

known as Bhārgava or "descendants of Bhrigu," who was one of the Prajapatis or great Rishis, and is regarded as the founder of the race of the Bhrigus or Bhārgavas, in which were born Jamadagni and Parasurāma. Manu calls him son, and says that he confided to him his Institutes. According to the Mahābhārata he officiated at Daksha's celebrated sacrifice, and had his beard pulled out by Siva. The same authority also tells the following story :—"It is related of Bhrigu that he rescued the sage Agastya from the tyranny of King Nahusha, who had obtained superhuman power. Bhrigu crept into Agastya's hair to avoid the potent glance of Nahusha, and when that tyrant attached Agastya to his chariot and kicked him on the head to make him move, Bhrigu cursed Nahusha and he was turned into a serpent. Bhrigu on Nahusha's supplication, limited the duration of the curse."¹

2. In the hills they appear to be in some places Banyas and in others Brāhmins. "They take their food before morning prayer, contrary to the usual Hindu custom. Of late years, however, they have begun to adopt the more orthodox custom. They do not eat animal or other prohibited food, and do not drink spirits. They worship the orthodox deities and consider Brahma, Siva and Vishnu the same God under different forms. The Brāhmin Dhūsar marries among his caste fellows, and the Banya with Banyas, avoiding always the same family (*gotra*) or one having the same family deity."² The only sections shown in the Census Returns are Kāns and Māhur.

3. In the plains their traditions vary. According to one account they were driven from their original home, Kashmīr, by the tyranny of their rulers, and settled in Delhi. In Benares they fix on Delhi as their home. Those in Mathura have emigrated from Gurgāon and have acquired considerable property and influence. "They combine the office aptitude of the Kāyasth with the keen scent for money-making and the flinty hard-heartedness to a debtor characteristic of a Banya. They are consequently mostly hard landlords and wealthy men. They are the hereditary Qānūngos of Mathura and Chhāta."³

4. Dhūsars are all Vaishnavas, and in these Provinces at least none of them are Sarāogis. They regulate their lives by the most

¹ Dewason, *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

² Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 443.

³ *Settlement Report*, 27.

orthodox rules of Hinduism and are particularly careful in the observance of Hindu ceremonies. They are a rising, ambitious, thriving class, excellent clerks and men of business. They are also noted for their skill in music.

5. The Bhârgava Sabha of Jaypur has supplied an account of the caste which represents that the Dhūsars were formerly family priests (*Purohit*) of various Râjas, but they now, since the Muhamadan invasions, have discontinued these functions. Other usages (*âchâr*) they practise like Brâhmans. Only those who are noted for Sanskrit learning are known by the title Pandit. Like other Brâhmans they worship the Rishis, from whom these eponymous *gotras* are derived. Some do the oblation (*tarpana*) daily : others at the Pitrapaksha, or fortnight devoted to the dead. They worship the ordinary Pâncha Devata or five greater gods.

The main saints of the creed are Charandâsji, Navaldâsji and Nârâyandâsji, who flourished at Delhi, Mathura and Bindraban, respectively.

6. Their *gotras* are—

- (1) Vid or Bandlas, with the Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptvân, Aurab, Bayidît.
- (2) Bâchhlas or Vatsa, with Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptwân, Aurab, and Jâmdagna.
- (3) Bâchhlas or Vatsa, with Pravaras, Bâchhal, Arjuna and Batsat.
- (4) Kâsib or Kâship with Pravaras, Kâship, Kutsa, Bhârgava, Chivan, Aptvân, Aurab, Jâmdagna.
- (5) Gârglas or Gâglas, with Pravaras, Gârgal, Dhriti, Mândava, Chivan, Vaishama, or Vinait.
- (6) Kutsa or Kuchlas, with Pravaras, Kutsa, Aurab, Jâmdagna.
- (7) Gâlas or Golas, with Pravaras, Bhârgava, Chivan, and Jâmdagna. All follow the ritual of the Yajur Veda. They claim to belong to the Pancha Gauda stock. They are invested with the Brâhmanical cord in the ordinary way. Each family has its own household god (*Kula devata*).

Distribution of the Dhūsars by the Census of 1891.¹

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dūn . . .	8	Allahābād . . .	69
Sahāranpur . . .	33	Jhānsi . . .	4,020
Muzaffarnagar . . .	21	Jālaun . . .	121
Meerut . . .	395	Lalitpur . . .	696
Bulandshahr . . .	11	Benares . . .	75
Aligarh . . .	148	Mirzapur . . .	212
Mathura . . .	956	Jaunpur . . .	703
Agra . . .	316	Ghāzipur . . .	24
Farrukhābād . . .	28	Gorakhpur . . .	19
Mainpuri . . .	106	Basti . . .	373
Etāwah . . .	247	Lucknow . . .	864
Etah . . .	3	Sitapur . . .	31
Budāun . . .	13	Kheri . . .	1
Morādābād . . .	258	Faizābād . . .	30
Shāhjahanpur . . .	4	Gonda . . .	37
Cawnpur . . .	495	Bahrāich . . .	36
Fatehpur . . .	860	Sultānpur . . .	260
Bānda . . .	470	Partābgarh . . .	1
Hamirpur . . .	535		
		TOTAL . . .	12,497

¹ On the confusion between Dūsar and Dhūsar, see *Dūsar*.

Dikhit; Dikhshit (Sans. *dikshita*, "initiated, consecrated"), a functional division of Brāhmins.—"The priest specially employed to initiate a Hindu boy into the performance of his religious duties, and to give him the second birth is called a Dikhshit. The word is simply a corruption of Dikshitri, "one who initiates." It is only boys of the upper castes, that is those who are called "the twice-born" (*dvija*) who are entitled to the privilege of Diksha. But Brāhmanism has for the last thousand years and more been steadily descending into lower and lower strata of the population, absorbing one indigenous tribe after another; and hence the possession of this privilege cannot now be considered a mark of twice-born ancestry. The orthodox age for undergoing the rite of *diksha* is on the completion of the seventh year. The Hindu book of ceremonies, known as Karam Kand, calls it the eighth, but the figure is raised to eight by counting the nine months preceding birth as an additional year. At the present day the orthodox age is not always observed, and a boy can be initiated a year or two after if it suits the convenience of the parents to postpone incurring the expenditure which these rites entail. A boy, whatever his parentage may be, is not a full Hindu until the *diksha* has been performed. Up till then he is little better than a Sūdra or unregenerated person. But on and after that day he incurs the religious responsibilities to which his parents have all along intended to dedicate him, as a Christian boy does by the double rite of baptism and confirmation. Girls are never initiated as boys are; and thus a high caste woman who marries a man of the Sūdra rank cannot but become a Sūdra herself. This, I suspect, is the real explanation of the abhorrence felt by Hindus to a woman being married into a caste lower than her own. The same abhorrence has never been felt to a "twice-born" man marrying or cohabiting with a Sūdra woman; for the woman can rise to the rank of her husband, but as she has never been initiated she cannot raise the husband to her own. Thus in Manu's Code a Brāhman was allowed to take a Sūdra woman into his house; but if a Sūdra man married a Brāhman woman, the son became a Chandāla, a sinful and abominable wretch.

2. "The entire ceremony of *diksha* lasts some eight or nine days. Throughout those days the boy is put upon a very strict diet, and undergoes a vigorous course of ablutions. He is bathed regularly at certain hours; after the bath mustard and oil are rubbed all over his body, and he then undergoes a second bath to

wash them all off again. All this time he should wear nothing, day or night, but a string of the sacred grass called *kusa*, which is tied round his waist and to which a narrow cloth, called *lungoti*, is attached, fastened between the legs before and behind. Meanwhile the usual *homa* offerings are thrown on the sacred fire by priests of the Hotri class, who have been summoned for this purpose. When the last and the greatest of the *homa* offerings has been made, the sacred thread (*upavīta, janeū*) is thrown over the left shoulder of the boy by the Dikshit, and the first act of the initiation is completed. The Dikshit then throws a cloth over his own and the boy's head, and under cover of this cloth he instils into his ear (in the undertone so that no profane ears may catch what he says) the Gāyatri and all the other sacred verses which a Hindu should utter on stated occasions every day of his life. The repetition of all these verses, and especially the Gāyatri, which is repeated first, constitutes the closing ceremony by which the boy is formally initiated into the rites of Hinduism. The boy must have heard and seen something of these rites beforehand through living with his parents; but until he has been formally initiated, and this by a Brāhman competent to discharge the office, he is a mere heathen. For some weeks after the conclusion of the ceremony the Dikshit remains with the novitiate so as to help him to perform the several daily rites and make him sufficiently perfect to be left to himself; and after leaving him he continues to be his spiritual adviser for the rest of his life whenever such advice may be required.¹ The rite is obviously analogous to the similar initiatory ceremonies which prevail among various primitive races.²

Dikhit ; Dikhshit (Sans. *dikhshita*, "initiated, consecrated"), a powerful sept of Rājputs.—The traditions of the sept³ relate that they are descended from the Sūrajbansi Rājas who for fifty-one generations ruled over Ajudhya. In the fifty-first generation from Ikshvāku, Rāja Durgavāhu left Ajudhya and emigrated to Gujarāt, where his descendants took the title of Durgbans after their founder. In the twenty-fourth generation from him Kalyān Sāh Durgbans went to pay homage to Rāja Vikramaditya, the great King of Ujjain, the supreme monarch of India. From him

¹ Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, CLXVII, 266; Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, 360.

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 342, *sqq.*

³ Elliott, *Chronicles of Undo*, 34, *sqq.*

(about 50 B.C.) he received the title of Dikhit, which his descendants bore instead of Durgbans. For many years they remained stationary in Gujarât, and at the time when the kingdom of Kanauj was at its zenith Balbhadra Dikhit took service with the Râthaur Râja, and his grandson Jaswant saw the death of the Râja of Kanauj and the destruction of the power and family of his benefactor. The name of Balbhadra's father was Samapradhân, which is a singular name for a Râjput, and suggests a reason why the Dikhits do not rank so high in the precedence table as they ought to do if their tradition was correct. Pradhân was the old name for a Registrar (Qânûngo), which office was only given to Kâyasths. There may be some intermixture of Kâyasth blood which spoils the purity of their Sûrajans descent. It is curious that in the two sets of villages bordering on old Dikhtiyâna and now held by Dikhits, there are traditions that the land once belonged to Kâyasths, who, when hard pressed by their enemies, obtained help from the Dikhits by ceding part of their villages to them. If the above hypothesis be true, the Kâyasths in this case only called in their own distant kindred. Jaswant Sinh had four sons, the eldest of whom remained in Samoni, and his descendants possess the estate to this day. The second, Udhaybhân, migrated into Oudh and colonized the district of Dikhtiyâna. The third, Banwâri, went still further north, crossing the Ghâgra and Râpti, and, choosing a safe retreat in the sub-Himalayan forests, founded there the great Sirnet Râj of Bânsi. The fourth, Khairâj, migrated to the east, and, settling down in the district of Partâgarh, took the town of Bilkhar, whence his descendants are known as Bilkhariyas. The further fortunes of the sept are given in great detail by Sir C. Elliott.

2. The Dikhtiyâna territory is said to have extended from the borders of Baiswâra on the east, to Sandi Pâli on the west, and from the Gomati to the Ganges, including fourteen parganas. Whatever be their claim to an extensive dominion in the west, there can be no doubt that during this period the Dikhit Râja held a very high position in the country, and that this was the time when Dikhtiyâna became famous as a geographical expression. The list of marriages preserved by the bard proves this, containing, as it does, the names of the daughters of the Jângra Râja of Dhaurahra, the Bachgoti of Korar, the Gantam of Argal, the Bandhalgoti of Garh Amethi, and the Bisen of Mânikipur. With an Oudh Râjput it is always an object of ambition to marry his daugh-

ters into a family of a higher rank and position than his own, whatever the attendant expense may be. The chiefs of Eastern Oudh make it their ambition to marry their daughters only into the great Kachhwāha and Chauhān clans of Mainpuri and Etāwah; that they should have chosen the Rāja of Dikhtiyāna for their son-in-law is a proof that at that time his rank and influence were as great as those of the older Western Rājas are now.

3. The sept in pargana Pachotar of Ghāzipur¹ is called from the country they occupy Pachtoriya. They claim to be Sūrajbansis of Ajudhya, whence they emigrated to Gujarāt. The Ghāzipur branch say that they came from Bulandshahr about twenty generations ago, and now occupy nearly the whole of the Pachotar pargana. In Azamgarh² they have been dispossessed of most of their property by the Birwārs. There is another Azamgarh sept known as Dikhitwār, who are probably their kindred. They say that their ancestors came from somewhere in the west and occupied untenanted land, where the sept now resides. According to Sir H. M. Elliot, they give their daughters in marriage to the Sombansi, Raghubansi, Gaharwār, and Bais, and take brides from the Sengar, Donwār, and Kausik septs. In Oudh they have recently been allied only with neighbouring clans—Sengar, Sakarwār, Raikwār, Janwār, etc., and infanticide used to be the general rule of the sept.

4. In Unāo the Dikhits generally give brides to the Chauhān, Bhadauriya, Kachhwāha, Sengar, and Rāthaur septs beyond the Ganges, and occasionally to the Panwār: they generally marry their sons in the Janwār, Bisen, Mahrar, Gautam or Chauhān septs of the district, Sombansi, Raghubansi, Amethiya, Gaharwār, Kath, Bais, Gahlot, Panwār, or Solankhi septs.

Distribution of the Dikhit Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Sahāranpur . . .	12	Mathura . . .	7
Bulandshahr . . .	2	Agra . . .	9

¹ Oldham, *Memo.*, i, 58.

² *Settlement Report*, 57, 61.

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

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Farrukhābād . . .	7	Jaunpur . . .	799
Mainpuri . . .	32	Ghāzipur . . .	15,176
Etāwah . . .	117	Ballia . . .	1,090
Etah . . .	2	Gorakhpur . . .	3,613
Bareilly . . .	36	Azamgarh . . .	5,158
Budāun . . .	30	Lucknow . . .	984
Morādābād . . .	219	Unāo . . .	9,024
Shāhjahānpur . . .	14	Rāē Bareli . . .	2,099
Cawnpur . . .	868	Sitapur . . .	299
Fatehpur . . .	5,560	Hardoi . . .	284
Bānda . . .	8,159	Kheri . . .	222
Hamīrpur . . .	3,546	Faizābād . . .	13
Allahābād . . .	813	Gonda . . .	5
Jhānsi . . .	369	Bahrāich . . .	69
Jālaun . . .	55	Sultānpur . . .	364
Lalitpur . . .	4	Partābgarh . . .	593
Benares . . .	532	Bārabanki . . .	410
Mirzapur . . .	162	TOTAL . . .	60,727

Diwāna, "those possessed of an evil spirit (*dee, die*), mad"),—a term applied in these Provinces to an order of Muhammadan faqirs, who have not been separately enumerated in the returns of the last Census.

In the Panjāb they are Hindus, wear uncut hair, a necklace of shells, and a large feather in their turbans. There is a considerable colony of them in connection with the shrine of the saint Qāsim Sulaimāni, near the fort of Chunār, in the Mirzapur district.

2. Those at Chunār call themselves the disciples of one Jamāl Diwāna. Boys are usually initiated into the order at the age of twelve. His friends take the candidate to the head faqir of the order, who says,—“Are you ready to drink of my cup (*piyāla*) and

obey me in all things ? ” If he agrees five articles of dress of an ochre colour are prepared for him, *viz.*, a head covering (*pheta*), a robe (*kafanî*), a neck handkerchief (*guluband*), and waist cloths (*lung, langot*). A barber is sent for and his head completely shaved ; he is bathed and invested with the garments of the order. Then the Murshid or preceptor sits facing the north, and the Murîd or disciple opposite him. An earthen cup containing one and-a-quarter *sers* of sharbat made of sugar and water is brought. First the Murshid recites the Dârûd or benediction and drinks a little. Then he passes it to the Murîd, who drinks, and while doing so keeps his eyes fixed on the Murshid. During this part of the rite he must not even wink. The Murshid then says to him,—“ I am now responsible for your sins. Take care and fix your attention on me. Do not close your eyes.” When he has drank the draught the Murshid gives him a necklace made of *jaitun* wood or of earth from Makka known as *khâk safâ* or of the seed of the *Canna Indica* (*‘aqîq’ l-bâhr*), a handkerchief of ochre-coloured cloth, a thin walking stick made of the wood of the peach tree (*âru*), and a wooden begging bowl (*kajkol*). With this he begs from all the company. He also receives a wooden scraper (*phâora*), which he ties to his waist. This over, he salutes the other members of the order present in the word *Miyân* ; and they reply *Huqq Miyân*. When he is thus initiated he gets a station (*takya*), and the Sajjâda-nashin or Abbot gives him daily for his food two cakes in the morning and three in the evening with some pulse. If the disciple does not care to live in the Dargâh or head-quarters of the order, he can remain with his friends by leave of the Murshid. Those who live in the Dargâh remain celibate ; if they live with their friends they can marry.

The non-celibate members of the order marry according to the regular Musalmân formula. The dowry (*mahr*) is generally fixed at fifty-one thousand rupees. Women in childbirth are secluded for forty days ; a fire is kept lighting in the room—and she is watched by her female friends, a custom known as *Qâzi Sâhib ki chauki*. In their death customs they conform to the usual Muhammadan ritual.

4. The Diwânas are a useless set of beggars and not held in much estimation by any one.

Dogar, a Panjâbi tribe who have emigrated in small numbers

into the western districts of these Provinces. Of them Mr. Brandrith writes in his Firozpur Settlement Report¹:—

"The Dogars are supposed to be converted Chauhan Rājputs from the neighbourhood of Delhi. They migrated first to the neighbourhood of Pak Pattan, whence they spread gradually along the banks of the Sutlej, and entered the Firozpur district about one hundred years ago. The Firozpur Dogars are all descended from a common ancestor named Bahlol, but they are called Māhu Dogars, from Māhu, the grandfather of Bahlol. Bahlol had three sons, Bambu, Langar, and Sammu. The Dogars of Firozpur and Mullanwāla are the descendants of Bambu; those of Khai the descendants of Langar; the descendants of Sammu live in the Qasūr territory. There are many other sub-castes of the Dogars in other districts along the banks of the Sutlej, as the Parchas, the Topara, the Chopara, etc. The Chopara Dogars occupy Pandot. The Firozpur Dogars consider themselves superior in rank and descent to the other sub-castes. They are very particular to whom they give their daughters in marriage, though they take wives from all the other families. At one time infanticide is said to have prevailed among them, but I do not think there is much trace of it at the present day.

2. Sir H. Lawrence, who knew the Dogars well, writes of them that they are "tall, handsome, and sinewy, and are remarkable for having almost without exception, large, aquiline noses; they are fanciful and violent, and tenacious of what they consider their rights, though susceptible to kindness, and not wanting in courage, they appear to have been always troublesome subjects, and too fond of their own free form of life to willingly take service as soldiers. The Jewish face which is found among the Dogars, and in which they resemble the Afghāns, is very remarkable, and makes it probable that there is very little Chauhan blood in their veins, notwithstanding the fondness with which they attempt to trace their connection with that ancient family of Rājputs. Like the Gūjars and Naipālis they are great thieves, and prefer pasturing cattle to cultivating. Their favourite crime is cattle-stealing. There are, however, some respectable persons among them, especially in the Firozpur Nāqa. It is only within the last few years that the principal Dogars have begun to wear any covering for the head; formerly the whole population, as is the case with the poor classes still, wore

¹ Quoted by Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 474.

their long hair over their shoulders without any covering either of sheet or turban. Notwithstanding the difference of physiognomy, however, the Dogars preserve evident traces of some connection with the Hindus in most of their family customs, in which they resemble the Hindus much more than the orthodox Muhammadans."

3. Mr. Ibbetson adds:—"The Rājput origin of the Dogars is probably very doubtful, and is strenuously denied by their Rājput neighbours, though I believe that Dogar or perhaps Doghar (*doghla*, probably Persian *daghol* *dogh*, "a stain") is used in some parts of the Province to denote one of mixed blood. Another derivation of the name is *doghgar* or "milkman." The Dogars seem to be originally a pastoral rather than an agricultural tribe, and still to retain strong liking for cattle, whether their own or other people's. They are often classed with Gājars, whom they much resemble in their habits. In Lahore and Ferozpur they are notorious cattle thieves, but further north they seem to have settled down and become peaceful husbandmen. They are not good cultivators. Their social standing seems to be about that of a low class Rājput; they are practically all Musalmāns. Their chief clans in the Panjāb are Mattar; China; Tagra; Māhu, and Chokra." In these Provinces they are all Musalmāns.

Distribution of the Dogars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.
Saharanpur	1
Muzaffarnagar	338
TOTAL	339

Dom;¹ Domra; Domahra (Sans. *Doma*; *Dama*; *Domba*), a Dravidian menial caste found scattered throughout these Provinces, regarding whose origin and ethnological affinities there has been much speculation. To the east of the Province they are

¹ For the Eastern Doms the valuable note by Mr. J. Kennedy, C.S., has been largely used, and that of Pandit Jūālā Dāt Joshi for the Hill Doms. In addition to these, notes by Mr. H. D. Ferard, C.S., Banda; M. Chhedi Lal, Deputy Inspector, Schools, Gorakhpur, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijner and Dehra Dūn, have been consulted.



DOM.

usually known as Dom, but are sometimes called Jallâd, "executioner," Hatyâra, "murderous, blood-thirsty," or Supach, which is, as we shall see, traditionally the name of the founder of the tribe, and who also enters into the legends of the Bhangis. The name seems to represent the Svapâka or "cooker of dogs," a man of a degraded and outcast tribe, the son of an Ugra woman by a Kshatriya. He is required to live outside towns like the Chandâla, to eat his food in broken vessels, to wear the clothes of the dead, and to be excluded from all intercourse with other tribes; he can possess no other property than asses and dogs, and his only office is to act as public executioner or to carry out the bodies of those who die without kindred. His kinsman, the Chandâla, according to Manu,¹ ranks in impurity with the town boar, the dog, a woman in her courses, and an eunuch, none of whom must a Brâhman allow to see him when eating. According to Dr. Caldwell² they are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India. Sir H. M. Elliot³ considers them to be "one of the original tribes of India. Tradition fixes their residence to the north of the Ghâgra, touching the Bhars on the east in the vicinity of the Rohini. Several old forts testify to their former importance, and still retain the names of their founders, as, for instance, Domdiha and Domingarh, in the Gorakhpur District. Râmgarh and Sahnkot, on the Rohini, are also Dom forts." Attempts have, also, been made to connect them in some way with the Domkatâr or Dombikâr Râjputs of Gorakhpur, and with the Domwâr Bhuinhârs.⁴ All this discussion is, as Mr. Risley says, somewhat profitless; but out of it seems to emerge "a general consensus of opinion that the Doms belong to one of the races whom, for convenience of expression, we may call the aborigines of India. Their personal appearance bears out this opinion. Mr. Beames⁵ describes the Doms of Champâran as "small and dark, with long tresses of unkempt hair, and the peculiar glassy eye of the non-Aryan autochthon," and Mr. Sher-

¹ *Institutes*, III, 239.

² *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 546, quoted by Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 240.

³ *Supplemental Glossary*, s. v.

⁴ Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 353; *Archæological Reports*, XXII, 65, sq; *Cannogy, Notes*, 24.

⁵ *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, 85.

ring¹ remarks that "dark-complexioned, low of stature, and somewhat repulsive in appearance, they are readily distinguished from all the better castes of Hindus." "The type, however," Mr. Risley adds, "as is the case with most widely-diffused castes, seems to display appreciable variations. In Eastern Bengal, according to Dr. Wise, the Dom's hair is long, black, and coarse, while his complexion is oftener of a brown than a black hue; and among the Magahiya Doms, whom I have seen in Bihâr, only a small portion struck me as showing any marked resemblance to the aborigines of Chota Nâgpur, who are, I suppose, among the purest specimens of the non-Aryan races of India. On the whole, however, the prevalent type of physique and complexion seems to mark the caste as not of Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to connect it with any compact aboriginal tribe of the present day. The fact that for centuries they have been condemned to the most menial duties, and have served as the helots of the entire village community, would, of itself, be sufficient to break down whatever tribal spirit they may once have possessed, and to obliterate all structural traces of their true origin."

2. To this must be added another point which cannot be left out of consideration in dealing with these menial races. The tribes of scavengers, such as the Bhangi and Dom, have for many generations formed a sort of Cave of Adullam for the outcastes of the higher races, and the notorious immoral character of the women of these tribes must have had a powerful effect in modifying the physique and appearance of castes such as these. If the Dom varies in physical character from one part of the Province to another, it is only what might naturally be expected. On the whole it may perhaps be safer to regard the Doms, not as a single, individual aggregate, but as a more or less mixed body of menials, who have been for ages in a state of the utmost degradation, and whose appearance and physique have been largely modified by the rigour of their occupation and environment.

3. The origin of the Dom to the east of the Province is thus told by themselves. In the good old times all people were equally well-to-do and happy. The Brâhmins had no property and built no houses for themselves. When Parameswar desired to appear in the world he took the

Tradition of origin—
Eastern Doms.

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The Brâhmins had no property and built no houses for themselves. When Parameswar desired to appear in the world he took the

¹ Hindu Tribes and Castes, I, 401.

form of a Brāhman. Then intending to divide men into castes, he went about begging as a Brāhman, wishing to ascertain what occupation each family followed. As he begged for alms no man gave him aught but silver and gold. At last he reached the house of a man who had killed a cow and was preparing to feed on the beef. He begged for alms, and the cow-killer brought from his house a handful of gold coins. Parameswar refused the money and asked for a little barley. The Domin, or woman of the house, went inside and found a place in the courtyard which had been trampled into mud by the feet of the cow in her death struggle, and there a few ears of barley had suddenly sprouted up. The woman plucked the grain and offered it to Parameswar, who asked her where she had found it. She told him how the grain had sprouted in her courtyard. Parameswar asked where was the cow which had prepared the ground in which the grain had grown. She replied that it had been killed by her husband. Then Parameswar was wroth and cursed her husband: "Thou and thy posterity shall kill animals and remain beggars for ever." Then the Domin cursed Parameswar in the form of a Brāhman—

*Jāhān Brāhman jāwē,
Chār dhakka khāwē,
Ek picchāri, chhattīs gantha.*

"Wherever the Brāhman goes he shall receive four pushes. Thirty-six knots in a single sheet." So ever since Doms are beggars and slayers of animals, and Brāhmans are poor and live on alms. This legend, of course, cannot be of any great antiquity, as the feeling of respect for the cow is of comparatively modern origin.

4. According to the Panjāb legend the ancestor of the Doms was a Brāhman named Malludant. He was the youngest of the family, and his elder brothers expelled him. One day the calf of their cow died, and they asked Malludant to take away the carcass and bury it. When he did so he was treated as an outcast, and was obliged ever after to make his living by skinning and burying dead animals. This legend, under a slightly different form, is told also in connection with the Bhangis.

5. Another story, again, makes the Doms the descendants of Rāja Ben or Venā, and from him one of their sub-castes has taken the name Benbansi. The legend of this king suggests that he was some early reformer who made himself obnoxious to Brāhmans.

When he became king he issued a proclamation,—“Men must not sacrifice nor give gifts nor present oblations. Who else but myself is the object of sacrifice? I am for ever the lord of offerings” The sages remonstrated respectfully with him, but in vain. They admonished him in sterner terms, and when he persisted in his piety they slew him with blades of the sacred *kusa* grass. After his death the sages beheld clouds of dust, and on inquiry found that they arose from the bands of men who had taken to plundering because the land was left without a king. As Vena was childless, the sages rubbed his thigh, and from it there came a man “like a charred log, with flat face and extremely short.” The sages told him to sit down (*nishāda*). He did so, and hence was called Nishāda, from whom sprang the “Nishādas dwelling in the Vindhyan mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds.” It may be noted that Benbans is the title of a modern Rājput sept which is of obvious Kharwār origin. By another account the name is derived by the Doms from their trade in making fans (*bena*, Sans. *vyajana*).

6. As might have been expected in the case of a tribe which is

Internal structure.

obviously composed of various elements their internal structure is most intricate. Under

the general term Dom there are in these Provinces at least three distinct classes of people. There are, first, the wandering race of houseless thieves and vagrants who infest Bihār and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces. Some of these have gradually raised themselves above the degraded status of their vagabond brethren. Some of them have settled down on the outskirts of towns and villages, and have taken to scavenging or industries connected with cane-work and basket-making. Such are the Dharkār and Bānsphor or Basor, whom it is more convenient to discuss separately. Next come the Doms of the Himalayan districts, who deny all connection with the eastern branch of the tribe, and have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans. Lastly come the Dom or Dūm Mirāsi, who are singers and musicians, and are treated of under the head Mirāsi.

7. Like so many of the lower castes the Eastern Doms profess

The Doms of the Eastern districts.

to have seven endogamous sub-castes. According to the Mirzapur enumeration these are,—Magahiya; Bānsphor; Litta; Domra or Domahra; Jallād or Hatyāra; Dharkār; and Harchanni; which last take their name from the famous Rāja Harischandra, whose legend is given

in connection with the Bhangis. Again, in Bânda, we have a list of so-called exogamous sections, or gotras inasmuch as they will not give a bride to a section from which within memory they have taken a bride. These sections are Tarkiya; Gepar; Gemar or Gaymar; Pesadeli, Barhel; Hazâriya; Usarbarsa; Kundahor; Dharkâl or Dharkâr; Chamrel; Chureliya; Satchuliha; Samand; Asrent; Mahtama; Naharkârei; Mungariya; Nanet; Kaithel; Suador; Jugin; Nagarband; Dhaunsiya; Birha; Sarkhiya; Baksariya; Gujariya; Lungtaya or Langotiya. Some of these names probably denote some connection with other tribes, as the Chamrel with Chamârs, Kaithel with Kâyasths, and Gujariya with Gûjrat. Others are perhaps occupational or totemistic; but we know at present too little of the origin or metamorphosis of these section names to make any speculations as to their meaning of any value.

8. From Gorakhpur, again, we have another enumeration which is thus described by Mr. J. Kennedy:—"The Doms say that they formerly cultivated and owned the land, but when pressure came the Magahiyas divided into two great sub-divisions—the Magahiyas and the Bânsphors. The Magahiyas took to thieving, while the Bânsphors were content to weave baskets and cultivate what land they could. These two sub-divisions do not intermarry, and it must be remembered that my notes relate to the thieving class alone, Magahiyas proper, who count themselves the true, original stock. They always describe themselves as subdivided into seven distinct families; but excluding the Bânsphors, of whom I have spoken, there are really six—Sâwant; Balgai; Chaudhari; Chauhan; Bihâri, and Hazâri. The most of these names are taken from the Hindus, and as Hazâri is a Muhammadan title of honour, this division into families is probably of a comparatively recent date. Chaudhari and Chauhan are evidently also meant as honorific titles, and at the time the division was first made it must have been purely artificial. The families have no recollection of any common ancestor, nor have they any cult in memory of the founder. The Bânsphors, I am told, have no such sub-divisions. The recent and artificial origin of the six sub-divisions is, therefore, tolerably certain; they are imitations of Hinduism, and the only use to which they are put is to regulate marriage. Neither Magahiyas nor Bânsphors can marry their first cousins by blood, and this was probably the original rule. Besides this no Sâwant can marry a Sâwant or a Balgai, but any of the six families can intermarry with any other. The

wandering gangs of Magahiyas are composed indiscriminately of men belonging to each clan family ; but each gang has its own leader and the office is hereditary in the leader's family. An outsider is never selected unless the family stock has failed." At the same time it may be urged that this form of sectional exogamy is probably much more primitive than Mr. Kennedy is disposed to believe. It is, of course, possible that the names of the exogamous sections may have been changed under Hindu or Muhammadan influence, but it seems also certain that this form of exogamy is one of the primitive institutions of the caste.

9. The Magahiya Doms take their name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha or South Bihâr. Curiously enough the Mirzapur Magahiyas have lost all traditions of any connection with Magadha, and say that their name means "vagrant" from the Hindi *mag*, Sanskrit *marga*, "a road." They have been identified with the Mac-cocalingæ of Pliny,¹ and they are found as far south as Madras.² In their original state the Magahiyas are vagrants pure and simple, who have not even mats or tents to cover themselves in rainy or cold weather. In this respect they are in a lower grade than nomads like the Sânsyas or Hâbûras. They frequent the jungles, but seem to have no aptitude for hunting or fishing. They live by burglary and theft, while the women prostitute themselves. In dry weather they sleep under trees, and in the rains or chill of winter they slink into outhouses or crouch under a thatch or any other shelter they can find. In their depredations they never use the *sabari* or "jemmy" used by the ordinary Indian burglar. Their characteristic weapon is the curved knife (*bânka*), with which they are supposed to split the bamboo for making baskets, which with begging are their ostensible occupations. But this knife is generally used for making holes beside doorposts (*baghlî*). In cold weather they carry about at night an earthen pot full of hot coals, over which they crouch and warm themselves ; and this, when closely beset, they fling with great accuracy at their assailants, often causing severe wounds.

10. Various attempts have been made to reform this branch of the tribe. To quote a note by Mr. D. T. Roberts, prepared for the last Police Commission :—"In Gorakhpur almost every scheme pos-

¹ McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI. 337.

sible to think of has been considered over and over again and rejected as hopeless, the prevailing opinion being that nothing short of confinement between four walls would do any good. In 1873, and again in 1880, the question of bringing them under the Criminal Tribes Act was considered, and the conclusion come to in 1880 was that no special measures for the reclamation of this tribe seem likely to be successful, and there was no use proclaiming them under the Act, because they have no means of earning their livelihood honestly, and the only thing to be done was to keep them under unceasing surveillance, and to punish with severity on commission of crime.

11. "In 1884, Mr. Kennedy, the Magistrate of Gorakhpur, again applied himself to the task. Some of the Doms were collected in the city and employed as sweepers, taught brick-making, and made to work on the roads, and others were settled in larger or smaller groups in different villages, and received assignments of land, and up to date this scheme, supported by an annual grant of Rs. 1,500, is being carried on. Some Doms do regular work as sweepers; none of them have as yet acquired any handicraft, even the simple one of brick-making. No work can be got out of them except under incessant supervision. Their fields are cultivated only when some one is standing over them, and when assistance is rendered by other cultivators.

12. "Nevertheless, on a comparison of the earlier with the later reports, a certain advance is observable. The Doms no longer skulk in fields and forests. They are all settled in some village or another which they recognise as their home. Whereas formerly Doms said that they could not sleep under a roof because ghosts troubled them, they now take kindly enough to living in houses, and will complain, not of ghosts, but of the roof leaking. It is something to have restrained their wandering propensities to this extent, and to have given them some appreciation of a settled and civilised life."

13. According to one story Mahādeva and Pārvasī invited all the castes to a feast. Supach Bhagat, the ancestor of the tribe, came late; and being very hungry ate the leavings of the others. Since that time they have been degraded, and eat the leavings of the other people.

14. Another legend connects them with Rāja Rāmchandra, in whose camp one of their ancestors committed theft; hence the deity cursed them with a life of begging and stealing.

15. A third legend tells that once upon a time the gods held a council for the distribution of the nectar among themselves. A demon came and stole some of the nectar and was detected by Vishnu, who severed his head from his body; but as the demon had eaten the nectar he had become immortal, the two pieces of his body became the demons, Râhu and Ketu, who periodically devour the moon and cause eclipses. As the Doms, who worship these demons are able to induce them to release the moon, pious people give alms to this caste at eclipses in order to secure their good offices to release the moon.

16. By another story Râmchandra once blessed Supach Bhagat, and said that if any one were cremated with fire, received from him or any of his descendants he would go straight to heaven. Since then the descendants of Supach Bhagat supply fire at cremation grounds.

17. Lastly, a story explains the hatred of the Magahiya Doms for Dhobis. Supach Bhagat once put up at the house of a Dhobi who, when he was drunk, fed his guest on the dung of his ass. Supach Bhagat cursed him and his kin for ever, and since that time no Dom will touch an ass or a Dhobi. In the Bihâr form of the legend, as told by Mr. Risley, Supach Bhagat had a quarrel with a Dhobi and killed and ate his ass. He subsequently cursed the Dhobi. Mr. Risley suggests that the legend may perhaps be a distorted version of some primitive taboo in which Dhobis and donkeys somehow played a part, but it is perhaps equally possible that the story may have been invented to explain why the general Hindu taboo against the Dhobi and his ass is followed by a caste so little scrupulous as the Doms.

18. The Bânsphor branch of the Eastern Doms forms the subject of a special article, and they need not be discussed more specially here.

The Bânsphor Doms.

19. The Litta branch of the Doms are said to derive their name from some word which means "wanderer." They may perhaps be connected with

The Litta Doms.

the Let sub-caste of the Bengal Bâgdis, who are probably akin to the Doms. These people have no home and live by begging.

20. The term Domra or Domahra, which is applied to the whole tribe, is also apparently sometimes used in the more restricted sense as designating those Doms who supply fire at cremation grounds.

The Domra branch of the Eastern Doms.

21. The term Jallād, which is an Arabic term for "a public flogger," and Hatyāra (Sans. *hatya*, "murder") is more specially applied to those Doms who are employed in cities to kill ownerless dogs and to act as public executioners.

The Jallād or Hatyāra branch of the Eastern Doms.

22. The Dharkār branch of the Eastern Doms has been treated of in a separate article.

The Dharkār branch of the Eastern Doms.

23. The Harchanni branch of the Eastern Doms claim their name and descent from the celebrated Rāja Harischandra who, as told in connection with the Bhangis, gave away all his wealth in charity and was reduced to become the slave of a Dom. In return for the kindness of his master the Rāja converted the whole tribe to his religion, which they followed ever since.

24. Writing of the Magahiyas of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy says:—"All disputes are settled by the panchāyat, but the longest term of exclusion from the brotherhood is twelve years. During that period no companionship can be held with the outlaw even in a theft. Outlawry is, however, redeemable by a fine and feast. The abduction of a Domra girl by force and the introduction of foreign women into the camp are a frequent cause of panchāyats. I am told that murder of any human being or of a cow is also severely punished; but this is about the boundary line of Domra morality with regard to outsiders. Strangers are occasionally adopted by the Magahiyas. Two or three Chamārs, a Muhammadan, an Ahir, and a Teli, who had turned Domras, were lately among the inmates of the jail. It is the women who chiefly attract these recruits." Another frequent cause of meetings of the Domra council is interference with the begging beat of one camp. These beats are carefully recognised, and are sometimes given as a dowry at marriage. Any strange Domra who begs or steals in the beat of another is liable to excommunication, and the Domra of that beat will have no hesitation in giving up to the Police a stranger of the tribe who steals within his jurisdiction.

25. Among the Doms of Mirzapur the endogamous sub-castes have exogamous sections, some of which are territorial or titular, and some apparently totemistic; but no Dom can give even an approximately correct list of his sections. If he is asked all he says is,—“The Panch

know." This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the prohibition of marriage in the family of the maternal uncle, the father's sister, or their own sisters, as long as there is any remembrance of relationship, which is usually about three or perhaps four generations. Polygamy is prohibited except the first wife be barren, in which case a man, with the previous sanction of the council, may take a second wife. But there seems no restriction in regard to concubinage. Sahây, the famous Dom executioner at Gorakhpur, used to keep four women. In Mirzapur if an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a member of the tribe, her lover has to pay a fine of five rupees and a sheet to her father, and he then takes her over as his recognised wife with the sanction of the council. They practise adult marriage, the usual age for the marriage of a girl being eleven or twelve. The marriage is arranged by the Chharidâr or "wandsman," who is the assistant of the Chaudhari or headman. The consent of the parents is said to be necessary, but runaway matches appear not to be uncommon. The bride-price among the settled Doms of Mirzapur is five rupees, five *sers* of treacle, a sheet, five lumps of tobacco, and five packets of betel leaf. The persons of both bride and bridegroom are carefully examined, and any physical defects which may subsequently appear are not sufficient grounds for annulling the marriage. After betrothal if the bride's friends refuse to make her over they are obliged to refund the bride-price, and if the man fail to perform the engagement he is severely punished by the council. Divorce is allowed when habitual adultery is proved to the satisfaction of the council, but, as a rule, only the direct evidence of eye-witnesses is considered sufficient. Divorced women can marry again by the lower or *Sagâi* form. Bastard children follow the caste of the father; but a man who intrigues with a woman not a member of the tribe, if the union has not been recognised, must pay a fine of two-and-a-half rupees and give a feast of pork and rice to the clansmen. Widows can marry by the *Sagâi* form, and are generally married to widowers. The bridegroom has to make over eight rupees and one hundred cakes (*pûri*) to the father of the woman. He then gives a feast to the clansmen, in the course of which the relatives of the deceased husband come forward and claim the woman. Then the assembled clansmen direct the woman's father to make over the compensation he has received to the relatives of her first husband. When this is done the man takes the woman

home, puts red lead on the parting of her hair and palm leaf ornaments (*tarki*) in her ears. After he does this and feeds the clansmen on rice and pork the marriage is considered valid.

The levirate under the usual restrictions is admitted ; but there is no fiction that the children of the levir are attributed to the deceased brother. Adoption is, of course, unusual ; but if a man adopts, he generally adopts the son of his brother.

26. In Gorakhpur it appears that the bride-price is always spent on the marriage, and it is alleged that if either party after marriage become blind, crippled, or leprous, the marriage may be annulled.

27. Among the Doms of Mirzapur the mother is attended by the Chamârin midwife and the ceremonies of purification common to the menial castes are performed. On the twelfth day after birth the hair of the baby is shaved to remove that last taint of the birth pollution. The child is named by the senior man in the family a year after birth. When a man's children have died in succession the next baby is sold to some one for a nominal sum ; and then is called Pachkauri, Chhakauri, "he that was sold for five or six cowries," or by some other opprobrious epithet. In Gorakhpur the services of the Chamârin midwife are dispensed with on the sixth day.

The Barahi or twelfth-day ceremony is done on the tenth day. The mother and child are bathed ; her hair is smeared with vermilion, and the relatives are feasted, then a little liquor is sprinkled over the woman, and after that she is considered pure.

28. Of the Magahiyas of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy writes :— "The birth of a Domra is always celebrated by a sacrifice to Gaudak and Samaiya. Marriages are contracted when the boy is about ten years old. The matter is settled by a go-between. The boy's father pays for the marriage feast and gives presents to the father of the girl ; but the Magahiyas deny that there is any idea of purchase. No religious ceremony accompanies the marriage. A panchâyat is assembled, a feast held, and the girl henceforth resides with her father-in-law. A man is not restricted in the number of his wives, and concubinage is also permitted, but the concubine is held in somewhat less esteem than the wife. A woman is apparently allowed to leave her husband and transfer herself to another ; but in that case she becomes a concubine. The panchâyat will not restore a wife who has decamped, but they will give back any property she took away. The frequent residence of the Magahiyas in

jail often obliges women to transfer themselves to other husbands for support, and makes polygamy advantageous. Polyandry is unknown."

29. In Mirzapur the marriage is arranged by the sister's husband of the boy's father. The betrothal

Marriage ceremonies :
Eastern Doms.

(*barrekhi*) is done in the usual way by the interchange of two leaf platters full of liquor, into one of which the boy's father puts a couple of rupees, which he passes on to the representative of the bride. They have the ordinary *matmangara* ceremony, with the difference that the lucky earth brought from the village claypit is used for constructing a large fireplace with a single opening on which the women of the family cook a mess of rice and pulse, which is placed on a leaf mat in the place where the marriage is performed. This is an offering to the Manes, and the phrase used is *pitr charhāna*. The usual anointing of bride and bridegroom follows, which is begun by the two fathers, who sprinkle a little turmeric and oil on the ground and invoke the sainted dead to assist them in bringing the marriage to a successful conclusion. It is a peculiarity of the tribe that both men and women join in the marriage procession. No Brāhman is employed. The boy's father repeats the names of his ancestors for five generations, and the father of the bride does the same for her. Then the pair are seated close together on a mat made of leaves. The husband of the sister of the bride's father drops water on her hands and says :—" *Bar kanya chiranjīva rāhen* "—"May the bride and bridegroom live long." This is done five times. The prominent part taken by the sister's husband is possibly a survival of the matriarchate. Then the garments of the pair are knotted together, and they walk round a branch of the cotton tree (*semāl*), planted in the middle of the company, five times. After this the boy puts red lead on the parting of the bride's hair, and this constitutes the binding part of the ceremony. They then go into a retiring room (*kohabur*) or behind some bushes close by, and there a good deal of coarse merriment goes on—an obvious survival of the habit of immediate consummation of the marriage. Besides this, the respectable form of marriage among the settled Doms, which is known as *charhawwa*, there is another form called *gurdwal*, where two persons exchange sisters, and a still lower form of the *dola* type, where the girl is merely taken by her father to the house of her husband and lives with him as his wife after a dinner has been given to the brethren.

The temporary connections of women whose husbands are in jail with other men are also fully recognised. In addition to this almost any kind of runaway match is allowed; in fact it would be hard to say what form of sexual intercourse is not recognised as a marriage.

30. "According to Dr. Wise it is universally believed in

Death ceremonies:
Eastern Doms.

Bengal that Doms do not burn or bury their dead, but dismember the corpse at night, like the inhabitants of Tibet, placing the pieces in a pot and sinking them in the nearest river or reservoir. This horrid idea probably arose from the old Hindu law which compelled the Doms to bury their dead at night."¹ This idea does not seem to prevail in these Provinces. The Doms appear to have no settled usage as regards the disposal of the corpse. Those who are fairly well off cremate the corpse, but unlike Hindus, take with them from the house the fire which is applied to the pyre. The poorer and vagrant Doms either bury, or sometimes cremate in a very rude and perfunctory way, or, when it is more convenient, throw the corpse into running water. Bodies of unmarried children are always thrown into a river or buried. The Magahiya Doms of Gorakhpur often leave the body in the jungle. Among the settled Doms of Mirzapur after a cremation they return to the house of the deceased, light a little oil in the courtyard and warm their feet in the smoke, the object apparently being to bar the return of the ghost. Some of them, once the corpse is burnt, do not take any trouble about the ashes, but leave them where the cremation took place. Others who are more scrupulous collect them on the third day and throw them into a neighbouring stream. Then they fix upon the bank a few blades of grass as a refuge for the wandering spirit, on which a little water is poured daily. Others lay out a little platter of food for the use of the departed during the days of mourning. On the tenth day they assemble at a tank, shave themselves, bathe, and offer three balls (*pinda*) of flour. At these ceremonies the sister's husband or the chief mourner officiates as priest. This seems to be another survival of the matriarchate. The same rule applies in the Bihâr branch of the tribe:—"The son of a deceased man's sister or of his female cousin officiates as priest at his funeral and recites appropriate texts (*mantra*) receiving a fee

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 248.

for his services when the inheritance comes to be divided. Some Doms, indeed, assured me that the sister's son used formerly to get a share of the property, and that this rule had only recently fallen into disuse; but their statements did not seem to be definite enough to carry entire conviction, and I have met with no corroborative evidence bearing on the point. So also in marriage the sister's son or occasionally the sister (*sudsin*) repeats *mantras* and acts generally as priest. Failing either of these the head of the household officiates. No other indications of an extinct custom of female kinship appear to exist, and the fact that in Western Bengal the eldest son gets an extra share on the division of an inheritance seems to show that kinship by males must have been in force for a very long time past."¹

31. The religious practices of the tribe vary with the social status of the sub-castes, and there is no standard type of worship because they are not controlled by Brâhmans. Of the Magahiya Doms of Gorakhpur Mr. Kennedy writes:—"The Magahiya Domras have two special divinities of their own; the chief is Gandak, whose grave is to be found at Karmaini Garhi, two days' journey to the east of Motihâri, in Bengal. According to their traditions Gandak was hanged for theft a long time ago, and when dying he promised always to help the Magahiyas in trouble. He is worshipped by the whole tribe and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is pre-eminently the patron god of thefts. A successful theft is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour. They also worship Samaiya, a female divinity. She is without any special history, and there is no sharp distinction between her sphere and Gandak's. Her functions apparently relate chiefly to birth and illness, etc.

32. "The Magahiyas sacrifice young pigs and wine with sugar and spices to these two deities. Every Magahiya is capable of performing the sacrifice, and the remains are divided among the company, when a vow is made to Samaiya, *e.g.*, on the birth of a child or when it is teething, or on the occasion of an illness a special pig is chosen and devoted to her, and is sacrificed in the fulfilment of the vow. The Magahiyas have neither altars nor idols, nor do they erect any platform (*chabûtra*) for worship. A spot is cleared

¹ Risley, *loc cit.*

and plastered in the middle of a field, and the sacrifice is then offered.

33. "The Magahiyas naturally believe in ghosts and spirits. When a man dies, my informant told me, he turns into an evil spirit (*shaitān*). The godlings (*deota*) also, he added, were innumerable. In most villages of this district there is a special altar for all the local ghosts and deities, which may reside within the village boundaries, and the Magahiyas are always ready to share in the sacrifices of the villagers to them. They also reverence trees and platforms consecrated by Hindus in passing, but pay no further homage. They acknowledge the village Kālī and sometimes sacrifice to her; but the sacrifices do not differ from those of the Hindus. They do not acknowledge Mahādeva or any other divinity, but they share the general Hindu belief in Parameswar, the giver and destroyer of life and the author of good and evil. He created the Magahiyas, they say, and ordered them to be filth and outcasts among the Hindus. They somehow resort to a Brāhman for the reading of the Vedas (*katha*). My informant had given a *katha* in this way on the last occasion of his release from jail. In these cases the Magahiyas go to the Brāhman's house, but I could not find any other trace of special reverence for the Brāhmins, nor have they any necessity for them."

34. In Mirzapur Doms of the better class worship Bhawāni, to whom at the Naurātra of Chait they make an offering of hogs, cakes (*pūri*), gruel (*lapsi*), and wreaths of flowers. The Bhawāni, if appeased, keeps off illness from her votaries. They have a vague idea of an all-powerful deity, Parameswar, who punishes the guilty, and of a hell, but what it is and how sinners are punished they know not. The scavenger Doms, like the Jallād, have a special female deity called Kukarmari, "the killer of dogs," to whom a sacrifice of a young pig and some spirits is offered outside the village as a propitiation for the death of these animals. In the same way when a Dom hangman is tying the rope round the neck of a criminal, he shouts out *Dohāi Mahārāni*, *Dohāi Sarkār*, *Dohāi Judge Sahib*. "Help O great Queen! Help O Government! Help Mr. Judge!" in order to free himself from any guilt attaching to the death. They worship the collective local gods (*deohār*) at marriages; but the wandering, vagrant habits of the tribe prevent them possessing any real respect for the village deities. Women have no worship special to themselves. On the last day of the first

fortnight of Kuâr they make ten lumps (*pinda*) of flour and throw them into a river, and when they come home they put some cakes and sweetened rice on a leaf-platter, and lay it in a field to propitiate the dead. Some fast on Sunday in the name of the Sun god Sûraj Nârâyan, but these practises prevail only among the more Hinduised Doms in the neighbourhood of towns.

35. In Gorakhpur, besides the worship described above, they also venerate their Guru who is said to have had his head-quarters at Bhojpur, in the Ballia District, and to his shrine they make occasional pilgrimages and make an offering of a pig at least four years old, wine, and flowers. To a goddess named Juthaiya Bhawâni, of whose functions they can give no account, they offer a young pig and some red lead, with a lock of their hair, a forehead spangle, and a cake of flour boiled with pulse.

36. Their demonology is much of the usual type common to the lower castes by whom they are surrounded. They believe that trees are inhabited by evil spirits, and unless they bow down to trees of this kind, their ghosts revenge themselves by bringing disease and death upon them. To such malignant ghosts they offer a young pig, which is eaten by the worshippers. In Mirzapur the chief Dom festivals are the Kajari and Phagua or Holi. At the Kajari in the month of Sâwan they get drunk, dance, and sing. It is the regular woman's saturnalia, and on this occasion gross sexual license is tolerated. At the Phagua or Holi the same is the case. In Gorakhpur, besides the Holi, they observe the Jiutiya on the eighth of the dark half of Kuâr, and the Khichari on the day the sun enters the sign of Makar. On the Jiutiya the women fast in order to ensure long life to their husbands, and the Khichari they beg boiled rice and pulse from door to door.

37. The Eastern Doms are particularly afraid of the ghosts of drowned people who are called Bûrna (*bûrna* "to be drowned"). These malignant ghosts drag under the water and drown boys who bathe in tanks and rivers infested by them.¹ Fields are in charge of Mari Masân, the deity which haunts cremation grounds, and Kukarmari, the dog goddess, already mentioned. They are ever in dread of the ghosts of the dead, which torment them in dreams if not propitiated with an annual sacrifice. If neglected

¹ On this see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I 109.

they appear in their original shapes and demand a sacrifice. Women are tattooed on the arms, wrists, breasts, and cheeks. If a woman not tattooed attempt to enter heaven the gate-keeper of Parameswar pitches her down to the earth again. They have the usual omens of meeting. Many of their women, as in the case of all solitary and uncanny races such as they are, are said to practise witchcraft. One way such persons acquire influence over a man is by throwing a cowry shell at him. They believe firmly in the Evil Eye. When children have been overlooked and pine away, the cure is to wave some garlic and pepper pods round the child's head on a Tuesday or Sunday, and then to throw them into the fire. The evil influence is supposed to pass away with the filthy smoke.

38. The occupation and social position of the Eastern Doms differ much according to the sub-castes. One duty of the ordinary Dom is to supply fire for cremation. Mr. Sherring¹ describes the custom at Benares as follows:—"On the arrival of the dead body at the place of cremation, which in Benares is at the base of one of the steep stairs (*ghât*) called the Burning Ghât, leading down from the streets above to the bed of the River Ganges, the Dom supplies five logs of wood, which he lays in order upon the ground, the rest of the wood being given by the family of the deceased. When the pile is ready for burning, a handful of lighted fire is brought by the Dom, and applied by one of the chief members of the family to the wood. The Dom is the only person who can furnish the light for this purpose; and if, from any circumstance, the services of one cannot be obtained, great delay and inconvenience are apt to occur. The Dom exacts his fee for three things, namely, first, for the five logs, secondly, for the bunch of straw, and thirdly, for the light." There is no fixed fee, and as the Dom naturally makes the best of his position and raises his demands according to the position and wealth of his customers, this class of Dom, who is known as Kâshiwâla or "he of Benares," has a bad reputation for insolence and extortion.

39. From his business and environment the Dom is, of course, regarded by all respectable Hindus with contempt, fear, and abhorrence. No one will touch food or water from his hands. The Magahiya Dom of Gorakhpur will eat anything except the flesh

¹ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 461.

of the monkey, serpent, and lizard. Mr. Kennedy says that they eat most things, including carrion; but certain animals, beasts of prey, cats, and dogs, etc., they will not eat. In Mirzapur I have seen them squabbling over the carcass of a dead horse in an obvious condition of advanced decomposition. They are always on the look out for tiger flesh, but they say that they stew it down more than once, as it is very heating. They will, as already stated, refuse the leavings of a Dhobi, and to this the more settled Doms of Mirzapur add those of the Hela, Musahar, and Chamiâr. Doms who have adopted more cleanly occupations than their vagrant and scavenger brethren, such as basket-making, are naturally becoming more Hinduised and more careful in matters of diet. Those Doms who have settled down, like the Bânsphor and the Dharkâr, to working in cane, and the Jallâd to scavenging and acting as public executioners, are fairly respectable, industrious people. Those who work in cane use a peculiar curved knife known as *bânki*. They make fans (*benâ*), baskets, (*dauri*), boxes (*petâra*), scales (*tardzu*), winnowing fans (*sûp*), lampstands (*dîwat*), irrigation baskets (*dala*), and betel boxes (*belhara*). These workers in cane are known in cities by the Persian title of Bedbâf¹ (Pers. *bed*, "cane;" *bâftan* "to weave"). They split the cane into eight strips (*târ*), with an instrument (*taraunthi*) like a lemon-slicer. The outside cuttings he sells to bakers for making the mould (*sâncha*) used for applying cakes to the walls of the ovens. The Bedbâf weaves the backs and seats of chairs and makes baskets, etc. The Bânsphor makes baskets, but works only in bamboo. He splits the bamboo into strips (*patta*), which are soaked and woven into baskets. The allied people known as Kori Chhapparband make door-screens (*chig*, *tatti*) and thatches (*chhappar*). They work in bamboos and the reed grass known as *sentha* (*saccharum sara*). The Parchhatti and Gudariya make stools (*mondha*), and the Dharkâr fine furniture, fine door-screens, baskets, fans, etc., from bamboo, but he works in bamboo and they in reed.

40. Of the Gorakhpur Magahiyas Mr. Kennedy writes:—"They eat cow's flesh readily, but they will not kill the cow. They also offer milk, like Hindus, to snakes at the Nâgpanchami, but have no reverence for tigers or other animals. They express some reverence for the great rivers, Ganga and Nârâyani, etc. This, I

¹ For a good account of this industry, see Hoey, *Monograph on Trades*, 72.

think, nearly marks the extent to which they have been Hinduised. The *pīpal* is the only sacred tree, and no Magahiya will pluck its leaves. They hold this superstition so firmly that I suspect it is aboriginal. No reverence is paid to the banyan or any other sacred Hindu tree or plant. They have a special superstition about iron, and will not use it for certain purposes. A Magahiya who commits burglary with an iron instrument will not only be excluded from the brotherhood, but his eyes will some day start out of his head. Their most solemn oath is celebrated after the following fashion: A piece of ground is cleared and plastered as if for sacrifice. A piece of iron, a dish of water, some leaves of the *pīpal*, and a particular kind of Tarāi grass with some lighted charcoal are all put separately on the ground. On the top a pice is placed, and the oath is taken over it. An oath by the Dhobi is also particularly binding."

Other oaths of the Eastern Doms are on the altar of the deities they worship, on a *pīpal* leaf, on a knife stuck in the ground, with the fingers of the right hand resting on a vessel full of spirits, or with some cow-dung fixed on the horn of a dead cow. They use none of the ordinary forms of salutation, but simply join their hands as a mark of respect.

41. The Doms of Kumaun have been thought to be akin to the aboriginal Rājis; but the latter repudiate the idea and profess the very greatest contempt for the Doms; so that if one of that class enter the dwelling of a Rājī, the place must be purified with water brought from twenty-two different sources. They are supposed to be the relics of the original inhabitants of the country, corresponding to the Dhiyar or ore-smelters of Jammu, the Bātal of the Kashmīr Valley, the Bem of Ladākh, the Newār of Nepāl. In Garhwāl they appear to have been enslaved by the immigrant Khasiyas. Under the name of Dūm they are described in Jammu¹ as "dark in colour, small in limb, and their countenance is of a much lower type than that of the Dogras generally, though one sees exceptions, due no doubt to an admixture of blood, for, curiously, the separation of them from the daily life of the others does not prevent an occasional intercourse that tends in some degree to assimilate the races." In the Himalayan Dis-

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the aboriginal Rājis; but the latter repudiate the idea and profess the very greatest

¹ Drew's *Jammu*, 56."

tricts of these Provinces the Dom has been recognised as a descendant of the Dasyus of the Veda, who are supposed to have held Upper India before the advent of the Nâga or Khasa race.

42. The complete Census Returns show as the main sections of the Hill Doms the Auji, Badhai, Bera, Baroda, Chamâr, Chunara, Darzi, Das, Dhaki, Dhobi, Dholi, Dhunâr, Kamar, Koli, Lohâr, Mochi, Nâth, Pahariya, Sahiya, Tamoli, Tanta, and Teli, most of which are occupational. In Garhwâl, according to Mr. Atkinson,¹ they are divided in popular estimation into four classes. To the first belong the Kolis, Tamotas, Lohârs, Orhs, and Dhârhis. The Kolis weave cloth, keep pigs and fowls, and are agricultural labourers. The Tamotas or Tantas represent the Thatheras of the plains, and are workers in brass and copper. The Lohârs are workers in iron. The Orhs comprise both masons and carpenters. Dhârhis, though socially ranked with Doms, do not belong to them, for they properly include only those Khasiyas who have been put out of caste for some offence, and their offspring form a new caste with the addition of the fresh avocation. To the second class belong the Bhûls, Chunyârs, Ruriyas, Agaris, and Pahrîs. The Bhûls represent the Telis of the plains, but also do field work. They are also called Bâryas. The Chunyâras are turners, and make wooden vessels and the bottoms of *huggas*. The Ruriyas make various kinds of bamboo baskets and sieves. The Agaris are iron smelters, and must be carefully discriminated from the Dravidian Agariyas of Mirzapur. They are Doms attached to the service of the mines by the former Râjas, but are gradually exchanging a very ill-paid and dangerous avocation for that of road-making and other profitable work. The Pahrîs are village messengers, and are the same as the Chamâr village watchmen of the plains. To the third class belong the Mallâhs, Daryas, and Chamârs. The Mallâhs are also called Dhunârs, and are for the most part engaged in agriculture. The Daryas are village sorcerers, and conjure away hailstorms and the like, for which service they receive annual dues of grain. The Chamârs call themselves Bairsawa, and will never acknowledge the name of Chamâr. They sew leather and perform all the usual service duties of the Dom.

¹ *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 277, sq.

43. The fourth class includes the professional beggars and vagrant musicians of the Hills—the Bâdi, Hurkiya, Darzi, and Dholi. The Bâdi is the village musician; in the plains he is considered to be a Nat. He plays on various instruments and sings at festivals. He goes from village to village begging from door to door, and belongs to the class of sturdy beggars who, if they do not get what they expect, lampoon the people of the house and abuse them. For these reasons they are, to some extent, feared, and are able to maintain themselves at the expense of their neighbours. They also snare fowl and fish. The Hurkiya are so called from the small double drum (*huruk*, *huruka*) shaped like an hourglass which he carries. This is an archaic musical instrument like the *damaru*, which is one of Siva's emblems. They never take to agriculture, and wander about with their women, who dance and sing. The Darzi, also called Auji and Suji, lives by tailoring, though often solely by agriculture. To the Darzi class belongs the Dholi so called from beating the drum (*dholak*). This is done by way of incantation to cause sprites and ghosts to enter or leave the person of any one, and so induce that person to give money to the performer. The Darya, Bâdi, Hurkiya, and Dholi are all Doms, and "are in the hills the recognised priests of the malignant spirits of the hill and glen, whose aid is always sought after before anything serious is undertaken or any difficult task is attempted. It is the Doms who preserve to the present day the pure demonism of the aborigines, while the Khasiyas temper it with the worship of the village deities, the named and localised divine entities, and furnish from their ranks the priests. Most of the Barhais belong to the Orh division of the Doms, and the Chuna-paz or lime-burners belong to the Agari and Lohâr branches of the Doms. Finally there is a class known as Domjogi, who are beggars. The portion of the village site assigned to Doms is in the hills known as Domaure or Dantola, like the Chamrauti where the Chamârs of the plains congregate."

44. Most of these divisions of the Doms of the hills are thus purely occupational, and, as might have been expected, the enumeration varies. Thus Pandit Juâla Dat Joshi writing of the Doms of Kumaun says that Doms usually do not use the term Dom in speaking of themselves, but call themselves Bairsawa, or Tallijâti or Bâharjâti, "outcasts," or they call themselves by their occupation Orh, Lohâr, and so on. He enumerates the

Kumaun Doms under the heads of Sarki Dotiwāla, who work in leather; Tamta, workers in brass; Lohār, workers in iron; Orh and Bārele masons; Tirua, who do tinning and making of horse shoes; Bhûl, oilmen; Mochi, workers in leather; Koli, cloth-weavers; Bâruri, makers of bamboo baskets, Dhuni, Dhuni Dom, and ordinary Doms who are said to be a mixed race of men from the plains and ordinary Hill Doms who work as ploughmen and day labourers; Dholi, who play on drums at festivals; Hurkiya, who play and sing and prostitute their women; Chamâr, who skin animals; Bâdi, who play on drums and work as tailors. He adds that the reason of the increase of this caste is that they admit outcasts from the superior tribes. The Baura are separate from the Dom, and say that they were originally Jâts.

According to the same authority, the Orh, Tamta, Lohâr, Bârê, Bhûl, Tirua, Mochi, Dhuni, Koli, and Bâruri are exogamous, but as they advance in wealth, they show a tendency to break up into endogamous groups. The Chamâr, Dholi, Bâdi, and Hurkiya are endogamous, and will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* only from members of their own sub-caste. Their rule of exogamy is simply that the recognised descendants of one common ancestor will not intermarry. Some of them, as they are becoming more Hinduised, have adopted the rule of not intermarrying within five generations on the side of the mother and seven on the side of the father. They can marry as many wives as they please, of whom the youngest and best-looking is regarded as head. He says that the Doms do not prostitute their women before marriage; but that among the Bhotiyas it used to be the habit for young men and girls to meet in a special house in the village, where, after drinking, each youth selected a girl and cohabited with her in perfect freedom. The custom is now disappearing. We have here a good example of that form of promiscuity before marriage, of which Dr. Westermarck has collected numerous instances.¹

46. Girls, he goes on to say, are married between the age of eight or ten. When the parties are of that age, their relatives arrange the marriage for them; but when a girl has passed the age of puberty she may choose a husband for herself. There are two recognised forms of marriage, the superior, in which the father of the bride gives her away with a dowry, and the less respectable

¹ *History of Human Marriage*, 14.

form in which the relatives of the bridegroom pay one-third of the expenses of the marriage.

47. They put away a woman when she is attacked with leprosy, becomes a lunatic or loses caste. A divorced woman, provided she has not been divorced on account of disease, may be taken on as a concubine, but she cannot be married again by any of the regular forms. The levirate and widow-marriage are recognised, and the children of a widow regularly married and of a widow rank equally; but the children of a concubine hold a lower rank, as they cannot join in the worship of deceased ancestors. A widow taken over by a man is known as *rakhui*, and it is said to be the custom for widows not to live with a man unless they have no one to support them.

48. When a woman comes to the seventh month of pregnancy she is forbidden to cook for her family or to perform the domestic worship. When the child is born, a lump of coarse sugar is distributed to those present; the child is bathed, and red powder (*rori*) applied to its head and to that of the mother and all the women of the house. For eleven days the male members of the family are considered impure. In the case of the birth of twins, they perform a propitiatory ceremony.

49. The marriage ceremony is in the form usual among the lower castes. No Brâhman officiates, and his place is taken by the sister's son who receives a fee for his services. The binding portion of the ceremony is the feeding of the brethren.

50. They burn their dead and dispose of the ashes into a neighbouring stream. In this case also the sister's son or the son-in-law of the dead man officiates and is given a loin cloth and some money. The death impurity lasts for eleven days. At her first menstruation a girl is impure for eleven days, and only for four days at each subsequent occurrence of the menses.

51. According to Mr. Atkinson,¹ "their montane and non-Brâhmanical origin is sufficiently shown by the names of the deities worshipped by them—Ganganâth, Bholanâth, Masân, Khabîsh, Goril, Kshetrpâl, Saim, Airi Kalbisht or Kaluwa, Chaumu, Badhân, Hâru, Latu, Bheliya, the Katyûri Râjas, Rûniya, Bâlchan, Kâlchan, Bhausi, Chhurmâl. Ganganâth is the favourite deity of the Doms and his origin is thus accounted for. The son of Bhabichand, Râja of Doti, quarrelled

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layan Doms.

¹ Loc. cit., II, 319.

with his family and became a religious mendicant. In the course of his wanderings he arrived at Adoli, a village in Patti Sâlam, and there saw and fell in love with the wife of one Krishna Joshi. This Joshi was a servant at Almora, and the Jogi disguised himself and took service in the house in which the woman lived. When Krishna heard of the intrigue, he set out for Adoli, and, with the aid of one Jhaparna Lohâr, murdered his wife and her lover. Like Bholanâth and his companions, the Jogi, his mistress, and the unborn child became goblins and vexed the people so that they built a temple and instituted a regular service in honour of the three sprites. From Adoli the cult of Ganganâth spread over Kumaun, and at Takuriya Lwâli and Narai in his home patti we have temples in his honour. He is supposed especially to harass the young and beautiful, if they do not propitiate him. When any one is aggrieved by the wicked or powerful, he goes to Ganganâth for aid, who invariably punishes the evil-doer. He sometimes possesses a follower, and through him promises all that they desire to those who offer the following articles—to Ganganâth himself a kid, cakes, sweetmeats, beads, a bag and a pair of Jogi's ear rings; to his mistress Bhâna, a petticoat, a sheet, and a nose ring; and to the child a coat and amulets—altogether forming a fair spoil to the Ghantuwa or astrologer who conducts the ceremonies.

52. "The current legend regarding the origin of the local deity Bholanâth and his consort Barhini forms one of the connecting links between the Brâhmanical system of the present day and the universal hierarchy of sprites and goblins common to all mountainous countries. With the better classes Bholanâth is recognised as a form of Mahâdeva, and Barhini as a form of his Sâkti,¹ thus meeting the requirements of the popular worship and the demands of the orthodox school, but it is evident that the idea of deifying mortals is an old one, and in this case merely localised to explain the origin of a class of temples which are acknowledged not to belong to the orthodox forms of Mahâdeva. One story tells us how Uday Chand, Râja of Almora, had two queens, each of whom bore him a son. When the children arrived at man's estate, the elder of the two took to evil courses and was disinherited and left Kumaun. The younger in course of time succeeded his father as Gyân Chand, and his administration gave great satisfaction and relief to the

¹ On this see Monier Williams, *Brahmantism and Hinduism*, 180, *seqq.*

people. Gyân Chand had been some years on the throne when his elder brother returned to Almora, and took up his quarters there in the guise of a religious mendicant. In spite of his disguise several recognised the disinherited prince, and conveyed the news of his arrival to his brother Gyân Chand. He became alarmed and gave orders for the assassination of his brother which was carried out by a man of the Bariya or gardener caste. The elder prince and his pregnant mistress were both slain near the temple of Sîtala Devi. The mistress was the wife of a Brâhman, and her connection with the Chand prince was considered something more than adulterous. After death the elder brother became a *bhût*. A small iron trident is sometimes placed in the corner of a cottage as an emblem of Bholanâth, and is usually resorted to when any sudden or unexpected calamity attacks the inmates.

53. "The demon Masân is usually found at burning grounds. He is supposed to be of black colour and hideous appearance. He comes from the remains of a funeral pyre and chases people passing by who sometimes die of fright, others linger for a few days and some even go mad. When a person becomes possessed by Masân, the people invoke the beneficent spirit of the house to come and take possession of some member of the family, and all begin to dance. At length some one works himself into a state of frenzy and commences to torture and belabour the body of the person possessed by Masân, until at length a cure is effected or the patient perishes under this drastic treatment.

54. "Khabîsh resembles Masân in his malignant nature and fondness for charnel grounds. He is also met with in dark glens and forests in various shapes. Sometimes he imitates the bellow of a buffalo, or the cry of a goat-herd or neat-herd, and sometimes he grunts like a wild pig. At other times he assumes the guise of a religious mendicant and joins travellers on their way, but his conversation (like that of all the Indian *bhûts* who speak through their nose) is always unintelligible. Like Masân he often frightens people and sometimes possesses unfortunate travellers who get benighted."

55. Goril, Goriya, Gwel, Gwâll or Gol is another deified mortal of whom the legend is given by Mr. Atkinson. He was beaten out of Garhwâl by Sudarsan Sâh. The idea that a *bhût* can be driven out by beating is embodied in two well-known Hindi proverbs—*Mâr kē ōge bhût bhāgta hai*, "A thrashing makes a *bhût*

run;" and *Idton kē bhūt bāton sē nahin mānlē*, "Goblins that want kicking won't mind words."

56. Khetrpāl is the same as Bhūmiya, the protector of field and homestead, extensively worshipped in the western districts. Saim or Sayam, "the black one (Sans. *shyāma*) is another form of the same deity. He sometimes possesses people, and his sign is that the hair of the scalp-lock becomes hopelessly entangled.

57. Kalbisht or Kaluwa is said to have been a neat-herd who lived some two hundred years ago. His enemies persuaded his brother-in-law Himmat to drive a peg into the hoof of one of Kalibisht's buffaloes, intending that he should be killed in attempting to extract it, but no harm ensued. Himmat next attacked him from behind with an axe, and so wounded him on the neck that he died, but not before he had torn the treacherous Himmat limb from limb. He has now become a benevolent sprite, and his name is used by herdsmen as a charm against wild beasts, and oppressed persons resort to his temple for justice against their oppressors.

58. Chaumu is also a deified mortal and a god of cattle; so is Badhān. On the eleventh day after the birth of a calf his *linga* is washed first with water and then milk and cakes, rice and milk are offered at his temples. Hāru is the deified Haris Chandra, Rāja of Champawat who built the sacred bathing place at Hardwār. Lātu was his brother. The Katyûri Râjas are the deified last independent Râjas of Katyûr. Rûniya is a malignant *bhūt* who wanders from village to village on coursers formed of huge boulders, and at night especially exercises his noisy steeds. He attacks only females, and should any woman attract his attentions she invariably wastes away, haunted by her ghostly lover and joins him in the spirit land. Bâlehan, Kâlchan, Bhasni, and Chhurmāl are malignant *bhûts* of the same kind.

59. To quote again Mr. Atkinson's excellent account of this

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an Doms.

caste—"Doms do not wear the sacred thread or the bracelet (*râkhi*) nor do they have caste marks or wear, as a rule, the top-knot (*sikha*)

and in a rough way they imitate the customs of the better classes, especially those who have made money in their contracts with Government. Their offerings to deceased ancestors (*srâddha*) when made at all, are performed at the Amâwas or last day of the Kanyâgat of Kuâr. The sister's son, younger sister's husband or son-in-law act as Brâhmanas on the occasion and receive gifts as

such. Doms eat the flesh of all animals, use their skins, and eat food from all classes except the Bhangi, Musalmán, and Christian. There is no fixed time for marriage. When an elder brother dies the younger takes the widow to wife whether she has children or not; hence the proverb *Mal bhír adhári ber, talai chír men onchhi* "When the upper walls fall they come on the lower wall." When the elder brother dies, the burden falls upon the younger. The elder brother cannot, however, take to wife the widow of a deceased younger brother, and contracts a stain if even her shadow crosses his path. He transfers her to some other of the brotherhood, but if during the lifetime of her second husband he or she be dissatisfied, another may take her by paying the cost of her marriage. This may be repeated several times. The prohibited degrees are only a daughter, sister, uncle, aunt, brother, and these they cannot eat or smoke with."

60. To this may be added from the notes of Pandit Juála Dat Joshi that their greatest oath is to place the hand on the head of their son; others say: "If I swear falsely may I eat your flesh." They also swear by placing their hands on the grain mortar (*okhlá*), flour mill (*chakki*), or on a bell. When there is a dispute about boundaries they write a curse (*bunda*) on a piece of paper and holding it on the head of a son recite the words which run as follows—"If the land in dispute be mine may I and my children enjoy it, if it be not mine may Parameswar prevent me from enjoying it." They believe in the Evil Eye and remove it by waving some mustard over the patient and then burning it near him in a pan. They fully believe in the demoniacal theory of disease, and patients are treated by an exorcisor known as Gannua. They salute one another by the term *pálágan*; Brahmans by the word *seva* and English and Musalmáns by *salám*. Many of them in addition cultivate and some practise a kind of nomadic cultivation by burning down patches of jungle.

61. There seems reason to believe that some at least of the Gypsy

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Doms and Gypsies.

tribes of Europe are akin to the Magahiya Doms; and a connection has been traced between their languages. Much speculation has been devoted to the term Romani, the designation of the European gypsies. According to one theory it means Roman or Roumanian. According to another "the word Rom in all the gypsy dialects of Europe has a twofold meaning signifying "man" and "husband" as well as

"gypsy." A satisfactory connection has still to be found for it, that connected with Râma, the incarnate Vishnu of the Hindus being discountenanced by the authority of Professor Ascoli of Milan. By a curious and unexplained coincidence the identical word Rom or Rome occurs with the meaning "man" in modern Coptic, and according to Herodotus belonged also to the language of the ancient Egyptians. Although this isolated fact in no way affects the general bearing of the question, it is worth noting as an etymological curiosity. It is not impossible that among the original elements of the Aryan mother speech may have existed a root *ro* or *rom*, expressive of power, the survival of which we can discern in the Greek *romé*, "strength," the Latin *robur*, and perhaps in the illustrious name of Rome itself." On the other hand Dr. Schrader¹ suggests that the word *robur* in the sense of "oak" is the equivalent of *arbor* "a tree." At the same time there seems some reason for believing that Romani in the sense of "a gypsy" may be connected with our Indian terms Dom and Domra.²

Distribution of the Doms according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Benbansi.	DhânuK.	Others.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	18,438	210	18,648
Sahâranpur	59	2,482	2,541
Muzaffarnagar	254	2,299	2,553
Meerut	4,257	4,257
Bulandshahr	5,663	5,663

¹ *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 272.

² *Edinburgh Review*, 1878, p. 140; Grierson, *Indian Antiquary*, XV. 14, sq. XVI. 35, sqq. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, article *Gypsies*: Leland, *Academy*, 19th June 1875.

In the life of Edward Henry Palmer by Walter Besant (p. 184), Mr. Leland writes—"Several times I interviewed, in his company in London, a native of India who had been a Rom, that is to say, a gypsy. Palmer examined the man long and closely in his native language, that is to say as a shrewd lawyer would examine a man whose assertions he wished to discredit. The result of the interview was that there is, in Palmer's opinion, one distinctive race of gypsies, who call themselves Rom, who speak a language which is not identical with any Indian tongue, though much like Panjâbi, but which is identical with Romany. The man assured me subsequently that he would never have known from his language that Palmer was not a born Hindu."

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

DISTRICTS.	Benbansi.	Dhānuk.	Others.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Aligarh	21	995	1,016
Mathura	8	873	881
Agra	15	869	884
Farrukhābād	3	117	120
Mainpuri	152	152
Etāwah . .	6	...	20	143	169
Etah	95	95
Bareilly	538	538
Bijnor	2,929	2,929
Budāun	603	603
Morādābād	4	3,488	3,492
Shāhjahānpur	307	307
Pilibhīt	295	295
Cawnpur	26	96	122
Fatehpur	58	58
Bānda	8	8
Hamīrpur	20	27	47
Allahābād	205	108	313
Jhānsi	8	4	12
Jālaun	18	20	38
Lalitpur	26	...	26
Benares	1,078	76	1,154
Mirzapur	8,039	3	8,042
Jaunpur	3,157	135	3,292
Ghāzipur . .	158	11	2,968	37	3,174
Ballia . .	36	...	1,671	...	1,707
Gorakhpur	7,817	72	7,889
Easti	82	101	183

Distribution of the Doms according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Benbansi.	Dhānuk.	Others.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Azamgarh . .	3	...	1,234	135	1,372
Kumaun	137,760	...	137,760
Garhwāl	66,529	...	66,529
Tarāi	4,996	519	5,515
Lucknow	751	908	12	1,671
Unāo	1,285	1,904	30	3,219
Râê Bareli	1,411	4,084	51	5,546
Sitapur	12	21	33
Hardoi	3	24	27
Gonda	129	1,790	27	1,946
Bahrāich . .	8	17	327	109	461
Sultānpur	102	102
Partābgarh	16	24	1	41
Bārabanki	780	2,441	272	3,493
TOTAL . .	211	4,400	265,949	28,363	298,923

Domar.—A caste recorded at the last Census in Allahâbâd Division. The Census returns show their sections as Lod in Fatehpur; in Bânda, Bânsphor, Basor, Benbansi, Janwâr, Malik, Saijâd, Sûpabhagat, Thail, and Tharkâri. This shows that they are really only a sub-caste of the great Dom race.

Distribution of the Domar according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Turaiha.	Others.	TOTAL.
Cawnpur	18	141	159
Fatehpur	349	1,745	2,094
Bânda . . . . .	...	10,371	10,371
Hamirpur . . . . .	...	2,308	2,308
Allahâbâd . . . . .	...	19	197
TOTAL . .	367	14,762	15,129

Donwâr; Dunwâr.—A mixed Râjput-Bhuînâr sept found in the districts of Gorakhpur, Ghâzipur, and Azamgarh. According

to Sir H. M. Elliot¹ at one time they were strong enough to establish a principality on the Kosi in Western Tîrhût, and there are several monuments still existing in that neighbourhood which attest the power of the Donwâr Râja Karna Deva. In Ghâzipur² the Râjput and Bhuînhâr branches are quite distinct. They have a dark complexion and a cast of countenance which is not what is usually called Aryan. In Azamgarh³ both sects admit descent from common ancestors, Sonpâl being the father of the Râjput, and Kuspâl of the Bhuînhâr. The Râjput branch say that they came from Don Darauli in Sâran, and are descended from Mayûra Bhatta, the mythical ancestor of the Bisen family of Salempur Majhauri, who, however, disclaim all connection with them. Among Râjputs they are of little consideration. The Bhuînhâr branch say that they came from Raindih near Delhi, but they admit their connection with the Donwârs of Tîrhût and Sâran, and speak of themselves as the descendants of Jham Bhatta, whom they connect in a vague way with Mayûra Bhatta. They are sometimes known as Rainiya from the village of Raini in Pargana Muhammadâbâd, an early settlement in Azamgarh.

Dor.—A Râjput sept, now almost all Muhammadans, who before the coming of the Bargûjars were the chief owners of the country now included in the Aligarh and Bulandshahr Districts. Colonel Tod⁴ remarks "that though occupying a place in all the genealogies, time has destroyed all knowledge of the past history of a tribe to gain a victory over whom was deemed by Prithivi Râja worthy of a tablet." The local traditions in Aligarh and Bulandshahr agree that they were lords of a large tract of country between the Ganges and Jumna long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion. They were at all times probably subordinate to the Delhi Râjas; and in Bulandshahr their power had been weakened, and their possessions encroached upon by the attacks of the Mewâtis, and the colonisation of their territories by the Bargûjars, Jâts, and other races. In and about Koil at least they seem to have retained some remnant of their former authority until the defeat of Prithivi Râja and the conquest of Delhi and Ajmer.⁵ They claim kinship with the

¹ *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.

² Oldham, *Memo.* I, 63.

³ *Settlement Report*, 29, 43.

⁴ *Annals of Rajasthan*, I, 125.

⁵ *Aligarh Settlement Report*, II.

Panwārs and say that they came from the Upper to the Middle Duāb in the tenth century. They have a curious legend that their name is derived from the fact that one of their kings offered his head to the local goddess, Dor being a corruption of Dūnd, "headless." Haradatta was their king at the time of the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni, and most of the ruined forts in the Central Duāb are attributed to him and his descendants. They were finally, in the middle of the twelfth century, expelled by the Mīna Meos, Bargūjars, and Gahlots, and their power was finally broken by Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghori. They have now little influence. A clan of Gūjars of the same name in Khandesh claim their origin from them.¹

Dorha; Daurha; Dauraha.²—A small caste found only in the Kheri District, who are so called because they make baskets (*dauri*). They have no sub-divisions. They call themselves Rājputs, the descendants of Rāja Vena, who was the old world Brāhmanical type of impiety. They allege that the poorer members of the tribe were obliged by poverty to settle down in the Kheri District and take to their present occupation. Their rules of intermarriage and social position are very much the same as that of the Gorchhas (*g.v.*). Their present occupation is the making and selling of fans, baskets, boxes, etc. A few of them have taken to agriculture. They marry in the ordinary Hindu form, and employ a village Pandit to take the auspices. The essential part of the rite is the sevenfold perambulation of the bride and bridegroom round the central pole of the marriage shed (*mando*). The widow usually lives with her younger brother-in-law. The only rite at such marriages is investing her with a new set of glass bangles (*chūri*) and feeding the brethren. A wife can be turned out for misconduct, and can then marry again like a widow. They eat mutton and goat's flesh, fowls and fish, and drink spirits. They will not eat the flesh of the cow, monkey, pig, or vermin like crocodiles, jackals, snakes, lizards, rats or the leavings of other people. No one will eat, drink, or smoke with them. They number only 68 souls in the Kheri District.

Drāvira.—One of the five sub-castes of Brāhman which go to make up what is called the Pancha Drāvira, one of the two great Brāhmanic groups. According to Dr. Wilson,³ connected with their

¹ *Census Report, North West Provinces, 1865, I, App. 17*; Raja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 147, 165; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XII, 67.

² Based on information supplied by Lt.-Col. W. P. Harrison, Deputy Commissioner, Kheri.

³ *Indian Caste*, II, 56, sqq.

Vedic relations, they are divided into Rig Vedis, Krishna Yajur Vedis, Shukla Yajur Vedis, Sama Vedis, Drāvida Atharva Vedis, and Nunbis. And by sect they are either Smārtas, Vaishnavas, Sri Vaishnavas, Bhāgvatas or Sāktas. "The Drāvira Brāhmins profess to be the most scrupulous in India in reference to caste observance and practice, and in support of their pretensions in this respect they exhibit all kinds of absurdities and puerilities. They are great opponents of the re-marriage of widows and other proposals of reform." Their country lies to the south of Tailangāna and Maisūr and to the east of the Cochin and Travancore territories.

Distribution of the Drāvira Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Sabāranpur	1	Jālaun	1
Mathura	61	Ghāzipur	7
Bareilly	1	Garhwāl	22
Morādābād	7	Unāo	181
Cawnpur	2	Faizābād	1
Fatehpur	1	Bahrāich	7
Bānda	5		
		TOTAL	297

Dugdha.—A tribe of inferior Brāhmins on the borders of Fatehpur and Allahābād. "They date their origin from the time of Jay Chand, who figures in so many fabulous legends of those parts. A certain Pānrē Brāhman by name Barru, set up his abode as a recluse in Parsakhi, between Shāhzādpur and the Ganges, and withdrew himself entirely from wordly concerns. His credit as a holy man was so great that Jay Chand became anxious to see him, and promised to reward any one who would bring him into his presence. After several unsuccessful attempts by all the chief officers of his Court, a woman of the Rājput tribe, and of great personal charms, ventured on the difficult undertaking. Her wiles and blandishments could not be withstood, and before long, the holy hermit con-

fessed himself the father of several children; and as the lady succeeded in the object of introducing him to an audience with Jay Chand, a grant of several villages was bestowed upon her. On the death of the hermit, she is said to have married a Qâzi, but it is not probable that such a connection took place at the early period of the Muhammadan conquest. However, she divided the inheritance, it is asserted, amongst her children. Those by the Pânârê, who were Dugdha Brahmans (*i.e.*, of mixed blood) received forty-eight villages, of the greater part of which they are in possession to this day. The Musalmân descendants also retain some of the villages said to have been granted at the same time. The Dugdhas are reckoned in no repute as Brâhmans; indeed they are properly Bhuinhârs and are very indifferent about the rank of the families with which they intermarry, not unfrequently receiving the daughters of Râjputs as wives."¹

Durgbansi.—A Râjput sept found in the eastern part of the Province and Oudh. They are said to be a branch of the Dikhit sept. In Oudh it is said that they take their name from Râja Durga Vâhan Dikhit of Ajudhya; according to the Partâbgarh story, they are really an offshoot from the Bilkhariya sept, and are named from their ancestor Durga Dâs, the second son of Râja Râmdeo. Their social position may be judged from their giving daughters in marriage to the Chamar Gaur, Bandhalgoti, Tilokchandi Bais, Sombansi, Sûrajbansi, Sirnet, Baghel, and the Gaharwâr of Kantit. Their sons marry in the septs of Chandel, Puâr, Gautam, Raghubansi, Ujjaini, and the inferior grades of Bais.²

Dusâdh.³—A menial tribe found to the east of the province. An attempt has been made to derive the name from the Sanskrit *dush* "to be corrupted" and *ad* "to eat;" or from *dauh-sâdhika*, "a porter." But the name is more probably of non-Aryan origin. By the account current among themselves they are the descendants of Duhsâsana, the son of Dhritarashtra, who, when the Pândavas lost their wife Draupadi, in gambling with Duryodhana, dragged her forward by the hair and otherwise misused her. By another story they are the descendants of Bhîmsen. In the hills they call themselves Khasiya Râjputs, and say they are so called because they lived

¹ Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.

² Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.: *Elliott Chronicles of Unâo*, 34; *Partâbgarh Settlement Report*, 95, Note.

³ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur.

on the borders of Kumaun and Garhwâl. Another legend makes them the descendants of the hero Salhes, who is connected with the Lorik cycle. He was the companion of Harua and Barua who were defeated by Lorik.

2. There is another famous tribal legend which is thus told by Mr. Beglar.¹ "There was a Dusâdh living in Râjgir, whose daughter used to take the household pigs out in the field to feed. It happened that as she was so engaged on the day of the full moon of a certain great festival, she saw a Brâhman walking on very rapidly. On questioning him he replied that he was going to bathe in the Ganges on the full moon. The girl replied "You cannot possibly reach the Ganges in time; but if you believe me and your mind be full of faith, this is the exact moment of the full moon, and here is a pool (in which her pigs were wallowing); dip into it and you will realise the full fruits of bathing in the Ganges at this auspicious moment." The Brâhman did as she desired and when he was in the pool, she said "Now is the exact moment. Dive in and see what you get." The Brâhman did as desired and found the bottom full of valuable gems, of which he clutched a handful and came up. "Dive again," said the girl. He dived again and found only mud at the bottom. "You see," said the girl, "that I told you only the truth, when I said you will be too late if you go to the Ganges, for at the moment of your first dive the moon was at its exact full and you got your reward."

3. "The Brâhman was astonished and seeing her as lovely as she was wise proposed marriage. She referred him to her father who refused, saying he could not presume to ally his daughter of low caste to a high caste Brâhman. The Brâhman thereupon threatened to kill himself, and the Dusâdh fearful of incurring the guilt of Brahmahatya, consented after consulting his friends; the marriage was duly solemnised, and the girl then taught her husband to ask no dowry of her father except a particular cow, a particular pig, and a particular parrot. The Dusâdh, on bidding his daughter good-bye and Godspeed when they were departing, desired his son-in-law to ask for any gift she chose. The Brâhman refused, but being pressed, he bound the Dusâdh by a promise to grant his request, and then asked for the cow, the pig and the parrot, as he had been taught.

¹ *Archæological Reports*, VIII., 102.

The Dusâdh being taken aback was bound by his promise to give them up.

4. "The parrot was an extraordinary one, as he would daily go to Indra's palace and bring the news of what took place there to his mistress; the pig was the leader of all the pigs in the country, and the cow was no other than the famous Surabhi. One day the parrot told his mistress that Indra had given orders that during the approaching rainy season, it should rain nowhere in the district except on the sterile valleys and stony slopes of Râjgir. The girl on hearing this immediately called her pig and directed him to dig up the whole of the stony valleys and hill slopes of Râjgir; the pig with the aid of his subject pigs did as she desired. She then directed her husband to go and scatter paddy in all these places, explaining the object to her husband. He did as desired. When it rained the paddy seed sprouted and the whole of stony Râjgir was full of paddy, while outside not a blade of paddy was to be found owing to want of rain. It being reported to Indra that within Râjgir enough of paddy had been grown to stave off famine, he ordered an army of mice and rats to be sent to destroy the crops; but the girl informed of this order by her parrot, got her husband to procure an army of cats as guard; when it was reported to Indra that this plan of destroying the crops had failed, he directed that when cut, each load of the paddy sheaves should produce only one and a quarter *ser* of clean paddy. The girl informed by her parrot of this order, directed her husband to make bundles of only two stalks of paddy each tied end to end. The order of Indra having gone forth and become irrevocable, each of these bundles produced one-and-a-quarter *ser*s of paddy. Indra informed of this and seeing himself outwitted, ordered a furious storm to blow and scatter all the paddy which had been threshed out ready for storing. The girl informed of this and aware that no wattle hut would resist the storm should he store it in such, directed her husband to dig the deep moat now seen round Râjgir. When the storm blew it naturally carried all the paddy into these trenches where it lay safe till the storm had blown over, and thus was the country saved from famine through the cleverness of this girl, in memory of whom the pool where her pigs used to wallow was named Bâwan Ganga or the fifty-two Ganges." This story is interesting as it marks the custom which still prevails among the Dusâdhs of introducing men of higher caste than their own into their tribe, and this is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to fix

their position ethnologically, and to lay down with certainty whether they are a degraded Aryan-race or of genuine Dravidian stock. The tribe is clearly very much mixed and is probably a compound of many different races.

5. At the last Census the Dusâdhs entered themselves under seven sub-castes beside others whose numbers were not sufficient to warrant their inclusion in the returns. These sub-castes are Bharsiya, Dhârhi, Gondar, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Magahiya and Rajar. Of these we have the Dhârhi separately noticed and the Gondar perhaps mark a Dravidian branch akin to the Gonds and Mânjhis. Another Mirzapur enumeration gives the sub-castes, which as usual are supposed to amount to the mystical number seven, as Magahiya or "residents of Magadha"; Kanaujiya from Kanauj; Dârhi, Dhârhi or Dhârhi which may correspond to the drummers and singers of that name; Baheliya who have been separately described as a tribe of hunters and fowlers; Tîrhûtiya or those of Tirabhukti or Tîrhût; Palwâr which is also the name of a sept of Râjputs, and Gondar. A third Mirzapur list supplied by a member of the tribe gives the sub-castes as Dusâdh, Khatîk, Pâsi, Pâhri, Kuchaniya, Kujra, and Dharkâr, where we have a mixture of various well known tribes. The detailed Census lists show the sub-castes of local importance as the Gujahua and Panwâr of Mirzapur; the Barwâr and Belwâr of Ballia and the Bangariya, Gauriya, Katoraha, Khariya, and Kotiya of Gorakhpur. All this goes to corroborate the theory of the mixed character of the tribe. These sub-castes are now endogamous, but there is some reason to believe that this process of fission into endogamous groups may, in some instances at least, be of comparatively recent origin. Thus in Mirzapur they assert that up to modern times the Magahiya and Kanaujiya Dusâdhs used to intermarry; but now they have ceased to do so because when the Kanaujiyas gave their daughters to the Magahiyas, they would not allow them to return home with their husbands, but insisted on their sons-in-law coming to live with their fathers-in-law; in other words *beena* marriage was the rule in these two groups. The result of this is said to have been that marriage ceased between them and the groups became endogamous. The Mirzapur Dusâdhs fix their original home in Magadha or Bihâr, and left it when their ancestor Râhu, of whom more will be said later on, who used to live in a place called Kedallean in Bengal

was shut up in the temple of Jagannath at Puri. He sometimes comes out, and only ten years ago, he appeared to a Dusâdh lad in Mirzapur who was ploughing in the field for his master. The godling took pity upon him and showed him where a pot of gold was buried, wherewith he purchased his freedom from slavery. Another of their revered ancestors was one Churla of whom many stories are told. He fell in love with the daughter of a Râja and was killed by him; since then he has become a tribal godling.

6. The Dusâdhs have a tribal council known as Panchâyat, of

Tribal council. which the Chairman is known as Sardâr or
Mâjan, a corruption of Mahâjan or "great

man." Under him a summoner or wand bearer, the Chharidâr, who summons the members to the meetings of the council. All adult members of the tribe have a seat on the council; but minors are not allowed to attend. The council deals with theft, adultery, eating and drinking with a stranger, keeping a daughter unmarried or not allowing her to join her husband or seducing another man's wife. The case is decided by the votes of all the members present. The usual punishment is a fine which varies from five to twenty rupees. Besides this the culprit has to give a feast to the members of the council. Money realised by fines is spent in providing spirits for the entertainment of the council. Those members who are too poor to pay a fine, are punished with a shoe-beating which is administered by one of the members. The council, as in all these tribes, act as compurgators and use the knowledge they themselves have obtained in deciding a case. When the Chairman whose office is hereditary is a minor, his duties are discharged by one of his adult relations.

7. They do not marry in the family of their maternal uncle,

Marriage rules. of their father's sister, of their sister, till
three generations have expired since the last connection by marriage, and in their own family (*kul*) as long as any recollection of a marriage relationship exists. They can marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first if she be barren. The second wife is known as *adheli* or only half a wife, and her position is very much inferior to that of the first wife. They are not allowed to keep a concubine of a tribe lower in the scale than their own; but a man can keep a woman of a higher caste, and she and her children are admitted to full caste privileges when the man who cohabits with her gives a tribal feast. Marriage is, as a rule,

adult, and if a girl has long passed the age of puberty, she is usually treated as a widow and married by the inferior *sagâi* form. The parents of the bridegroom in Mirzapur pay a bride-price which is fixed by established caste custom at five rupees in cash, three sheets, and four rupees worth of sweetmeats. The consent of the parents is in all cases necessary to make a marriage valid. The occurrence of any physical defect after marriage is a valid ground for repudiating the woman; but such conduct is discouraged, and in all cases such proceedings must have the sanction of the council. A man can expel a wife who is detected in adultery, and such women may marry again by the *sagâi* form; but before this is allowed, the parents of the guilty pair have to feed the brethren. It is remarkable among them that the offspring of the *adheli* or second wife are excluded from inheritance in the estate of their father.

8. Widows and divorced women, if the fine have been discharged, are married by the *sagâi* form. Usually
 Widow marriage. a widow is married to a widower. The match is arranged by a member of the tribe. A Pandit is called in to announce a lucky date. Then the man with a few friends goes to the house of the widow and gives her parents some clothes and sweetmeats. Then the friends on both sides are entertained and at night the bride is taken into a dark room where the bridegroom goes and gropes about until he catches her and smears some red lead on her forehead. It is the etiquette for her to avoid him for some time. This smearing of powder is usually done in the *Deoghar* or room devoted to the worship of the tribal godling. Next morning the bridegroom takes the bride home and when he has feasted the clansmen the marriage is recognised as valid.

9. The umbilical cord is cut by a Chamârin, and if a woman of the caste were to perform this duty, she
 Birth ceremonies. would be turned out of caste. She puts it in an earthen pot, the mouth of which she closes tightly and carries it to the bank of a tank where she buries it secretly in the ground. In the confinement room a fire is lighted in which a piece of iron is placed. At the door of the room a branch of a thorny shrub called *senhar* is tied, and some hang a bunch of onions. All these precautions are taken to bar the entrance of the evil spirit *Jamhwa*, which clutches, in the form of an owl, the throat of the child and chokes it. *Jamhwa* appears to take its name from

Yama, he god of death. The disease is really infantile tetanus, which is caused by the careless cutting of the cord with a blunt instrument and the neglect of all antiseptic precautions. The disease runs a course of about twelve days, and this accounts among this and the allied castes for the selection of the twelfth day (*barahi*) for the performance of ceremonies to ward off the evil spirit. The Chamārin attends for six days and for twelve days the mother is daily rubbed with the condiment called *ubtan*. On the sixth day is the *Chhathi*, when the women of the tribe are provided with oil to rub their heads and red-lead to smear on the parting of their hair. On this occasion some treacle is distributed among them. The mother and child are bathed while the women sing the *sohar* or birth song. The Chamārin receives as her perquisite the old clothes of the mother. The ceremonies of the sixth day are repeated on the twelfth day, and the house is purified in the usual way. On both these occasions, they worship the clan deities Parameswari and Bandi-Bhawāni in the family oratory (*Deoghar*) and offer to them balls of ground rice mixed with sugar and water. Some add a burnt offering (*hom*) with flowers and betel. In the same way they worship Gangaji and all rivers generally in connection with marriage. The women go in procession to the river side, and there are met by the Dafāli who sings songs in honour of the Ganges, and the women offer sweets (*laddu*), flowers, betel leaves, and make a burnt offering. All these things are the perquisite of the Dafāli. On their return home the women of the tribe are entertained on cakes (*pūri*) and rice boiled with sugar (*mītha bhāt*).

10. Adoption is common among Dusādhs. Usually the boy adopted is the son of a brother or other near relative. All the members of the caste resident in the villages are invited, and after the adoption has been announced, they are entertained on spirits, boiled rice, and pork. They say that the ceremonies on the sixth and twelfth day after birth amount to an initiation into the caste equivalent to the Brāhmanical investiture with the sacred thread (*janu*), and they have a great contempt for any one in whose case these ceremonies have not been duly performed. When a boy is two years old, they get a goldsmith to pierce his ears at the *Khichari* festival. The child is seated facing the east, and is given some sweets during the operation. The goldsmith receives as his remuneration one anna and a ration of uncooked grain.

11. Matches are arranged by one of the men of the caste, who is known as the *agua*.¹ On an auspicious

Betrothal.

day fixed by the Pandit, the father of the girl goes to the house of the boy accompanied by three or four friends, and when he has inspected the boy, and approved of him, he gives him some sweets. That day the date of the formal betrothal, which they call *hardi dhân*, is fixed. On that day a square is made in the courtyard and the two fathers sit inside it. A Pandit is called in and he recites a few verses (*mantra*). The fathers each exchange five handfuls of paddy, and the Pandit places a packet of betel in the hand of each. Then the fathers rush together and each puts his packet of betel leaves in the breast of the other. They each tie up the paddy in a handkerchief, and salute each other with *Râm!*, *Râm!* Next comes the changing of cups (*piyâla badulna*), when the fathers sit in the square each with a cup of spirits in his hand. They exchange cups and drink the contents, and the friends are treated to a drink. Then at the house of the boy a dinner of rice, pulse, and pork is given, and next day the Pandit fixes an auspicious day for the wedding.

12. The marriage ceremonies begin with the digging of the sacred earth (*matti khaw*), which is done by

Marriage ceremonies.

the women, each of whom receives some oil and red lead to decorate the parting of her hair. The earth is brought and placed in the marriage shed (*mânro*), in the centre of which a ploughshare is erected. Each woman gets some cakes and in return presents four annas as a contribution to the expenses of the wedding. The marriage ritual is of the normal type. When the boy starts to fetch his bride, he is armed with a dagger (*katâr*). He is accompanied by a party of musicians (*bajaniya*). On their arrival at the bride's house, the boy's father sends the bride some

¹ Writing of Bengal Mr. O'Donne! says: "In the upper castes, in which a girl is properly looked after and secluded from dangerous acquaintances within the female apartments, it is safe to leave her unmarried till, with Asiatic precociousness, she is an adult; but in the lower orders, particularly amongst the labouring classes of Bihâr, whose women go about openly and work in the fields, it is imperatively necessary to anticipate the period of budding womanhood. The practice of infant marriage among Dusâdhs, Musahars, and Chamârs is meaningless without this explanation. The sexes are in very even proportions. There is no lack of material for husbands and wives. At the same time people that allow their girls a great deal of liberty in the way of freedom from the personal restraint of the zenâna, but who may lose caste, which even to a Dom means a very great deal, by any vagaries in their connubial arrangements, must apply another safeguard against family disgrace. It is necessary to marry their daughters as children, and not to wait to a period when great risk would be inevitable." *Census Report*, 208.

cheap jewelry, known as *dal*, which is placed in the marriage shed. The friends all get drunk that night. At the actual wedding, the bride's father worships the feet of the bridegroom, and then an offering is made to Gauri and Ganesa. The pair have their clothes knotted and walk five times round the shed. After this the bridegroom goes into the oratory (*deoghar*) and worships the family gods of the bride. At the door as he comes out, the bride's sister bars the way and will not let him pass until she receives a present, apparently a survival of marriage by capture. After the husband brings his wife home, the brethren are fed and Gangaji is worshipped in the way already described.¹

13. The infant or unmarried dead are buried. Adults are cremated in the usual way. After the cremation is over the mourners chew leaves of the bitter *nīm* tree as a sign of sorrow, and touch water, their feet and head with a piece of iron to keep off the *Bhūt*. Then the man who fired the pyre pours a little spirit on the ground in the name of the deceased, and takes a drink himself, which is also distributed to the other mourners. Next day the chief mourner goes to the cremation ground and pours some milk on the ground in the name of the dead man. In the evening the clansmen assemble. A pit is dug in the ground and over it they hold a leaf of the *pīpal* tree on which they first pour a little milk and a little water, and let it drop into the pit. The death impurity lasts for seven days. On the tenth day, there is a ceremonial shaving of the mourners and clansmen; grain is given to Brāhmans, and the brethren are feasted. They perform the usual *śrāddha*, and some even go from Mirzapur to Gaya for this purpose.

14. Dusādhs assert that they are orthodox Hindus. They are very seldom initiated into the ordinary sects; but if this be done, they prefer the Vaishnava cultus. But as appears from their tribal worship, they have retained a large amount of the primitive animistic beliefs. Their tribal deities in Mirzapur are Rāhu and Ketu, the ascending and descending nodes, Chhath, Bandi, and Manukh Deva. The legends and worship of Rāhu, the eclipse demon, have been considered elsewhere.²

¹ At the last Census no less than 234, 594 persons declared themselves worshippers of Gangaji.

² *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 10.

and Mr. Risley¹ has given a very complete and interesting account of the worship as it prevails in Bihār. In Mirzapur the worship of Rāhu is done in this wise. A pit is dug in the ground, one-and-a-quarter cubits wide and seven cubits long. In this logs of wood are evenly laid, and on them oil is poured. Then a Brāhman is called in who does the fire sacrifice (*hom*). When the wood in the trench has burnt away until only some hot cinders are left, the worshippers walk one after the other along it followed by the Brāhman priest. In Bihār, it is a tribal priest known as the Bhakat who presides, and the association of the Brāhman in Mirzapur is a very remarkable fact. Another form of the worship is to fix up two bamboos in the ground a short distance apart. Between the poles a couple of swords are tied and thus a sort of ladder is made. The officiant climbs up these and stands on one of the sword blades with his naked feet and from the top pours some milk on the ground in the name of Rāhu. Then he descends and a young pig is brought before him which he kills by repeated thrusts of a sword or spear. Some spirits are also poured on the ground and the meat and the rest of the offerings are consumed by the worshippers.

15. As a further illustration of this very primitive form of worship it may be worth quoting the song sung on this occasion by the Dusādhs in the Mirzapur District :—

Songs in honour of
Rāhu.

1. *Kai hāth bhagata tuiri khanawalē ? kai man chailawa bojhai ho ?*
2. *Kai man bhagata ghiu dharkāwalē ? Uthelē aginiyān kai dhār ho ?*
3. *Sātē hāth bhagata tuiri khanawalē ; man dus chailwa bojhan ho ?*
4. *Sawa man bhagata ghiu dharkāwalē ; uthela oginiyān kai dhār ho.*

“O devotee ! How many cubits long is the ditch which thou hast dug ? How much wood hast thou laid therein ? How many maunds of butter hast thou poured therein that the billows of fire rise in the air ? O devotee ! seven cubits long is the trench which thou hast dug. Ten maunds of firewood hast thou piled therein.

¹ *Tribes and Castes*. I. 254, sqq. For walking through fire see *Indian Antiquary* II. 190 ; III. 6 ; VII. 126.

One maund and a quarter of butter hast thou poured thereon that the billows of fire arise."

1. *Beriyānhi heri tonhi barajon maliniyān batiyān dawanawān mati lāo.*
2. *Yahi bāten aihen mālin Rāhu kai khatolawa Ketu kai macholawa dawanawān jani lāo.*
3. *Awé dehu Rāhu kai khatolawa Ketu kai macholwa; ham debé anchara pasār.*
4. *Ghorawa ta bandhāwalé asoka ki dariyān; dhapasi kai paithalen phulwār.*
5. *Kethuen sinchāwali mālin dawana menrawa, kethuen sinchāwali māli arabul kai phul.*
6. *Dudhawon sinchāwalon mālin dawana menrawa Ganga nire arabul ke phul.*
7. *Dawana menrawa mālin benchi khochi khaike arabul kai phul, mālin rakhiye pratipāl.*

"O wife of the gardener! I warn thee bring not thus the marjoram leaves. The great litter of Rāhu and the little litter of Ketu will by and by pass this way. Bring not then the leaves of marjoram:—Let the great litter of Rāhu and the little litter of Ketu pass this way and I will spread the robe that covers my breast. Rahu tied his horse to the Asoka tree and passed quickly into the garden. Said he—"O wife of the gardener! With what didst thou water the millet and the marjoram; and with what the Arabul?"¹ She answered "With milk did I water the marjoram and the millet; with Ganges water the Arabul." Said Rahu—Sell the marjoram and the millet and live on what you can make from them; but preserve the Arabul."

16. They worship Chhath or Chhathi, the sixth, on the sixth lunar day of Kuār. All the previous day
Worship of Chhath, etc. they fast and before sunrise go singing to the river side. They strip and walk into the water where they stand facing the east till the sun rises, when they stand with folded hands and bow in reverence to him, and make an offering of various kinds of cakes (*thokwa, gulgula*) and any other kind of food which they can procure. Some offer in addition grain, rice, and sweetmeats. These are afterwards distributed among the friends of the family.

¹ Arabul is perhaps the same as *ariband*, the lotus. For more of these songs to Rāhu see Grierson, *Maithil Chrestomathy*, 3, sqq.

Distribution of Dusâdhs according to the Census of 1891—concl.

DISTRICTS.	Bharsiya.	Dharhi.	Gondar.	Kanaujya.	Madhesiya.	Magahiya.	Rajer.	Others.	TOTAL.
Bareilly	81	81
Budaun	560	560
Morâdâbâd	10	10
Cawnpur	23	23
Allahâbâd	64	64
Benares	3,285	21	...	...	...	1,471	4,757
Mirzapur	3,444	...	...	...	...	4,090	7,534
Ghâzipur	11,776	...	...	...	...	556	12,135
Ballia	5,615	2,474	3,307	...	...	26	9,578	21,000
Gorakhpur . . .	291	7,602	3,001	17,293	1,714	719	1,729	2,815	55,254
Basti	8	8
Azamgarh	337	204	80	645	14	...	109	1,359
Hardoi	1	1
Kheri	1	1
Partâbgarh	2	2
TOTAL . . .	291	13,644	24,167	20,701	2,359	733	1,755	10,263	82,913

Dûsar (*dûsra*, "second"), a sub-caste of Banyas numerous in parts of the Allahâbâd and Lucknow Divisions. In the returns of the Census of 1881 great confusion was caused by the amalgamation of the Dûsar Banyas with the Dhûsar or Bhârgava, who claim Brâhmanical origin. Even in the returns of 1891 it is not certain that this error has been completely eliminated. The Dûsars rank low among Banyas, admit widow marriage, and are said to be a branch of the Ummâr sub-caste descended from a second wife, whence their name. From Cawnpur the curious rule is reported that the parents of the bride pay a dowry, the maximum of which is Rs. 211 of the pice current in Râê Bareli, which are worth about

eleven annas. From this it is assumed that Râê Bareli was an early settlement of the Dûsars.

Distribution of the Dûsar Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bulandshahr	7	Benares	2
Mathura	6	Lucknow	2,925
Furrukhabâd	488	Unâo	14,368
Etâwah	138	Râê Bareli	2,945
Pilibhit	2	Sîtapur	8
Cawnpur	10,001	Hardoi	6,817
Fatehpur	6,566	Kheri	138
Hamîrpur	5	Faizâbâd	748
Allahâbâd	9	Bârabanki	428
		TOTAL	45,601

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✓ **Gadariya;¹ Garariya; Gaderiya; Ganreriya**—(Hindi *gādar*, “a sheep:” Sanskrit *gandhāra*, so called because originally brought from the country of Gandhāra or Kandahar).—The caste of shepherds, goat-herds, and blanket-weavers found all over the Province. In many parts they are known as Guāl Gadariya, and there seems strong reason to believe that they are in some way connected with the Ahīr or Guāla race, though their personal appearance indicates a much larger admixture of non-Aryan blood. This is strengthened by the fact noted by Mr. Risley² that in Bihār they will take both *kachchi* and *pakki* food from Guālas.

2. According to the last Census the Gadariyas of these Provinces recorded themselves in twelve sub-castes besides several more whose numbers were too small to find a place in the final returns. These sub-castes are Baghel; Bamhaniya; Chandel; Dhīngar; Haranwāl; Kachhwāha; Nikhar; Phūl-singhiya; Rāthaur; Rautela; Sāgar; Saraswār. Nearly half of these are the names of well-known Rājput septs, and this may possibly go to show that the formation of these endogamous groups, under at least their present names, may be of comparatively modern date. It is asserted from Bareilly that they admit outsiders into the caste: this is doubtful and apparently not the case in the Eastern Districts. In Benares Mr. Sherring³ gives an entirely different set of sub-castes—Dhīngar; Nikhar; Jaunpuri, or “those from Jaunpur;” Illahābādi, “those from Allahābād;” Bakarkasāu, or “goat butchers;” Namdawāla, or “makers of felt,” and Chikwa who are usually classed with the Qassāb. He asserts that the first four sub-castes keep sheep and goats, not so the remaining three. They also manufacture blankets. The Bakarkasāu and Namdawāla sub-castes do so likewise. The Chikwas are Muhammadans. He also names two other sub-castes—the Bharariya, who derive their name from *bher*, a sheep. “Nevertheless they are not employed in tending sheep, but in other kinds of labour. The Baikatas are the lowest in rank among the Gadariyas. They live by begging scraps of hair from the other sub-castes that keep

¹ Based on notes by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly: M. Niyāz Ahmad, Head Master, High School, Fatehpur, and a note from Jhānsi received through Mr. W. G. Jackson, C.S.

² *Tribes and Castes*, I, 271.

³ *Hindu Tribes*, I, 338.

flocks, and selling the proceeds." Sir H. M. Elliot names also the Taselha or Pachhādê, "those of the west," Chak, Bareiya, Paihwâr, and Bhaiyatâr. From Agra it is reported that the women of the Dhîngar sub-caste wear bangles of glass, bore their noses, and do not eat meat; while those of the Nikhar do not wear glass bangles, do not bore their noses, and eat meat. Of the 1,113 sections of Hindu and 8 of the Muhammadan branch included in the detailed Census Returns, those of the chief local importance are the Chandan, Mokha, and Sahla of Sahâranpur: the Ahîr, Chhotisen, Sahla, and Uchahri of Muzaffarnagar: the Bhatti, Ganga, Panwâr, and Râc of Bulandshahr: the Hans, Madâriya, and Sengar of Aligarh: the Vaneli of Mainpuri: the Raikwâr of Etâwah: the Sengar of Bareilly: the Sahla of Bijnor: the Rautelê and Sahla of Morâdâbâd: the Magar and Panwâr of Cawnpur: the Panwâr of Fatehpur: the Rohingar of Hamîrpur: the Darsiya of Ghâzipur: the Saliya of the Tarâi: the Thengar of Râc Bareli: the Barharwâr, Dokhar, and Panwâr of Hardoi, and the Nikhad of Sultânpur.

3. The Western Gadariyas call themselves Marhattas and describe themselves as emigrants from Gwâlîor. Traditions of origin. Some of them still visit Gwâlîor to worship the goddess Kâli Devi, and they employ a colony of Gwâlîor Bhâts who have come from Gwâlîor and settled at Anupshahr in the Bulandshahr District. The Gadariyas fix their emigration from Gwâlîor in the time of the Dor or Tomar Râja Buddh Sen.

4. The Gadariyas usually marry their girls at the age of from seven to twelve. To the west it is a rule Marriage rules. among them after marriage to lodge the bride first on her arrival with her husband in a separate room, and then she is not admitted into the house until she pays a sum of money to the men or persons connected with her husband by marriage with women of his family. In the course of this function a mimic struggle goes on between the two parties. Next morning after she is thus received into her husband's family, the women of the house fill an iron pan with water and place in it two silver rings and some blades of grass. The married couple then struggle to see which of them will secure the rings. The bridegroom's female relations do their best to help him. Whichever of the pair secures the rings will have the mastery during married life. When the mock struggle is over, the winner pours the contents of the vessel over the loser. There are no marriage brokers; matches are

arranged by a member of the caste. He receives a rupee and a turban from the father of the bridegroom; but if he commit any fraud in arranging the match, the council have one side of his moustache shaved in the presence of the brethren, and also impose a fine. A man may discard his wife for infidelity, but such women are not allowed to remarry in the caste. Widow-marriage and the levirate are permitted, and the children by any form of recognised marriage are equal heirs. Illegitimate children are not allowed to intermarry or even smoke with those of pure blood. A man who marries a widow has generally to pay something to her relations, and in any case he has to pay any debts she may have contracted during widowhood.

5. The woman during delivery sits on a stool facing the Ganges.

Birth customs. She is attended by a sweeper or Koli midwife for at least three days. When the

birth of a male child is announced, one of the mother's female relations hurries out of the house, and draws all round the walls a line of cowdung as a magic circle to keep off evil spirits. She also makes a rude cowdung figure at each side of the door, and fixes up seven pieces of broomstick near it. When a girl is born, only a piece of a broken earthen pot is put up over the door. On the second day the mother is given a condiment which is supposed to consist of thirty-two drugs boiled together. On the tenth day the mother and child are taken to the nearest well with singing, and she worships the well by marking the platform with turmeric, and placing upon it the cowdung figures which had been fixed up near the house door. They all return, and soaked gram and sweets are distributed.

6. The marriage ceremonies are of the normal type. There are some observances which may be survivals of

Marriage customs. marriage by capture. Thus, while the mar-

riage is going on, the women of the bride's family carry on a mock fight with the relations of the bridegroom, and are allowed to strike them with the kneading roller (*belan*). If a girl has a particular curl of the hair which is supposed to resemble a female snake (*sānpin*), she is first married to a camel-thorn bush (*jhar beri*). If a bachelor in the same way marry a widow, and she bear him a daughter, in order to overcome the evil influence which is supposed to arise from the *dhareja* form of marriage, he gets himself married to a tree before he gives away the daughter in marriage to another.

7. Gadariyas cremate their adult dead, except those who have died of snake-bite or small-pox. If such
 Death customs. corpses are cremated, they believe that at the burning a steam arises from them which strikes the mourners blind. On the way to the burning ground a ball (*pinda*) is offered in the name of the deceased. The son of the deceased fires the pyre, and each of the mourners throws in five cakes of cowdung fuel. Some ashes are sifted and placed the following day on the spot where the death occurred, and next morning from the marks on the ashes they speculate as to the form which the soul will assume in the next birth. They perform the usual *śrāddha*.

8. Gadariyas are orthodox Hindus, the Musalmān branch of the caste being very inconsiderable. Their
 Religion. chief deity is Kālī. They also worship a local deity known as Chāmar. This is more especially done in the Naudurga of Chait and Kuār and when cholera or other epidemic disease is about. The offerings consist of cakes (*pūri*), coarse sugar, and sometimes a goat. The last is taken by the Chamār priest and the former by the local Brāhman priest or Kherapati. Another spirit named Jakhaiya or Jokhaiya is largely worshipped by Gadariyas in the Western Districts. He is said to be the ghost of a Muhammadan Ghosi. His priest is a sweeper, and his offering a young pig. The chief shrine of Jokhaiya, who, according to the last Census, was worshipped by 87,061 persons, is at Pendhat, in the Mainpuri District. He is there said to have been a Bhangī, who was killed during the war between Prithivī Rāja of Delhi and Jaychand of Kanauj. His offering is a pig, which is presented by women who long for children and pray for easy delivery. The fair is said also to bring timely winter rain. To the west of the Province they are served by Sanādh Brāhman; to the east by low class Brāhman of various tribes.

9. In Bihār, according to Mr. Risley, the Gadariya ranks higher
 Social status. than the Ahīr; but this does not seem to be the case in these Provinces. They are, however, careful about food and drink, and maintain a fairly high standard of personal purity. Their original occupation is keeping and selling sheep and goats and making blankets; but besides this they cultivate and practice various forms of trading. The women have a reputation for untidy habits, as the common proverb runs,—*Ek to Garerin, dusrē bahsan khāē*—"a shepherdess and eating garlic in the bargain."

Distribution of Gadariyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	HINDUS.													Total.
	Baghel.	Bamha- mija.	Chandel.	Dhingur.	Haranwāl.	Kachh- waha.	Nikhar.	Phul sin- ghiya.	Rathaur.	Rantela.	Sagar.	Sarnawār.	Others.	
Dehra Dūn . . .	...	...	...	399	103	...	311	...	...	...	...	...	590	...
Sahāranpur . . .	...	...	...	400	585	...	278	7	...	...	...	92	10,088	...
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	50	483	489	1,226	...	422	455	...	...	...	324	12,104	...
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	473	34	...	9,088	50	...	...	...	...	6,717	...
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	129	453	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	...	15,480	...
Aligarh . . .	...	...	398	12,281	3,109	...	1,060	...	...	...	...	...	18,831	...
Mathura . . .	47	...	177	11,726	...	92	227	10	145	616	160	160	4,485	...
Agra . . .	431	...	164	30,616	...	352	335	...	78	...	776	13	4,448	...
Farrukhābad . . .	...	...	...	2,009	329	...	26,130	24	5	...	...	...	1,692	1
Mainpuri . . .	...	172	31	9,545	...	...	13,809	4,385	33	145	...	180	1,794	...
Etāwah . . .	52	...	224	15,535	...	407	4,178	367	92	162	223	233	6,597	...

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

Districts.	HINDUS.														Muhammadians.	TOTAL.
	Raghel.	Bamhanya.	Chandel.	Dhingar.	Haranwal.	Kachh-waha.	Nikhar.	Phulsi-ghiya.	Rathaur.	Rautela.	Sagar.	Sarnawar.	Others.			
Etah	277	17	14,459	250	47	8,807	...	370	...	69	26	3,082	...	27,404	
Bareilly	7,943	...	...	5,202	300	91	...	...	...	2,309	...	15,935	
Bijnor	12,851	...	4,272	65	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	407	...	17,695	
Budann	52	12,914	40	...	12,729	...	...	...	...	...	2,659	...	28,394	
Moradabad	209	5,171	59	...	7,882	13	81	...	...	38	11,879	...	25,332	
Shahjahanpur	1,091	...	...	7,483	70	...	...	...	...	787	...	19,431	
Pilibhit	112	16	...	6,699	1	6	...	...	...	384	6	7,224	
Cawnpur	141	354	6,732	...	...	27,872	...	28	...	...	531	10,036	3	45,697	
Fatehpur	372	886	4,136	...	...	13,267	...	...	...	...	291	5,650	1	24,603	
Banda	5	508	294	...	...	7,428	...	...	...	...	35	3,593	...	11,863	
Hamirpur	202	2,254	...	...	3,215	25	...	...	...	30	4,983	9	10,718	
Alahabad	50	11,108	...	...	28,950	...	...	...	...	...	1,356	20	41,481	