna's family, and merely popularises the orthodox Sanskrit teaching. Thus there is a chapter on one of the Upanishads and another from the Bhâgwat Purâna. Its style is, perhaps, more full and expressive, and less involved than other books of the same

class. The Sādhs hold to the vernacular, and some time ago are said to have resented an attempt of a learned Chauhan Dāsi to substitute Sanskrit verse for the vulgar tongue. The breviary contains the Sanedha Sāgar and the Dharmā Jilāj mentioned above. One rather striking chapter professedly taken from some Sanskrit book should be called Nāsa Kshetra's Inferno. Nāsa Kshetra is permitted to visit the hells, and to see the torments of sinners, which are described in detail, and the sins of each class specified. It is, in fact, an amplification of the Purānic account of Naraka, adapted to impress the minds of the vulgar. Nāsa Kshetra is then taken to visit heaven, and subsequently returns to earth to relate what he has witnessed."<sup>1</sup>

*Distribution of the Charandāsīs according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . . .	11	Cawnpur . . . .	11
Meerut . . . . .	47	Īānda . . . . .	7
Bulandshahr . . . . .	25	Hamirpur . . . . .	10
Agra . . . . .	7	Jhānsi . . . . .	1
Bijnor . . . . .	22	Jālaun . . . . .	10
Morādābād . . . . .	6	Tarāi . . . . .	2
Shāhjahānpur . . . . .	2		
		TOTAL	161

**Chaubē**—[Sanskrit: *Chaturvedika*—"one skilled in the four Vedas;" according to others because they use four fire-pits (*vedi*).—A sub-caste of Brāhmans who have their head-quarters at Mathura, whence they are very commonly known as Mathura ke Chaubē, Mathur or Mathuriya.

2. They are a sub-division of the great Kanaujiya stock, and according to Dr. Wilson,<sup>2</sup> their principal sub-divisions are,—Nayapura, Hargadi, Chaukhar, Kataya, Rāmpura, Paliya, Hardās-

<sup>1</sup> *Rajputana Gazetteer*, III, 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Caste*, II, 155.

pura, Tibariya, Jamaduva, and Gargeya. According to another account they have seven *gotras* and sixty-four *als*: of these it has been found impossible to obtain a full list. The best known of the seven *gotras* are Bhāradwāja, Dhuma, Sana, Astra, and Daksha. Some of their *als* are Pānrô, Pāthak, Misra, Lapsê, Soti, Bharatwâr, Jonmanê, Ghebariya, Chhiraûra, Donrwâr, and Tivâri.

3. The local legend tells that during the Varāha incarnation of Vishnu, the Daitya Hiranyāksha, twin brother of Hiranya-Kasipu, the hero of the Holi legend, came to fight with the deity. Varāha killed him, but was smitten with remorse, as his antagonist had been a Brāhman. So he sat down on the Visrânt Ghât at Mathura, and began to meditate how he could atone for the sin which he had committed. From the perspiration which the deity rubbed from his body sprang the Chaubê's of Mathura. With their aid he performed a sacrifice and cleansed himself from his iniquity.

4. The Chaubê's of Mathura are endogamous. It is said that their women can never live beyond the land of Braj. Hence the verse,—*Mathura ki beti, Gokul ki gâc, Karam phûtê to ant jâê.* "Mathura girls and Gokul cows will never move while fate allows."

This custom of endogamy results in two exceptional usages—first, that marriage contracts are often made while one or even both the parties are still unborn; and, secondly, that little or no regard is paid to relative age; thus a Chaubê, if his friend has no available daughter to bestow upon him, will agree to wait for his first granddaughter. They will not, if it can possibly be avoided, marry in their own *gotra*; but instances are said to occur in which this law of exogamy is not observed. According to Mr. Raikes<sup>1</sup> they have four varieties of marriage, called in the jargon of the tribe—*awwal byâk* or "first class," of which the total cost is Rs. 225; *doom* or "second class," costing Rs. 175; *tişra* or "third class," costing Rs. 75, and *kora* or "mean," where only one rupee is paid by the bride's folk; but no disgrace attaches to this cheap wedding.

5. "They are still very celebrated as wrestlers, and in the Mathura Mahâtmya their learning and other virtues are also extolled in the most extravagant terms; but either the writer was prejudiced, or time has had a sadly deteriorating effect. They are now ordinarily described by their own countrymen as a low, ignorant horde

<sup>1</sup> Notes, 30.

of rapacious mendicants. Like the Prágwālas at Allahābād, they are the recognised local cicerones; and they may always be seen with their portly forms lolling about near the most popular ghāts and temples, ready to bear down on the first pilgrim that approaches. One of their most notable peculiarities is that they are very reluctant to make a match with an outsider, and if by any possibility it can be managed they will always find bridegrooms for their daughters among the residents of the town. Many years ago a considerable migration was made to Mainpuri, where the Mathuriya Chaubés now form a large and wealthy section of the community, and are in every way of better repute than the parent stock.<sup>1</sup> Another peculiarity of them is their notorious love for *bhang* and sweetmeats. All are Vaishnavas and worshippers of Sri Krishna.

6. Their women are well known for their beauty and delicacy of form. A native traveller<sup>2</sup> writes:—"The Chaubānis are in the grandest style of beauty. The whole class is superb, and the general character of their figure is majestic. Their colour is the genuine classical colour of the Brāhmins of antiquity." It is peculiar with them to celebrate a number of marriages the same day in order to save expense. Their greediness is proverbial—*Achhē bhacē atal, prān gacē nikal*—"A life is well lost that is lost in gorging sweets."

*Distribution of Chaubé Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT	Number	DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dūn . . . .	9	Mainpuri . . . .	1,061
Sahāranpur . . . .	17	Etāwah . . . .	122
Muzaffarnagar . . .	3	Etah . . . .	320
Meerut . . . .	19	Bareilly . . . .	249
Bulandshahr . . . .	243	Budāun . . . .	300
Aligarh . . . .	109	Morādābād . . . .	388
Mathura . . . .	5,036	Filibhit . . . .	20
Agra . . . .	2,293	Cawnpur . . . .	166
Farrukhābād . . . .	90	Allahābād . . . .	135

<sup>1</sup> Growse, *Mathura*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Bholanāth Chandra, *Travels* II, 36.

*Distribution of Chaubé Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891—conold.*

DISTRICT.	Number	DISTRICT	Number.
Jhānsi . . . .	1	Kumaun . . . .	2
Lahpur . . . .	4	Tarāi . . . .	3
Benares . . . .	27	Lucknow . . . .	9
Mirzapur . . . .	83	Sitapur . . . .	129
Ghāzi-pur . . . .	79	Bahāich . . . .	94
Gorakhpur . . . .	114	Sultānpur . . . .	5
		TOTAL	11,020
Males . . . . .			5,452
Females . . . . .			5,568

**Chauhân.**—An important sept of Rājputs. The Brāhmanical legend of their origin is thus described by Colonel Tod<sup>1</sup> — “Again the Brāhmins kindled the sacred fire, and the priests assembling round the fire pit (*agnikunda*) prayed for aid to Mahādeva. From the fire fountain a figure issued out, but he had not a warrior’s mien. The Brāhmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and hence his name Prithu-ha-dwāra. A second issued forth and being formed in the palm (*challu*) of the hand was named Chalūka. A third appeared and was named Pramāra. He had the blessing of the Rishis, and with the others went against demons; but they did not prevail. Again Vasishttha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid; and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadri-form (*Chatu-ranga*), whence his name Chauhân.” Another account derives the name from the Sanskrit Chaturbāhu, the name of the first king of the tribe. General Cunningham<sup>2</sup> shows from inscriptions that even as late as the time of Prithivi Rāja, the Chauhāns had no claim to be sprung from fire, but were content to be considered descendants

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, I, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Reports*, II, 255



of the sage Bhrigu through Jamadagnya Vatsa, and he suggests another explanation of the fabled descent from fire, which does not seem very probable. According to tradition the famous city of Analpur, or Analwâra Patan, the capital of the Solankis, was said to have been founded by Vana Râja Solanki, who named it after Anala, a Chauhân cowherd, who pointed out the site to him. According to another version, the place was originally established by Anala Chauhân himself. As the date of the event was unknown, and was certainly remote, Anala was placed at the head of all the Chauhân genealogies as the progenitor of the race. Then, as Anala means "fire," it naturally follows that the cowherd was dropped and the element of fire adopted as the originator of the race. He adds that in early times the name is written Chahuwân in agreement with the Chahumân of the old Shaikhâwâti inscription of A.D. 961, and is pointedly derived from the Hindi *chah* "desire or choice," which is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *ichchha*. Dr. Buchanan<sup>1</sup> derives the name from *chintapanana*, "the thought purifier," and the low grade so-called Chauhâns of Bijnoi say they are so named because when crossing the Indus with Mân Singh's army in 1588 A.D., they lost the four requisites (*chau* "four", *hân* "loss") of Hindu communion, religion (*dharma*), ceremonies (*riti*), piety (*daya*) and duties (*karma*).

2 Of the Oudh Chauhâns, Sir C. Elliot writes<sup>1</sup> :—"In all probability they followed closely on the Dikhts in the date of their immigration. They colonised a tract of land which lies south of Dikhtiyâna, with the Panwârs, Bâchhals, and Panhârs between it and the River Ganges. Chauhâna is the name popularly given to this tract, which is properly said to consist of ninety villages. The traditional cause which led to the migration is as follows :—A certain Râja of Manipuri married a second wife in his old age, though his first wife had borne him two sons. The bride expostulated with her family at being given in marriage to so old a man, and stipulated that if she had a son he should succeed to the estate and the title. The Râja agreed, and signed a written acknowledgment to that effect. After some time he died ; but his wife had already borne him a son, and on his death she produced the bond which the Râja had signed. All the brotherhood agreed that they ought to abide

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern India*, II, 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicles of Oude*, 42, sq.

by it. The two elder brothers left the country in disgust and settled in Oudh. The traditions of different villages in Chauhâna differ as to the names of these two brothers, and it is stated that only one of them remained here and the other went on to the borders of the Gomati and settled in Isauli, where there is now a large Chauhân colony. But as the whole of the great colonies of Bachgotis, Rajkumârs, Rajwârs, and Khânzâdas, who rule in the Faizâbâd and Sultânpur Districts, are Chauhâns disguised under various names, and originally emigrated from Mainpuri about the same time, it is safe to trust an isolated local tradition as to any close connection existing between any of these two colonies. It is sufficient to remark that they are all of the same *gotra*, and therefore belong to the same stock."

3. The most conspicuous families and those of the bluest blood are those of Mainpuri, Rajor, Pratâpner, and Chakarnagar. The Mainpuri family,<sup>1</sup> the head of the sept, is said to have settled in the Central Duâb in the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. They are generally represented to be the lineal descendants of Pratâp Rudra, who was son of Râna Sangat, the great grandson of Chalur Deva, the brother of Prithivi Râja, the last Chauhân King of Delhi, who was conquered by Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori in 1193 A. D. It is almost certain, however, that the real founder of this important branch of the Chauhâns was Deva Brahma, a less distinguished cadet of the same house. Shortly after the defeat of Prithivi Râja and the fall of the Chauhân dynasty, Brahma, accompanied by a numerous following of kinsmen and retainers, left his original seat at Nimîâna and settled at Pratâpner, near Bhongâon, in the Mainpuri District. The founder of this branch was Pratâp Rudra, who is constantly mentioned in the Makhzan-i-Afghâni of Niyâmat-ulla as having played a prominent part in the reign of Muhammad Ala-ud-dîn and Bahlol Lodi. He held Bhongâon, Kampil, and Patiyâli, and was confirmed by Bahlol Lodi as Governor of that part of the country. In the war between Bahlol and the Sharqi monarch of Jaunpur, Râê Pratâp and Qutb Khân, the Afghân Governor of the adjoining District of Râpri, acted in concert, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, and presumably on account of the assassination of Narasinha Deva, son of Râê Pratâp, they organised a conspiracy against Sultân

<sup>1</sup> Mainpuri Settlement Report, 17, sqq.

Bahlol and compelled him to retreat towards Delhi, leaving the Jannpur King in possession of the Central and Lower Duâb. A tradition runs that a Chanhân being sorely pressed by his son-in-law, and smarting under the sense of disgrace, as the father of a married daughter seemed to entail upon him, called together his son and bound them by an oath to save his family from future contempt by killing every female child that might be born to them. Since then the sept has borne an evil reputation for the practice of infanticide.<sup>1</sup>

4. One family in Lucknow are called Rakhula, because it is said that one of them had to lay an evil spirit, a Brahma Râkhasa, before he could occupy the village. Another story is that this family had a Churel as their ancestress.<sup>2</sup> In Mathura<sup>3</sup> the sept is classed as pure, because they do not allow widow-marriage. The Bareilly<sup>4</sup> branch say that ten generations back (1500—1550 A.D.), Nandhar Deva and Gandhar Deva came to Parauli in Budâun, and thence moving on expelled the Bhîls from Bîrauli. The Gorakhpur branch are alleged by Dr. Buchanan<sup>5</sup> to have intermarried with impure Hill tribes, and to have a Chinese caste of features. In Bulandshahr<sup>6</sup> one branch accepted Islâm as they murdered the Muhammadan Governor of Sikandarâbâd, and another adopted widow-marriage, and have been expelled from the tribe. The legitimate Azamgarh branch trace its origin to Sambhal, in the Morâdâbâd District.<sup>7</sup>

5. In addition to the above, who claim legitimate descent, there are others whose position is more than doubtful. Such are those in Morâdâbâd and Bijnor, some of whom say they were originally Gahlot, others Gaur, Bais, Pânwâr, and so on.<sup>8</sup> They appear to be divided into three classes—Chaudhari, Padhân, and Klûgi. The last of these are the lowest, widow-marriage being permitted among them. The Chaudhari do not give their daughters to the Padhân, but take theirs.

They, as a rule, worship Mahâdeva and Devi. In Morâdâbâd, by one account, they take their name from *chûha*, "a rat," which would

<sup>1</sup> Raikes, *Notes*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Settlement Report*, LXVII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Eastern India*, II, 462.

<sup>6</sup> Bâja Lachhman Singh, *Memo*, 164, sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Settlement Report*, 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Census Report*, 1865, Table IV, 6.

connect them with distinctly non-Aryan races like the Musahar. They are said to have been driven into the Sub-Himalyan Tarāi by the advancing Thākurs and Ahars. Similar and probably akin to these are the Aswāl of the hill, who also claim Chauhān origin.<sup>1</sup>

6. To the west of the Province the true Chauhāns usually seek alliances for their daughters with the Kachhwāha, Badhauriya, Baghel, and Rāthaur, and the humble Chauhān will take a wife from the Parihār of Bundelkhand or the Jādon of Karauli. In Rāē Bareli their sons marry Bisen girls, and their girls Kalhans and Burheliya youths. In Faizābād they marry their sons to Bais and Gautam girls and their daughters to the Panwār, Chamar Gaur, Sūrajbars, and Raikwār. Their ancestor is said to have married a Kalhans maiden. From Bulandshahr it is reported that the Chauhāns give brides to the Panwār, Rāthaur, Gahlot, Tilokchandi Bais, Kachhwāha, Sisodiya, and other high class Rājputs; and marry Baigūjar, Pundit, Katheriya, Bāchhal, Gahlot, and other high caste Rājput girls. In Unāo they usually marry their girls in the Kachhwāha, Rāthaur, Janwār, Gahlot, or Panwār septs, and their sons to the Sombansi, Sakarwāre, or Chandel. In Gonda they give brides to the Bhadauniya, Sengar, Rāthaur, or Bisen: their sons to the Bais, Bisen or other respectable Rājput septs. The bastard Chauhāns marry much lower caste people.<sup>2</sup>

*Distribution of Chauhān Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhammadians.	TOTAL.
Delra Dūn . . . . .	4,046	248	4,294
Sabāranpur . . . . .	13,250	7,766	21,016
Muzaffarnagar . . . . .	7,041	4,056	11,097
Meerut . . . . .	19,529	179	19,708
Bulandshahr . . . . .	13,944	7,236	21,180
Aligarh . . . . .	16,344	51	16,395
Mathura . . . . .	3,825	416	4,241

<sup>1</sup> Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 276.

<sup>2</sup> *Eastern India*, II, 462.

*Distribution of Chauhan Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL
Agra . . . . .	11 939	154	12,093
Farrukhabad . . . . .	5,495	7	5,502
Mainpuri . . . . .	24,680	15	24,695
Etawah . . . . .	9,897	168	10,065
Etah . . . . .	13,706	943	14,649
Bareilly . . . . .	7,011	239	7,250
Bijnor . . . . .	77,890	...	77,890
Budann . . . . .	6,868	283	6,651
Moradabad . . . . .	37,836	1,228	39,064
Shahjahanpur . . . . .	9,016	375	9,391
Pilibhit . . . . .	2,082	13	2,095
Cawnpur . . . . .	8,794	106	8,900
Fatehpur . . . . .	2,847	76	2,923
Banda . . . . .	1,498	43	1,541
Hamirpur . . . . .	533	19	552
Allahabad . . . . .	1,483	523	2,006
Jhansi . . . . .	753	39	792
Jalaun . . . . .	5,515	9	5,524
Mathurapur . . . . .	578	24	602
Benares . . . . .	591	253	844
Mirzapur . . . . .	1,675	23	1,698
Jaunpur . . . . .	1,680	989	2,669
Ghazipur . . . . .	1,356	656	2,012
Ballia . . . . .	2,131	357	2,488
Gorakhpur . . . . .	3,461	4,649	8,110
Basti . . . . .	1,749	10,453	12,202
Asamgarh . . . . .	2,925	3,926	6,851

*Distribution of Chaudhān Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—condol.*

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Kunaua . . . . .	134	...	134
Tarāi . . . . .	7,937	...	7,937
Lucknow . . . . .	5,745	151	5,896
Unāo . . . . .	10,540	16	10,556
RĀĀ Bareli . . . . .	6,189	797	6,986
Sitapur . . . . .	5,562	3,424	8,986
Hardoi . . . . .	6,712	...	6,712
Kheri . . . . .	4,127	2,766	7,393
Faizābād . . . . .	5,858	1,978	7,836
Gonda . . . . .	8,997	402	3,799
Baṭrāich . . . . .	2,678	6,845	9,523
Sultānpur . . . . .	4,425	1,478	5,903
Parlābgarh . . . . .	3,065	144	3,209
Bārabanki . . . . .	3,356	840	4,196
TOTAL	397,343	64,363	461,706

**Chaupata Khamb.**—A Rājput sept found in small numbers in the Benares division. According to Mr. Sherring<sup>1</sup> in the city of Benares they are chiefly engaged in the manufacture of fine wire used in the frames on which cloth of various description is woven. They trace their descent to two Sarwariya Brāhman brothers, Baldeo and Kuldeo, who settled at Pathkhauli, in the Jaunpur district. Rāja Jay Chand is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Baldeo, on which Kuldeo, to mark his anger, erected a pillar (*khamb*), and the descendants of Baldeo are hence called *chaupata* or "ruined."

**Chauseni.**—(*Chān*, four; *senā*, an army).—A sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions. They are said to be a spurious branch of the Bārāsēni (*q v.*). They

<sup>1</sup> *Hindu Tribes*, I, 229.



hold very low rank among Banyas. Till recently all the higher castes refused to eat and drink things touched by them. They say they came from Mathura, and claim descent from Chânûra the wrestler of Râja Kansa, from whom Chamârs also say they are sprung. Another story is that they are descended from one Râja Phonda of Chandern by an unmarried woman named Kundahya.

*Distribution of Chauseni Banyas according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT	Number	DISTRICT.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . . .	30	Etah . . . . .	783
Meerut . . . . .	85	Bareilly . . . . .	424
Bulandshah . . . . .	5,244	Bijnor . . . . .	6
Aligarh . . . . .	2,177	Budhun . . . . .	1,261
Mathura . . . . .	423	Morâdâbâd . . . . .	1,042
Agra . . . . .	106	Shâhjalânpur . . . . .	2
Farrukhabâd . . . . .	75	Pilibhit . . . . .	150
Mainpuri . . . . .	6	Cawnpur . . . . .	6
Etâwah . . . . .	3		
		TOTAL . . . . .	11,803

**Chero.**—A Dravidian race of labourers and cultivators found in the hill country of Muzapuri where they number according to the last Census 4,581. The word may be possibly of non-Aryan origin. It has been connected with the Hindi *chela* (Sanskrit *chetaka*, *chelaka* "a slave"). Sir G. Campbell's<sup>1</sup> theory that that Chero-Khero, Khairwâr is not probable. The ethnology of the Cheros has been to some extent obscured by the fact that they are in Bengal perhaps the most advanced of the Dravidian races. Colonel Dalton calls them the last Kolarian tribe dominant in the Gangetic Provinces.<sup>2</sup> They are said in Shâhâbâd to have been rulers of the country extending from Charanadri, the modern Chunâr, to

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1866 Part II. According to Dr. J. Muir they were perhaps the Kikatas of the Sanskrit writers—*Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, II, 363. The Kikatas appear to have been residents of the modern Bihâr.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive Ethnology*, 125.



Gridhaya kot (Gridhā), and from the Ganges to the hills which now form the boundary of South Bihār, including the entire extent of the country in the Patna division south of the Ganges. The names of the Kol Rāj and the Chero Rāj are now indiscriminately applied by the natives of the South Bihār to the kingdom of the aborigines.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton they extended as far as Gorakhpur or Kosala, and destroyed the family of the Sun in Ajudhya, as well as that of the Moon in Magadha.<sup>2</sup>

2. A tradition recorded by Mr. Forbes<sup>3</sup> states that Kesho Nāīāyan Sinh, a Bundya Rājput, and Rāja of Garhgūmti, in Bundelkhand, was blessed with an only daughter: being anxious to learn the future that was in store for her, he sent for a learned Brāhman and requested him to draw her horoscope. The Brāhman did so, and declared it was ordained that the young girl, if married at all, could wed no other than a Muni, or one to all intents and purposes dead. On learning this the Rāja determined to go to some holy shrine and offer (*sankalap*) his daughter to the first Muni he could find. He started accordingly taking his daughter with him, and when passing through the Morong,<sup>4</sup> he one day encamped in a tope of trees near to which there was a mound. Enquiring from the people what this mound was, he learned that it was the living sepulchre of a very pious Muni Chamman Muni Rishu. The Rāja immediately called for spade and shovel, unearthed the holy man, and made the girl over to him. From this marriage sprung the Chero or Chauhānbansi Rājputs. Their son was Chet Râê, who expelled the Rāthaur lords of the country. After him the following Chero Rājas ruled Kumaun—Chhattardis Râê, Udit Râê, Udaud Râê, and Choân Râê, whose son, Phûl Chand, conquered Bhojpur or South Bihar. The Cheros entered Palamau in 1612 A. D., and ruled the district for nearly two hundred years, when they were expelled by the British.

3. General Cunningham accepts the account that they were conquered by the Saura tribe in Shahābād and Benares. In Shahābād, the ancient Karusha Desa, all old buildings are ascribed to them. Even as late as the time of Akbar a Chero chief is said to have kept possession of Chayanpuri, one of the chief towns in the district.

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Review*, CXXXVII, 351.

<sup>2</sup> *Eastern India*, II, 341.

<sup>3</sup> *Settlement Report of Palamau*, 28, sqq.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably the Morang, now one of the Nepal Districts.

General Cunningham thinks their power must have ceased before the accession of the Pála dynasty. One ancient chief or ruling family among them appears to have been known as Chero Chai.<sup>1</sup>

4. There are no Cheros now in Ghâzipur; but Dr. Oldham describes those on the Ghâzipur frontier as honest, industrious cultivators, not differing from Hindus of the agricultural classes. The family records of the Hayobans Râjas, formerly of Bihîya, and now of Haldi, notice a conflict between the Chero and Hayobans chiefs which lasted for hundreds of years, and terminated in the triumph of the Râjputs. As late as the reign of the Afghân Emperor Shîr Shâh the power of the Cheros was formidable, and on his overcoming Maharta, a chief of the tribe, he indulged in transports of delight. On the Kaimûr plateau the last famous robbers were Nora and Kora, who were captured in 1858.<sup>2</sup> Their village was Chirvi, called after the tribe, as are the Cherand Paigana and Cherand Island in the Sâran District.<sup>3</sup>

5. But in spite of their Brâhmanical traditions and extensive conquests they are undoubtedly, as Dr. Buchanan Hamilton asserted, of Dravidian origin.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Dalton remarks that in Chota Nâgpur their physical traits have been considerably softened by their alliances with pure Hindu families. He describes their features as of the Mongolian, or, as he should rather have said, of the Kolarian or Dravidian type. They vary in colour, but are usually of a light brown. They have, as a rule, high cheek bones, small eyes obliquely set, and eyebrows to correspond; low, broad noses, and large mouths with protuberant lips;<sup>5</sup> in other words, they are not appreciably different from the other Dravidian tribes, like the Kols, Majhwârs, etc. This is further shown by the fact that in Mirzapur they are popularly known as Baiga, the devil priest, which is the special business of the non-Aryan races.

6. There is no trace in Mirzapur of the division into Bârahazâr and Terahazâr of Palamau.<sup>6</sup> South of the  
 Internal structure. Son they have two exogamous sections, Mahto and Chaudhari: others call these sections Nâgbansi, and pretend

<sup>1</sup> *Reports, Archaeological Survey*, XV, 60, XVII, 131, sq: XXII, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Kunwara, "Prince," Neura, Neula, "weasel."

<sup>3</sup> *Memoir of Ghâzipur*, I, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Eastern India*, I, 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Descriptive Ethnology*, 126.

<sup>6</sup> *Tribes and Castes*, I, 199.

that they are like their brethren in Chota Nāgpur, descendants of the Nāg or dragon,<sup>1</sup> and Pandobansi, who say they are connected with the five Pandavas; another statement of the sections shows the composite character of the race—Kol, Chero, Haidaha (from the *haru* tree, *adina cordifolia*), Kariha, Panariha, Kutaha Sinduraha ("those who use red lead"). Some of these are possibly of totemistic origin. The Census Returns give another list—Bardbansi, Bardhān, Bārubansi, Gaya, Khar, and Sūrajbansi.

7. Their custom of exogamy even is uncertain. By one account

*Exogamy.*

first cousins on the father's side cannot intermarry, while marriage of cousins on the mother's side is permitted, and a paternal uncle's son can marry a maternal uncle's daughter, but not *vice versa*. On the other hand, the more Hinduised Cheros profess to regulate exogamy by the stock formula—*chacheia*, *mamera*, *phupera*, *mausera*, which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt. There can be very little doubt that until comparatively recently they used to intermarry with Bhuiyas, as is proved by numerous local traditions. The Bhuiyas, on the other hand, say that they have given up intermarrying with Cheros since the Cheros have taken to intermarry with Kols, and the Cheros at any rate give Kol as one of their sections. South of the Son it is generally asserted that Bhuiyas and Cheros are the same. From all which it would appear that Kols, Cheros and Bhuiyas are of one parent-stock, and have separated by a process of absorption in comparatively recent times.

8. There is no trace of polyandry among them. It is noticed as

*Marriage rules*

peculiar to the Cheros that, unlike the allied Dravidian tribes, whenever they go any distance from home, as to the jungle after cattle, to pay their rent, etc., they always bring their wives with them. It is a tradition among them that formerly the custom was that if a man remained six months absent from his wife, she was at liberty to form a fresh connection: but it is said that this is now obsolete. The standing price for a bride is five rupees, and it is entirely a question of means how many wives a man has. Monogamy appears to be the rule. Some Cheros admit that concubinage is allowed, and that a widow or divorced woman may go and live with anyone she likes; but this

<sup>1</sup> Dalglish, *loc. cit.*, 126

custom, too, appears becoming gradually discredited. Girls are said to be allowed little liberty before marriage; but it seems certain that many marriages are carried out when pregnancy is the result of an ante-nuptial intrigue,<sup>1</sup> in which case the alliance is recognized on her father giving a tribal feast (*bojh bhāt*); but if her paramour be of another caste she is permanently excluded. Like those in Chota Nāgpur<sup>2</sup> the Mirzapur Cheros profess to marry their children between the age of five and ten. Any relation may act as the negotiator (*agua*). Though her father receives the bride-price it is spent on the marriage, and he is expected to give her a dowry as far as his means will allow. The customs regarding divorce, widow-marriage, the levirate, and succession, are the same as among the Kols. The Ghaiaiyān marriage, where the youth serves for his bride on probation in the house of her father, is common.<sup>3</sup>

9. The general scheme of relationship agrees with that of the Kols. A father is *bāba*, *dāda*; father's brother, *kāka*; mother, *didi*; sister, *bahin*; father's mother, *dji*; elder paternal uncle's wife, *barkhi kākī*, younger paternal uncle's wife, *chhutkī kākī*; elder brother's wife, *bhauji*; younger brother's wife, *dulhin*; or bride, son's wife, *patohiya*; maternal uncle, *māmu*; mother's mother *nāni*; mother's sister *mausi*; mother's father *nāna*; mother's grandfather, *parādāna*; wife's father, *mahto*, or "leader;" wife's father's wife, *mahtoān*;" sister's husband, *ār* (*yār*, friend), brother-in-law's father, *mahto*; younger brother of wife, *bābu*. A man names his wife by his son—*Lallu ki mahtāri*—"Lallu's mother." A father is sometimes addressed as *bhaiyya* or "brother." They remember genealogies only to three generations, and in the case of females only as far as the grandmother. They call clansmen living in the same village *ganwān bhāi*.

10. The Cheros mark their approach to Hinduism by having birth ceremonies, puberty ceremonies which are not usual among the allied Dravidian races. On each occasion they sacrifice to Durga Devi and the collective village gods (*deohār*). Cocks, hens, pigs, goats, and liquor constitute the offering which is made by the village Baiga, who first bathes and then before the platform of the deity makes a cowdung fire, into

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Biele, *loc cit.*, I, 201.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck, *loc cit.*, 109.



which he pours a mixture of sugar, butter, sesamum and rice, and says,—*Dih bāba hamār kāraj lohārē kirpa se ho gail; se jdnab; ham manzulē rahlē, so leh*—"Village Lord! Our business has been completed through thy favour! Know this! Accept the offering we owed." After this he sacrifices the victim, which the brethren divide, the head being the Baiga's perquisite. The worship is supposed to keep evil spirits from the mother and her expected baby. The other birth ceremonies are the same as among the Kols.

11. The binding part of the betrothal ceremony is the payment of the bride-price, five rupees. If the father of the girl annul the engagement he is forced to return the bride-price, and is severely dealt with by the tribal council besides.

12. There are three varieties of marriage,—*Charhauso*, which is the respectable form; *dola*, which is used by poor people and in which the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom, and *sagāi*, for widows. The ritual is the same as among the Kols, but the Cheros make more use than they do of Brāhmins in fixing the lucky time, and even now in respectable families Brāhmins attend, but do not carry out the service. Such people are clearly in rapid progress towards complete Hinduism.

12. Similarly in the case of funeral ceremonies they are beginning to employ Brāhmins and to do the regular *śrāddha*, while they still retain some of the non-Aryan practices noticed in the case of the allied Dravidian races.

13. Their chief deities are Sairi, a vague female form sometimes known as Devi, Sitala, the goddess of small pox, and the Dih, or aggregate of village gods, which are worshipped both by men and women. Fowls, goats, and pigs are sacrificed to the Manes, the victim being fed on some rice and marked on the head with red lead in the name of the sainted dead before being sacrificed. During the period of mourning they do worship to the disemodied spirit (*pret*) with an offering of a young pig. For their special worship in the Hindu form they employ a low body of Sarwariya Brāhmins. The worship of the village gods is done by a Baiga of their own tribe, and this local priest is generally the president of the village tribal council. The Baiga pretends to great personal purity, and is supposed to fast on the day he makes the offering. They have apparently quite abandoned the

system of triennial sacrifices which prevails among the Eastern branch of the tribe;<sup>1</sup> but their tribal traditions show that their discontinuance is comparatively recent. The site of the Chero shrine (*deohāi*) is usually under a *nīm* tree where rude earthenware images of horses are collected. The offering very often takes the form of what is called *newaj*, balls of sweetened flour fried in butter. These after being offered are eaten by the family of the worshipper and the Baiga. All their sacrifices are done in public, except those to Dulhadeo, the godling of marriages, who is little more than a household deity, and whose worship is in the hands of the women.

14. Their festivals are the Anant Chaudas, on the 14th day of the light half of Bhādon; the Jiutiya, *Festivals.* during the fortnight sacred to the dead (*pitra paksha*), in Kuār, when women fast for a day and night to procure long life (*jiw*) for their sons and husbands; and the Phagua or Holi. Some Sundays are consecrated to the spirits of the dead, and are called *pretak*, when a fast is imposed, and on Sundays generally as well as at the Anant Chaudas, they do not eat salt. They do the Phagua like ordinary Hindus. In the Pitrapaksha for ten days they pour water on the ground in the name of the dead, and on the eleventh day shave and put on clean clothes. On that day each family gives the Brāhmin two and a-half *sers* of uncooked grain (*sīdha*). The only family festival is the Jiutiya, which some observe to bring good luck on the family, and some in the hope of male offspring. One platform in the house is the residence of the sainted dead and the Devi. They are much afraid of the ghosts of persons drowned (*lūrna*), and whenever they pass a place where such an accident occurred they raise hands in an attitude of supplication.

15. Ancestor worship is fairly well established, but not universal. It can form even the subject of a joke as in a proverb common among these people—*chār kawar bhīlar, tab deota jītar*—"First eat four mouthfuls, then think of the godlings and the sainted dead." Sickness in a family is attributed to the anger of the ancestral ghosts: in such cases fowls and goats are sacrificed in the house, and a few drops of liquor are poured on the ground. On the tenth day after

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, 1, 202.

a death the more Hinduised Cheros give the family priest (*parohit*) a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*), a drinking vessel (*lota*), a tray (*thali*), and grain always in the ratio of one and a-quarter *sers*, maunds, measures (*paseri*). The ghosts of the dead if not propitiated appear in dreams and prescribe the necessary offerings. If the injunctions given by them in the first dream are not obeyed, the next time they sit on the chest and squeeze the throat of the offender. Ghosts (*bhûl*) habitually haunt cremation grounds. Neglect of funeral ceremonies does not necessarily involve the spirit becoming a Bhût, but those who are killed by a Bhût invariably become Bhûts themselves. Tattooing in its present form is little more than ornamental; but it is clearly connected with puberty,<sup>1</sup> and is based in case of women on a religious motive. If a woman die without being tattooed, Paramesar will tattoo her himself with the thorns of acacia (*babûl*). Women pay special reverence to the fig tree (*pîpal*), and bow when they pass near it. They have the usual meeting omens. They do not follow Hindus in giving two names to children. They swear by touching a cow-tail or the feet of a Brâhman or by standing in water while they make a solemn assertion to speak the truth. Poverty, leprosy, or loss of children follows a broken oath.

16 Many of these women have a reputation for witchcraft and the power of casting the Evil Eye. Such people are hated by the Baiga, who gets them out of the village if he can. It is believed that these witches specially select young men and children as their victims. The headquarters of the Ojhas who deal with such cases are at two places called "the house of God" (*Deoghariya*), in Nagar Untari, District Lohardaga; people attacked by witchcraft visit these Ojhas with trays of flowers. There are also local Ojhas usually of the Kharwâr, Majhwâr, or Bhuiyâr tribes, who prescribe in cases of witchcraft and instruct disciples. A favourite method of injuring an enemy is to measure his footsteps in the dust with a straw, and then to mutter a spell over it. This brings on wounds and sores in the foot. There is a special word for this, *pângna*.<sup>2</sup> Disease is popularly believed to be due to demoniacal agency,<sup>3</sup> and people are particularly cautious to destroy outtings of their hair, nails, etc., lest they should come into the

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 177, 180

<sup>2</sup> This is possibly derived from *pad*, foot: *ag*, to move tortuously.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 243.

hands of witches, who would thus obtain control over their victims.<sup>1</sup>

17. The only meat from which Cheros habitually abstain is that of the cow, and the prohibition of its use is based on religious motives. Their taboos are

Social customs.

the same as those of the Kols. Men and women eat apart. They salute Brâhmans and other superiors in the *paélagi* form, to others they salâm. When they meet a superior they very often take off the turban and stand on one leg. They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khâna*) only from the hands of Brâhmans. They, in fact, affect a good deal of ceremonial purity like the Cheros of Palamau and the Khamias.<sup>2</sup> Kalwâis and all the wandering Banyas who go about the country for grain will eat *pakka khâna* and drink water from their hands. Their usual occupations are cultivating, ploughing for others, cutting wood, collecting lac and other jungle produce. They will not breed silkworms, which is considered a most disreputable occupation and left to Bluyârs and Chamârs. They have an elementary communal organisation (*eka*) in which the residents of three or four villages join for general business. But this seems to be on the decline. There is no trace of a periodical distribution of fields, but only the lands near the village site are habitually cultivated. The others are under a system of biennial fallow. In all but the cleared and cultivated lands the right of pasturage is unrestricted. Cheros have a reputation for honesty and good conduct, and they are liked in villages better than Bhuyas or Bhuyâis but they are lazy cultivators.

18. Like all these jungle races they keep their houses separate

Houses.

from each other, partly through fear of witchcraft practised by neighbours, to avoid infection, the work of evil spirits, and with this object sick people constantly change their houses, partly through fear of fire, as their houses are very inflammable. This is also the rule with the Bhils.<sup>3</sup>

Chhipi.<sup>4</sup>—(Hindi, *chhâpna*, "to print," Sans: *kshîp*, "to pour").—The caste of calico printers and chintz stampers, of whom there are both a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch. The Hindu branch have a tradition that they were once Râthaur Râjputs. In the

<sup>1</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 243.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, *Ethnology*, 160, Note, Risley, *loc. cit.*, I, 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, VI, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu Bândeo Sahây, Headmaster, High School, Farrukhabâd, and Nawâb Muhammad Ali Khân, Bulandshahr.

same way the ~~unayars~~ or calenders of Bombay have a tradition that when Parasurâma was exterminating the Kshatriya race they were Râjputs living at Mathurâ, and, fearing the same fate as their brethren, became followers of one Râmdevji, a mendicant, and came to Mârwar. This Râmdevji being a calender his followers at first were called Chhîppas. Their present name they derive from the fact of their having placed faith (*bhâv*) in this mendicant.<sup>1</sup>

The Eastern Chhîpis refer their origin to a place which they call Dheri Avareiaehh, somewhere in Bundelkhand. Dheri is a village in the Samthar State which lies between Jalaun and Jhânsi, and Avareiaehh is a corruption of Lichh or Enichh, a town in Pargana Moth, of the Jhânsi District, which is even to the present day noted for its manufacture of chintz.<sup>2</sup>

2. The internal structure of the caste is very intricate. In

Internal structure.

Muzapur they name seven endogamous sub-castes—Palhariya (from *palikanda*, the stand on which the dye-pots are placed); Bulbulha (from *bulbul*, the nightingale); Dunsua (said to mean "a large needle"), Sâdh or "saunts," who pretend to special purity and will not eat meat or kill animals; Sûrajans, "children of the Sun"; Kanauiya or Kanauiha, who say they come from Kanaui; and Pâniya, or "those who keep young buffalo calves." These are the explanations current among the members of the caste, and must, of course, be accepted with caution. In Fatehgarh there are two endogamous sub-castes—Reli or Dilwârî, that is Delhiwâl or "residents of Delhi;" Gola, "mixed," or Mâiwârî or Sanganerî, who take their name from a place called Sanganer, which is said to be somewhere near Jaypur. These, again, are divided into a number of sections. Thus of the Reli are named the Milku; Chhuriyapel; Ajudhya; Nauchhuak; Sunawâr; Pânisap; Kupendiya; Kachhot; Banawâr; Gadhaiya, and many others. The Golas are said to have seven hundred and fifty sections, such as the Dharâvnê; Dûsayê; Metwâr, and Gothahwâr. In Fatehgarh the rule of exogamy appears to be that a man cannot marry in his own section nor in a section in which a near female relation is already married. In Bulandshahr they are reported to have three endogamous sub-castes—Jem or Jaimi, Rehya, and Tânk, and they do not marry in their own family or in that of the

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, V, 73.

<sup>2</sup> Gazetteer, North-West Provinces, I, 423.

maternal uncle. The Eastern Chhāpīs state that they follow the standard formula *chachera*, *mamera*, *phuphera*, *mausera*, which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, maternal aunt, and paternal aunt.

3. According to the Census lists which record two hundred and two sub-divisions of the Hindu and twenty-one of the Mahumadan branch, their sections follow the rule so common in these occupational castes. Some are of local origin and others imply some real or supposed connection with other tribes. Thus among local terms we find Ajudhyabāsi, Chhatarpuriya, Deswāri, Kanaujiya, Mārwarī, Mathuriya, Pachhāin, Panjābi, Purabiya, Sribāstav; while in the second class come Agarwāl, Agrahari, Bais, Baiswār, Bāgri, Chamār, Chauhān, Chhatrī, Chiryamār, Chūrihār, Darji, Dhakarya, Jādu, Kachhiya, Koliya, Kori, Rājput, Rāthaur, Rāwat, Ruhela, Sakarwār, Sūrajbansi, Tānk, Tomar, and Ummar, most of which are derived from the names of tribes and sub-castes or septes of Banyas and Rājputs.

4. They marry their children in infancy. To the east polygamy is allowed to the extent of having two wives at one time if the first be barren. To the west, though polygamy is tolerated, it is said to be rare. There is nothing peculiar about their marriages, which are conducted in the orthodox way. Intertribal adultery seems to be little regarded, but an intrigue with a stranger involves expulsion from caste. There is among the Hindu branch at least no regular form of divorce, but a man with the leave of the tribal council can expel his wife for infidelity. Divorced women can marry again with permission of the tribal council. The levirate is recognized, but is not compulsory on the widow.

5. To the east of the Province they very seldom belong to any recognised Hindu sect. Devi and the Pānchompīr are their tribal deities. Devi is worshipped on the 14th of Phālgun with an offering of cocoanuts, sweets (*halāshu*, *halwa*) cakes (*pūrī*) and garlands of flowers. The Pānchompīr are honoured with sweet cakes (*malūla*) and loin-cloths, which the worshippers put on after offering them to the godlings. To the West the Relis are Nānakpanthis and the Golas Vaishnavas. The Relis worship Nānak especially on the Ganga Sātwin and at the Basant Panchami, when the *halwa* sweetmeat is offered to him and then distributed among the worshippers. Women especially worship



Shaikh Saddu. In Bulandshahr they worship Mâta or the small-pox goddess, Mirân Sâhib, and Châmar Devi. Their tribal saint is Nâmdeva, of whom they know nothing save that he was the first printer. One person of this name is one of the authors of the Sikh Granth and another or perhaps the same is regarded by the Marâthas as their oldest poet, and is said to have been a contemporary of Kabîr, and to have lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Of the Nâmdeopanthis who recorded themselves to the number of 10,358 at the last Census, the unity of the deity and the uselessness of ceremonial appear to be the leading characteristics of the creed. Like Râedâsi Chamârs and Senapanthi Nâis, the Nâmdeopanthi cotton printers have been separated from their caste-fellows by the superior purity of their belief, and now form a separate sub-caste, shown in the caste returns as Nâmdeobansi.<sup>1</sup> They employ Brâhmans as their priests; to the east these are usually Sarwariyas; to the west Saraswat, Kanaujiya and Gaur Brâhmans serve them. They burn their dead in the orthodox way, and throw the ashes, if possible, into the Ganges or one of its tributaries. On the day of the Diwâli they worship the dies with which they stamp the cloth as fetishes. The more careful perform the annual *srâddha* during the *pitrapaksha* or fortnight sacred to the sainted dead in the month of Kûâr

6. The great centres of the calico printing trade in these provinces are Lucknow, Fatehgarh, Bulandshahr, and Mirzapur, where it is largely in the hands of a colony of Sâdhs from Fatehgarh. In Lucknow, according to Mr. Hoey,<sup>2</sup> there are three different classes of cotton printers who pass under the same name and use similar dyes. The first class is the stamper of real or imitation gold or silver leaf on coloured cotton fabrics for use as palanquin covers, curtains (*parda*), bed covers, (*lihâf*), quilts, etc. The process is simple but ingenious. The Chhipi makes a mixture of gum, chalk, and glue. He stamps the pattern on the fabrics with this mixture by means of a wooden die. He then lays strips of silver leaf over the pattern traced in this way, and taps it gently with a pad. The leaf adheres to the gummy lines of the pattern stamped, and comes away from the unstamped surface. The process of stamping an imitation of silver differs.

<sup>1</sup> Census Report, North-West Provinces, 1891, p. 235. For a further account of Nâmdeo, see Dhuniya, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Monograph, 83-89.

The Chhīpi in this case mixes pewter (*ranga*), gum, glue, and chalk and stamps the pattern right off. After it dries he rubs it over with a piece of wood (*mure*), and this gives a gloss to the inferior metal. The second class mark patterns on muslin for embroiderers (*chikandoz*), and the third prints cotton fabrics in fast colours for use as quilts, sheets, bed covers, table cloths, etc. The Chhīpi, as a rule, ranks fairly high in social estimation. To the east of the Province he does not drink spirits or eat any meat. All Hindus, including Brāhmans will, it is said, eat *pakki* cooked by him, and tribes like the Kahār will eat *kachchi* prepared by him. In Fatchgarh he will eat *pakki* prepared by Agarwāla Banyas, and *kachchi* by Gaur Brāhmans. Water they drink from the vessel of a Brāhman or Banya, but they will smoke only from the pipe of a member of the tribe. Brāhmans will eat *pakki* prepared by them; Nāis and Māis will eat *kachchi* cooked by them, and drink from their vessels.

*Distribution of the Chhīpis according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Gole	Nandeebans	Rel.	Tank	Others	Mahavandans	TOTAL
Dehra Dūn . . . .	..	40			32	...	81
Sahāranpur . . . .	..	...	337	1,643	1,474	8	3,462
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...		116	1,366	204	302	1,988
Meerut . . . . .	..	..	698	1,020	2,176	106	3,999
Bulandshahr . . . .	...	260	438	49	558		1,355
Aligarh . . . . .	.		...	..	1,357		1,357
Mathura . . . . .	227	27		124	914	.	1,342
Agra . . . . .	..	31	.	...	1,215	...	1,246
Farrukhābād . . . .	...		.	.	75	...	75
Mainpuri . . . . .	..	...	...	...	7	39	46
Etāwah . . . . .	.	...	...	...	54	5	59
Etah . . . . .	...		...	...	70	31	101
Bareilly . . . . .	...		322	...	419	...	741
Bijnor . . . . .	.	..	237	958	190	5,391	6,776

*Distribution of the Chhípi according to the Census of 1891—concl.*

DISTRICTS.	Gole.	Nandeobars.	Reli.	Tank.	Others.	Muhammadas.	TOTAL
Budāun . . .	...	8	...	29	210	1	248
Morádabād . . .	...	130	1,219	123	674	1,444	3,590
Sháhjahānpur . . .	...	...	...	..	31	221	225
Pilbhit . . .	..	4	21	...	33	23	81
Cawnpur . . .	...	...	...	...	30	131	161
Fatehpur . . .	...	..	...	...	...	508	508
Bānda . . .	...	..	..	..	..	380	380
Hamírpur . . .	...	50	..	...	1,341	192	1,583
Allahābād . . .	...	...	...	..	29	530	559
Jhānsi . . .	...	17	...	...	195	30	742
Jālaun . . .	..	77	..	...	409	...	486
Lalitpur . . .	...	89	...	..	209	..	298
Benares . . .	...	...	...	...	19	...	19
Jaunpur . . .	..	..	..	..	...	42	42
Dasti . . .	..	..	..	...	156	..	166
Tarái . . .	..	...	171	...	26	2,425	2,622
Lucknow . . .	...	...	...	...	5	6	11
Unāo . . .	...	...	...	..	17	...	17
Rúe Bareh . . .	...	...	..	..	137	...	137
Sitapur . . .	..	...	..	...	73	...	73
Kheri . . .	..	17	...	...	294	2	313
Farzābād . . .	..	...	..	..	9	1	10
Gonda . . .	..	..	...	..	149	..	149
Bahrāuch . . .	...	...	..	..	1	3	4
Partābgarh . . .	...	...	...	...	..	51	51
TOTAL . . .	227	759	3,609	5,312	13,292	11,871	35,120

**Chishti; Chishtiya.**—The best available account of this class of Muhammadan faqirs is that of Mr. Maclagan<sup>1</sup>:—"The Chishtis trace their origin to one Abu Ishaq, ninth in succession from Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, who migrating from Asia Minor, settled down at a village called Chisht in Khurasân and became thus the religious preceptor of a large body of Musalmâns. One of his successors, Khwāja Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti, a native of Sanjar, in Persia having migrated to India in the time of Ghiâs-ud-dîn Balban, settled in Ajmer, and was the means of establishing the order in India. His Khalîfa or immediate successor was Khwāja Qutb-ud-dîn Bakhtiâr Kâki, who is buried near the Qutb Minâr at Delhi, and Qutb-ud-dîn's successor was the celebrated Bâba Farîd Shakkarganj, whose shrine is at Pâkpatan in the Montgomery District. The surname of this saint is said to be derived from the fact that owing to the purity of his body all he ate became sugar; if we may trust another story, he nourished himself by holding to his stomach wooden cakes and fruits when he felt hungry. Thus miraculous but inexpensive provender is still preserved. An immense fair is held at this shrine every year, and the object of every pilgrim who attends is to get through the narrow gate of the shrine on the afternoon or night of the fifth Muharram. The saint is adored by Hindus as well as Musalmâns, and to be a disciple of Bâba Farîd does not necessarily imply being a Chishti, and, again, the descendants of the saint and his relations, carnal and spiritual, have formed themselves into a separate caste of men who are found on the Satlaj in the Montgomery District, and who, though bearing the name of Chishti, are now in all respects an ordinary lay caste, quite apart from the religious order of the same name.

2. "Bâba Farîd had two disciples, one of these was Ali Ahmad, surnamed Sâbir, whose shrine is at Pîran Kaliyar near Rurki,<sup>2</sup> and whose followers are known as Sâbir Chishtis, the other was the celebrated and mysterious Nizâm-ud-dîn Auliya (1232-1324 A.D.), around whose tomb are collected some of the choicest monuments of ancient Delhi, and whose disciples are known as Nizâmîs.

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab Census Report*, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The Pîran Kaliyar fair is held on the Ganges Canal, about four miles north-east of Rurki. Its date is the first of the month Rabi-ul-awwal. By Hindus it is largely attended, and is by them supposed to celebrate the death of Raja Karan.

3. "The Chishtis in repeating the profession of faith lay a particular stress on the words *Alla 'llahu*, repeating these with great violence, and shaking, at the same time their heads and the upper parts of their bodies. The sect is said to be specially affected by Shiāhs, and it is distinguished by its adoption of vocal music in its religious services. The members of the order are worked up by these religious songs to a high pitch of excitement, and often sink down exhausted. They frequently wear coloured clothes, especially clothes dyed with ochre or with the bark of the acacia tree. Their principal shrines in the Panjāb are the tomb of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya at Delhi, the Khāngāh of Mirān Bhik in Ambāla, the shrine of Bāba Farīd at Pākpetan, and the Khāngāh of Hazrat Sulaimān at Taunsa in the Dera Ghāzi Khān District."

4. The Dargāh of Khwāja Muīn-ud-dīn Chishti at Ajmer is an object of veneration and pilgrimage to all religions and sects. The Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage on foot to this tomb, and the Banyas of the Dargāh Bāzār daily lay their keys on the steps of the shrine before opening their shops. Khwāja Muīn-ud-dīn Chishti is said to have died in the year 1235 A. D. at the age of ninety-seven, and to have come to Ajmer at the age of fifty-two. At Madīna a voice is said to have come to him from the tomb of the prophet directing him to go to Ajmer and convert the infidels. "He obeyed the call, and on his arrival at Ajmer rested on a spot, now known as the Kangara Masjid in the Dargāh, where at the time the King's camels were tethered. From this he was ejected and went and took up his abode on the hill, which overlooks the Anasāgar, the margin of which lake he found covered with idol temples. The idolators, enraged at the slaughter of kuls by the Musalmāns, conspired to massacre them; but coming in sight of the Khwāja, they remained rooted to the spot, and though they tried to ejaculate *Rām! Rām!* could only articulate *Rahīm! Rahīm!* In vain did the idolators, led by the great sorcerer Ajaypāl, and the Deota Shūdi Deo, renew their attacks. They were defeated on every occasion, and finally begged forgiveness of the Khwāja, and invited him to come and take up his abode in the town."<sup>1</sup> One peculiar observance at the Dargāh is the looting of boiled rice from great cauldrons which are filled by pious worshippers.

5. Another famous place of Chishti pilgrimage is the tomb of the saint Salīm Chishti, by whose intercession a son was born at

<sup>1</sup> *Rajputāna Gazetteer*, II, 6189

Fatehpur Sikri to the Emperor Akbar, and named Salim after the saint. He was subsequently Emperor in the name of Jahāngir.

*Distribution of the Chishtis according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dūn . . . .	108	Pānda . . . .	45
Sabāranpur . . . .	486	Hamīrpur . . . .	312
Muzaffarnagar . . . .	16	Allahābād . . . .	153
Meerut . . . . .	6	Lalitpur . . . . .	14
Bulandshahr . . . .	260	Jaunpur . . . . .	183
Aligarh . . . . .	88	Ghāzipur . . . . .	152
Mathura . . . . .	20	Ballia . . . . .	19
Agra . . . . .	52	Basti . . . . .	337
Farrukhābād . . . .	3	Azamgarh . . . .	955
Mainpuri . . . . .	32	Lucknow . . . . .	45
Etāwah . . . . .	17	Unāo . . . . .	2
Etah . . . . .	44	Rūc Bareli . . . .	117
Bareilly . . . . .	175	Sitapur . . . . .	68
Bijnor . . . . .	115	Kheri . . . . .	18
Budāun . . . . .	98	Faizābād . . . . .	33
Morādābād . . . . .	53	Gonda . . . . .	377
Shāhjahānpur . . . .	20	Bahrāich . . . . .	36
Pilibhīt . . . . .	76	Sultānpur . . . . .	328
Cawnpur . . . . .	2	Bārabanki . . . .	237
Fatehpur . . . . .	44		
		TOTAL . . . . .	5,141

**Chūrihār.**—(Sanskrit *chūḍa-kāra*).—A maker of glass bangles. Another name for the caste is Manihār (Sanskrit *mani*, a “jewel,” *kāra*) or Kachera (*kāch*, Sanskrit *kācha*, “glass”). The Lakhera makes bangles from lac (*lākh*, Sanskrit *laksha*). The bangles



are ornamented with foil (*panni*), beads (*pot*), counterfeit stones (*nagfus*).<sup>1</sup>

2. The caste is, judging from its sectional divisions, of mixed origin. Out of one hundred and eleven names recorded in the Census Returns, the number of local sections is remarkable, such as Baksariya, Bhojpuriya, Dakkhinâha, Gopâlpuriya, Kanaujiya, Kânhpuriya, Makanpuriya, Naikanpuriya, Purabiya, Sarwariya, Sankarpuriya, Shaikhpuriya, Sikandarpuriya, Srivâstab, Sisipuriya, Sitalpuriya, Sukalpuriya, Sûrajpuriya, Tâjpuriya. Besides these are some named from or connected with other castes, as Bais, Chauhân, Julâha, Kachhwâha, Kâkan, Nûrbâf, Sengara, and Tarkihâr. Others are occupational, as Sâbungar (soap makers), Mirdaba (heralds), Jonkwâr (leech men). The Jhusiya take their name from the old town of Jhusi on the Ganges in the Allahâbâd District.<sup>2</sup> Another is Todarmali, which takes its name from Akbar's revenue minister. Besides these are the Bannait, Chelaha, and Solasinghi, of which the origin is doubtful. All these sub-divisions are endogamous and practise the ordinary Muhammadan rules of prohibited degrees. In Muzapur they represent their head-quarters to be Allahâbâd, and say that they emigrated from there some five or six generations ago. They do not admit male outsiders into the caste, but admit females, who are converted to Islâm and married to members of the caste after passages from the Qurân have been read over them and the clansmen feasted.

3. They practise infant marriage, marrying children between the ages of five and ten. They have the usual three forms of marriage—*charhauwa*, where the bridegroom goes in procession to the bride's house and marries her there; *dola*, practised by poor people, where the bride is brought home quietly and the clansmen entertained; and *sagdî* for widows. Marriage is performed in the usual Muhammadan form, and the binding portion of the ceremony is the reading of the Sharah by the Qâzi or some literate person representing him. A widow may marry the younger brother of her deceased husband, but the

<sup>1</sup> For details and calculation of profits, see Hoey, *Monograph on Trades and Manufactures*, 147, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Jhusi must have been once an important place. It was the head-quarters of the kingdom of Harbong, and is connected with the legend of Gorakhnâth. Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v., *Harbong ka rāj*; *Gazetteer, N.-W. P.*, VIII, Part II, 169, sqq.

levirate is not enforced. If a woman commit adultery or is habitually disobedient to the orders of her husband, he can divorce her by leave of the tribal council (*pañchāyat*). A woman cannot divorce her husband, but can complain to the council if he is faithless to her or ill-treats her. When a husband divorces his wife he gives her three and-a-half rupees. They have a special tribal rule of succession, partly following Hindu and partly Muhammadan rules, but adhering closely to the former.

4. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, but have various tribal deities of diverse origin. Kālīka is one of the forms of Hindu mother worship.<sup>1</sup>

Sahja Māi is the feminine element in the quintette of the Panchon-pîr. Her worship is common in Bihar.<sup>2</sup> Haidiha or Hardaur Lāla, one of the aggregate of the collective village gods (*Deohār*), and three Muhammadan saints known as Ghaus Pîr, Barê Pîr, and Ghāzi Miyān are also venerated. These deities are worshipped in the months of Kārttik and Jeth with offerings of fowls and rice boiled in milk with sugar (*khir*). They bury their dead in a graveyard like ordinary Muhammadans. At the festivals of the 'Id and Baqar 'Id they offer food to the spirits of the dead (*purkha log*). To those who have died a violent or unusual death special offerings are made of rice milk (*khir*) at the 'Id, and the halwa sweetmeat at the Baqar 'Id. Some females on certain days in the week offer a fire offering (*hom*) to the traditional teacher (*ustād*) of the trade, whose name they have forgotten.

5. Their primary occupation is making glass bangles.<sup>3</sup> Many have taken to agriculture and dealing in hides and horns. The women have a good reputation; they are not secluded, but go about village fairs selling bangles. The use of liquor has been prohibited by the council in quite recent years. They eat the flesh of the cow, goat, sheep, camel, fowls, fish, and all kinds of deer. They will not eat food touched by a Mehtar, Hela, Chamār or Dom. Women will not eat food touched by any Hindu. All Muhammadans eat and smoke with them, and they say that Doms and Chamārs will eat food touched by them.

<sup>1</sup> See Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, 403.

<sup>3</sup> A full list of the implements used will be found in Grierson *Bihar Peasant Life*, 108, sqq., and *Rural and Agricultural Glossary*, s.v., Chūrīhār.