

cipal village. The Joshis of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* make their ancestor come from Jhūsi near Allahābād, and he settled in the village of Silagānw, whence his descendants are called Silwāls. Those that live at Chīnakhān and Darhyāl are called after these villages."

9. The poorer members of the Gangoli Joshis still practise astrology, as indeed do all. Mr. Atkinson adds—"there is no real evidence that they came from the plains; but if they did they are a remarkable example of a caste hardly considered as being on the outskirts even of Brāhmans in the plains, having attained to such a respectable position in the hills which they still maintain by the intelligence and energy of their representatives. For the last two centuries they have been the master movers in all intrigues, and have monopolised to a great extent all the valuable government appointments, and possess an influence second to none, and which has to be carefully adjusted by the administration."

Distribution of the Joshis according to the Census of 1891.

| Districts. | Number. | Districts. | Number. |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|
| Dehra Dūn | 168 | Shāhjahānpur | 1,558 |
| Sahāranpur | 797 | Pilibhīt | 609 |
| Muzaffarnagar | 218 | Cawnpur | 809 |
| Bulandshahr | 900 | Fatehpur | 675 |
| Aligarh | 1,112 | Bānda | 185 |
| Mathura | 566 | Hamīrpur | 1,415 |
| Agra | 1,712 | Allahābād | 200 |
| Farrukhābād | 2,022 | Jhānsi | 1,177 |
| Mainpuri | 2,391 | Jālaun | 1,239 |
| Etāwah | 2,278 | Lalitpur | 619 |
| Etah | 1,080 | Benares | 2 |
| Bareilly | 846 | Jaunpur | 98 |
| Bijnor | 1,975 | Ghāzipur | 85 |
| Budaun | 1,066 | Gorakhpur | 230 |
| Morādābād | 1,265 | Basti | 158 |

Distribution of the Joshis according to the Census of 1891.

—contd.

| Districts. | Number. | Districts. | Number. |
|--------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| Azamgarh | 185 | Faizābād | 213 |
| Tarāi | 199 | Gonda | 178 |
| Lucknow | 974 | Bahrāich | 589 |
| Unāo | 312 | Sultānpur | 392 |
| Rāē Bareli | 295 | Partābgarh | 199 |
| Sīrapur | 1,273 | Bārabanki | 299 |
| Hardoi | 1,175 | | |
| Kheri | 1,312 | TOTAL | 35,049 |

Julāha, Jolāha—the Muhammadan weaving caste. It has been supposed that they represent some menial Hindu weaving caste who were converted wholesale to Islām. On the other hand, it is possible that they may have grown up among the Muhammadan body. But there seems good reason to believe that they are an occupational caste recruited from diverse sources. Thus as Mr. Ibbetson remarks “we find Koli Julāhas, Chamār Julāhas, Mochi Julāhas, Rāmdāsi Julāhas, and so forth: and it is probable that after a few generations these men will drop the prefix which denotes their low origin and become Julāhas pure and simple¹.”

2. The Parsotiya Julāha of Rohilkhand is a Hindu and apparently only a variety of Kori. Julāhas at the last Census recorded themselves in 244 sections of the usual type. These seem to have no influence on marriage. Many of these suggest a connection with other tribes and sects, such as Bais, Banya, Bargūjar, Bhangī, Bhāt, Bisen, Chamār, Chauhān, Gaur, Koli, Rājput, Tamoli, Teli, Tomar. Others represent local settlements as Bahrāichīya, Chaurasiya, Faizābādi, Gangapāri, Haidarābādi, Hasanpuri, Kamanjiya, Kānpuriya, Khairābādi, Mathuriya, Mirzapuri, Mulfāni, Parabiya, Sarwariya, Shahābādi and Uttarāha. Others again are of the regular Muhammadan type: Madāri, Muhammadi, Momin, Mughal, Pathān, Shaikh, Sadiqi and Sunni.

3. The word Julāha is of Persian origin (*julāh*, *julāha*, a

¹ Panjāb Ethnography, para. 612.

weaver, *jula julla*, a ball of thread). Julāhas generally object to the name and call themselves Mūmin or Momin or orthodox; Nūrbāf "weavers in white." Julāhas are very clannish and usually intermarry in families with whom they have been accustomed to eat and smoke for generations. They say they are the direct descendants of Adam, who, when Satan made him realise his nakedness, taught the art of weaving to his sons. They do not profess to admit outsiders into the caste, but this undoubtedly often occurs, and, as above stated, the caste is almost certainly recruited from persons who assume the name of Julāha as an occupational title.

4. They follow the Muhammadan rules of marriage and inheritance. They are particularly careful in forbidding the intermarriage of foster children. A man cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time.¹ Many of them in the villages revere the local gods, and some worship Māta Bhavāni. They also pay great respect to the tombs of saints and martyrs. They offer food, sweets and cakes to the sainted dead at the festivals of the Id and Shab-i-barāt and offer to them goats and rams at the Bakrīd.

5. The business of the Julāha has sadly decreased in consequence of the introduction of foreign cloth. Many have now taken to cultivation and various forms of labour. The Julāha generally bears the character of being cowardly, pretentious, factious and bigoted. They took a leading part in the recent Benares riots and some of the worst outrages in the Mutiny were their work. In the villages the Julāha is looked on as a fool, and a butt of the agricultural classes who are always jeering at his ignorance of crops. "The Julāha's goat and given to viciousness" (*Julāhē ki chheri markahī*). "Eight weavers quarrelling over nine pipes" (*āth Julāha nan āugga, jis par bhī thukkam thukha*). "The Julāha steals a reel of thread at a time, but God makes him lose all at once." (*Julāha churāvē nālī nālī, khuda churāvē ekke berī*). "The arrow of the weaver" (*Julāhē ka tēr*). "What the Kambōh wins the Julāha eats"

¹ Writing of Bengal, Mr. O'Donnell says: "Although in Bengal proper the Shaikh is usually a petty cultivator, he ranks above the Julāha or weaver. In Eastern Bengal the Shaikh young man marries at about 21 years of age, and the Julāha two years earlier; while the Julāha girl is married at 11 years and the Shaikh girl a month or two over 12 years. Ten per cent. of the former under ten years of age are given in marriage and less than five of the latter. Much the same state of things exists in other parts of Bengal proper; but as noticed before, the age of wedlock is lower in Western Bengal, the local practice being probably influenced by Hindu example." *Census Report*, 210.

(*Jūē Kamboh khāē Julāha*).¹ "If you were going to turn Muham-madan you might do so in a less disreputable place than a Julāha's house" (*Turk bhay to Julāhē ke ghar*). *Julāhē ki 'aql gude' mēn hoti hai*. "The Julāha's brains are in his backside." *Khet khāē gadha, marai jāē Julāha*—"The ass eats the crop and the Julāha gets thrashed." One proverb embodies a curious piece of folklore. *Julāha bhutiaile tisi khet*—"The Julāha lost his way in a linseed field." A Julāha is supposed to have taken the linseed field covered with blue flowers for a river and tried to swim in it. As a parallel, Mr. Christian¹ quotes from Kingsley's "The Roman and the Teuton"—"A madness from God came over the Herules, and when they came to a field of flax, they took the blue flowers for water and spread out their arms to swim through and were all slaughtered defencelessly." He might have added that the same tale appears in No. 149 of Grimm's German Stories.

Distribution of the Julāhas according to the Census of 1891.

| Districts. | Number. | Districts. | Number. |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|
| Dehra Dūn | 1,349 | Moradābād | 32,401 |
| Sahāranpur | 40,071 | Shāhjahānpur | 18,102 |
| Muvaffarnagar | 23,296 | Pilibbīt | 15,461 |
| Meerut | 25,685 | Cawnpur | 4,347 |
| Bulandshahr | 13,147 | Fatehpur | 2,636 |
| Aligarh | 3,056 | Bānda | 75 |
| Mathura | 36 | Hamirpur | 869 |
| Agra | 1,271 | Allahābād | 39,944 |
| Farrukhābād | 4,334 | Jhānsi | 51 |
| Mainpuri | 1,326 | Jālaun | 377 |
| Etāwah | 2,352 | Lalitpur | 2 |
| Etah | 4,208 | Benares | 22,496 |
| Bareilly | 42,654 | Mirzapur | 13,582 |
| Bijnor | 61,523 | Jaunpur | 22,307 |
| Badaun | 19,894 | Ghāzipur | 28,564 |

¹ Behar Proverbs, 137.

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

| Districts. | Number. | Districts. | Number. |
|----------------------|---------|----------------------|----------|
| Ballia | 30,547 | Hardoi | 10,053 |
| Gorakhpur | 117,891 | Kheri | 20,127 |
| Basti | 30,050 | Fāizabād | 25,473 |
| Azamgarh | 53,075 | Gonda | 16,654 |
| Tarāi | 12,665 | Bahrāich | 18,285 |
| Lucknow | 5,966 | Sultānpur | 10,345 |
| Unāo | 3,221 | Partābgarh | 9,497 |
| Rād Bareli | 4,117 | Bārābanki | 30,182 |
| Shāpur | 36,652 | TOTAL | 7,80,231 |

Jyotishi.—(Sanskrit *Jyāntishika*, root *jyut*, “to shine on, to illuminate”), a class of Brāhmans who devote themselves to fortune-telling, astrology, and the construction of horoscopes. The preparation of a horoscope is necessary for every respectable Hindu boy; hence the trade is a large one and very lucrative. But the functions of the Jyotishi are not confined to the twice-born castes, and he is ready to predict events for any person, even of low estate who can afford to pay him. This is one of the chief methods by which the casteless tribes have been brought within the Brāhmanical fold; and as a tribe of this kind tends towards Brāhmanism the Baiga or devil priest, who is invariably drawn from the aboriginal races, is replaced by the Ojha and the Jyotishi who claim to be Brāhmans. The Jyotishi is not regarded with any particular respect, and he is, of course, generally a quack and impostor.

K

Kabir Panthi.—A Hindu sect who are followers of the Saint Kabir. His name is from an Arabic root meaning "great". The history of the saint is very uncertain. He is believed to have been born at Benares and adopted by a Muhammadan weaver. By one account he was miraculously conceived by the virgin widow of a Brâhman, and he lived partly at Benares and partly at Magar, in the Basti District, in the reign of Sikandar Shâh Lodi, between 1488 and 1512 A.D. Owing to his connection with the weaver caste, many Julâhas are fond of calling themselves Kabir Bansi, or Kabir Panthi, without much reference to the special doctrines associated with the name of Kabir. Writing of the Panjâb, Mr. MacLagan¹ remarks that the connection between weaving and religion is as interesting as that between cobbling and irreligion in England. "There are some Musalmân tribes (the Khokhars, Chughattas and Chauhâns, for instance) who are found in many parts of the Province performing indifferently the functions of the weaver and the Mulla." Kabir is said to have been a disciple of Râmanand, and from one point of view the Kabir Panthis are merely Râmanandis who refuse to worship idols. Kabir, as the legend of his death shows, was a product of both Hindu and Muhammadan influence. When he died at Magar the Hindus and Muhammadans disputed as to the disposal of his body. But while they were contending the saint himself appeared and told them to look under the sheet which covered his corpse, and then immediately disappeared. When they raised the sheet they found only a heap of flowers. Of these the Hindus took half and burned them at Benares, while the Muhammadans buried the remainder at Magar, where a cenotaph was raised over them, and the saint is worshipped in both places by the followers of the rival creeds.

2. On the principles of the sect Professor Wilson² writes:—
 "The Kabir Panthis, in consequence of their master having been a reputed disciple of Râmanand and of their paying more respect to Vishnu than the other members of the Hindu triad, are always included among the Vaishnava sects and maintain, with most of them, the Râmâwats especially, a friendly intercourse and political

¹ *Panjâb Census Report*, 142.

² *Essays*, I, 74.

alliance. It is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe any of the rites or ceremonials of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical. Such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribes and caste, and some of them pretend even to worship the usual divinities, though this is considered as going further than is justifiable. Those, however, who have abandoned the fetters of society abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage chiefly in chanting hymns exclusively to the invisible Kabir. They use no *mantra* or fixed form of salutation, they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting, however, to clothe themselves when clothing is considered decent or respectful. The Mahants wear a small skull cap; the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the Vaishnava sects, or they make a streak with sandal or Gopichandan along the ridge of the nose; a necklace and rosary of Tulasi are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance, and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to."

3. It is perhaps more by his writings than by his actual teaching that the chief influence of Kabir has been gained.¹ His doctrines and precepts are embodied in the *Sukh-nidhān* and the *Adi-grantha* of the Sikhs.

Next to the *Rāmāyana* of Tulasi Dās there is perhaps no body of literature which is so popular among Hindus of Northern India as the *Bijak* of Kabir, and his verses and apothegms are ever on the lips of both Hindu and Musalmān.

4. The sect is open to both Hindus and Musalmāns, and perhaps in consequence of this it is not a favourite with men of high caste. Most of its adherents, in these Provinces at least, are drawn from the inferior castes, as the lower Banyas, Sunārs, Lohārs, Koiris, Koris, Kāchhis, Kumhārs, Barbais, Chamārs, and Julāshas. Among the weaving castes it is, as has been said already, extremely popular. There is no regular formula of initiation (*mantra*). The introduction of a neophyte is performed in this way. A piece of ground in the monastery or in the house of the candidate is carefully cleaned and plastered. In this is placed a pitcher full of water, in the mouth of which are fixed some mango twigs (*palāḍe*); on the pitcher

¹ On this see Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature*, 7.

a lamp is lighted with ghi and an offering is made consisting of sandal, holy rice (*achhat*), and flowers and incense is burned. A garland of flowers is placed round the neck of the pitcher and the core of a cocoa-nut with some *batáska* sweetmeats is offered. Some camphor is burnt and the neophyte sits in the holy square before the Guru, who makes him say the words :—

Satya purusha ko awáns se hriday men japo.

“Repeat the name of the true being within you with breath.” The disciple then with his joined hands thrice makes obeisance to the Guru and utters thrice the words, *Bandagi Sāhib!* “My service to the Master.” This is the common form, but the ritual with the more learned Mahants is of an elaborate type. After this the Guru teaches the disciple the Gâyatri or Morning Prayer and the Sandhya Sumiran or evening prayer. This Gâyatri is not the usual Hindu form—*Tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt.*—“Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Vivifying Sun; may he enlighten our understandings.” The KabírPanthi Gâyatri is a song (*bāni*) composed by Kabír himself and runs as follows :—

*Kabír din duni darbesha dwār salāmat lekha ;
Tum rund mund men pira ;
Tum phōka, phakkar phakira ;
Tum chalo kaun ki chāl ;
Tum ramo kaun ki nāl ;
Tum sarhangi sahjer men, tum ko wār na pā.
Sakal nirantar tum ramo tumhārē gahar ganbhīr.
Khālī khaluk mujh māhīn yon Guru kahūn Kabīr.
Satya nām ki ārti nirmal bhaya shatīr.
Dharm Dās lokē chālē guru bahiyān milē Kabīr.*

“The faith of Kabír is double mendicancy; only bowing to the door of God is taken into account. It is thou who feelst pain in the headless body. It is thou who livest in the starving mendicant. In whose footsteps canst thou walk? In whose stream canst thou flow? Thou art of all forms and hast neither beginning nor end. Thou art the beginning and thou art the end. Thou art the bank of all the rivers (religious sects). Thou pervadest the entire universe. Thou art deepest of all. Saith Kabír “Without me (God) the Universe is empty; it is I that fill the Universe. If you light the sacred lamp of truth your body

will be free from darkness. Dharm Dās (the slave of virtue) holds the hand of his religious guide Kabír and ascends to heaven."

6. The Sandhya Sumiran or Evening Prayer is as follows:—

*Sānjh bhao, din athho, chakai dīna roē.
Chal chakwa ohī desicān jahān diwas rain nahīn hoē.
Rain ki bichhūri chakai aya mili prabhāt.
Jo jan bichhūri nām ke pōwāi diwas nahīn rāt.
Binwat honkar jorī kē, sunu guru krīpa nidhān.
Daya ghōrī bandagi samāta shīl karār.
Etē gaharē bhakta kē adi bhakti sringār.
Kewal nām kewal guru bāla pīr Kabīr.*

"Evening has come and the sun has set. Then cries the Brāhmani duck. 'O mate of mine! Let us seek that land where there is no night nor day.' When the duck parts from her mate at night she meets him again at dawn; but he who parts with the True Name never finds it again either by night nor day. Generosity, humility, worship, the universal brotherhood of mankind, uniform observance of law, and morals—these are the ornaments of a devotee, and his decoration is the love of God. The True Name is the only religious guide, and his greatest prophet is Kabír."

7. Besides these, the Guru teaches the disciple a number of hymns which he commits to memory, and sings morning and evening. The Guru visits his disciples once a year in the cold weather, and he and other mendicants of the sect are entertained by him for a couple of days. Every day the disciple washes the big toe of his Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). When the Guru is leaving the disciple does obeisance, and makes him a present of money, clothes, vessels, etc., and salutes him with the words *Bandagi Sāhib*, thrice. As long as the Guru stays in his house the disciple joins the mendicants in singing songs morning and evening. When the disciple visits his Guru he is entertained by him, but gives him a present when he leaves. The Guru's influence over his disciple is altogether exercised in the interests of morality, and should he offend he is very sternly reprimanded by the Guru. One of the main principles of the sect is to submit everything in life to control of the Guru; at the same time Kabír himself did not exact unquestioning obedience from his disciples, and encouraged them to investigate for themselves the truth of his advice and injunctions.

Distribution of the KabirPanthis according to the Census of 1891.

| DISTRICT. | Number. | DISTRICT. | Number. |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| Debra Dûn | 34 | Fatehpur | 9 |
| Muzaffarnagar | 6 | Hamirpur | 8 |
| Bulandshahr | 258 | Allahâbâd | 12 |
| Aligarh | 114 | Jhânsi | 8 |
| Agra | 8 | Jâlaun | 3 |
| Farrukhâbâd | 2 | Ghâzipur | 209 |
| Bareilly | 15 | Gorakhpur | 40 |
| Bijnor | 2 | Basti | 8 |
| Morâdâbâd | 36 | Tarâi | 4 |
| Shâhjahanpur | 67 | Lucknow | 16 |
| Pilibhit | 72 | Faizâbâd | 16 |
| Cawnpur | 18 | | |
| | | TOTAL | 955 |

Kâchhi.¹—The tribe of opium-growers and market gardeners. They represent in the west of the Province the Koiri and Kurmi of the eastern districts. Their name has been variously explained. Some connect it with the Sanskrit *kaksha*, "a flank or enclosure"; others with *kursha* "a furrow"; others again connect it with *kâchhna*, the term for collecting the opium from the capsules of the poppy, or with *kachhâr*, "the low rich alluvial land" which they usually cultivate. They claim, however, some connection with the Kachwâha sept of Râjputs, who may have a totemistic relationship with the *kachhapa* or tortoise, as the Kurmi, with *kurma*, the turtle. They are also known in the extreme west of the Province as Nainaya, Sahnai, Bârahmâshi, or those who keep their lands under crops all the year round. Another name of the tribe is in some places Murâo, or growers of the radish (*mûli*);

¹ Mainly based on notes by E. Rose, Esq., C.S., Collector of Farrukhâbâd; Bâbu Sânzal Das, Deputy Collector, Hardoi; and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Agra.

but in other parts of the country, as, for instance, in Râê Bareli, the two names are not quite identical. There the Murâo cultivates all kinds of vegetables, including turnips, onions and turmeric, which the Kâchhi does not. The tribe appears to be singularly devoid of local traditions. The Saksenas say they come from Sankisa and the Kanauiyas from Kanauj, which they abandoned after the defeat of Jay Chand by Shahâbuddin Ghorî in 1193-94. In fact, some of them ascribe their origin to this sovereign and say that he gave the name to those of his servants who grew vegetables for his court. The tribe is most probably an offshoot of the great Kurmi race, and has divided from them owing to the special occupation which they practise.

2. The Kâchhis are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes, which vary from district to district.

Tribal organisation.

The Census returns divide the Kâchhis into 560 sub-castes, of which the most important are the Chithoriya, Churela, Hardiya, Kachhwâha, Kanauiya, Patarita, and Saksena. Among those of local importance we find the Puniya of Bulandshahr; the Amariya and Purabiya of Agra; the Amariya and Nijakotiya of Mainpuri; the Parnâmi and Sakauriya of Etâwah; the Bhadauriya and Purabiya of Shâhjahânpur; the Baheniya and Murai of Cawnpur; the Baheniya, Dangarha, and Murai of Fatehpur; the Bhagta and Sakta of Allâhâbâd; the Amariya and Parnâmi of Jâlaun; the Bhadauriya and Saloriya of Lalitpur; the Dhenkuliya and Thakuriya of Lucknow; the Chauhan, Kichar, Kusha, and Thakuriya of Râê Bareli; and the Dholakiya or "drummers" and Thakuriya of Unâo. In Farrukhâbâd, where the Kâchhis are very influential, we find five sub-castes, the Hardiya or growers of turmeric (*haldi*), the Saksena, who take their name from the famous Buddhist city of Sankisa on the borders of Farrukhâbâd, and Etah; the Piyâzi or growers of onions (*piyâz*); the Kachhwâya, and the Kanauiya from Kanauj. In Râê Bareli they name seven endogamous sub-castes—the Kachhwâha, Koiri, Murai, "radish (*mûli*) grower," Kanauiya, Haldiha, Kalariya or huckster, who in some of the large cities like Lucknow is a Meiwafarosh or fruit-seller, and the Bhemua. In Agra we find five sub-castes—the Kachhwâha, Chakchaniya or Chakseniya, the Hardainiya, Murâo, and Khariba. The Singrauriya take their name from the old town of Singraur, about twenty-five miles higher up the Ganges than Allâhâbâd. The Murâos again have divisions of their own. One list divides

them into the Hardiya, Rotiya, and Kachhwāya. These last are the most numerous sub-caste in Bulandshahr and claim descent from a mother of the Māli tribe by a father of the clan of Kachhwāha Rājputs. In Rāē Bareli they again give their sub castes as Brāhmaniya, Haldiha, Kanaujiya, Kāchhi, and Kurmi, and in Hardoi as Haldiya; Dhakauliya, who take their name from the well lever (*dhenkli*) which they use; the Kanaujiya, Kachhwāha, Saksena, Bhadauriya, who, like the Rājput clan of the same name, derive their title from the Pargana of Bhadāwar in the Agra District; Thakuriya, who claim descent from the Kachhwāha clan of Thākurs; and the Munwār, who trace their origin to some Muni or saint of olden days. As already stated, all these sub-castes, some of which are local some eponymous, and some purely occupational, are all endogamous. They are also characterised by some peculiarities. Thus in Agra the women of the Kachhwāha sub-caste wear a foot ornament called *gajari*, which is not allowed to others. In Farrukhābād the Saksena women similarly wear a special bangle known as *lutua* or *lakhota*, made of brass and lac, which is particularly large and heavy. This ornament is peculiar to them.

3. Like all tribes on the same grade, they have an influential tribal council (*pañchāyat*). In Farrukhābād the chairman is known as Mahtiya or Chaudhari and the council consists of a certain number of members selected for their respectability and intelligence; but when any special business is to be decided, the attendance of at least one member of each family resident within the local jurisdiction of the council is necessary. They have power to decide all private disputes; they can expel any member for debauchery or other offence contrary to tribal usage; and they can re-admit culprits to caste privileges on providing a feast to the caste, on feeding a certain number of Brāhmins, or undergoing other prescribed penance.

4. Within the sub-caste the rule of exogamy does not appear to be very accurately formulated. In Farrukhābād a man cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time, and he cannot marry in the family of his paternal aunt or uncle. Those who are more advanced show a tendency to adopt the regular Hindu rules of exogamy. In Agra they bar the family of the mother and grandmother on both sides. Among the Murāos of Hardoi a man does not marry his daughter in a family in which his own son or the son of a near

relative is married. This prohibition lasts for three or four generations, and the line of cousins is also barred. But the rule does not seem to be very definite, and each case is dealt with by the tribal council.

5. Marriage ceremonies are of the usual type. In Farrukh-
 Marriage ceremonies. ābād they can be married at any age above seven, but the boy must be older than the girl. Elsewhere there is no fixed rule, and both infant and adult marriage prevails. There are the usual three standard types,—*Shādi* or *Charhāna*, *Dola*, and *Dharauna*. In the first, all the ceremonies are conducted at the house of the bride, while those of *Dola* are done at the house of the bridegroom. In *Dola* the father of the bride comes to the house of the bridegroom with some clothes and ornament for his daughter on the marriage day, and washes and worships her feet and offers the presents. By *Dharauna* only widows are married, and the only ceremony is the giving of a feast to the clansmen. In the *Dola* marriage there is this much survival of marriage by capture, that the bride is taken away secretly at night. The offspring of *Dharauna* marriages, known as *Dharauniya* in Farrukhābād, inherit equally with children by a regular marriage. The levirate is permitted under the usual conditions, but is not compulsory on the widow. If she has very young children she usually takes them to her new home, and there they join the family of her second husband and lose all rights in their father's estate.

6. There is nothing special about the birth ceremonies. The
 Birth ceremonies. *chhathi* or sixth day ceremony consists in the worship of the goddess Bihai, who whispers in the child's ear, and he smiles in his sleep if she speaks kindly and weeps if she reproves. In Farrukhābād the Hardiyas do not adopt formally; but a childless man keeps the son of his daughter or some other near relation as his heir. Among the other sub-castes the practice of adopting a near relation with the consent of the brethren notified at a tribal feast is becoming more common.

7. They burn the married and bury the unmarried dead. On
 Disposal of the dead. the thirteenth day offerings of food and water are given to the manes. Brāhmans are fed and clothes and utensils are given to them for the soul in the other world. The son-in-law and daughter's son are also fed; this is perhaps a survival of the primitive rule of descent in the female

line. Similar offerings are also made at the anniversary of the death; but they do not perform the regular *Srāddha*.

8. In Agra, if they can be said to follow any particular sect, they are Śāktas and their chief reverence is paid to Durga Devi, who is worshipped on the seventh day of the waning moon in the months of Chait and Āsārh, with offerings of cakes, sweetmeats, and money. These offerings are taken by a Gadhera, or donkey-keeping Kumbhār. If the day of the service fall on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday it is considered very auspicious. This worship is done to the goddess in her form of Sītala, who brings the small-pox. Another goddess, Birāhi, is also worshipped with an offering of cakes. Nāgar Sen is propitiated with cocoanuts, eggs, and red lead, which are given to him on a Friday and received by a Dhoibin. He is one of the general disease godlings. Kuānwāla, "he of the well," is a sort of bogie who lies in wait for children and springs upon them when he finds them alone. To keep him quiet they pour water out of a goat-skin bag on Monday or Wednesday and lay a sweet ball (*laddu*) on the ground where two roads meet. Chāmar is worshipped with cakes, sweets, incense, and red lead at the Holi and Diwālī, and sometimes on Mondays. His offerings are taken by one of the Mahaur Kolis, who are his priests. If he is not duly propitiated he stops the milk of cows and buffaloes. Lāl Mani is a household godling who receives cakes and sweets on a Monday; these are eaten by the worshipper and his family. Bhūmiya, the godling of the village site, also receives cakes and sweetmeats, which are taken by low caste beggars. Sayyid is much dreaded; people in trouble, and when there is sickness in the family, get a Musalmān Faqir to offer some sweet cakes in his name. The Miyān of Amroha is propitiated in the same way. Sītala and Kuānwāla are the special deities of women and children. When serious cases of disease or other misfortune occur, animal sacrifices are necessary. Devi Durga receives a young buffalo; Chāmar, a ram; Nāgar Sen and Lāl Mani, a he-goat. The Devi sacrifice is done at the boundary of the village; those of other godlings at their special shrines. In Farrukhābād their chief reverence is paid to Madār Sāhib of Makbanpur and to Sayyid Mard at some tomb in the village. They also pay special reverence to Bisāri or Visāhi Devi, "the poisonous one," who has her shrine at Sankisa. She is supposed to inflict sore eyes on those who neglect her. Her priests can bring ophthalmia on whom they

please by lighting a fire and throwing hot coals on her image. When a person is thus afflicted he lays aside seven cowries, a piece of turmeric and charcoal, and an iron nail, as marking his vow to make a pilgrimage to her shrine. This is undertaken in the months of Chait, Āsārh, or Kuār. The offering consists of a packet of betel, sweets, eight small cakes, and some cash. If he offers only a copper coin the offering is *kachchi*, or imperfect. If silver is given it is *pakki*, or perfect. The priests of her temple promise life-long immunity from sore eyes to those who make a "perfect" offering; those who make an "imperfect" offering are liable to a return of the disease. Those who cannot afford to make the regular pilgrimage go a mile or so in the direction of her temple and make the offering in a field which must be beyond the village boundary. This is known as *Ādha jatiya*, or "the half-pilgrimage." The Kāchhis of Rāē Bareli specially worship a deity known as Brahma Gusāin. To the west their priests are Kanaujiya or Bhaddari Brāhmans, the latter of whom are held in low estimation. Their chief festivals are the Holi and Diwālī; and though they do not pay much regard to other festivals, they perform the usual ceremonies.

9. They have the usual beliefs in demonology, and in their opinion most diseases are due to the influence of evil spirits. In such cases a sorcerer (*nautā*) is consulted, and he gives them a black thread (*ganda*) or some holy ashes (*bhabdt*) as a specific. They dread the ghosts of the dead, who have a habit of appearing naked at night if proper donations of clothes are not given to Brāhmans at the obsequies. They believe in the Evil Eye, the effects of which are obviated by burning red pepper, salt, and bran in the house fire. The evil influence departs in the smoke and stench. Or they take secretly some straw from seven thatches, light it and put it into an earthen pot, which is placed upside down in a vessel of water and then waved seven times round the head of the patient. If the patient is really suffering from the Evil Eye the water rises in the upper pot and gives out a disgusting smell. When a woman is barren she tries to cut off some of the hair of a child of a large family or a shred from the mother's sheet. Hence barren women are watched, because this spell is very injurious to those on whom it is practised.

10. The Hardiya sub-caste will not grow sugarcane or chillies.

Tabcos.

They can give no explanation of this, except that it is not the custom. Those who have

taken the Bhagat vow will not eat with others; and it is only very close relations who will eat out of the same dish. The members of the different sub-castes will not eat together. Some will not eat the *baingan* or egg-plant in the month of Sâwan or fish or flesh in the fortnight sacred to the dead (*Kandagat*). Men and women eat apart and children with both. When they eat some put a little food in the fire or give a morsel of bread to the cow. They observe the usual naming taboo. The younger members of the family do not call seniors by their names. A daughter-in-law will not call her father-in-law by his name, but will address him as *bhâi* "brother" or *bâpu* "father." A husband addresses his wife as the mother of so and so his son. A son calls his father *akka* or *chacha* "uncle."

11. The Kâchhis are one of the best tribes of agriculturists in the Province. They are quiet, industrious, well-behaved people, who devote themselves to the cultivation of the more valuable crops, such as vegetables, opium, sugarcane, turmeric, etc.

Distribution of Kachhis according to the Census of 1891.

| DISTRICT. | Chithoria. | Churela. | Hardiya. | Kaobhadda. | Katbiya. | Kanaujya. | Patariha. | Saksana. | Others. | Total. |
|---------------|------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|--------|
| Dehra Dūn | .. | .. | 43 | 81 | .. | .. | .. | 202 | 14 | 340 |
| Saharanpur | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 108 | 108 |
| Muzaffarnagar | .. | .. | .. | 8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 | 25 |
| Meerut | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 | .. | .. | 1,181 | 1,198 |
| Bulandshahr | .. | .. | .. | 1,290 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 372 | 1,662 |
| Aligarh | .. | .. | .. | 5,206 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 15,363 | 20,569 |
| Mathura | .. | 9 | 6 | 3,192 | .. | .. | .. | 18 | 1,590 | 4,809 |
| Agra | .. | .. | 14 | 43,523 | .. | 2 | 30 | 1,760 | 5,329 | 50,658 |
| Farrukhabad | 16 | .. | 619 | 16,536 | 265 | 1,934 | 5 | 47,683 | 548 | 67,595 |
| Mainpuri | .. | .. | 25 | 9,877 | 435 | .. | .. | 58,682 | 2,904 | 69,923 |
| Bhāwah | .. | .. | 96 | 14,770 | 93 | .. | .. | 34,154 | 2,631 | 61,744 |
| Etah | .. | 836 | 664 | 1,490 | 465 | 15 | 6,391 | 37,426 | 8,908 | 56,195 |

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

| District. | Chithoria. | Churela. | Hardya. | Kaohwala. | Kaithiya. | Kanaujya. | Patahla. | Sakena. | Others. | Total. |
|-------------|------------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Unso | ... | ... | ... | 4728 | ... | 7,656 | ... | ... | 19,521 | 31,905 |
| Rae Bareli | ... | ... | 4,059 | 1,481 | ... | 217 | ... | ... | 2,861 | 3,618 |
| Sitapur | ... | ... | ... | 310 | ... | 2 | ... | 8 | 11 | 331 |
| Hardoi | ... | ... | 9,137 | 35,975 | ... | 533 | ... | 147 | 1,365 | 47,157 |
| Kheri | ... | ... | 2,224 | 6,006 | ... | 71 | ... | ... | 79 | 8,380 |
| Faizabad | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 6 |
| Gonda | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Bahraich | ... | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 12 |
| Paritbagarh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 44 | ... | ... | ... | 44 |
| Total | 16 | 839 | 31,959 | 325,381 | 1,414 | 42,638 | 6,628 | 198,874 | 95,618 | 703,367 |

Kachhwāha.—An important Rājput sept. The popular etymology derives the name from the country of Kachh, but it is more probably connected with the Sanskrit *Kachhapa*, "relating to a tortoise," and may possibly be totemistic. The most important traditions of the sept are, of course, connected with the famous Jaypur branch.

"The accepted legend traces back their lineage to Kusa, the second son of Rāma, who ruled at Ajudhya and is said to have emigrated thence to Rohitās on the Son river, whence after several generations a second immigration brought Rāja Nala westward across the Jumna to Narwar. And at Narwar the family or the sept established itself, until Dhola Râê founded the parent city of the present Jaypur State at Amber in A. D. 967. At the time the country round is said to have been all parcelled out among many petty chiefs, Rājputs of the Tuar dynasty which reigned at Delhi. After years of warfare and fluctuations of power, Dhola Râê and his Kachhwāhas are said to have absorbed and driven out the petty chiefs and to have at last founded a solid dominion with a substantial territory. The tribal sovereignty thus set up was originally known by the name of Dhûndar, from a celebrated sacred mount of that name on what is now the State's western frontier. Half a century later another chief, Hanuji, wrested Amber from the Minas and consolidated his power, placing his head-quarters at Amber, which gave its name to the chiefship thenceforward until 1728 A. D., when the second Jay Sinh deserted it for Jaypur."¹

2. There are twelve chief Kachhwāha clans of which the most trustworthy list is that given by Colonel
Tribal organisation. Tod. These are:—Chhatrabhujaut, Kalyānaut, Nathāwat, Balbhadrant, Khangaraut, Sultānaut, Pachhayanaut, Gugāwat, Khumbāni, Khumbhāwat, Siubaranpota, Banbîrpota. In addition to these four others are named—Rajāwat, Narūka, Bhankāwat, Parinmatot.

3. The sept in Narwar and Gwālior became independent under
The Narwar and Gwālior branch. Vajra Dāma, one of whose inscriptions is dated 977 A. D. His great grandson, Bhawāna Pāla, must have been reigning as an independent chief in 1021 A. D., when Mahmūd of Ghazni, in his march against Kalinjar, accepted the submission of the Rāja of Gwālior. The

Kachhwāhas continued to reign till 1129 A. D., when the last king of the race, Tejpal or Tejkaran, lost his sovereignty through his love for the fair Maroni, whose beauty still affords a theme for the poetic skill of the bards. The Kachhwāhas of Gwālior, Narwar, and Jaypur, all agree in the same story of the love-blind Dulha Rāḡ, or the bridegroom prince, who was supplanted by his cousin or nephew, the Parihār Chief Parāmal or Parāmarddi Deva.¹ The Kachhwāha dynasty of Amber obtained possession of Narwar through the marriage of their daughters with the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. The history of this dynasty commences with Rāj Sinh, son of Bhīm Sinh, and grandson of Prithivi Rāja, who reigned over Amber and Jaypur in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Prithivi Rāja is said to have had nineteen sons, of whom several succeeded to the throne. Rāj Sinh was succeeded by his son Rāmdās. Fateh Sinh succeeded his father about 1610 A. D., but his son Amar Sinh lost Narwar in the reign of Shāhjabān, as all the members of his family declared in favour of his elder brother, Prince Khusrū. Gwālior is said to have been founded by a Kachhwāha Chief, Sūraj Sen, the petty Rāja of Kuntalpur or Kutwar. A list and history of the dynasty lasting from 925 to 1104 A. D. is given by General Cunningham. He considers the name of the clan to be derived from *kachhapa-ghāta* or tortoise-killers.²

4. In these Provinces the Kachhwāhas are pretty generally distributed except in the Eastern Districts. The Kachhwāhas of the North-West Provinces. All, or nearly all, claim a Western origin from Amber or Jaypur; but the legends of their immigration are very contradictory. Thus in Faizābād they fix their arrival from Jaypur about six hundred years ago under Ranjīt Sinh, who expelled the Bhars. In that district most of their proprietary rights have been absorbed by the Rāj Kumārs.³

Those in Sītapur allege that they came from Jaypur in 1459 A. D. under Bahrām Sinh and that they belonged to the Rajāwat clan, of which the present Mahārāja of Jaypur is the head⁴. In Mathura they are classed as Gaurua, which is a general term for septa degraded by widow marriage⁵. In Bulandshahr they allege

¹ Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, II., 312.

² *Ibid.*, II., 317, s. q.

³ *Settlement Report*, 156.

⁴ *Settlement Report*, 98.

⁵ Growae, *Mathura*, 376.

that their forefathers emigrated from Narwar to Amber and thence to the Ganges-Jumna Duāb.¹ The Etāwah and Jālaun branch emigrated from Gwālior and took possession of the tract of country which from them took its name of Kachhwāhagarh; or Kachhwāhiyagarh, which is now Pargana Mādhogarh in the Jālaun District.² The few Kachhwāhas in the Eastern Districts seem to have lost all traditions of connection with Rajputāna, and have invented a ridiculous legend that they sprang from the thigh of the mythic cow Kāmādhenu.³

5. The Kuladevi or family deity of the Kachhwāhas in their original home is the Janwāhi Mahādevi, whose temple is in the gorge of the Bānganga river in Jaypur territory, not far from the south-east corner of the Alwar State. "It was here that Dhola Rāē, the founder of the present Jaypur State, and subsequently his son, are said to have received miraculous aid from Mahādevi in contending with Minas and Bargūjars. The sons of the Alwar Chief go in state to this temple to have the ceremony of tonsure performed. Sita and Rāma are, however, naturally the deities to whom most respect is paid by Narūkas and other Kachhwāhas, since they claim descent from Rāma and Sita, whose images are carried with the army both in Alwar and in Jaypur. Sri Krishna, too, as his birth-place, Mathura, is so near, is also much revered by the ruling family and upper class; and Baladeva, Sri Krishna's elder brother, is in high repute. *Jay Baldeoji* and *Jay Raghundhji* are the commonest forms of salutation."⁴

6. By one account they claim to belong to the Kasyapa, by another to the Manava gotra. In Sultānpur they take brides from the Tilokchandi Bais, the Chauhāns of Mainpuri, the Bhadauriya, Rāthaur, Kānpuriya and Bandhalgoti septs; in Aligarh from the Pundir, Jais, and Bāchhal. In Sultānpur they give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhāns, Bhadauriya, and Rāthaur; in Aligarh to the Pundir, Gahlot, Solankhi, Chauhān, Panwār, Tomar, and Janghāra.

¹ *Census Report, North-West Provinces, 1865, I., App. 17.*

² *Ibid., App. 85.*

³ *Buchanan, Eastern India, II., 460.*

⁴ *Rajputāna Gazetteer, III., 212.*

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

| District. | Numbers. | District. | Numbers. |
|--------------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| Sabāranpur . . . | 44 | Jālaun . . . | 6,670 |
| Muzaffarnagar . . | 2,434 | Lalitpur . . . | 62 |
| Meerut . . . | 2,228 | Benares . . . | 22 |
| Bulandshahr . . . | 421 | Mirzapur . . . | 1 |
| Aligarh . . . | 1,056 | Jaunpur . . . | 16 |
| Mathura . . . | 5,671 | Ballia . . . | 64 |
| Agra . . . | 4,704 | Gorakhpur . . . | 39 |
| Farrukhābād . . . | 1,482 | Basti . . . | 38 |
| Mainpuri . . . | 998 | Azamgarh . . . | 1,073 |
| Etāwah . . . | 7,099 | Tarāi . . . | 56 |
| Etah . . . | 460 | Lucknow . . . | 175 |
| Baroilly . . . | 342 | Unāo . . . | 900 |
| Bijnor . . . | 54 | Rāē Bareli . . . | 1,196 |
| Budāun . . . | 244 | Sitapur . . . | 794 |
| Morādābād . . . | 397 | Hardoi . . . | 1,296 |
| Shāhjahānpur . . . | 341 | Kheri . . . | 783 |
| Pilibhit . . . | 130 | Faizābād . . . | 294 |
| Cawnpur . . . | 7,677 | Gonda . . . | 109 |
| Fatehpur . . . | 1,512 | Bahrāich . . . | 166 |
| Bānda . . . | 654 | Sultānpur . . . | 1,628 |
| Hamīrpur . . . | 710 | Partābgarh . . . | 359 |
| Allahābād . . . | 216 | Bārabanki . . . | 110 |
| Jhānsi . . . | 564 | TOTAL . . . | 55,286 |

The Rajputāna Census of 1891 shows the Kachhwāhas to number 106,705.

Kadhara, Kadhâr.—(Possibly Sanskrit *Karsha-kāra*, "One who drags or ploughs.")—A caste shown in the last Census for the first time in considerable numbers in the Western Districts. Little

seems to be known about them. It is reported from Unão, which shows them in the largest numbers, that they are really a sub-caste of Malláh, living chiefly in the riverine parts of the district and excellent cultivators in those regions subject to floods. They seem to have almost altogether given up their proper trade of boatmen. All those shown in the Census returns are Hindus. No less than five hundred and fifty-nine sub-castes are recorded. These seem to show that the caste is probably of very mixed origin, as the list contains the names of numerous well known tribes and sub-castes such as Bâgri, Baiswâr, Bâori, Bargûjar, Bâtham (Srivâstavya), Chauhân, Dâdupanthi, Dhânuk, Dhuna, Dusâdh, Gahlot, Gamela, Gaur, Gûjar, Jâdon, Jais, Kabîrbansi, Kâchhi, Kachhwâya, Kamân-gar, Kânhpuriya, Katiyâr, Korchamra, Lodha, Luniya, Malláh, Mehtariya, Naddâf, Nânakshâhi, Nunera, Ojha, Pardesi, Pundîr, Râedâs, Râj, Râjput, Rangszâz, Ror, Sâin, Saksena, Sânsiya, Saraswati, Soeri, Solankhi, Tamoli, and Tomar.

Distribution of Kadheras according to the Census of 1891.

| District. | Numbers. | District. | Numbers. |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| Muzaffarnagar . . . | 54 | Pilibhit . . . | 19 |
| Meerut . . . | 2,039 | Cawnpur . . . | 1,270 |
| Bulandshahr . . . | 3,857 | Fatehpur . . . | 73 |
| Aligarh . . . | 6,901 | Bânda . . . | 219 |
| Mathura . . . | 2,881 | Hamirpur . . . | 1,508 |
| Agra . . . | 4,197 | Allahâbâd . . . | 3 |
| Farrukhâbâd . . . | 84 | Jhânsi . . . | 289 |
| Mainpuri . . . | 1,219 | Jâlaun . . . | 1,105 |
| Etâwah . . . | 703 | Lalitpur . . . | 224 |
| Etah . . . | 2,946 | Tarâi . . . | 467 |
| Bareilly . . . | 5 | Unão . . . | 13,947 |
| Bijnor . . . | 336 | Sitapur . . . | 14 |
| Budâun . . . | 3,658 | Hardoi . . . | 332 |
| Morâdâbâd . . . | 3,094 | Gonda . . . | 8 |
| Shâhjahanpur . . . | 301 | TOTAL . . . | 51,753 |

Kahâr.¹—(Sanskrit, *Skandha-kâra*, "one who carries things on his shoulder"). A tribe who engage in cultivation, particularly in connection with growing water nuts, etc., in tanks, fishing, palanquin carrying, and domestic service. This variety of occupations renders a complete analysis of the tribe and its sub-castes very difficult. Kahârs are sometimes known as Mahra (Sanskrit *Mahila*, "a woman"), because they have the entry of the female apartments. Another name for them is Dhîmar (Sanskrit, *Dhîvara*, "a fisherman"), though some of them profess to regard it as a honorific term from Sanskrit *dhi*, or "intellect, intelligence." When they are engaged in domestic service they are often known as Behara, which is probably a corruption of the English "bearer," rather than, as one theory would represent it to be, from the Sanskrit *Vyavahâra*,² "business." Another name for them is Bhoi, which is a Southern Indian word (Telugu and Malayalam *boyi*, Tamil *bovi*). In the Konkan people of this class are known as Kahâr Bhui, which is the origin of the title "boy" applied by Europeans to their personal servant in Western India.³ In parts of Bundelkhand they are known as Machhmâra, "fish killers" (Hindu *machhî-mârna*), and in other places Singhâriya, because they cultivate the Singhâra nut or water caltrop (*trapa bispinosa*).

2. According to the Brâhmanical genealogists the Kahâr is one of the mixed castes, descended from a Brâhman father and a Nishâda or Chandâla mother.

Tribal traditions. Their appearance suggests a considerable admixture of what is called non-Aryan blood. Their occupation as servants in high caste families would perhaps in some cases improve the breed; and in Bengal, according to Mr. Risley,⁴ "they admit into their community Brâhman, Râjputs, Kâyasths, Kurmis, and children of Kahâr women by men of those castes on condition of performing certain religious ceremonies and giving a feast to the heads of the caste. Instances of men born in a higher caste applying for enrollment as Kahârs are probably rare, and occur only when the applicant has been turned out of his own caste for an intrigue with a Kahâr woman." The existence of this custom of admitting outsiders to the community is distinctly denied in these Provinces and does not appear to prevail.

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi, and the Deputy Inspectors, Pilibhit, Bareilly, Agra, Bijnor.

² By another account it is an abbreviation of the Uriya *dal behara*, "the leader of a band."

³ See Hobson-Jobson, s. v.

⁴ Tribes and Castes, I., 370.

3. The Dhuriya sub-caste describe their origin as follows:—“Mahādeva and Pārvati were returning from the house of Himāchal, the father of Pārvati, with their luggage on their heads. Seeing his spouse wearied with the burden, Mahādeva told her to look behind and hand over her burden to the two men who were following her. These were the two ancestors of the Dhuriya Kahārs, whom Mahādeva formed out of a handful of dust (*dhūl*, *dhūr*).” The Bihār Kahārs claim descent from Jarāsandha, King of Magadha. The legend is thus told by General Cunningham.¹ When Jarāsandha was king he built a tower on the Giriyak hill in Gaya as his sitting place (*baithak*); here he would sit and lave his feet in the waters of the Panchina below. Close to his sitting place was Bhagwān’s garden, which in a year of drought was nearly destroyed. Bhagwān accordingly, after fruitless efforts to keep it flourishing, caused it to be proclaimed that he would grant his daughter and half his kingdom to him who should succeed in watering his garden plentifully with Ganges water in a single night. Chandráwat, the leader of the Kahārs, at once came forward and undertook the task; first he built the great embankment to bring the waters of the Bāwan Ganga rivulet to the foot of the hill below the garden, and then began lifting it up to successive stages by means of the common native swing basket and rope. When the work was completed Bhagwān repented of his offer and the Pipar came forward and offered to assume the form of a cock and crow while Bhagwān was to urge the Kahārs to hasten their operations. The Kahārs, hearing the cock crow, believed that night was over, and fearing the vengeance of Bhagwān, fled to the banks of the Ganges at Mokāma. Bhagwān next day sent for the Kahārs to receive their wages, but not one of them was to be found. At last he induced some of them to return and gave each of them $3\frac{1}{2}$ sers of grain. Ever since that period $3\frac{1}{2}$ sers of grain has been the legitimate wages for a day’s work to Kahārs, and to this day they can legally claim, and as a matter of fact, actually receive the value of this amount of grain for a day’s work.

4. Another legend thus accounts for their not taking Brāhmans as their spiritual guides (*guru*). As told in Bareilly, it describes how the Saint Nārada Rishi one day went to Rāma in search of a Garu. He was told that he would see his appointed Guru next

¹ *Archaeological Reports*, VIII., 100.

morning. The first person he met next morning was a Dhîmar fisherman, with his net over his shoulder. So Nârada saluted him and addressed him as his Guru. But when he saw to what caste he belonged he said "How can I have a Kahâr as my spiritual guide?" Then the Kahâr cursed him with the curse that he should pass through eighty-four lakhs of lives before he attained heaven. Nârada was stricken with fear and complained to Rârea, who would not listen to his petition. So Nârada made eighty-four lakhs of pictures of animals, snakes, and insects on the ground and rolled his body over them by way of undergoing the required number of transmigrations. He then said to the Kahâr "Pardon me and consider yourself my Guru." From that day the Kahârs say that they are the Gurus of Brâhmans and will not take Brâhmans as their Gurus, but accept the services of Jogis instead.

5. At the last Census the Kahârs recorded themselves under Internal organisation. fifteen sub-castes, besides a number of smaller groups which were not of sufficient numerical importance to warrant inclusion in the final returns. These sub-castes are Bathma, Bot, Dhînwar or Dhîmar, Dhuriya, Gharûk, Jaiswâr, Kamkar, Khawar, Mahar, Mallâh, Raikwâr, Rawâni, Singhariya, Turai. These illustrate the various elements out of which the present caste has been organised. Of these the Bâtham take their name from the city of Sravasti; the Bot are a well known hill tribe separately described; the origin of the Dhîmar and Dhuriya has been already given; the Gharûk, or "housemen," (*ghar*) supply many of our bearers; the Goriya are in some way according to their own explanation allied to the Gonn; the Jaiswâr take their name from the old town of Jais; the Kamkar have been described in a separate article; the etymology of Mahar has been already given. The Mallâh are a well known boating tribe and the Raikwâr a sept of Râjputs. In Mirzapur they name as usual seven endogamous sub-castes—Turâh; Bathawa; Dhuriya, Dhîmar; Rawâni or Ramâni; Kharwâr or Kharwâra; and Jaiswâr. In Bijnor they call themselves Dhanor and have five sub-castes—Narai, Pachhâdê or Western, Golê, Khâgi, and Dhanor. Of these the Golê are vagrants and wander about on the banks of rivers in search of fish, living in huts made of reeds (*sirki*). In Jhânsi they divide themselves into Raikwâr, Bathma, Dhuriya, Guriya, Noriya, Mallâh, and Turai, of which there are numerous *gotras* such as Imiliya, Ateriya, Munderiya, Dahariya, and Damrauniya. A

list from Lalitpur gives the sub-castes as Goriya, Dhuriya, Mālari, and Gotiya. In Bareilly again ten sub-castes are recorded—Turai or Turaiya, Bathma, Goriya or Guriya, Dhuriya, Thanegara, Mahāwar, Bota, Kīra, Khadwāra, and Chander, the last two of whom are out-castes. In Agra the Turai say they are the descendants of Machharnāth or Matsyendranātha and that Tulasi was their mother. They are servants and carry palanquins and burdens on the bahangi or bamboo laid on their shoulders. They will not kill insects (kīra), and like them are the Raikwār, Dhuriya, and Kharagwār. The Singhariya take service; but their chief business is growing the singhāra nut. The Chandel and Bais will eat pork. In the Eastern Districts the Gour are stone-cutters, drawers of water, bearers of palanquins, a duty which they share with the Musahar, and cultivators. One special business they carry on is collecting the singhāra nut from tanks. The Dhīmars, who correspond to the Jhīnwar of the Western Districts and the Panjāb, work as boatmen and fishermen. With these are sometimes included the Chāi, who are fishermen and practise petty theft. In the hills they reckon twelve sub-divisions, which, according to Mr. Atkinson,¹ are exogamous, though in this assertion he is probably mistaken. Of these the Rawāni, Ghanik, Gariya, Kharwāra, and Nāwar are litter bearers and act as scullions and attendants; the Bathma follow the same occupations and are also grain-parchers; the Dhīmar add to these the trade of fishermen; the Mallāh that of boatmen; the Turāba and Bot that of green grocers and cultivators; and the Bāri that of basket makers.

6. The detailed Census returns give 823 sections of the Hindu and 24 of the Muhammadan branch. Of these the locally most important are the Jaliyān of Dehra Dūn, the Deswālī, Dhaunchak and Gurwal of Sahāranpur; the Ballāi, Chauliān, Gablot, Makhānpuriya, Noiban, Ronida, Sarmodhna, and Tomar of Bulandshahr; the Bhirgudī and Rāwat of Aligarh; the Deswālī of Mathura; the Kadha and Mathuriya of Agra; the Bharsiya of Farrukhābād; the Khāgi, Mathuriya, Matiyawār, and Pachhādē of Mailpuri; the Bodalē and Klūgi of Bareilly; the Khāgi and Pachhādē of Moradābād; the Sanauriya of Shāhjahānpur; the Nikhād of Cawnpur; the Juriya and Kharē of Jhānsi; the Kachhwāha of Lalitpur; the Kanaujiya of Benares and Ballia; the Panwār and Sākta of Jaunpur; the Hardiha of Ghāzipur; the Jethwant of Gorakhpur;

¹ *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 540.

the Dakkhinaha and Sorahiya of Basti ; the Gond and Kanauiya of Azamgarh ; the Bhond and Nikhād of Lucknow ; the Bhond and Khairpuriya of Unāo ; the Bhond, Dina, Ghatwariya, Jethwant, Nikhād, and Rautiya of Rāe Bareli ; the Jethwant of Sītapur ; the Gurunātha and Jethwant of Hardoi ; the Jethwant, Kharmorha, Luniya, Medba, Nikhād, and Turkiya of Bahraich ; the Dutiya, Lakhauna, Nikhād, and Paskauta of Sultānpur ; the Paskauta or Pāsi kewats of Partābgarh ; the Bhond, Kharmona, Morha, Nathu and Nikhād of Bārabanki. These details will give some idea of the intricacy of the organisation of the caste as at present constituted. Everywhere we find a tendency towards the formation of distinct endogamous groups whose connection with the original stock, if there ever was one, is shadowy in the extreme.

7. The rules regarding the Tribal Council may be illustrated by

Tribal Council.

the customs of Dhīmars of the Jhānsi District. The council is called Panchāyat. All

the caste people attend it, as well as the so-called Panch, who have been nominated at some previous meeting. They are the spokesmen of the assembly and carry on the enquiry into the case then pending, explain the facts to the assembly, take the verdict, and pronounce the final order. The functions of the Panchāyat are,—first, in case a widow re-marries, it is for them to assess the compensation which her second husband should give to the relatives of her deceased husband ; 2ndly, in case a member commits some offence, *e.g.*, theft in his master's house, adultery, trespass, etc., it is for the council to excommunicate the offender ; 3rdly, the *panchāyat* has to decide certain disputes about property. In Jhānsi there are twelve headmen (*mukhiya*) for the twelve quarters (*pura, muhalla*) of the city. In order to form what may be called a quorum, it is necessary that some or at least one of the chief men be present ; otherwise the meeting must be postponed. When the judgment is over, the parties are obliged to draw up a regular agreement in accordance with it, and when the matter is one connected with property, this is written on stamped paper. Any disobedience is punished by excommunication and fine.

8. A man must marry within his sub-caste, but not in his own

gotra. In Jhānsi, in addition to this, he

Marriage rules.

may not marry the daughter of his uncle on the father's and mother's side, or of his father's or mother's sister. In most places, however, the simple rule is that a man does not

marry in any family as long as relationship is remembered. If after subsequent enquiry, in spite of all reasonable precaution on his part, such relationship be ascertained, it does not matter. Polygamy is recognised, but with certain restrictions. Thus in Jhānsi before a man can marry again he must obtain the permission of his first wife. If she refuses to give her consent, he can bring the case before the Council. They will go into the matter, and if he show sufficient cause, such as that his present wife is barren or diseased, they will authorise him to marry again, and, if necessary, to get rid of his first wife, should she persist in her opposition to his second marriage. Girls are, as a rule, unless they are orphans or their parents are very poor, married about the age of eight, before puberty; boys are usually married before fifteen. If there be more wives than one, the senior is known as *jāthi*, and her juniors have to obey her in household matters. Concubinage is so far recognised that a man cannot keep a girl who has never been married. If he takes to himself a widow or the wife of another, he has to give a dinner to the caste and pay compensation to the relatives of the widow or to the aggrieved husband. In Jhānsi the fine for keeping a widow is ten rupees, and for living with the wife of another man sixty rupees. No bride price is paid for a virgin. A man will be permitted by the Council to put away his wife if she commits adultery or steals or misappropriates his property. When a woman is divorced in this way, she and her husband have to execute a deed of release (*darigh-khatti*) on stamped paper. The children of all unions recognised as valid by tribal custom rank equally for purposes of inheritance.

9. Widow marriage is recognised; the only ceremony is the notification of the fact to the Council and the provision of a dinner and spirits for the clansmen.

Widow marriage. If the younger brother of the deceased husband is adult and unmarried, he, as a matter of course, takes over the widow. In this case the levir has the right to the custody of his nephews and nieces; but the children by each husband are heirs to the goods of their respective fathers.

10. The marriage ritual is of the usual type. Poor people marry by the *dola* form, where all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom.

Marriage ritual. In a regular marriage (*byāh, charhaua*) the binding part of the ceremony is the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom (*paīr pūja, pānw pūja*) by the father of the bride.

11. The dead are cremated when adult ; buried when unmarried or the victims of epidemic disease or snake-bite. The ordinary *śrāddha* is done in their Religion. honour. As among many similar tribes, they have a special ceremony of purification in two special cases—(a) to remove what is called *katya* or the guilt of killing a cow, ass, or cat, (b) to remove the taint of a person committing suicide on account of the acts of another. In such cases the offender is sent to the Ganges to bathe, and on his return has to feed the brethren. Kahārs are orthodox Hindus and worship most of the ordinary gods. They are seldom initiated into any of the regular Hindu sects. To the east of the Province they worship Bhairon, Mahābir, Birtiya (who is vaguely regarded as a *bir* or dangerous demon), and the Pānchopīr, of whom Amina Sati in the form of Amina Bhawāni is most venerated. Bhairon, Mahābir, Amina Bhawāni, and Birtiya are worshipped on the tenth lunar day of Kuār. To Mahābir are offered clothes, Brāhmanical cords (*janco*), and garlands of flowers; to Bhairon a goat and a libation of wine with *bara* or cakes made of the *urad* pulse; Amina receives a young pig and a libation of wine. The Pānchopīr are worshipped generally in the month of Jeth with various kinds of cakes, cucumber, and sharbat. In Jhānsi they worship all the ordinary Hindu gods, and in addition Sītala, Hardaul Lāla, and Bhūmiya, the local deity of the hamlet. In this district in the worship of Devi they are said to combine in a curious way the Hindu and Muhammadan ritual. A Musalmān and a Khatik accompany the Dhīmar to the shrine of Devi. The Musalmān pronounces the *Kalima* when the knife is plunged into the throat of the victim, the Khatik cleans the carcase, and then the worshipper and his friends cook and eat the meat. In Jhānsi, when they cultivate the *singhāra* or water-nut they worship a local deity known as Siloman Bāba and his brother Mādho Bāba with the sacrifice of a goat and libations of wine. If they cultivate melons, they worship these spirits as well as another named Ghatauriya Bāba. All these have platforms (*chauntra*) erected on the banks of rivers and tanks, and are believed to be the protectors of the crop. Kālu Kahār, whom the Dhīmars believe to be a deceased ancestor, is invoked by them when they go out fishing or commence to carry a palanquin. On the third day after a death, in Jhānsi, the kinsmen and relatives have themselves shaved and then bathe in a tank or river. In the evening all the people of the caste are

invited. This is called *Pun kâ bulâna* or "the invitation to the charitable act." An effigy of the dead man is made of straw and wood. All who attend touch its mouth five or seven times with a morsel of food prepared specially for the purpose. The effigy and the offerings are then laid by the roadside and the guests partake of the funeral feast.

12. Seven names are proposed for boys and five for girls; but

the first name is used only for daily use and
Social customs. for ceremonial purposes. If a man's chil-

dren die, the next baby is called some contemptuous name, such as *Damru* ("bought for a farthing"), *Basora* ("like one of the sweeper caste"). When they are sworn before the tribal council, they have to lift a vessel containing Ganges water and a leaf of the *tulasi* plant. When the water of an ordinary well is used for this purpose, it must be drawn by an unmarried girl, and she drops into it a little Ganges water and a leaf of the *tulasi* plant. Ordeals, especially that of the red-hot iron, were in use under the Marhatta Government in Jhânsi; but since the country was ceded to the British, the custom has been discontinued. They believe in the ordinary omens, and in cases of sickness the evil spirit is exercised by the *Syâna* or wizard. At the *Akhtij* festival, held in the month of *Baisâkh*, the Jhânsi Dhîmars assemble at the temple of *Devi* near *Pachkinya*. The fair is attended by both sexes, and it is a favourite joke to try and make young married men and women break the taboo of mentioning the names of wife or husband. It is only the very young or inexperienced who allow themselves to be brought to ridicule in this way. When they are sowing melons, they select in particular the day on which the feast in honour of *Bara Ganesa* is held in the month of *Mâgh*. On the *Akhtij* festival they take omens as to the character of the coming agricultural seasons in this way. They keep by them a pod which contains four grains of gram. Five jars (*ghaila*) are filled with water, and into four of them a grain of the gram is placed. Each represents one of the months of the rainy season—*Âsârh*, *Sâwan*, *Bhâdon* and *Kuâr*. Whichever swells up indicates that there will be abundant rain in the month which it represents. On this day of the *Akhtij* they commence to plant out the sprouts of the water-nut, and during the planting, constant offerings are made to *Siloman Bâba* and *Mâdho Bâba* to prosper the crop.

13. It will have been seen from the enumeration of the sub-castes that the occupations of the Kahār are diverse. Of the Western Kahār Mr. Ibbetson writes :—"He is the carrier, waterman, fisherman, and basket maker of the East of the Panjāb; he carries palanquins and all such burdens as are borne by a yoke on the shoulders; and he is specially concerned with water, insomuch that the cultivation of water-nuts and the netting of water-fowl are for the most part in his hands, and he is the well-sinker of the Province. He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues and performing customary service. In this capacity he supplies all the baskets needed by the cultivator, and brings water to the men in the fields at harvest time, to the houses where the women are secluded, and at weddings and other similar occasions. His social standing is in one respect high; for all will drink at his hands, but he is still a servant, though the highest of the class." As one correspondent remarks, "This caste is so low that they clean the vessels of almost all castes except menials like the Chamār and Dhobi, and at the same time so high that, except Kanaujiya Brāhmins, all other castes eat *pakki* and drink water from their hands." This is one of the many puzzling inconsistencies which we constantly encounter in considering the social intercourse of the various castes. Those who are engaged in personal service consider themselves superior to those who perform menial occupations such as fishing, stone-cutting or bearing of burdens, and are more exacting in arranging the marriages of their daughters. They drink liquor and eat goat's flesh and mutton; some fowls and pork. Some, according to Mr. Risley, eat field rats. But in spite of this they have some curious prohibitions of their own. Thus a Kahār engaged in personal service with a Brāhman, Rājput, Bābhan, Kāyasth, or Agarwāla will only eat his master's leavings so long as he is himself unmarried. They are also particular to explain that their women may not wear nose-rings or have their foreheads tattooed. In Jhānsi, the rule about eating is said to be that they can eat *pakki* touched by, and sitting side by side with, a Nāi or Kāchhi, but not food cooked by a Nāi. The lowest caste with whom they will eat *kachchi* is the Ahīr, and they will smoke with any caste except a Bhangi. To the East Banyas will eat *pakki* cooked by them and Chamārs and other menials will eat *kachchi*. They will themselves eat *kachchi* cooked

by Brāhmans and Rājputs. A curious illustration of the respect in which the caste is held is the worship in the Western Districts of the Jhiwarni or female water-bearer at the Hoi festival, which takes place eight days before the Diwāli. After the house is plastered with cow-dung, figures of a litter (*ḍoli*) and bearers are made on the walls with four or five colours, and to them offerings with incense, lights, and flowers are given. The legend runs that at the commencement of the Kaliyuga death, famine, and pestilence devastated the land, and, though the Brāhmans fasted and prayed on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of each month, there came no relief, and being disheartened, they were about to abandon their prayers, when a Jhiwarni sat in their midst and encouraged them to further efforts. As they prayed, Chāmunda Devi appeared in the form of Kālī among them, with her head in her hands, and proclaimed that these evils were due to the wickedness of mankind and prescribed the observance of the Hoi festival. The reward of the Jhiwarni has since then been to be exalted to the chief place of honour at the festival. The story, no doubt, represents some primitive form of worship, the real motive and origin of which have now been forgotten.

Distribution of Kohars according to the Census of 1891.

| District. | Baham. | Bot. | Dinwar. | Dhurya. | Garuk. | Goria. | Jaiswar. | Kamkar. | Khawar. | Mahar. | Mallah. | Malikwar. | Rawant. | Singharia. | Total. | Others. | Muslim. | Total. |
|---------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|----------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| Dehra Dón | 39 | 64 | ... | 27 | 62 | 56 | ... | ... | 15 | 1,926 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,879 | 8 | 8,376 |
| Sahranpur | ... | 1,922 | ... | 6 | 964 | 898 | 9 | ... | ... | 32,600 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9,047 | ... | 45,442 |
| Muzaffarnagar | ... | ... | 1,176 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 86 | 42,983 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 131 | 2,330 | 57 | 46,698 |
| Meerut | ... | 2,473 | ... | 60 | ... | 10 | ... | ... | ... | 36,560 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,018 | 2,843 | 9 | 42,961 |
| Bulandshahr | ... | 8 | 798 | 220 | ... | 60 | ... | ... | ... | 2,959 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9,246 | 4,881 | 4 | 18,276 |
| Aligarh | 132 | 46 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11,211 | 14,823 | ... | 26,212 |
| Mathura | 890 | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 | ... | ... | ... | 1,399 | 66 | 3,149 | ... | 5,328 |
| Agra | 2,945 | ... | 665 | 208 | 8 | 88 | ... | ... | 3 | 25 | ... | 5 | 46 | 83 | 4,871 | 1,877 | ... | 10,143 |
| Farrukhabad | 24,253 | ... | ... | 31 | ... | 1,860 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 2,631 | 564 | 10 | 29,861 |
| Mainpuri | 16,773 | ... | ... | ... | 37 | 43 | ... | ... | ... | 495 | 6 | ... | ... | 58 | 5,968 | 210 | ... | 28,321 |
| Etawah | 14,433 | ... | 28 | 2 | ... | 27 | ... | ... | 68 | ... | ... | 26 | ... | ... | 820 | 969 | 1 | 16,063 |
| Etah | 4,130 | ... | ... | 2,576 | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | 3 | ... | 75 | ... | ... | 65 | 14,263 | 204 | ... | 21,379 |
| Bareilly | 40,393 | ... | 15 | 11 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 31 | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | 8,252 | 3,011 | ... | 51,722 |
| Bijnor | ... | 12,559 | ... | ... | ... | 2,569 | ... | ... | ... | 27 | ... | ... | ... | 1,398 | ... | 1,164 | 2,841 | 20,288 |
| Budann | 22,893 | ... | ... | 10 | 856 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16,545 | 893 | ... | 40,199 |
| Moradabad | 49 | ... | ... | 10 | 1,533 | 557 | ... | ... | ... | 2,158 | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 24,739 | 4,829 | 601 | 34,518 |

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

| District. | Bathm. | Bot. | Dhmvar. | Dhrya. | Glurak. | Goriya. | Jaiwar. | Kamkar. | Kharwar. | Mahar. | Malah. | Raikwar. | Rawal. | Singhar. | Tamal. | Others. | Muslims. | TOTAL. |
|--------------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|--------|----------|--------|----------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| Tardi | 1,960 | 9 | 4 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 189 | ... | ... | ... | 36 | 2,775 | 477 | 414 | 5,887 |
| Lucknow | 374 | 1,392 | 162 | 10,412 | 1,235 | 214 | ... | ... | 217 | 10 | ... | ... | 8 | 29 | 4 | 3,673 | 518 | 18,193 |
| Unao | 896 | 434 | ... | 2,502 | ... | 4,518 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 56 | ... | 8 | 168 | ... | 8,600 | ... | 11,708 |
| Rao Bareilly | 315 | 912 | 73 | 2,838 | 8 | 4,922 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 420 | ... | ... | 3,090 | 92 | 11,910 |
| Sitapur | 104 | 161 | 20 | 14,323 | 80 | 4,362 | 104 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 18,823 | 46 | 35,093 |
| Hardoi | 6,408 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17,319 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,004 | ... | 25,801 |
| Kheri | 3,651 | 2,468 | 311 | 15,702 | 543 | 7,326 | 3,727 | ... | ... | 20 | 336 | ... | ... | ... | 286 | 125 | ... | 34,477 |
| Faizabad | ... | ... | ... | 25,460 | 798 | 7,065 | ... | ... | 384 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,735 | 28 | 37,400 |
| Gonda | ... | 5,569 | 1,335 | 12,828 | 25,866 | 9,856 | ... | 19 | 124 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 264 | 72 | 55,460 |
| Bahraich | ... | 5,134 | 6,527 | 10,146 | 4,569 | 3,668 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 18 | ... | ... | 17,675 | 121 | 47,838 |
| Sultanpur | ... | ... | ... | 14,831 | 1 | 1,674 | ... | ... | 802 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7,267 | 460 | 25,678 |
| Parbhaghar | ... | ... | 48 | 7,410 | ... | 2,747 | ... | ... | 405 | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | 247 | 123 | 19,984 |
| Barabanki | 159 | 860 | ... | 11,737 | 780 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,220 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,896 | 10 | 29,680 |
| TOTAL | 201,738 | 21,835 | 35,865 | 283,321 | 40,186 | 87,850 | 13,513 | 99,658 | 35,022 | 121,037 | 451 | 29,238 | 6,673 | 3,157 | 107,973 | 155,807 | 6,938 | 1,191,579 |

Kākan.—A sept of Rājputs found in the Eastern Districts. In Ghāzipur they say they came from Mhan Aidaman, in Faizābād, and expelled the Bhars. In Azamgarh they say they are descended from Mayūra Bhatta, the hero of the Bisen sept, and fix their original home at a place called Kapri Kedār, somewhere in the west, and say that they overcame the Suiris. They had a Chaurāsi of eighty-four villages.¹ The curious effects of *koḍo* (*naspalum frumentaceum*) have invested it with a degree of mystery, as it causes a sort of intoxication, and the Kākan Rājputs are said to worship it as a divinity. They never cultivate or eat *kodo*, and the reason assigned, is that while under the influence of the grain, they were set upon by some of the neighbouring tribes and lost the greater part of their once extensive possessions.²

Kalhans.—A sept of Rājputs in Ondh, who are said to take their name from the fact that one of their early leaders used to pet a black swan (*kāla hansa*). This may perhaps have been the tribal totem. They are now represented by the Babhnipair family of Gonda, who are the only legitimate descendants of the old Kalhans Rājas of Khurāsa, whose kingdom extended from Hisāmpur in Bahraich far into the Gorakhpur District.³ Their leader, Sahaj Sinh, came at the head of a small force from the Narbada valley with one of the Tughlaq Emperors, and was deputed by him to bring into obedience the country between the Ghāgra and the hills. The ruler of the land was Ugrasen, the Dom, and as he dared to aspire to the hand of the daughter of the Rājput, they plied him and his followers with strong drink till they were insensible and then murdered them. The last of the race, Rāja Achal Nārāyan Sinh, carried off, by force, the daughter of a Brāhman, Ratan Pānré. He starved himself to death at the gate of the palace and cursed the family, except the descendants of the younger Rāni, with ruin and blindness. He prayed to the river Sarju for vengeance on his oppressor, and in answer to his prayer, a wave from the river swept away the fort of the Rāja.

2. The Kalhans do not rank with Rājputs of the bluest blood. In Rāi Bareli⁴ their sons marry the daughters of Chauhān (not those of Mainpuri) Bais and Amethiya girls. In Gonda they are reported

¹ Oldham, *Memo.*, I., 12; *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 62.

² Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v. *kodo*.

³ *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 88, sqq.

⁴ *Settlement Report*, *Appendix C*.

to marry their daughters in the Bais, Bhadauriya, Chaubân, and Bisen septs, and to accept brides of the Bais, Bisen, Bandhalgoti and other fairly respectable septs.

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

| DISTRICT. | Numbers. | DISTRICT. | Numbers. |
|--------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| Sahāranpur | 8 | Lucknow | 38 |
| Meerut | 3 | Unāo | 6 |
| Agra | 5 | Rāē Bareli | 88 |
| Bareilly | 20 | Sitapur | 74 |
| Morādābād | 109 | Hardoi | 2 |
| Pilibhīt | 2 | Kheri | 14 |
| Cawnpur | 1 | Faizābād | 273 |
| Fatehpur | 8 | Gonda | 14,586 |
| Bānda | 3 | Bahrāich | 3,022 |
| Allahābād | 2 | Sultānpur | 48 |
| Jhānsi | 6 | Partābgarh | 42 |
| Gorakhpur | 402 | Bārabanki | 1,293 |
| Basti | 3,611 | TOTAL | 23,756 |

Kālupanthi.—A sept numbering 266,161 persons, chiefly found in the Meerut Division, and worshippers of Kālu Kahār, a low-caste godling, venerated chiefly by Chamārs, Sainis, Gadariyas, and other low castes.

✓ **Kalwâr.**¹—The distilling, liquor-selling, and trading caste. The name of the caste is certainly derived from Sanskrit *Kalyapāta*, *Kalyapātaka*, “a distiller,” and Mr. Risley’s derivation from *Kal-wāla*, “one who works a machine,” is untenable. Mr. Nesfield regards the name as equivalent to Khairwār or Kharwār, “a maker

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Mr. A. B. Bruce, C. S., Ghazipur, Munshi Bhagwān Dās, Tahsildār, Allahābād, Bābu Badri Nāth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

of catechu" (*Mhair*), and says that this "implies that the caste has sprung out of such tribes as the Châin, Khairwâr, Musahar, etc., all of whom are skilled in making the intoxicating juice called catechu." But the latest authorities¹ give no support to the idea that catechu has any intoxicating properties; and, further, the physical appearance of the Kalwâr certainly approximates him more to the Banya than to the dark-skinned, broad-nosed Kharwâr. The caste is probably of occupational origin, and may be an offshoot from the Banya or other Vaisya tribes which has lost social position through its connection with the preparation and sale of intoxicating liquors. On this account he is known as Âbkâr.

2. The traditions of the caste do not give much help in deciding their ethnological affinities. To the east of the province they claim Kshatriya origin and call themselves Laukiya Chauhân, a term which they explain to be derived from Lauki, "the bottle gourd," the shell of which is said to have been used in early times to measure liquor. In Ghâzipur, they say that Râja Vena was killed by the Brâhmanas for his impiety, and that when he was cremated, from his pyre sprang seven castes of whom the Kalwâr was one. In Oudh they say that Mahâdeva once rubbed the sweat off his body and formed a man out of it to whom he gave a cup of wine. He was the ancestor of the Kalwârs.

3. The comparatively low origin of the caste is shown by their possessing no real *gotra* system. Some of their priests say that the richer Kalwârs belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*; but this *gotra* is the general refuge of those who do not possess this form of tribal organization.

4. At the last Census the Kalwârs were recorded in seven main endogamous sub-castes—Bâtham, who take their name from the old city of Srâvasti; Golherê; Jaiswâr, or "residents of the town of Jais;" Kanauj-*iyâ*, "those of Kanauj;" Mahur; Purabiya; or "eastern;" and Sewara. The detailed Census lists give no less than 619 sub-castes of the Hindu and 12 of the Musalmân branch of the tribe. Of these those of most local importance are the Sant of Dehra-Dûn; the Chobdâr, Gond, and Tânk of Sahâranpur; the Chobdâr and Gond of Muzaffarnagar; the Mahur and Seohâra of Agra; the Gond and Tânk of Bijnor; the Dewat and Magaraha of Cawnpur;

¹ Watt's Dictionary of Economic Products, I., 42.

the Seohâra of Fatehpur, Bânda, Jâlaun, and Hamîrpur; the Chau-
 raki and Râê of Jhânsi and Lalitpur; the Pachhwâha and Uttara-
 râha of Mirzapur; the Byâhut and Charandha of Ballia; the Byâ-
 hut, Charandha, Dakkhinâha, Girdaha, Jaunpuri, Karandha, and
 Uttarâha of Gorakhpur; the Gurer of Râê Bareli, Bahrâich, and
 Lucknow; the Bihipuriha and Nagariha of Unâo; the Pachhwâha
 of Bahrâich. To the east of the province the highest in rank are
 the Byâhut, who rest their claims to respectability on their prohi-
 bition of widow marriage and take none but virgin brides (*byahla*).
 The lowest of all are the Sûnri, who take their name from the
 Sanskrit *shundaka*, "a distiller" (*shunda*, "spirituous liquor").
 Between these two are the Jaiswâr, who, as already stated, take their
 name from the old town of Jais. It is curious to observe that the
 Bengal Kalwârs have lost all recollection of their original head-
 quarters and have invented an eponymous ancestress, Jaisya, and a
 place called Jaispur, the exact locality of which they are unable to
 state, as their head-quarters.¹ Next come the Bhainswâr, who
 take their name from their business of carrying about goods on
 male buffaloes (*bhainsa*); the Gurer, whose name seems to come
 from Sanskrit *gudala*, "a spirituous liquor distilled from molasses"
 (*guda*); the Bhujkalaura, who, according to Mr. Sherring,²
 are a cross between the Bhunjas or grain-parchers and Kalwârs;
 the Bhojpuriya and Tânk, both of which appear to be local titles.
 Besides these are the Rânki or Irâqi or Kalâl, Kalâr, who are
 Muhammadans and are dealt with separately. It is curious, again,
 that these sub-castes are almost quite different from those prevail-
 ing in Bihâr, where Mr. Risley names the Banaudhiya, Byâhut,
 Bhojpuri, Deswâr or Ajudhyabâsi, Khalsa, and Kharidaha or "pur-
 chasers." A list from Ghâzipur gives Jaiswâr, Kharidaha, Byâhut,
 Sûnri, Gurer, Kalâr, and Rânchi or Rânki. From Allahâbâd we
 have Byâhut, Jaiswâr, Karaiya, Gurer, Sihor, Sûnri, and Rânki or
 Râki. In Agra we have the Mathuriya or "those of Mathura,"³
 who are also called Mahâjan and deal in corn, having given up the
 liquor trade altogether; Soharê, who may be the same as the Sûnri
 of the eastern districts and distill and sell liquor; the Gulharê, who
 follow the same occupation; and the Sungha, who are said to be so
 called because they smell (*sungna*) spirits.

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 385.

² *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 303.

5. Again, in Bibâr the Kalwârs appear still to maintain an elaborate system of sections of the territorial type which give rise to a special rule of exogamy; but those further west in these provinces seem to have shed off their sections altogether, and the prohibition against intermarriage extends to members of their own family and that of cousins for three generations in the ascending line, or as long as any recollection of relationship exists. Marriage is also prohibited in a family in which a son or daughter may have been already married. In Ghâzipur the marriage law is that a man must marry in his own sub-caste and not with any ascertained relation of his father or mother. In all cases a Kalwâr may marry the younger sister of his late wife, but not her elder sister or two sisters at the same time.

6. In Mirzapur, the tribal council (*panchâyat*) is presided over by a chairman (*chandhâri*), who is not a permanent official, but is selected at each meeting on grounds of respectability and aptitude for the discharge of his duties. The council deals with offences against morality and tribal usage, and the usual punishment for offences of this kind is a fine ranging from five to twenty-five rupees according to the means of the culprit, and two feasts to the brethren, one of *pakki* or cakes, etc., prepared with butter and meat, and the other *kachchi*, or ordinary bread, rice, pulse, vegetables, etc. In Allahâbâd there is no general council. Each sub-caste holds a meeting of the adult males to decide caste matters, and the penalty is a feast (*ohaj*) to the brethren; no money fines are imposed.

7. Polygamy is permitted, but in some of the sub-castes there seems to be an increasing tendency towards monogamy. Pre-nuptial immorality involves the excommunication of the girl offending. There is no regular bride price; but if the parents of the girl are poor, they sometimes receive aid in money from the friends of the bridegroom to carry out the wedding. To the east of the province the Byâhut sub-caste, who pretend to extra purity and will not eat animal food or drink spirits, usually marry their daughters in infancy; the others at the age of eight or ten; but among those who have acquired wealth there is a constant tendency to adopt infant marriage as being more respectable. Intertribal infidelity does not seem to be strictly reprobated; but a married woman detected in an intrigue can be expelled by permission of the council, and such a woman,

among some at least of the sub-castes, cannot be re-married by the *sagâi* form; while among others it seems to be allowed on condition that she amends her conduct and that her friends feed the brethren. Except in the Byâhut sub-caste, widow marriage and the levirate are allowed; but the levirate is not compulsory on the widow. The only rite in widow marriage is that the man goes to the house of the widow with a suit of clothes and ornaments for her. He eats and drinks there and remains for the night. Next morning he brings his wife home and gives a dinner, by which his marriage is recognised.

8. As a rule, there are no ceremonies during pregnancy; but in some families what is known as the *korapûri* Birth rites. rite is done, which simply consists in placing some cakes (*pûri*) in the lap of the expectant mother. In cases of difficult labour she is given some water to drink which has been blown over by a Pandit, or Ojha, and the other women of the house vow to worship Kâlîka and the Pâñchonpîr if the result be satisfactory. During the twelve-days period of birth impurity the mother is bathed thrice—on the third, sixth, and twelfth day. At the second and third bathing (*nahân*) the brethren, if possible, are entertained; and at the last bath the earthen pots in use in the house are replaced; the members of the family wear clean clothes and eat choice food. During her first bath the mother listens carefully for the voice of any human being; because in popular belief the character of the child will resemble that of the person whose voice is heard by the mother on this occasion. At the age of five or seven the child's ears are bored and the hair shaved at some recognised place of pilgrimage. This marks the introduction of the child into caste, and from that time the caste rules regarding food, etc., must be observed. This custom of dedication of the hair prevailed also among the Greeks. Pausanias describes the statue of a boy on the banks of the Cephissus dedicating his hair to that river.¹

9. The marriage ceremonies are of the orthodox type; but special attention is given to the betrothal, Marriage ceremonies. which is known as *baraksha* or *pyâla*, "the cup," because on this occasion the bride's father presents to the father of the bridegroom a cup with one or two rupees in it. They have the usual forms of marriage, the *charâna* or respectable form,

¹ L. 27, and compare *Idid.* XXI. 135.

the *dola* where the rite is done at the house of the husband, and, lastly, the *kāṅkwa* or "driving," or the *paṇḍupūja*, "feet worship," which is the lowest of all. In the last case her father brings the girl to the house of the bridegroom, and gives him a present of one rupee or two annas. Then a vessel full of water is placed near the feet of the bridegroom, from which his father-in-law takes some water and sprinkles it upon his face. Then he makes a mark (*tilka*) with curds and rice upon the forehead of his son-in-law, telling him that as he is too poor to afford it, the rest of the ceremony must be done at a later time at the house of her husband.

10. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way. After the mourners' return home they make little cups of the leaves of the *ber* (*ziziphus jujuba*), fill them with spirits, and pour the contents on the ground. Those who are orthodox suspend a vessel of water (*ghant*) on a *pīpal* tree for the use of the ghost during the ten days of the death rites. On the tenth day presents of vessels and the other goods of the deceased are made to the officiating Mahābrāhman, and the chief mourner worships Gauri and Ganesa at home. They perform the *śrāddha* in the orthodox way.

11. The Kalwärs employ Brāhmans as priests, who seem to be received on an equality with those who officiate for the higher castes. To the east of the Province they chiefly worship Durga in the form of Kālīka the Pāñchonpīr, Phālmātī Devi, Chausathi, and Hardiha or Har daul Lāla. Kālīka is worshipped on the first Monday in the month of Aghān with an offering of *bhang*, wine, molasses, and chaplets of flowers. The Pāñchonpīr are worshipped in Sāwan with rice-milk, cakes, gram, and the sacrifice of a goat or ram. In Allahābād they have made an extraordinary conversion of the great saintly quintette of Islām. According to them, they consist of Ghāzī Miyān, Parihār, Athilē or Hathilē, Brahma Deota, and the Barē Parukh, who seems to be the personified ancestor of the tribe, "the old man" *par excellence*. Ghāzī Miyān is, according to their account, the martyred hero of Bahrāich; Parihār, the son of the giant Rāvana of the Rāmāyana; Hathilē, the sister's son of Ghāzī Miyān; Brahma Deota was a Brāhman who died as a follower of Ghāzī Miyān, whose spiritual guide was Barē Parukh,—a most wonderful jumble of all the mythologies. The other tribal deities are worshipped in the same way. They have, in Banjāri, a

sort of tribal goddess whose worship is carried out by general subscription. "Whether Madain, the god of wine," says Mr. Baillie,¹ "should be regarded as specially a low-caste god, or as belonging to the class of demons with whom he would be classed by most Hindus, is an open question. He is, though feared by Oudh Chamârs as far more terrible than any other god, little acknowledged as a special tutelary god, his worshippers being in general ashamed to admit that they regard him as their god, although they regard a false oath sworn by Madain as more certain to attract retribution than one by any other god in the pantheon. Madain, well known and well feared as he is, has, therefore, only 2,639 special worshippers."

12. The aoula tree is specially worshipped in the month of Kârttik by feeding Brâhmans and doing a fire offering (*homa*). They also revere the *nim* and *pîpal* tree, the former of which is said to be the abode of Devi, and, as such, women bow as they pass it, while the *pîpal* is the home of Vasudeva and the other gods. They fast on Sundays in honour of Sûraj Deota, the sun god, and they pour wine on the ground in honour of Sâiri or Sâyari Devi, of whom they can give no account, except that she was the sister of the Yakshas. Each house has a family shrine at which the household gods are worshipped. This is specially done at child-birth, and among them the god most usually worshipped in his way is Ghâzi Miyân, whose symbol, an iron spear (*sâng*), is kept near his shrine. If Kalwârs are ever initiated into any of the regular sects, it is generally the Vaishnava or Nânakshâhi.

13. They observe the standard festivals, the Phagua or Holî, the Naurâtra of Chait, Ghâzi Miyân kâ byâh, the Dasahra, Kajali, Tîj, Nâgpanchami Kanhaiya-ji-ki-ashtami, Anant, Bijaya, Dasmî, Diwâli, Pyâla or worship of Kâlîka in Pûs, Khichari, and Basant. They also join in the Muhammadan Muharram. The seat on which they sit in the liquor shop is regarded as a sort of a fetish, and to it a burnt offering (*homa*) is made.

14. The women of the caste have their hands tattooed; they wear a nose-ring (*nathîya*), ear ornaments (*ûlarana*), bangles (*kara*, *dharkana*), arm ornaments (*bâzu*, *humel*), neck ornaments (*guriya*, *kantha*), forehead

¹ Census Report, North-Western Provinces, 220.

ornaments (*tika, hañdi*), anklets (*pāñch, pairi*). Kalwârs wear on Ganges water, by touching the idol in a temple after bathing, on the heads of their sons, on the feet of a Brâhman, by placing the leaf of the *pîpal* tree on their heads, and by standing in running water. They believe in magic and the Evil-eye; if a child is the victim of fascination, they make a Muhammadan faqîr blow over his head. They will not touch a Dhobi, Chamâr, or Bhangî, nor the wife of a younger brother or nephew. Yudhishtira, it is said, once saw the toe of his younger brother's wife, and when he went to heaven he found that her toe was in hell. A man (*samdhi*) will not touch the *samdhi* or mother of his son's wife or daughter's husband. A man will not mention his wife by name, nor a wife her husband. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep and deer, fowls and fish, and drink spirits often to excess. They will eat *pañki* cooked by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Halwâis; they eat *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own sub-caste or by their religious guide or Guru.

15. Their occupation is distilling and selling spirituous liquor and dealing in money, grain, and various kinds of merchandise. Their connection with the liquor trade tends to lower them in popular estimation, and they hardly rank higher than the Tell. As money-lenders they are grasping and miserly. In dealing with the public excise contracts they are shrewd and enterprising and much given to combination. A popular proverb represents the Kalwâr's wife lamenting because such a quantity of good water which might be used for better purposes is flowing away in the Ganges—*Ganga bahi pâl, Kalwârin chhâti pâl*; and another still more uncomplimentary says "If you have never seen a Thag, look at a publican"—*Thag na dekhé, dekhé Kalwâr*.

Distribution of the Kalwars according to the Census of 1891.

| District. | Bkham. | Gohari. | Jalewar. | Kanaujya. | Mahar. | Punakya. | Sevra. | Others. | Moham- madans. | Total. |
|--------------|--------|---------|----------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|--------|
| Dehra Dún | ... | ... | 121 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 951 | ... | 1,072 |
| Saharanpur | ... | ... | 15 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,949 | 119 | 2,068 |
| Muzaffargarh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 1,601 | 90 | 1,693 |
| Meerut | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,562 | 124 | 1,686 |
| Bulandshahr | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 230 | 114 | 344 |
| Aligarh | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 51 | 26 | 77 |
| Mathura | ... | ... | 7 | 1 | 74 | ... | 67 | 334 | 27 | 510 |
| Agra | ... | 140 | ... | 163 | 924 | ... | 1,011 | 1,006 | ... | 3,244 |
| Farrukhabad | 547 | 218 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 306 | ... | 1,084 |
| Mainpuri | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40 | ... | 40 |
| Etawah | ... | 114 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72 | 2 | 188 |
| Etah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 32 | ... | 32 |
| Bareilly | ... | 82 | 688 | 251 | ... | ... | ... | 336 | ... | 1,957 |

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

| District. | Bátham. | Golherá. | Jaiswár. | Kanaujya. | Mahar. | Purabja. | Sowara. | Others. | Muham- madsus. | TOTAL. |
|------------|---------|----------|----------|-----------|--------|----------|---------|---------|-------------------|--------|
| Ballia | ... | ... | 3,040 | 111 | ... | ... | ... | 9,669 | ... | 12,870 |
| Gorakhpur. | ... | ... | 35,795 | 147 | ... | ... | ... | 12,033 | 2 | 47,976 |
| Basti | ... | ... | 13,192 | 81 | ... | ... | ... | 1,292 | ... | 13,563 |
| Azamgarh | ... | ... | 10,302 | 457 | ... | ... | ... | 7,565 | 1 | 18,225 |
| Garhwál | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | ... | 7 |
| Tarái | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 | 63 | 85 |
| Lucknow | 176 | 495 | 3,502 | 3 | ... | 130 | ... | 1,472 | ... | 5,778 |
| Unáo | ... | ... | 4,116 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,646 | ... | 5,762 |
| Ráe Bareli | 33 | ... | 6,404 | 67 | ... | 37 | ... | 2,476 | 40 | 9,057 |
| Sitapur | 2,020 | 99 | 6,421 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,024 | ... | 9,564 |
| Hardoi | 4,552 | 1,933 | 1,452 | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 271 | ... | 8,205 |
| Kheri | 4,329 | 189 | 3,405 | 105 | ... | ... | ... | 509 | ... | 8,537 |
| Faizábad | ... | 133 | 12,332 | 72 | ... | ... | ... | 207 | ... | 12,794 |

Kamângar.—The maker of bows (*kamân*). A small occupational caste who have been apparently at the last Census included in one of the castes of wood-workers, such as Kadhera or Barhai. Closely allied to them are the Tîrgar or arrow-makers (*tîr*, an arrow), whose name is corrupted into Tîlgarh. They claim descent from Mârkandeya Rishi, who is said to have been the inventor of the art of archery. Their traditions centre round Ajudhya and a place called Isaya Balla in the Râê Bareli District. Some of the women of the Muhammadan Tîrgars act as midwives. They live by service and the making of bows and arrows, walking sticks, children's play-things and pipe stems (*nigâlî*). Some do wood-painting; they work in wood, reeds, and bamboo, not in leather.

2. They eat mutton, goats' flesh, and fish; not beef, pork, or vermin. They will eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans, Râjputs, or Halwâis, and *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans. Mr. Nesfield thinks they are an offshoot of the Dhânuks, but this is doubtful. The centre of the bow-making trade, which has now practically disappeared, used to be Tîlhar in the Shâhjahânpur District, which was known as *kamân kâ shâhr* or the city of bows.¹

Kamboh.—An influential cultivating and land owning class found in the Meerut and Agra Divisions. The origin and ethnological affinities of the tribe have given rise to much speculation. In Jâlandhar the tradition is that "in A. D. 1654 the Panjâb was devastated by disastrous floods. To restore prosperity Jahângîr sent for Sher Shâh, a Sûbah, who took with him from the city of Sunam (possibly a mistake for Sohna in Gurgaun, a former stronghold of this tribe) Rattu and Achhra, the ancestors of the Kambohs. The latter he located near Chumîân in the Lahore District. The former settled in the neighbourhood of Tibba near Sultânpur in Kapurthala, and with his relations formed twelve villages which are still known as Bârah. Another derivation is from *wâra*, an enclosure. In Sikh times the Kambohs came from Kapurthala into Jâlandhar. The derivation of their name has not yet been ascertained. According to their account, they originally lived about Mathura and were Kshatriyas. When Parasurâma was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, he found their ancestor Bhûp Râê armed and girt up for the fray. He, therefore, proposed slaying him; and on Rûp Râê's saying that he was not a Ksha-

¹ Settlement Report, 63.

triya, Parasurāma replied that he was armed and redolent of the Kshatriyas (*kam bú hai; ga'and teri bú Kshatriyomēdli hai*). Rāj Rāē at once objected that he was not *qāim bú* (of any fixed odour) at all and so got off. He afterwards was known as Qaimbu, which gradually got changed into Kamboh. This ridiculous story is merely quoted on account of the bearing it may have on the traditions of some of the Bijnor Kambohs that they were of the same stock as the Khatris. The division into Qalāmi and Zāmin-dār Kambohs—"of the pen" and "agricultural" Kambohs—is recognised. The latter only are found here. They are quiet, well-disposed people, good cultivators, and except that they pretend to be in distressed circumstances when there is nothing the matter with them, they have no bad qualities. They say they are divided into fifty-two clans; none of the names given of them is that of an important Arain clan. The names of these clans—Gorē Hāndē, and Momi—are the same in both tribes. The Phillaur Kambohs, though few, have a history of their own. They were Sūrajbānsi Rājputs, and came from Kāmruṭ on the Brahmaputra to Delhi in the reign of Humayun (1530—1556). Thence one ancestor, Bodh Rāē, migrated to the Lahore and another, Dalu Rāē, to the Jalandhar District. This tradition may have its origin in the achievements of Akbar's general, the Kamboh Shāhbāz Khān, who distinguished himself in Bengal and had nine thousand horse under his command when operating on the Brahmaputra. The Kambohs do not claim any relationship with the Arains. They practise widow marriage (*karcwa*). Their women do not help in agricultural work, but bring out food to their relations in the field.¹ In Montgomery, again, the Kambohs "claim descent from Rāja Karan, but one of their ancestors had to fly to Kashmir and married the daughter of a gardener to save his life. The Rāja reproached him with contracting such a low alliance and said "*Tum ko kuchh bú khāndāni kī nahīn hai? Tum kam-bū-wālē ho*"—meaning there was no trace of high family in him; hence the name. Those in Montgomery divide themselves into Lamawāla Kamboh and Tappawāla Kamboh, *lamma* meaning west or the country about Multān. Tappa, they say, is the region between the Byās and the Satlaj."²

¹ Jalandhar Settlement Report, 83 sq.

² Montgomery Settlement Report, 56.

2. The Muhammadan branch in these provinces connect their name with that of the old Kais Sovereigns of Persia. When the Kais, they say, lost the throne, they retired to India and called themselves Kai amboh or "the congregation of the Kais." There can, however, be very little doubt that, in name at least, they are the representatives of the Kambojas. They are regarded by Wilson as the people of Arachosia, and are always mentioned together with the north-west tribes, Yavanas, Sakas, and the like. They are famous for their horses, and in the Rāmāyana they are said to be covered with golden lotuses, probably some ornament or embellishment of their dress. We have part of the name in the Cambistholi of Arrian, the two last syllables of which represent the Sanskrit *sthala*, "a place or district;" and the name denotes the dwellers in the Kamba or Kambis country.¹ Sāgara, it is said, would have destroyed them, but they appealed to Vasishtha, his family priest, and he ordered Sāgara to spare them, but he put distinguishing marks upon them. It is further noted that they spoke a language similar or akin to that of the Aryans.²

3. The Kambohs of these provinces have probably entered it from the Panjāb. They are a hardy independent people and do not pay much deference to the leading castes. One authority calls them "a turbulent, crafty, stiff-necked race, and as such more akin to Afghāns than any of the meek Hindu races of the plains of India wherein they have been now settled for generations."³ They are certainly not popular with their neighbours; and the proverb is familiar all over Northern India—*Fakē Afghān, doum Kamboh, seum badsāt Kashmīri*—"the Afghān is the first, the Kamboh the second, and the Kashmīri the third rascal in the land." But this verse must, as Professor Blochmann⁴ shows, be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, and in one version of it the three rogues are the Sindi, the Jāt, and the Kashmīri.⁵

¹ Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, 194; Rajendra Lāla Mitra, *The Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers*; *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, 374, sq.

² Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, II., 355.

³ Rajendra Lāla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, II., 186.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 399.

⁵ Lady Burton, *Arabian Nights*, IV., 92.

4. Their sections do not throw much light on their origin. Some are obviously designed to connect them with Rājputs, such as Chhatri, Jādonbansi, Raghubansi, Rājput, and Sūrajbansi. Others are probably local, as Chaurāsi, Chaurāsi Goli, and Chaurāsi Kanha. Of the others, such as Bāwan and Bāwan Goli, Bel, Bendpāri, Chodsi, Dangan, Dewāsi, Dhaman, Dhani, Dholdhar, Gādi, Ganai-ti, Gatru, Hatthi, Kaboji, Kakli, Kalūri, Karai, Karās, Karni, Khattāri, Lurkaji, Makotri Mal, Mūki, Murlī, Rajwāni, Sankla, and Thapri, no intelligible account is forthcoming.

Distribution of the Kambohs according to the Census of 1891.

| DISTRICT. | HINDU. | | Musal-mān. | TOTAL. |
|-------------------------|-------------|---------|------------|--------|
| | Chaurāsiya. | Others. | | |
| Dehra Dūn | 149 | 141 | 5 | 295 |
| Sahāranpur | 2,304 | 967 | 689 | 3,960 |
| Muzaffarnagar | 386 | 534 | 8 | 928 |
| Meerut | ... | 760 | 480 | 1,240 |
| Bulandshahr | ... | ... | 11 | 11 |
| Aligarh | ... | ... | 38 | 38 |
| Agra | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Farrukhābād | ... | ... | 67 | 67 |
| Mainpuri | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Etāwak | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Etah | ... | ... | 437 | 437 |
| Bijnor | 63 | 211 | 16 | 290 |
| Budāun | ... | ... | 11 | 11 |
| Morādābād | ... | 308 | 294 | 602 |
| Shābjahānpur | ... | ... | 19 | 19 |
| Cawnpur | ... | ... | 7 | 7 |
| Fatehpur | ... | ... | 62 | 62 |
| Bānda | ... | ... | 17 | 17 |
| Hamirpur | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Allahābād | ... | ... | 50 | 50 |

*Distribution of the Kambohs according to the Census of
1891—contd.*

| DISTRICT. | HINDU. | | Musal- mán. | TOTAL. |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------|----------------|--------|
| | Chaur- niya. | Others. | | |
| Jhānsi | ... | ... | 24 | 24 |
| Jālaun | ... | ... | 23 | 23 |
| Ghāzipur | ... | ... | 8 | 8 |
| Gorakhpur | ... | ... | 6 | 6 |
| Basti | ... | ... | 13 | 13 |
| Tarāi | 105 | 294 | ... | 399 |
| Lucknow | ... | ... | 9 | 9 |
| Sitapur | ... | ... | 10 | 10 |
| Bahrāich | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Bārabanki | ... | ... | 9 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 3,007 | 3,215 | 2,322 | 8,544 |

Kamkar.¹—A tribe found chiefly in the Eastern districts, where they take service with Hindu masters. According to one theory, the word is derived from Sanskrit *Karma-kāra*, "a workman"; according to others it is connected with Sanskrit *Ka*, *Kam*, in the sense of "water," meaning "a water-drawer." Of the ethnological affinities of the caste little appears to be known. In Western Bengal the word Kamkar is a title of Kahārs,² and as the occupation and status of the two tribes are very similar, it is possible that they may be allied. In Basti they claim to be descended from the celebrated Jarāsandha, King of Magadha. The Kahārs, it may be noted, have a similar tradition—a fact which goes to confirm the connection of the tribes.

2. In Basti they have two endogamous sub-castes—the Chandwār and Nikumbh. Their rule of exogamy excludes marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle and the paternal and maternal aunt. Marriage

¹ Chiefly based on notes by W. H. O. N. Segrave, Esq., District Superintendent, Police, Basti.

² Sherring, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 339; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 395.

generally takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen. Polygamy is permitted, but they have seldom more than two wives. Polyandry is prohibited. The levirate is allowed, but is not compulsory on the widow. They have the usual marriage forms—*charhaun*, the respectable form; *dola* used by poor people; and *dharauua*, for widows. A wife can be divorced for infidelity, and she can be re-married by the *dharauua* form on payment of a fine in the shape of a feast to the clansmen.

3. They are Hindus and may belong to the Saiva, Vaishnava or Śākta sect, but they are seldom regularly initiated. They have Brāhmans for their religious guides. They worship Mahādeva, Durga, and Kālī. Kālī is worshipped on Fridays, and Mahādeva at the Sivarātri. In their domestic ceremonies and ritual they follow the example of respectable Hindus.

4. Their special occupation is acting as domestic servants in the families of Rājās and rich Hindus, and they bear a good reputation for activity and fidelity. Some of them hold land as cultivators with and without rights of occupancy.

5. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats and deer and fish. They will use the leavings of their religious guide. They will not eat monkey, cow meat, pork, crocodile, jackal, etc. Those who are Bhagats will not eat meat or drink spirits. They will eat *pakki* from the hands of Kahārs, Ahīrs and Chāīs. They will eat *kachhi* from the hands of Brāhmans and Kshatriyas. They will drink from the hands of Koris and Kahārs. They smoke only with their own clansmen.

For the distribution of the Kamkars see under *Kahār*.

Kandēwāl; Kandēwāla.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from their trade of dealing in cowdung fuel (*kanda*); which is an important industry in some of the larger towns. The Kandēwāl either purchases fuel from the neighbouring cultivators, or he takes a lease of the right to collect the manure at camping grounds and other places where oxen are kept. The caste is sometimes confounded with the Khandewāl (*q. v.*); but they appear to have no connection. They have not been separately recorded at the last Census.

Kanaujiya.—A small sub-caste of Banyas.

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

| DISTRICT. | Number. | DISTRICT. | Number. |
|------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| Sahâranpur . . . | 1 | Benares . . . | 36 |
| Agra . . . | 1 | Mirzapur . . . | 55 |
| Gawnpur . . . | 8 | Ghâzipur . . . | 7 |
| Fatehpur . . . | 21 | Gorakhpur . . . | 83 |
| Bânda . . . | 8 | Azamgarh . . . | 5 |
| Allahâbâd . . . | 122 | Sîtapur . . . | 9 |
| Jhânsi . . . | 15 | Bahrâich . . . | 43 |
| Jâlkao . . . | 1 | Sultânpur . . . | 1 |
| | | TOTAL . . . | 416 |

Kanaujiya; Kanyakubja.—A local branch of Brâhmans, included in the Pancha Gauda. They take their name from the famous city of Kanauj, of which only a few ruins now remain in the Farrukhâbâd District. It is curious to remark the large number of sub-castes and sections of various tribes which derive their names from this great capital. "The vast empire," writes General Cunningham,¹ "which Harsha Vardhana raised during his long reign of forty-two years between A. D. 607 and 648 is described by Hwen Thsang as extending from the foot of the Kashmîr Hills to Assam, and from Nepâl to the Nerbada river. He intimidated the Râja of Kashmîr into surrendering the tooth of Buddha, and his triumphal procession from Pataliputra to Kanauj was attended by no less than twenty tributary Râjas from Assam and Magadha on the east, to Jâlandhar on the west. In the plenitude of his power Harsha Vardhana invaded the countries to the south of the Nerbada, where he was successfully opposed by Râja Pulakesi, and after many repulses was obliged to retire to his own kingdom. Kanauj was the capital of the Tomars down to the invasion of Mahmûd in A. D. 1021, immediately after

¹ *Archæological Reports*, I., 280.

the death and defeat of Rāja Jaypāl. Shortly after that date the small town of Bāri to the north of Lucknow became the capital, until about 1050 A. D., when the Tomars retired to Delhi before the growing power of the Rāthours. Once more Kanauj became the capital of a powerful kingdom, and the rival of Delhi both in extent and magnificence. Here Jaya Chandra, the last of the Rāthours, celebrated the Aswamedha or "horse sacrifice"; and here in open day did Prithivi Rāja, the daring chief of the Chauhāns, carry off the willing daughter of the Rāthaur king in spite of the gallant resistance of the two Banāphar heroes, Alha and Udal. The fame of these two brothers, which is fully equal to that of Prithivi Rāja himself, is still preserved in the songs and traditions of the people amongst the Chandels of Mahoba and the Rāthours and Chandels of the Duāb. After the fall of Delhi in January 1191 A. D. Muhammad Ghorī marched against Kanauj. Rāja Jaya Chandra retired before him as far as Benares, where he made his last stand, but was defeated with great slaughter. The Rāja escaped from the field; but was drowned in attempting to cross the Ganges. When his body was recovered by the conquerors, it was found that he had false teeth fixed with wires of gold. With Jaya Chandra ended the dynasty of the Rāthours of the Duāb, and the wealth and importance of the far-famed capital of Kanauj."

2. The tribal organisation of the Kanaujiya Brāhmins is very intricate. They are also known as Khatkul,

Tribal organisation.

(*shatakula*), or "those of the six clans." For

these there is a mnemonic formula in use—*kāḥ, śā, ubhā*. *Kā* expresses those who belong to the Kātyāyana *gotra*; *śā* to the Kasyapa; *śā* Sandilya, *śā* Sankrita; *u* Upamanyu; *bhā* Bhāradvāja. These members of the six clans are regarded as the true Kanaujiyas.

3. In their marriage rules these Khatkul Kanaujiyas have the following peculiarities. The children of a second wife can intermarry with the family of the first wife, provided the *gotra* is different, and they do not come within the other prohibited degrees. In marriage, again, what is known as the custom of *adla-badla* prevails; for instance, two men often exchange sisters in marriage. If a bride has been given to a family, the two families will not intermarry till the expiry of five generations. After this interval marriage is allowed. When a man of the Khatkul marries for the first time he takes his wife from the Khatkul; but he can-

not receive a second wife from them, and has, if he wishes to marry a second time, to marry in the lower grade or Panchādari, described later on. The members of the Khatkul practise monogamy, and never marry a second time while the first wife is alive, whether she be barren or not.

4. Below the Khatkul come the Panchādari and below them the Dhākara. The former are said to have sprung originally from the Khatkul; but they emigrated to a distance at an early time, and have hence lost the status which their ancestors once enjoyed. The Panchādari are of two kinds, the Sudha Panchādari or "pure" Panchādari, and secondly those who are degraded by association with the Dhākara. The Dhākara form the lowest grade of Kanaujiya, and have fallen in status, because they plough with their own hands and smoke. They usually marry among themselves; but sometimes they ally themselves with the poorer members of the Panchādari group. The Panchādari who intermarry with the Dhākara do so only because they receive large sums for brides and are degraded by this connection and fall into the Dhākara grade. There is a third kind of Panchādari who rank even below the Dhākara. They are called Bhulnihai ki Panchādari. They too are said to have sprung originally from the Khatkul. They usually intermarry with their own group; if any of the higher grade families, for the sake of money, give them brides, they sink to their status.

5. The Bhulnihai Kanaujiyas are said to trace their origin to a bandit named Sital Prasad Trivedi, who lived about a century ago. He, with a large body of followers, attacked the Nawab of Lucknow, who appointed him Chakladar. He was the son of Thakur Prasad, who was infatuated with the daughter of a butcher of Lucknow. She is said to have been one of the great beauties of the time. He purchased her for a large sum and took her to wife. By her he had three daughters. One day Sital Prasad tauntingly said to his half-sisters, "Let me see what Mughal or Pathan I am to have as my brother-in-law!" When their mother heard the sneer she refused to eat, and when Thakur Prasad saw her in this state and learnt the cause of her grief, he said, "I will marry them into families higher than those into which the real sisters of Sital Prasad have been married." So he sent the barber Phuljhari and ordered him to find husbands for the girls.

6. Phuljhâri went and arranged their marriages among respectable families of Morâdâbâd, Kanauj, and Asani, which are the headquarters of the best Kanaujiyas. He betrothed one of the girls to a Misra of Morâdâbâd; a second to one of the Hira ke Bâjpei of Asani; the third to one of the Dîp ke Misra of Kanauj. When the girls were being married the relations of the husbands planned not to eat from the hands of the daughter of the butcher or her daughters. When they refused to eat with his wife and her daughters, Sital Prasâd threatened to blow them from his cannon, and they were obliged to give way. Since then the families who formed this connection have lost their former rank. The story is interesting, whatever be its truth, in connection with the remarks made in the article about Brâhmans, suggesting that some of the families are of mixed origin.

7. Among the Khatkul there is a section known as Bâla ke Sukla. They drink spirits and worship the goddess Chhinnamasta or Chhinnamastaka, the decapitated or headless form of Durga. They are considered one of the most respectable of the Khatkul, and their position is not lowered by their indulgence in wine. In fact the contrary is the case, and all the respectable Khatkul families intermarry with them. Bâla, after whom they are named, was a devoted worshipper of the goddess and never saluted anyone with a bow. Once a number of Kanaujiya Brâhmans made a plot to spit on him when he went to the Ganges to bathe. When he came out of his litter on the banks of the river they all spat at him. He sat down and laughingly said, "To be spat on by so many eminent Brâhmans is as good as a bath in Gangâjî." So his enemies were ashamed and begged his pardon. Then he said, "The reason I bow to none is that my power is without limit, of which I will give you proof." So he bowed to a stone close by and it was broken into fragments. They were astonished, and bowing at his feet went their way.

8. There is another and similar division of Kanaujiya Brâhmans based on social status. The highest grade are known as Mâstur and are divided into Uttama or "highest," Madhyama or "middle," and Nikrishta or "debased." Lower than these are the Gohiya, who have similarly three grades—Uttama Madhyama, and Nikrishta. Lowest of all are the Dhâkara or "mongrel" already described. They have also the three grades of Uttama, Madhyama, and Nikrishta. These sections are endogamous as a

general rule. But poor families, as has already been said, lose status by selling brides to sections lower than themselves.

9. A list given below gives the classification as accurately as it can be ascertained :—

Mahtur Uttama.—Including the Bājpei of Lucknow and Haura; the Misra of Parsu; the Tivāri of Chattu; the Pānrē of Khori; the Sukla of Fathābādi; the Pānrē of Gīgāson; the Sukla of Bāla; the Dikshit of Srikant; the Awasthi of Madhu; the Misra of Bīr.

Mahtur Madhyama.—Bājpei of Unchē Lucknow, Haura, Bisa; Misra of Majhgānw, Ankini, Kanauj; Sukla of Bāla; Pānrē of Khori; Misra of Parasu; Dikshit of Srikant; Sukla of Nabhel; Awasthi of Madhu, Prabhākaz; Misra of Sothiyāya, Bīr; Sukla of Chhangē; Pānrē of Gīgāso; Tivāri of Chattu; Dikshit of Kangu, Bireswar.

Mahtur Nikrishṭa.—Bājpei of Unchē Lucknow, Batesvar, Deva Sarma; Misra of Akini, Sothiyāya; Misra of Hemkar; Trivedi of Hari; Sukla of Peku, Keshu, Nabhel; Dūbē of Gharbas; Misra of Kanauj; Pānrē of Khori.

Gohiya Uttama.—Bājpei of Dhanni, Tāra; Sukla of Nayāya Bāghsa; Misra of Gopināth Dhobiha; Sukla of Sandat; Pānrē of Lucknow; Bājpei of Sinsarma, Pitha; Awasthi of Barē; Tivāri of Dama; Sukla of Nabhel; Dikshit of Bābu; Misra of Kanauj; Pānrē of Khori and Dodarē.

Gohiya Madhyama.—Misra of Baijgānw, Badarka, Kanauj; Sukla of Nabhel, Bhandat; Awasthi of Gopāl; Misra of Gopināth; Dūbē of Kapitānrē; Tivāri of Gopāl; Bājpei of Kāsirām, Manirām; Bājpei of Mathura Gopi; Misra of Bauwāri.

Gohiya Nikrishṭa.—Misra of Pasikhera, Gopi, Lalkar; Sukla of Durgadās, Nabhel; Bājpei of Tirmal; Trivedi of Prayāg; Tivāri of Ghagh; Dikshit of Anter; Sukla of Hari; Bājpei of Gopi.

Dhākara Uttama.—Agnihotri; Pāthaka; Chaubē; Upādhyāya; Adhurja.

Dhākara Madhyama.—Sabarni; Thakuriha; Mairha; Rāwat.

10. The Kanaujiya Brāhman, besides his priestly functions, takes readily to agriculture, soldiering, and service. He furnished and still furnishes many recruits to what used to be known as the Pānrē regiments, the numbers of which have been in recent years much reduced. He is less a stickler for his dignity than the Sarwariya, and

while the latter invariably does his farming through a ploughman the former may often be seen driving his plough himself. Both will stand on the harrow (*kenga*) with which the clods are broken.

Distribution of Kanaujiya Bráhmans according to the Census of 1891.

| DISTRICT. | Number. | DISTRICT. | Number. |
|---------------------|---------|------------------|-----------|
| Dehra Dún . . . | 373 | Lalitpur . . . | 743 |
| Sahāranpur . . . | 387 | Benares . . . | 8,104 |
| Mezaffarnagar . . . | 111 | Mirzapur . . . | 9,499 |
| Meerut . . . | 1,003 | Jaunpur . . . | 1,845 |
| Bulandshahr . . . | 329 | Ghāzipur . . . | 28,004 |
| Aligarh . . . | 943 | Ballia . . . | 86,382 |
| Mathura . . . | 793 | Gorakhpur . . . | 4,406 |
| Agra . . . | 2,663 | Basti . . . | 2,177 |
| Farrukhābād . . . | 67,025 | Azamgarh . . . | 1,593 |
| Mainpuri . . . | 10,092 | Kumaun . . . | 1,603 |
| Etāwah . . . | 51,910 | Garhwāl . . . | 497 |
| Etah . . . | 1,220 | Tarāi . . . | 1,413 |
| Barilly . . . | 5,910 | Lucknow . . . | 39,428 |
| Bijnor . . . | 701 | Unāo . . . | 130,301 |
| Budāun . . . | 1,043 | Rāo Bārelī . . . | 83,284 |
| Morādābād . . . | 913 | Sitapur . . . | 98,766 |
| Shāhjahānpur . . . | 43,545 | Hardoi . . . | 110,358 |
| Pilibhīt . . . | 11,823 | Kheri . . . | 64,237 |
| Cawnpur . . . | 168,360 | Faizābād . . . | 2,965 |
| Fatehpur . . . | 60,553 | Gonda . . . | 21,549 |
| Bānda . . . | 38,963 | Bahrāich . . . | 27,799 |
| Hanotpur . . . | 24,269 | Sultānpur . . . | 3,260 |
| Allahābād . . . | 12,548 | Partābgarh . . . | 687 |
| Jhānsi . . . | 2,119 | Parabanki . . . | 57,083 |
| Jālaun . . . | 20,185 | TOTAL . . . | 1,303,348 |

Kāndu.¹—(Sanskrit *Kandayika*, "a baker;" *Kāndu*, "an iron cooking vessel.") A tribe usually classed, as at the last Census, as a sub-caste of Banyas. Mr. Risley treats them in Bengal as equivalent to Bharbhūnja, Bhujāri, and Gonr, and calls them "the grain-parching caste of Bihār and Bengal, supposed to be descended from a Kahār father and a Sūdra mother, and ranking among the mixed castes."² Writing of Gorakhpur, Dr. Buchanan says³:—"The Kāndus are reckoned among the Vaisyas, although a great part of them are mere farmers, nor do their women parch grain; but many keep shops, and the term Vaisya here seems merely to imply merchant, and is almost unconnected with caste. The Kāndus are considered on a level with the lower Banyas." Mr. Sherring seems to have thought them to be a sub-caste of Bharbhūnjas. In Ballia the name seems to be synonymous with the Halwāi. The fact appears to be that the Kāndu practises many allied occupations in connection with the preparation and selling of the minor articles of food, and his exact status is not very easily determined. In Bengal and Bihār they have, according to Mr. Risley, ten sub-castes—Madhesiya; Magahiya; Bantariya or Bharbhūnja; Kanaujiya; Gonr; Koranch; Dhuriya; Rawāni; Ballamtiriya; and Thather or Thathera. In Ballia they name three sub-castes—Kanaujiya; Madhesiya or "residents of the middle kingdom" (*Madhyadesa*), who are also known as Gunināthi and Tanchara or Tachara. These again are divided into a number of sections⁴ (*māl*, *āuri*), some of which are Khula, Ganga-pāni, Belwār, Khopadiha, and Dahkaich, all of which are different from any in Mr. Risley's lists, and thus illustrate the remarkable fertility with which these sections are developed. In Mirzapur Madhesiya appears to be the only sub-caste except the Gonr. In Gorakhpur Dr. Buchanan found the Madhyadesiya, Kanaujiya, Gonr, and Chanchara.

2. There is also a certain difference of function between these sub-castes. In the Eastern Districts the Kanaujiya and Madhesiya seem chiefly to parch grain, while many of the Gonr, at least in Mirzapur, work at stone-cutting. Further east, according to Mr. Risley, the Madhesiya and Bantariya adhere strictly to their hereditary profession of parching grain and selling sweetmeats;

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Bābu Padam Deonāriyan Singh of Ballia and Munshi Rāmsaran Dās of Faizābād.

² *Tribes and Castes*, I., 414.

³ *Eastern India*, II., 465.

the Kanaujiya sub-caste are said to make saltpetre; while the Madhesiya Guriya are cultivators, personal servants, and thatchers of houses; the Gonn cut and dress stones, sell sweetmeats, or act as personal servants in the houses of zamindārs. Grain-parching, building mud walls, brick-laying, and thatching are the characteristic occupations of the Koranch, while the Dhuriya and Rawāni carry palanquins and make sweetmeats. All the sub-castes, or at any rate their women, practise grain-parching more or less; and the separation of each group from the main body seems to have been due either to geographical position or to the circumstance of the males of the group adopting other occupations in addition to their hereditary profession. The Dhuriya and Rawāni rank lowest of all, owing either to their having taken up the comparatively menial profession of palanquin-bearing, or to their being branches of the Kahār caste, who went in for grain-parching and thus came to be associated with the Kāndus. These two inter-marry with each other. All the other sub-castes are endogamous.

3. The rule of exogamy of the Kāndus is thus stated in Ballia:

Role of exogamy. they marry within their own sub-caste, but
not within their own section (*mūl*, *kuri*);

they do not marry in their own family, or in that of their maternal uncle, or in that of their father's maternal uncle. Some are more scrupulous still, and do not marry in the family of their mother's or grandfather's maternal uncle. They cannot marry the children of their mother's sister. They may marry two sisters; but the elder must be married before the younger. In Mirzapur they state the rule in this form: they do not marry in their own family, in the family of their maternal uncle and father's sister, till three generations have passed. According to Mr. Risley the rules of exogamy in Bihār are not very well defined. In Faizābād they cannot marry within seven degrees on the father's and mother's side.

4. Marriage is both infant and adult, but the former is more respectable and more common. Sexual license

Marriage rules. before marriage is neither recognised nor

tolerated. In Mirzapur they say that a man can take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, only with her consent; in Faizābād polygamy is allowed with a limit of three wives at the same time. Marriage is of the usual three forms—*charhāna* or *shādī*, of which the binding part is the giving away of the bride (*kanyādān*) by her father and the marking of the parting of her hair with red-lead

(*sindurdān*) by the bridegroom; the *dola* marriage, in which all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom, is used only by poor people; widows are married by the *sagāi* or *dharewa* form, in which the only ceremony is that the man applies red-lead to the parting of the woman's hair and feasts the clansmen. The levirate prevails under the usual condition that it is only the younger brother of the deceased who can take his widow. The woman can, however, marry an outsider, usually a widower, if she pleases. There is no regular tribal law of divorce; but a man can turn out his wife for infidelity; if her paramour be a man of another caste, she is permanently expelled; if he be a clansman, she can be restored to caste privileges on her parents paying a fine, which is spent on entertaining the tribal council.

5. The Kāndus are all Hindus: some are professedly Vaishnavas and some Śāktas; but few are regularly initiated into any sect. They regard themselves in Ballia as the descendants of a saint named Gunināth, and all fines for breaches of caste discipline are realised in his name. They do not appear to have any definite traditions regarding this worthy. Some of them worship the Pānchonpīr and two goddesses—Sati and Bandi Māi. In Bihār, according to Mr. Risley, "the Gonn sub-caste worship once a month a small silver image of Bandi Māi; and on the tenth day of the Dasahara festival they wash the chisel, hammer and T-square, which they use for stone-cutting, and worship these tools with libations of butter. The Koranch also worship Bandi, but make her image of cloth, like a doll." In Ballia they also worship Mahābīr and the sun godling—Sūraj Nārāyan. In Mirzapur some get themselves initiated into the Rāmanandi and Kabīrpanthi sects, and worship in addition Chausati, the Pānchonpīr, Hanumān, Bhāgawati, and Singursāl. The worship of the Pānchonpīr is done in the usual way. To Hanumān they offer sweetmeats, sacred threads (*janca*) and pieces of cloth on a Tuesday in the month of Sāwan. To Chausati they present flowers, cakes, sweets (*halwa*), and occasionally in time of trouble they sacrifice a young pig. To Singursāl they give two cakes, some *halwa* sweetmeat, and a young pig at the completion of a marriage and at the birth of a son.

6. As already said, their occupations are varied. In Faizābād they make sugar and sugar-candy, parch grain, and work as masons and agriculturists. In

Ballia they make and sell sweetmeats, parch grain, and go about the villages buying up corn, which they carry to market on oxen. They also keep grain and grocery shops. Some are landlords and some cultivators. In Mirzapur they deal in grain and flour, etc., make and sell sweetmeats, and act as money-changers. The Gonn sub-caste cut and sell stone.

7. Those who become initiated in one of the Vaishnava sects

Social rules.

do not eat meat or drink spirits; those who are not initiated eat goat's flesh, mutton, and fish, and drink spirits. They will eat *kachehi* cooked by a Brahman or clansman, and drink water from the hands of a Kahār or Bāri. To the east of the Province they employ Sarwariya Brāhmans as their priests, and these are received on terms of equality by other Brāhmans.

Distribution of Kāndus according to the Census of 1891.

| DISTRICT. | Number. | DISTRICT. | Number. |
|---------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| Bulandshahr | 1 | Ghāzipur | 24,585 |
| Mathura | 4 | Ballia | 35,935 |
| Agra | 27 | Gorakhpur | 49,715 |
| Farrukhābād | 2 | Basti | 11,400 |
| Bareilly | 3 | Azamgarh | 18,815 |
| Cawnpur | 28 | Lucknow | 31 |
| Fatehpur | 16 | Hardoi | 1 |
| Bānda | 2 | Kheri | 938 |
| Jhānsi | 1 | Faizābād | 8,867 |
| Benares | 4,155 | Gonda | 3,690 |
| Mirzapur | 1,002 | Bahraich | 4,927 |
| Jaunpur | 4,741 | Sultānpur | 112 |
| | | TOTAL | 169,049 |

Kanet.—A sept of Rājputs found in considerable numbers in Dehra Dūn. Of the Kanets Mr. Ibbetson writes:¹—"The Kanets are the low caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himalayas of the Panjāb and the Hills at their base, as far west as Kulu and the eastern portion of the Kāngra District, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Rājputs of

¹ *Panjāb Ethnography*, 268.

pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanets as husbandmen. The Kanets claim to be of impure Rājput origin, but there is little doubt that they are really of aboriginal stock. The whole question of their origin is elaborately discussed by General Cunningham.¹ He identifies them with the Kunindas or Kulindas of the Sanskrit classics and of Ptolemy, and is of opinion that they belong to that great Khasa race which, before the Aryan invasion, occupied the whole sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and which, driven up to the Hills by the advancing wave of immigration, now separates the Aryans of India from the Turanians of Tibet. But the Kanets are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiya and the Rāo, and it is probable the Khasiyas are really descended from intercourse between the Aryan immigrants and the women of the Hills. The process by which the Khas tribe of Nepāl thus grew up is admirably described by Mr. Hodgson in his Essay on the military tribes of that country, which is quoted at some length by General Cunningham. The distinction between Khasiya and Rāo is still sufficiently well marked—a Khasiya observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Rāo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasiya wears the sacred thread, while the Rāo does not. But the distinction is apparently breaking down, at least in Kulu, where the two tribes freely eat together and intermarry, though the Khasiya, if asked, will deny the fact.”

Kānhpuriya.—A Rājput sept in Oudh who were portions of the same wave of Hindu immigration as the Bais about the middle of the sixteenth Century. They trace their descent from the celebrated Rishi Bhāradwaja, and the birth of their eponymous hero Kānh is thus told²:—The Saint Suchh lived at Manikpur in the reign of Mānik Chand, whose only daughter he married. She appears in many legends, contracted many alliances, and by each transmitted the Rāj and the Gaharwār blood. By this marriage two sons were born, one of whom turned Brāhman and the other Chhatri. The Chhatri was Kānh, who married a Bais girl, abandoned Mānikpur, and founded the village of Kānhpur, on the road between Salān and Partābgarh, whence the sept takes its name. The tribe deity of the clan is the Mahesa Rākshasa, or buffalo demon, to whom they offer one buffalo at every third Bijay Dasmīn feast, and another for every wedding

¹ *Archæological Reports*, XIV., 125, sqq.

² Banett, *Clans of the Bareilly*, 9; *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 56.

or birth which has occurred since the last sacrifice. The importance of this legend lies in the fact that all the leading tribes, of whose immigration there can be no doubt, retain distinct legends of their former home. Here it is admitted that the founder of the tribe in these parts was also the first of his people who was admitted into the Hindu caste system, as his father the Rishi and his anchorite ancestors were, of course, of no caste at all. By another account¹ the sept is sprung from one Chuchu Pānrē, who was a devotee of the Rishi Bhāradwaja at Allahābād. The great Gaharwār Rāja Mānik Chand had no sons, though he had tried to win one by marrying at his own expense the daughters of thousands of indignant Brāhmaṇs. So at last he gave his adopted daughter, whom his Rāni had picked up at the Mānikpur Ghāt on the Ganges, to Chuchu Pānrē, and her son was Kānh, the founder of the sept. Their legend is also involved with that of the so-called Bhar Rājas Tiloki and Biloki, who, as has been shown in connection with the Bhars, had no historical existence.

2. In Sultānpur they are reported to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandaurya, Kath Bais, Bhālē Sultān, Raghubansi, Rāj Kumār, Bachgoti, and Bandhalgoti; to give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Chauhāns of Mainpuri, Sūrajbansi of Mahul, Gautam of Nagar, and Bisen of Majhauī. They claim to belong to the Bhāradwaja *gotra*.

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

| DISTRICT. | Number. | DISTRICT. | Number. |
|---------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|
| Dahra Dūn | 37 | Azamgarh | 20 |
| Sahāranpur | 2 | Lucknow | 63 |
| Farrukhābād | 5 | Unāo | 72 |
| Mainpuri | 8 | Bāā Bareilly | 7,824 |
| Etāwah | 4 | Sitapur | 94 |
| Cawnpur | 70 | Hardoi | 5 |
| Bānda | 3 | Kheri | 10 |
| Allahābād | 517 | Faizābād | 188 |
| Lalitpur | 7 | Bahrāich | 74 |
| Benares | 36 | Sultānpur | 4,515 |
| Jaunpur | 383 | Partābgarh | 5,724 |
| Gorakhpur | 73 | | |
| Basti | 1 | TOTAL | 19,734 |

¹ Carnegie, Notes, 40.

Kanjar.¹—A name applied to an aggregate of vagrant tribes of a gypsy character, and probably Dravidian origin, which are found generally distributed throughout the Province. The name has been derived from the Sanskrit *kāṇana-chara*, in the sense of a "wanderer in the jungle;" but it is perhaps quite as likely that it does not come from any Aryan root. There can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya, Bhātu and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya. This appears to be clear from their sub-castes. One correspondent, giving the popular native idea of the affiliation of these gypsy tribes, classes them in twelve divisions :—

(a) Kuchbandiya, who make the *kūncḥ*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, the *sirki* or roofing mat, dig the *khas-khas* grass used for making *tattis*, twist rope, hunt wolves, and catch vermin.

(b) Nat, who is a tumbler and gymnast, dances on a rope, or walks on stilts.

(c) Turkata, who takes his name from the *tur*, or weaver's brush, and is a quack doctor, and sells herbs and drugs, which he collects in the jungle.

(d) Beriya, who prostitutes his women and trains them to sing and dance.

(e) Beldār, who wanders about and works at digging tanks and building mud walls.

(f) Chamarmangta, who cleans the wax out of ears, does cupping, and extracts carious teeth.

(g) Sānsiya, who begs and, when occasion serves, commits theft and dakāṭi.

(h) Dom, who kills dogs, acts as a scavenger and executioner.

(i) Bhātu, who lives by stealing and thieving cattle.

(j) Qalandar, who trains monkeys and bears to dance, and makes articles of tin for sale.

(k) Baheliya, who is a fowler and hunter.

(l) Jogi, who is a snake-charmer and blows the *tomri*, or gourd pipe.

It would perhaps be too much to say that the ethnological

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Babu J. G. Banerji, Rāo Bareli, and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Agra, Shahjahanpur, Budāun, Pilibhit, Bijnor, and in particular Munsī Maidayāl Singh of Aligarh.

identity of these tribes is fully established; but that they are all pretty much of the same social grade, and that they approximate to a large degree in occupation and function, is quite certain.

2. There is not much in their tribal legends, so far as they have been recorded, which throws light on their history or origin. They trace their

Tribal legends.

descent to their deified ancestor Māna, who is known as Māna Guru, and his wife Nathiya Kanjarin, who used to live in the jungle, and made their living by hunting and plunder. Mandohar was the mother of Māna, but further than this his origin is a blank. One story runs that Māna once went to Delhi to practise his trade of a brush-maker. The Emperor of Delhi had at that time two famous wrestlers, Kallu and Mallu, who were the champions of the world. They were particularly noted for their skill in swinging the athletes' chain bow (*lesam*). Māna happened to pass by and, taking the bow, plunged it so deep in the ground that no one could withdraw it. When the Emperor heard of this, he sent for Māna and made him wrestle with his champions. He defeated them easily and was dismissed with a great reward.

3. The tribal organisation of the Kanjars is, as might have been expected, complex. The last Census divides

Tribal organisation.

them into four main sub-castes—Jallād or "executioners;" Kūnchband or "brush-makers;" Pattharkat or "stone-cutters," which, according to Mr. Nesfield, connects them with the Age of Stone; and Rāchhband or "makers of the weaver's comb." All these divisions are thus purely occupational. Mr. Nesfield in his interesting account of the tribe¹ says that they profess to have seven clans, of whom five are well established, and four can be explained by their crafts—Maraiya or "worshippers of Mari;" Bhains, "buffalo-keepers;" Sankat, "stone-cutters" (the Pattharkat of the Census enumeration); Gohar, "catchers of the iguana" (*goḥ*); and Soda. The enumeration given by a correspondent from Aligarh seems to be the most accurate and complete. He divides them into two main branches—Kūnchband and Jallād or Sūp-wāla, "makers of sieves." Of the Kūnchband there are nine sections—Maraiya, "worshippers of Mari;" Bhains, "buffalo-men;" Sankat, "stone-cutters;" Soda; Kāra; Lakarhār or "wood-men;" Goher, "iguana-catchers;" Sonra; and Untwār or "camel-

¹ *Calcutta Review*, LXXVII., 368, sqq.