

men." Most of these names are found in lists received from other parts of the Province. Thus from Etāwah we have Maraiya, Sonra, Sonrasen, Bhains, and Gohera; from Shāhjahānpur, Maraiya, Soda, Goher, Untwār, Lohiya or "iron-men," and Lakarha or "wood-men;" from Mirzapur one list gives Kanaujiya, Sankat, Sonra, Bhanes, Maraiya, and Baid or "physician." Another gives Kanaujiya, Bhains, Son, Maraiya, Ekthauliya Bhains, and Khatāniya; a third shows Untwār, Bhains, Kanaujiya, Sonra, who say they take their name from *soa*, dill or fennel, Maraiya, Sankat, and Barāriya or "immigrants from Barār." From Agra we get a list which mixes up occupational names of allied castes—Kūnchband; Singiwāla or "coppers by means of a cow horn (*singi*);" Kanghiwāla "comb-makers," who, when they become rich, call themselves Banjāra and deal in oxen; Kabūtār-wāla or Brajbāsi, who are really rope-dancing Nats; Baddhik; Hābūra; Nat; and Barua, who catch and exhibit snakes. In Bijnor there are two sections—the true Kanjars and the Adhela Kanjars, who are of mixed descent. It is significant that the Bhains section of Budāun have changed their name into Baiswār, and are beginning to claim a connection with the Bais Rājputs. In short the caste is, at present, in a transitional stage and is breaking up into functional groups, as they gradually become settled and shed off their old gypsy habits and mode of life.

4. In Aligarh, again, we have another and quite separate subdivision, with whom the more respectable, or Kūnchband Kanjars, admit no connection. These Jallād or Sāpwāla Kanjars have eleven sections—Dhobibans, "of washerman race;" Sirkiband, "makers of roof mats;" Jhijhotiya, who take their name from Jhijhoti, the old name for Bundelkhand; Chanāl or Chandāl, "outcasts;" Kedār, probably from Kidārnāth; Ghamra, "lazy, stupid;" Mattu, "earth-men;" Ghussar, "intruders;" Bhāru, "carriers;" Pattari, "leaf-men;" Bohat, "sowers." These are their own explanations, and must, of course, be accepted with caution. These people are said to speak a Panjābi dialect, and they are, as we shall see, followers of Nānak. With them the Kūnchband Kanjars deny all connection.

5. The 106 section names of the Hindu and 6 of the Muhammadan branch recorded in the Census returns are of the ordinary type. Many of them suggest connection with other tribes, such as Bais, Banjāra, Bhangiwāla, Bind, Chauhān, Hābūra, Jādonbansi, Kachhwāla, Lālbeji, Lodha, Luniya, Mewāti, Rājbausi, Rāj-

kumār, Rājput, Rāikwāra, Rāmjani, Rāthaur, Sūrajhausi, and Thākūr. Many, again, are of local origin, such as Agarwāl, Ajudhyabāsi, Allahābādī, Bātham from Srāvasti as well as Sribāsta Bihārwāla, Bangālī, Gangwār, Jaiswār, Kanaujiya, Karnātak, Mainpuriya, Nizāmābādī, Panjālā, Saksena, Sarwariya. We find, again, many occupational titles, Jallād, "executioner;" Kūchbandh, "brush-maker;" Kusbandhiya, "collector of sacred grass;" Pahalwān, "athlete;" Pattharkat, "stone-cutter;" Phānswār, "strangler;" Saperā, "snake-man;" and Sirkiwāla, "he that lives under a mat."

The two great Aligarh sub-castes, Kūchband and Jallād or Sūpwāla, are endogamous, and the sections are exogamous. All the sub-castes mentioned in the Agra and Bijnor lists are also endogamous. Among the exogamous sections there is also the additional law, which is not very clearly defined, which bars the marriage of near cognates. Among the more civilised Kanjars adult marriage appears to be the general rule. In Mirzapur they have a custom of what is known as "womb betrothal," in which two fathers engage their children still unborn; this is known as *pet manganiya*. Widow marriage and the levirate are both allowed, the latter under the usual restriction that the widow may marry the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband.

7. Writing of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield says:—"Their marriage customs are quite distinct from those of Hindus. There is no betrothal in childhood; no selection of auspicious days; and no elaborate ceremonies or ritual. The father, or other near relatives of the youth, goes to the father of the girl, and after winning his favour with a pot of toddy, and gaining his consent to the marriage of his daughter, he seals the bargain with a gift of money or some tool or animal which Kanjars love. The girl selected is never a blood relation to the intended husband, and she is almost always of some other encampment or gang.¹ A few days after the bargain has been made the youth goes with his father and as many other men as he can collect, all in their best attire and armed with their best weapons, and demands the girl in tones which imply that he is ready to seize her by force if she is refused. The girl is always

¹ On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 332, 399.

peacefully surrendered in virtue of the previous compact, and this demonstration of force is a mere form—a survival of the primitive world-wide custom of marriage by capture.¹ On the arrival of the Kanjar bride at the encampment of her intended mate, a few simple ceremonies are performed. A pole is fixed in a mound of earth, and on the top of the pole is tied a bunch of the *khaskhas* root, or anything else that may be equally fitted to serve as an emblem of the Kanjar industries. The bridegroom takes the girl by the hand, and leads her several times round the pole in the presence of the spectators. A sacrifice of roast pig or goat, with libations of toddy, is then offered to Māna, as the ancestral hero of the tribe, and songs are sung in his honour. When this is finished, there is a general feast and dance, in which every one at last gets drunk. The father of the bride does not give away his daughter without a dowry. This consists in a patch of forest supposed to be his own, which becomes thenceforth the property of the bridegroom, so long as the encampment remains near the place or whenever it may return to it. No one without the bridegroom's consent will be authorised to use this piece of forest for hunting, trapping, digging roots of *khaskhas*, etc."²

8. A Kanjar marriage was thus described by a number of members of the tribe at Mirzapur:—As circumstances require, either the father of the girl or the boy arranges the match. They do not go on this mission themselves, but depute one of their relations. When the preliminary arrangements are complete, the fathers on both sides go and inspect the boy and girl to make sure that there is no physical defect in either. Next follows the betrothal, when the boy's father with two or three friends goes to the house of the bride and the two fathers embrace with the salutation *Rām ! Rām !* Then, contrary to the ordinary Hindu custom, the father of the youth pays for a dinner of pork, rice, pulse, and liquor for his companions and the friends of the bride. All of them then join in singing, and this constitutes the betrothal (*mangani*). Next morning the youth's father returns home with his friends, and then the marriage follows as soon as may be convenient.

9. The fathers on both sides get their village Brāhman to fix a lucky hour for commencing the preparations. One of the friends

¹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 393, sqq.

² Cf. Koriya, para. 10.

conveys an invitation to the guests. When the youth's party goes to the girl's house, it is accompanied by all the women and children of the family—another violation of Hindu custom. There is no wave ceremony (*parakhhan*) at the bride's door. When the party has arrived, the Brāhman is again asked to fix an auspicious hour for the marriage. Both the fathers each arrange a separate marriage shed before the house of the bride. These consist of four bamboos, one at each corner, with a bamboo and a plough beam set up in the centre, a wooden representation of parrots, and a vessel of water, over which are laid some mango leaves and *kusa* grass. On the top of this they place a saucer full of *urad* pulse, and upon it a lamp is lighted. A grindstone and rice-pounder are also placed in the pavilion. The boy's father shoots an arrow into the air, and from the spot on which it falls the women bring some earth, which is placed in the shed, and not used, as among other castes, for making the fire-place on which the wedding dinner is cooked. When the lucky hour comes, the youth goes into the girl's pavilion, and the women of her family bring out the bride. The pair are bathed in the pavilion, and the girl is dressed in a white sheet, and the boy in a new suit, coat, turban, and drawers, all white. These clothes must be of unwashed cloth. The boy sits on a piece of *sirki* mat facing west, and the girl on another mat opposite him, facing east. He then rubs red-lead seven times on the parting of her hair and the bride's sister knots their clothes together, and they move round seven times, the youth in front, and the girl behind. This ceremony is generally done at such a late hour of night that none but the immediate friends of the parties are witnesses; it is considered very unlucky for a stranger to be present. Then his sister takes off the boy's marriage crown (*maur*) and places it in a sieve, which she lays in the shed, and all present are supposed to put a small contribution in it. Out of this liquor is purchased, and all present drink and sing until the morning.

10. Next morning the bride and bridegroom sit down and make cakes (*pūri*) together. The girl cooks those the boy kneads, and *vice versa*. Each makes seven cakes in this way. Then the women of the family take the pair to worship Ganga Māi, and the cakes which they have made are offered to her. When the Ganges is far off, any tank or stream answers for the worship. When this is done the pair return to the pavilion and gamble there. Some rings and cowries are put into a jar, and the boy and girl

plunge their hands in; whichever succeeds in getting the most, will rule the other during their married life. They are then taken to the retiring room (*kohabar*), a rite which, as elsewhere explained, implies the immediate consummation of the marriage. The walls of this room are decorated with various marks, the significance of which is now lost. These marks the pair worship by rubbing them with a little ghi. Then the bride feeds her husband seven times with curds and molasses, and he does the same for her. They have nothing corresponding to the Hindu *gauna* ceremony. The bride is sent home at once with her husband. As she is going away her father gives her whatever dowry he can afford. All the marriage ceremonies are performed by the clansmen, and no Brâhman is employed. In Aligarh there is a curious ceremony which appears to be symbolical of marriage by capture. After the marriage, the pair are taken to a neighbouring tank and the bride strikes her husband with a small whip specially made of cloth for this purpose. In Aligarh the widow marriage rite takes a very simple form. There is no betrothal, and when the match is arranged, the brethren are assembled and the bride's father or some kinsman knots the clothes of the pair together and the bride is invested with a set of green glass bangles (*chûri*), which are provided by the person who ties the marriage knot. The Kûnehband Kanjars make the women on this occasion wear a loin-cloth (*dhoti*) and not a petticoat (*lahnga*); among the Jallâd or Sûpwâla Kanjars, on the contrary, the bangles for the bride are provided by the bridegroom, and he supplies the marriage feast; besides this, the Jallâd bride wears a petticoat and not a loin-cloth. At all their marriages the *gadaila* or digging implement with which they dig *khaskhas* and kill wolves or vermin is placed in the marriage pavilion during the ceremony. From Etah it is reported that when the match is finally arranged, the wedding day is fixed. The bride's father sends for the bridegroom when all the arrangements are complete. No Brâhmans are employed. First what is known as the *darwâza* or door rite is performed, most of which consists in the waving of a tray on which some milk, ghi, and a lamp are placed over the head of the youth by the mother of the girl. Then the *bhânwar* or circumambulation rite is done. This is always done by the sister of the bride, her husband, or daughter, in which we may possibly see a survival of the matriarchate.

11. The mother during delivery lies on the ground with her feet

to the north and her head to the south.

Birth ceremonies.

The sweeper midwife cuts the cord, and the mother is then attended by the women of her own family. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy. Among the Kunchband Kanjars, when a child is born, the brethren are assembled, and treacle and rice are distributed by the father. This is known as *bihāi*, and is intended as a propitiation of the goddess of that name who rules the fate of the infant. Then some old man of the family or some connection by marriage (*mān*) names the child. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the women assemble and sing songs and dance in the room in which the child was born. At the dinner, which is usually given on this occasion, the males are fed on wheaten cakes and the women on rice. Among the Etah Kanjars the mother and child are bathed on the third day and the child is named by an old man of the tribe.

12. Speaking of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield

Death rites.

says—"There are three different modes in which Kanjars dispose of their dead—sub-

mersion in deep water by fastening a stone to the corpse, cremation, and burial. Each clan disposes of its dead according to its own hereditary and special rites. The first method is the least common; the next may have been borrowed from the Hindu rite, which was itself imported by the Aryan tribes from Persia; the last is the one most frequently practised as well as most highly esteemed. A man who has acted as a spirit medium to Māna is invariably buried in the earth, to whatever clan he may have belonged. Māna himself was so buried at Kāra (as some Kanjars relate) in the Allahābād District, not far from the Ganges, and facing the old fort of Mānikpur on the opposite bank. Three days after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a feast of vegetables and milk, but no meat; and a similar feast is held on the seventh day. A third banquet is afterwards given on any day which may be found convenient, and at the banquet flesh and wine are freely consumed. When both the parents of a man have died, a fourth feast is given in their joint honour. In all these feasts it is the soul of the dead which is fed, or meant to be fed, rather than the bodies of the living." In Mirzapur they invariably bury their dead. A cloth is spread over the corpse, and the brethren attend and drink spirits. Then it is removed to the grave. After the burial they bathe, eat molasses,

and come home. Beyond the distribution of spirits and molasses to the mourners by the relatives of the deceased, there is no feast on the day of the funeral. On the tenth day the brethren are fed and treated to liquor. No sacred balls (*pinda*) are offered, and no Brâhmans are entertained. On the anniversary of the death, the brethren are fed and treated to spirits. On this day one *pinda* is offered by the chief mourner. They observe the fortnight of the dead (*pitra-paksha*), not like ordinary Hindus on the first, but in the second fortnight of Kuâr, which Hindus call the "fortnight of the gods" (*deva-paksha*). In Aligarh they usually bury their dead, but sometimes expose the corpse in the jungle. In burial the corpse is laid with the feet to the north and the head to the south. It is first washed by the eldest male member of the family and shrouded in a white sheet. A bier is made of bamboos tied together with red thread (*kalâwa*), and four of the brethren take it to the burial ground. On the way, it is once laid on the ground and each man puts a little earth near the head of the corpse. This is known as the "stage" (*manzil*). After the grave is dug, the son of the deceased, or, in his absence, some other chief mourner, burns the left thumb of the dead man with fire, and then the body is interred. On returning, bread and sugar are served out to the mourners, and on the third day (*lîja*) they have a dinner of cakes and pulse. The Jallâd Kanjars dispose of their dead in the same way except that they do not burn the thumb of the corpse. The Kûuchband Kanjars offer water to the manes during the nine days of Kuâr, known as the Naurâtri; this the Jallâds do not do. In Etah they are in the intermediate stage between burial and cremation, and both practices prevail. Some bury only the unmarried dead. On the funeral day the brethren are fed, and also on the third and seventh, and on the anniversary. They have no *terahwin* or thirteenth day rite.

13. Writing of the vagrant Kanjars Mr. Nesfield says—"The

Religion. religion of the Kanjars, so far as we have been able to learn, is quite what we should

expect among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on

the same intellectual level with their more civilized kinsfolk, the Hindus, among whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhûts*, malignant spirits, who haunt grave-yards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, etc. They have no belief in natural death, except as the effect of old age. All deaths, but those caused by natural decay or violence, are ascribed to the agency of evil spirits. The dead are buried five or six feet deep, lest a wild beast should tear up the carcass, and, by disturbing the body, send forth its attendant soul to vex and persecute the living. When a patient is possessed, they employ an exorcist or spirit medium, whom they call Nyotiya, to compel the spirit to declare what his grievance is, so that satisfaction may be given him, and he may thus be induced to leave his victim in peace. The spirit medium has power, they say, to transport the goblin into the body of some living person, and to make that person his mouth-piece for declaring its will.

14. "The man-god whom the Kanjars worship is Mâna, a name which does not appear in the lists of Hindu deities. He is something more than what Mitthu Bhukhiya is to the Banjâra, Manjha to the Riwâri, Alba and Udâl to the Bundela, Râê Dâs to the Chamâr, Lâl Guru to the Bhangi or Nânak to the Sikh. Mâna is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honour to their common ancestor. No altar is raised, no image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig, a goat, a sheep, a fowl, make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly, it is said, they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or toddy. They dance round the tree in honour of Mâna, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour." There is then a funeral feast at which most of the banqueters get drunk, and occasionally one of them declares himself to be under the special influence of the god and delivers oracles. The Kanjar goddesses are Mari, Parbha, and Bhuiyân. Mari, the goddess of death, is also known as Mahârâni Devi, and is supreme, and appears to be worshipped as the animating and sustaining principle of nature. Parbha or Prabha, meaning "light," is the goddess of health, and more particularly of the health

of cattle. She is also worshipped by Ahîrs and similar tribes. Bhuiyân, also known as Bhawâni, is the earth goddess.

15. In Mirzapur the Kanjars seem to depend most on the worship of their deceased ancestors. They say that their dead are more kindly than those of other low castes, because they do not require an annual worship, and are satisfied if at marriages and other festive occasions a leaf platter of food is placed on their graves. Their clan deities are Dhâmin Deva and Mâna, the Pahlwân or wrestler. The graves of these worthies, who are the deified ancestors of the tribe, are at Mânikipur, and there they make occasional pilgrimages, and offer the sacrifice of a pig and an oblation of spirits. They are very careful about the disposal of the offering. It is eaten in secrecy and silence by the male worshippers, and no woman or stranger to the tribe is allowed to be present or share in the meal. In Mirzapur, like the Hindus around them, they also pay reverence to the Vindhyabâsini Devi of Bindhâchal, and have their children's heads shaved at her shrine. They also revere the Pânchônpir with the sacrifice of a cock. In Aligarh the Kûnchband Kanjars call themselves Sâktas, and have a preference for the worship of Devi; while the Jallâd or Sûpwâla call themselves Nânakpanthis and worship Nânak Guru. At Bijaygarh in the Aligarh District the Kûnchband Kanjars have a platform (*chabûtra*) raised in honour of Mâna and Nathiya, the deified ancestors of the tribe. Their feast day is the sixth of the light half of Bhâdon, when they make an offering of spirits, one rupee four annas in cash, a young pig, and an *usar-sânda* lizard to these deities. They have another, whom they call Deota or "the godling." His shrine is at Dhanipur, close to Aligarh, and he is worshipped on a Sunday or Tuesday in the month of Asârh with an offering of cakes. Like many of the low castes in their neighbourhood, they also worship Jakhiya. His shrine is at Karas in the Aligarh District. His feast day is the sixth of the dark half of Mâgh, when a pig and some sweetmeats (*batâsha*) are offered to him. These are consumed by the worshippers themselves, a part being given to the Panda or sweeper priest who tends the shrine. The Jallâd or Sûpwâla Kanjars in the Aligarh District are Nânakshâhis, and make pilgrimages to his shrine at Amritsar. On the night of the Diwâli they cook the *halwa* sweetmeat and distribute it among their friends. Before they distribute it they cover the vessel with a cloth and offer it to Nânak with the words *Shukr hai tera ki baras din râzi khushi se gusra ; aur*

tujh sadgō ko yāhi unamē hai—"Praise be to thee who has preserved us in happiness for a year! We hope the same favour in the future." They will not uncover the vessel till all its contents are distributed, because they believe that it increases by the supernatural power (*māya*) of Guru Nānak. The priests of the Kūnchband Kanjars are their *māu* or relations on the female side, apparently a survival of the matriarchate; the priest of the Jallāds is called *masand*, which, according to one explanation, is a corruption of *maśnad*, "the royal seat," and is selected for his knowledge of Gurmukhi. The offerings of the Kūnchband Kanjars are these—to Nathiya, a pig; to Māna Guru, an *śār-sānda* lizard; to Devi, a goat; to Jakhiya, a pig; to Madār, a fowl. The Jallāds give a goat to Nānak. The Kūnchbands sometimes offer the hair of an infant to Māna.

16. The Kūnchband observe the Holi, Diwālī, Dasahra, and Janamashtami. At the Holi they drink, smoke *bhang* and *charas*, and sprinkle coloured powder about like Hindus. At the Diwālī they drink and gamble and their women make some figures on the walls of the house and at night offer boiled rice (*khl*) and sweets (*śalāha*) to them. They have no special observance of the Dasahra and Janamashtami, except that they consider them to be holidays. On the ninth of the light half of Kuār they make a present of food to the *māu* or relative on the female side who acts as their priest. This is done in the belief that the food thus offered passes through him to their deceased ancestors. They have a survival of grove worship in their worship of Nathiya, which is always done under some trees in which she is supposed to reside. The Jallāds make an offering to Kālī in the same way.

17. In cases of disease or trouble a Syāna or wizard is called in to settle the appropriate offering to the particular ghost which is the cause of the trouble. Demonology. If a goat is to be offered its forehead is first marked with a *tika*. The *imlī* or tamarind tree is in particular believed to be the residence of the sacred dead. When the Kūnchband bury the dead they place a pice with the corpse as a viaticum; the Jallāds place two wheaten cakes with the same object. The technical name for this is *tosha*, which means "provisions for a journey." When a man is attacked by an evil spirit the Syāna first makes an offering to Devi, consisting of treacle, ghi, cloves, and incense, with some red-lead, which are

thrown into a fire (*aggāri*). The Devi then "comes on the head" of the Syāna and he names the evil spirit who is afflicting the patient. Then a cup of spirits is placed under the head of the sick man and afterwards moved four times round his head (a process known as *ulāra* or "removing"), when it is drunk by the Syāna, who is supposed in this way to remove the evil influence from the patient. Finally he describes the sacrifice which it is advisable to offer. In some more serious cases the Syāna fills a saucer with cooked rice, some cloves, *batāsha* sweetmeat and an egg, and places it where four roads meet; meanwhile the friends of the sick man sing and beat a brass tray over his head to scare the spirit. The disease is supposed to be communicated to some passer-by. The Churel or ghost of a woman who dies during her menses or at her confinement is much dreaded; children who die before the age of twelve return in the form of an evil spirit known as Masān. Those who die of snake-bite or any other form of unnatural death become an Aūt, or a person for whom there is none to make the water oblation. All these have the same attributes, except Masān, which is dangerous only to children. The Kūnchband Kanjars offer water to the Pitri or sainted dead on the eight or ninth of the light half of Kuār; this is done by the Jallāds on the Holi and Diwālī.

18. The Bhains and Untwār sub-castes are probably of totemistic origin; these will not kill or eat the buffalo or camel respectively. They respect the *imī* or tamarind tree as the abode of spirits. The *khas* grass is a sort of tribal totem and it and the leaves of the mango are fixed upon the marriage shed. The Kūnchbands believe Saturday to be an unlucky day. The Jallāds have the same idea about Tuesday. As regards omens, a fox, tiger, wolf, *śar-sānda* lizard, tortoise, and the *goh* lizard or the *sāras* crane are lucky if they cross the road from right to left; if from left to right it is an evil omen. So with a cat, jackal, or cobra passing from the right to the left. Their women do not wear a nose-ring; to the East they wear brass bangles (*indlāi*) and heavy anklets (*pairi*). The Jallād women do not wear any gold ornaments. Their chief oaths are to stand in a river up to the neck; the man who stays longest in the water is believed. They also swear on the Ganges and on the *pīpal* tree, or by touching the head or arm of a son or other close relation. The Kūnchband Kanjars swear also by Māna and Nathiya; the Jallāds by Guru Nānak. Some of them by the use of appropriate spells (*mantra*) obtain the

power of controlling evil spirits. These are recited at night in burial-grounds, and specially on the night of the Holi or Diwāli. On such occasions a burnt offering (*agydri*) is made with treacle, ghi, cloves, and incense.

19. The Kanjars, in their occupations and mode of life, closely approximate to the European gypsy. Of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield writes—"Their natural home is the forest, where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. They are never seen in groups of more than twenty or forty persons of all ages at a time, and the number is sometimes even less.¹ These little groups may unite sometimes for special and temporary objects; but large groups are never permanently formed. Among the Kanjars there are some groups or clans which make a habit of keeping within easy reach of towns and villages, while others seldom or never leave the forest. But even among the former it is not merely the proximity of settled communities which prevents the formation of larger groups. For even in wide forest tracts, where there is ample space and no impediment from higher races, the same law of petty, non-associative hordes prevails, and it would be a rare thing to find an encampment of more than, or even as many as, fifty persons."

20. "The arts of the Kanjar are making mats of the *sirki* reed baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw, the last of which are now sold to Hindu children as toys, though originally they were used by the Kanjars themselves (if we are to trust to the analogies of other backward races) as sacred and mysterious instruments. From the stalks of the *mānj* grass and from the roots of the *palāsa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians, though probably, as in the case of the rattle,

¹ On this see Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, I., 432.

the drum was originally used by the Kanjars themselves and worshipped as a fetish: for even the Aryan tribes, who are said to have been far more advanced than the indigenous races, sung hymns in honour of the drum or *dundubhi* as if it were something sacred. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. The mats of *sirki* reed, with which they cover their own temporary sheds, are largely used by cart-drivers to protect their goods and themselves against rain. The toddy or juice of the palm tree, which they extract and ferment by methods of their own, and partly for their own use, finds a ready sale among low-caste Hindus in villages and market towns. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *salmali* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. The roots of this wild grass, which grows in most abundance on the outskirts of forests or near the banks of rivers, are dug out of the earth by an instrument called *khanti*. The same implement serves as a dagger or short spear for killing wolves and jackals, as a tool for carving a secret entrance through the clay wall of a villager's hut in which a burglary is meditated, as a spade or hoe for digging snakes, field mice, lizards, etc., out of their holes, and edible roots out of the earth, and as a hatchet for chopping wood." Mr. Nesfield sees in these arts and industries the germs of many functions which have now become hereditary in the Baheliya, Bâri, Behna or Dhuniya, Chamâr, Kori, Kalwâr and others. But we know too little of the evolution of Indian handicrafts to accept such ingenious speculations with perfect confidence.

21. In his diet the Kanjar is catholic to a degree. He will eat almost anything, except beef, monkeys, crocodiles, and snakes. The Kânehband Kanjar will not eat, drink or smoke with any caste but his own; but he will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Chamâr. The Jallads eat *kachchi*, drink and smoke with sweepers. To

quote Mr. Nesfield again—"Whatever a Kanjar kills, from a wolf to a reptile, he eats. The weapon with which they kill little birds is nothing but a pole pointed with a thin, sharp piece of iron.

The man lies motionless on a patch of ground which he has first sprinkled with grain, and as the birds come hopping round him to pick up the grain, he fascinates one of them with the pole, by giving it a serpent-like motion, and then spikes it through the body. Kanjars seldom or never use the bow and arrow, but they use the pellet-bow, which requires much greater skill. The pellet is nothing but a little clay marble dried in the sun. With this they not infrequently shoot a bird flying. The *khanti* or short spear is merely used in close combat, but is thrown with almost unerring effect against wolves and jackals as they run. For catching a wolf in the earth they place a net and a light at one end of the hole and commence digging at the other end. The wolf, attracted by the light, runs into the net, and the Kanjar batters his head with a club and kills it."

22. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door-screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.

Kanjars are particularly careful to protect any member of the tribe from being assaulted without reason by another clansman or have his goods robbed. Such cases form the subject of a most elaborate enquiry. The tribal council sits at least fifteen days in succession, and the guilty person has to pay the whole cost of their entertainment. The offender is excommunicated until he pays a fine and the whole expenses of the proceedings. When, in *fitah*, a woman is accused of immorality, she is subjected to the ordeal of holding a hot iron weeding spud in her hand. If the skin is not burnt, she is acquitted.

Distribution of Kanjars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Jalād.	Kāneh-band.	Patt-barkat.	Rāchh-band.	Others.	Maham-madaus.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	12	...	12
Sahāranpur	55	...	...	100	...	154
Muzaffarnagar	55	...	...	26	1	82

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

DISTRICT.	Jallad.	Kanch-band.	Patt-harkat.	Rachh-band.	Others.	Muham-madaus.	TOTAL.
Meerut	...	...	...	...	497	...	497
Bulandshahr.	42	140	...	...	327	...	509
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	806	...	806
Mathura	...	53	9	...	220	...	282
Agra	...	355	...	...	559	1	915
Farrukhabad	33	92	...	...	310	5	440
Mainpuri	...	206	...	...	252	1	459
Etawah	...	102	...	...	103	...	205
Etah	...	260	...	...	269	...	469
Bareilly	228	...	...	...	141	...	369
Bijnor	...	...	...	...	205	...	205
Budhan	...	61	...	...	372	...	433
Moradabad	28	...	...	...	545	...	573
Shahjahanpur	...	71	...	34	170	...	275
Pilibhit	23	83	...	...	167	141	414
Cawnpur	48	1,234	...	3	477	...	1,762
Fatehpur	...	143	...	...	370	...	513
Banda	...	321	...	...	...	...	321
Hamirpur	...	99	...	...	2	...	101
Allahabad	...	51	4	...	192	25	273
Jhansi	...	108	2	5	48	...	163
Jalaun	...	100	...	15	36	...	151
Lalitpur	...	...	66	5	...	...	71
Benares	...	...	...	...	27	...	27
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	69	5	74
Jaunpur	...	8	...	...	7	...	15
Ghazipur	...	60	...	...	21	...	81
Ballia	...	64	...	...	...	...	64

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

DISTRICT.	Jallād.	Kāneh-band.	Patt-harkat.	Rāchh-band.	Othars	Muham-madans.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur	87	85	...	201	...	373
Basti	417	...	848	...	1,265
Azamgarh	2	...	...	41	28	71
Tarāi	85	...	20	58	1	164
Lucknow	284	...	...	31	13	329
Unāo	35	...	...	138	...	173
Rāē Hareli	43	30	...	10	..	83
Sitapur	595	...	...	...	...	595
Hardoi	90	...	...	197	...	287
Kheri	424	...	...	251	...	675
Faizābād	73	...	...	54	...	127
Gonda	332	250	295	...	...	877
Bahrāich	542	103	67	831	...	1,543
Sultānpur	196	1	197
Partābgarh	9	...	...	75	...	84
Bānbanki	104	55	...	115	35	309
TOTAL	411	6,416	1,021	444	9,316	257	17,865

Kanphata (*kīn*, "ear;" *phata*, "torn").—A class of Jogis, known also as Gorakhnāthi from the name of their founder or Darshani, because they wear a special earring. Of Gorakhnāth numerous legends are told. By one account he was a contemporary of the famous Bhartihari, who is said to have been the brother of Vikramaditya. The Kanphatas themselves say that their sect existed before this world of ours came into existence. When Vishnu came out of the lotus at the creation of all things, Gorakhnāth was in Patāla or the lower regions. Vishnu, terrified at the waste of waters, went to Patāla, and implored the aid of Gorakhnāth, who, in pity for the deity, gave him a handful of ashes from his eternal fire (*dhuni*), and told him that if he sprinkled the dust over the water,

he could create the world. It happened as he promised, and then Brahma, Vishnu and Siva became the first disciples of the Saint. By another story Bhatrihari happened to go into a forest where Gorakhnâth was practising austerities; but he knew not that the Saint was there. Soon after the disciples of Gorakhnâth met him and asked him to become a disciple of their master. He answered, "What do I care for Gorakhnâth? If he wishes to learn the ways of the Almighty, let him come and learn from me." Finally Gorakhnâth said to Bhatrihari—"If you give me a handful of patience (*santosh*), I will become your disciple." So Bhatrihari, in search of patience, came to the gods, but they could not supply it. At last he went to Vishnu, who said—"I cannot supply you with patience. If you want it you must go to Gorakhnâth who is the greatest of saints." Thus convinced, Bhatrihari accepted Gorakhnâth as his Guru.

2. There are said to be twelve sections of the sect who take their name from the twelve disciples of Gorakhnâth, but none of them can even pretend to give a complete list of them. Ordinary Kanphatas know of only four: Brahma; Râma; Lakshmana and Kapilâni. A list from the Panjâb¹ gives them as follows:—Matthesri, founded by Lakshmana, a disciple of Gorakhnâth; Satnâth, who are said to follow Brahma, which is more than doubtful; Satnâth, said to be followers of Râma Chandra; Bhatriâth, followers of Bhatrihari; Papankh; Kâmdhaj, of Dhruddhuwâra, near Jaypur; Hetljhauli, of Gorakhpur; Dhajpanth, said to be in Lanka or Ceylon; Chandbharag, in Kachh, near Dwârîka; Dâs Gopâl in Jodhpur; Mastnâth, at Dhauli Momrhi, near Delhi; and Aryapanth, at Bor Bosan, near Kâbapîr Thaneswar.

3. The seat of the Western Kanphatas is at Dhinodhar on the edge of the Ran of Cutch (Kachh). Of them we learn² that "the Dhinodhar monks, endowed by more than one of the Râos, are a rich body, living in a large, comfortably fortified and fenced monastery on a wooded knoll overlooking a little lake at the foot of Dhinodhar Hill, with temples, dwelling-houses, and the tombs of their headmen (*pir*). Among the buildings, Dharmnâth's shrine, before which a lamp

¹ Panjâb Notes and Queries, II, 45.

² Bombay Gazetteer, V, 86; also see *ibid.*, VIII., 155, sq.; 447.

always burns, is a prominent object. Except for their huge horn, agate or glass earrings, about 2½ ounces in weight, which make their ear lobes ugly and almost painful to look at, the Kanphatas wear the ordinary Hindu dress, a coat and waist-cloth generally of a red ochre colour.¹ The head of the monastery is, on succession, invested by the Rāo with a gold-bordered silk turban, a sacred woollen neck thread (*sheli*), a scanty waist-band, white waist-cloth, a red or brick-coloured scarf, and wooden pattens. His ornaments are very old and rich. The earrings, the same in shape as those worn by his disciples, are gilt and inlaid with gems. From his neck hangs a rhinoceros'-horn whistle, which it is one of his chief privileges to blow when he worships the gods. Their ordinary food is millets and pulse. Worshippers of Siva, they have a special ritual for their god, the head repeating a hymn in his honour on the second of every month. Their worship is a form of abstraction (*yoga*), the special tenets of their founder having long been forgotten. As they are bound to celibacy, the sect is kept up by recruiting. New-comers generally belong to one of two classes: orphans or the children of destitute persons who enter as boys, or lazy or disheartened men who are taken in sometimes at an advanced age. The novice starts as the disciple of some member of the sect, who becomes his spiritual guide (*guru*). On joining, his guide gives him a black woollen thread, tied round the neck with a *rudra* knot, from which hangs a two-inch horn or speaking-trumpet (*sringināu*), and through it he is made to repeat the words *omkār*, *upadesā*, *adesa*, or the mystic *om*. His conduct is closely watched for eight months. Then, if he has behaved well, he is taken before the god Bhairava and has the cartilage of his ears slit by one of the devotees. In the slit a stick of *nīm* is stuck, and the wound cured by a dressing of *nīm* oil. When the ear is well again, agate, glass or bone rings are thrust into the slit, the hair, beard and mustaches are shaved, and by the guide the rule (*upadesa mantra*) of the sect—"Be wise, pious, and useful"—is whispered into the disciple's ear, and he is called by a new name ending in *Nāth*. He

¹ The appearance of the ears of many of the statues at Elephanta recalls the Arab traveller Sulaimān's remark that the Balhara, perhaps the Solhara, king of the Konkan was prince of the men who have their ears pierced (Dowson's *Elliot*, I., 3). In 1583 the English traveller Fitch noticed that the ears of the women of Ormus were so stretched by the weight of their earrings that a man could put three of his fingers in the holes in the lobes (Harris *Voyages*, I., 207). See other references collected in *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV., 83.

is now a regular devotee, repeating the name of the founder of the sect, serving his guide; and doing any duty he may be set to. Devotees of this sort are buried, and, on the twelfth day after death, a feast is given and alms distributed by the oldest disciple who succeeds to his guide's place. On the death of the head of the monastery the guides choose one of their number to succeed. The position of head is one of much local honour. The Râo invests him with a dress, pays him a visit, and is received by the holy man seated. In former times, when oppression was threatened, the Kanphatas, like the Bhâts and Chârâns, used to commit *trâga* by sacrificing one of their number, so that the guilt of his blood might be on their oppressor's head.²⁴

4. In other parts of Bombay the rule of celibacy imposed upon the Mahant appears to be relaxed, and, failing issue, he is allowed to adopt a disciple who succeeds to his office. The special earrings worn by the sect are regarded as a sort of a fetish, and if once lost cannot be replaced. Sir G. Jacob notes a case where the companion of a Kanphata had been killed by outlaws and the abbot tried to persuade him to allow his wounded ear to be sewn up and a new earring supplied; he refused, saying that he would die with his brother, and he soon after died, and they were buried in the same grave. He also notes that "except that the cow is held sacred and the hog unclean, they eat freely of fish, flesh, and fowl. Travellers are freely received and fed, hospitality being part of their religion. Their religion otherwise appears to consist in worshipping their idol, morning and evening. The rest of the day is passed in amusement or in indolence, except at stated times for meals, when they meet together to feast with such strangers as wish to join them. Twice every day provisions are distributed to all who may ask for them. When the provisions are cooked, a servant of the abbot's goes to the bank of the Saraswati and calls twice with a loud voice—'Whoever is hungry, come, the abbot's table is spread.' Whoever comes gets a meal."

5. The chief seat of the Kanphatas of these Provinces is Gorakhpur, where they say Gorakhnâth was buried, and where his grave (*samâdhi*) is an object of veneration. Brahmans, Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Sûdras can all join the sect. The initiation is done in this way: The barber first shaves the head, beard, and mustache of the candidate. He is then seated before the Gura facing the

The Kanphatas of the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

north, and the Guru puts round his neck a thread, known as *nāḍ jāneu*, made of sheep's wool. To this is attached a small whistle (*nāḍ*) made of deer's horn. Then the whole body of the neophyte is smeared with ashes. This constitutes the first initiation which entitles the disciple to begin to serve his religious guide. This is not done by the chief priest of a monastery, but by some of his mendicant disciples. When his Guru is satisfied with the conduct of the disciple after a period of probation, which lasts a half year or more, the second stage of the initiation comes off. The disciple bathes and puts on a narrow loin-cloth (*nigoti*), ties a string of *mūnj* grass or a brass or iron chain round his waist, and smears his body with ashes. The upper part of his person he covers with a cloth (*anchala*) dyed in ochre.

Then he appears before two disciples of the head Guru, and they make him sit facing the north. One of them holds his hands and the other pierces the lobes of his ears with a knife. Two plugs (*kundal*) are placed in the gashes, and the treatment of the wounds occupies forty days, during which they are daily bathed with pure water. When a cure has been effected the next stage comes on. The neophyte bathes and assumes the *nāḍ jāneu* as before, and with his body smeared with ashes appears before the chief Guru. He puts in his ears rings (*kundali*) made of earthen-ware and weighing about a quarter of a pound. On this occasion the formula used is—*Om, soham*, "Om, that I am;" when the ears are being pierced the *mantra* is *Siva Gorakh*. Then the Guru distributes sweetmeats among the members of the sect present. This rite is known as *tyāga* or "the abandonment of the world." Next follows the worship of the goddess Bāla Sundari, who is for the occasion represented by a twisted thread wick, which is fixed in a ball of dough and set alight. This is placed in a holy square made on the ground with lines of flour, and by it is placed a water jar (*kalas*). The light is worshipped with an offering of flowers, *halwa*-sweetmeat, cakes and a coconut. The coconut is split with a knife before being offered,—a rite which is an evident substitute for a human sacrifice. This worship of Bāla Sundari is annually performed. She is said to be merely a representation of Gorakhnāth; but the form of her worship seems to show that she is more probably some form of Kālī.

6. Kanphatas also worship Bhaironnāth on every Sunday and Tuesday. To him are offered cakes made of the *urad* pulse, known

as *bara*, flesh, wine, chaplets of flowers and *laddu* sweetmeats. These offerings are consumed by the worshippers.

7. The ordinary dress of the Kauphata consists of a girdle (*kardhan*) made of *mūnj* fibre, iron or brass, a narrow waist-cloth dyed in ochre. The body is smeared with ashes, the hair long and matted or wholly shaved, as well as the beard and mustache. He carries in his hand a cocoanut bowl (*khappar*), and wears an upper sheet dyed with ochre, a woollen sacred cord (*janau*) round the waist, not as Brāhmans wear it over the shoulder, and to this is attached a deer-horn whistle (*nād*).

8. They live by begging and by selling a woollen string amulet (*gandā*), which is put round the necks of children to protect them from the Evil Eye. They beg only from Hindus, and use the cry *Alakk* ! "The invisible one." They take money as well as food. They will eat from the hands of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, and the higher Vaisyas ; but not from the lower castes, from whose hands respectable Hindus will not eat. They eat meat, not beef or pork, and take intoxicants freely. They do not sing as they beg.

9. They bury their dead. The corpse is first bathed, and dressed in the usual garments of every-day life. The begging bowl (*khappar*) is filled with milk, and put in a wallet, which is hung on the shoulders of the corpse or laid by its side to serve as food for the spirit. If the dead man was the disciple of a Guru who possessed landed property, it is buried in a sitting posture with the head to the north ; if he be a disciple of a man without landed property it is thrown into a river. After the burial sweetmeats (*laddu*) are distributed among the mourners, and, on the third day, cakes, rice and milk are laid on the tomb (*samādā*), and the members of the sect eat them. There is no ceremonial impurity after death. A masonry monument is afterwards erected, and a (*lingam*) placed upon it. At this worship is done and periodical offerings are made.

10. In the Hills¹ the Kanphatas follow the Tantrika ritual which is distinguished for its licentiousness.

The Kanphatas of the Hills. Both the *linga* and *yonī* are worshipped by them, and they declare that it is unnecessary

Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 865, sq. Wright, *History of Nepal*, 140; 152.

to restrain the passions to arrive at release from metamorphosis. They are the great priests of the lower Śāktī form of Bhairava and even of the village gods. They eat flesh and drink wine and indulge in the orgies of the left-handed sect. Departing from the original idea of the female being only the personified energy of the male, she is made herself the entire manifestation, and, as in the case of Durga, receives personal worship to which that of the corresponding male deity is almost always subordinate. They trace their origin to Dharmānātha, who is said to have been one of the twenty-two disciples of Maṣṣhendranātha or Matsyendranātha, among whom was Gorakhnātha, one of the most celebrated of the nine *nāṭha* or ascetics of ancient India. Dr. Buchanan¹ alleges that they are really the same as the Kapālikas, who were so called because they used to drink out of human skulls (*kapāla*). Hiouen T'sang, and, before him, Varaha Mihira, who lived in the sixth century, show that they had a knowledge of this sect, who they allege were so called because they wore about their persons a death's-head, which they used as a drinking vessel.²

Distribution of the Kanphata or Gorakhnāthi Jogis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dūn	90	Jhānsi	180
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,744	Benares	226
Mēerut	1,612	Mirzapur	71
Bulandshahr	2	Ghāzipur	30
Agra	48	Ballia	80
Etah	22	Gorakhpur	372
Bijnor	232	Basti	4,106
Morādābād	91	Kumaon	3,031
Cawnpur	240	Garhwāl	407
Fatehpur	129	Tarāi	399
Bandā	1	Sitapur	14
Hamirpur	6	TOTAL	13,133

¹ *Eastern India*, II., 484, sq.

² Barth, *Religions of India*, 214.

Kanyūri.—(Known also as Khandūri.)—A class of Hill Brāhmans who belong to the Saunaka *gotra* and Madhandhiniya *sākhā*. "They are so called after the parent village of Kanyūra in Pargana Chāndpur. Though ranked as Brāhmans, they are called Pahāri or Hill Kāyasths, and carry on the duties of clerks. Their *gotra* is the same as that of the Rāja of Garhwāl, who has several in his employ, and a few families exist in Dehra Dūn."¹

Kapariya, Khapariya.²—A tribe of beggars and pedlars found in various parts of the Provinces, who have not been separately enumerated at the last census. There is some difference of opinion as to the proper spelling of the name. They call themselves Kapariya, which they say means "sellers of the old clothes" (*kapra*) which they get in alms. Another story is that they were created last of all the castes from the head (*kapāl*) of Siva and Pārvati, or from the perspiration that fell from their foreheads when they were wearied with the work of creation. Those who call them Khapariya adopt the skull legend and derive the name from *Khapar*, *Khappar*, which means either "a skull" or "the gourd cup" carried by mendicants.

2. They have seven exogamous septs—Sirmaur, which they say means a "crown on the head" and is superior to the others; Chandel, who are so called because their ancestors lived among that tribe of Rājputs; Banechor, who take this name because their ancestors abandoned their forest life; Gautam, who trace their origin to the Rishi Gotama; Samudraphen, whose ancestor was born from the foam of the sea; Chaudhari, whose forefathers lived among the Kurmis. The Fatehpur lists add Khetgariyār and Patlê.

3. No one can marry in his own sept and in addition the usual formula—*chachera, mamera, phuphera, mansera*,—which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and maternal aunt, is adopted.

4. They have a tribal council (*panchāyat*) of which the chairman (*mukhiya*) is a hereditary officer. If the chairman be a minor, his nearest competent relation acts for him until he is fit to perform the duty. Offenders are usually punished with fine which ranges from one rupee and

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 270.

² Based on information collected at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Gurdāyal Singh, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Fatehpur.

a quarter to five rupees, and the money thus collected is spent in drinking.

5. The boy's father has to pay at least one hundred rupees to the father of the girl, and the marriage cannot be performed until this is paid. The age for betrothal is seven or eight and for marriage fifteen or sixteen. Infidelity is so far condoned that a woman is reprimanded three times before she is finally excommunicated for misconduct. Widow marriage and the levirate are both allowed, but there seems to be a tendency to reform about this, and some of the tribe at Mirzapur deny that they allow widows to re-marry. Concubinage is prohibited.

6. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy; but on the day after the child is born a Brâhman astrologer is called in to decide whether the day of birth is lucky or not; but no regular horoscope is prepared. On the ninth day rice and pulse cakes (*bara*) are cooked and eaten only by the women and girls of the family and their friends. After the house is purified and the dirty clothes and old earthen vessels removed, the mother and infant are bathed at an auspicious time fixed by the Pandit. Then the mother sits in the court-yard or in the kitchen with a dish before her of the following food, in quantity sufficient for five women: boiled pulse (*dât*), boiled rice (*bhât*), wheat cakes fried in butter (*pûrî*), cakes of urad pulse (*bara*), large soft pulse cakes (*phulauri*), curry, curds, sweets (*batâsha*) and a plantain. These things are eaten by her five nearest relations, and afterwards the clansmen are fed. She cannot look after household affairs till the twelfth day, when she is again bathed and has to worship the village well. She bathes, puts on a garment dyed yellow with turmeric and goes to the nearest well, where she plasters a piece of ground, makes a burnt offering (*hom*), and offers to the well treacle, red-lead, ochre, butter and sugar. She then bows down to the well and prays for the welfare of her child, household and herself.

7. Marriage ceremonies are of the usual high-class type. As the bride makes the first six circuits round the sacred fire she says: *Pahî bhauriya jo phirai, baba, abhûn tumhâr*—"While I make the first circuit I am still thine, O father!" This she says at each of the circuits till the last, when she says:—" *Sâlwân bhauriya jo phirai, baba, ab bhai parai*—" After making the seventh circuit, O father! now I belong

to another." These revolutions round the sacred fire form the binding part of the ceremony.

8. The more respectable members of the tribe burn their dead ; poorer people only scorch the face of the corpse and throw it into some river. They very rarely take the ashes to the Ganges. The person who fired the pyre lives apart for nine days. On that day all the clansmen shave, and after bathing return to the house of the deceased, where the heir makes presents to the Mahâpâtras and feeds the clansmen. After three fortnights they again give a feast and place food for the dead outside the village. This is done again in the sixth and twelfth month. At the Pitrapaksha, or fortnight sacred to the dead, a Mâli woman spreads flowers at the door, and if they can afford it food is given to Brâhmins.

9. Kapariyas are Hindus and worship Kâli, Durga, Parameswar and Mahâdeva. To Kâli-Durga they offer goats, cakes, pottage (*lapsi*) and spirits at the Naurâtra of Chait and Kuâr. To Mahâdeva and Parameswar they make no offering, but only do reverence to them. They reverence the *pîpal*, *tulasi* plant, and banyan (*bar*), if they have made a pilgrimage to Gaya.

10. Women who have lost children abstain from eating the egg-plant (*baingan*) until the child grows up. Then the father gives a feast, of which the egg-plant forms a part, and the mother shares in it. They will not eat food touched by a Bhangi, Dhobi, Chamâr, Muhammadan, Kumhâr, Teli, Darzi, Patwa, Koli, Mâli or Khatik. They will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from Brâhmins and Kshatriyas. To the east of the Province no caste except Chamârs and other menials will eat from their hands, and even Chamârs are now beginning to refuse to do so. The men wear their hair long, and both men and women wear round their necks the seeds of the *ghungohi* (*abrus precatorius*).

11. The men wander all over the country begging and selling ponies and goats. They have been suspected of illicit coining and passing bad money. The women do not beg or go to strange houses. Unmarried girls do not cover the head, and busy themselves milking the goats which they take about with them. At Fatehpur, their head-quarters, they do not cultivate. They say that when they were first created Siva

told them to sow gram, but in their ignorance they split each grain before sowing, and since then they have been ordered to live by begging. They are always on the move, except in the rains, and carry about small tents. On the whole they bear an indifferent character, and have been caught committing petty thefts and practising various forms of swindling.

Karnāta.—One of the local groups of Brāhmans included among the *Pancha Drāvida*. They are Brāhmans who inhabit the Karnātak, or tract of country where the Canarese language is spoken. They are, of course, exotic in this part of India, and most of them are found in Benares, where they have a high reputation for piety and learning. Mr. Sherring's¹ informant divides them into eight sub-divisions—*Haiga*, *Kwāta*, *Shivelri*, *Bargināra*, *Kandawa Karnāta*, *Maisūr Karnāta*, and *Sirnād*.

Distribution of Karnāta Brāhmans according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Mathura	24
Morādābād	6
Benares	403
Kumaon	112
Tarāi	23
Faizabād	16
TOTAL	584

Kasarwāni, Kasarbāni.—A sub-caste of Banyas found in considerable numbers in Allahābād, Mirzapur, Benares, Ballia, and Partābgarh. They take their name from *Kānsya-kāra-vanij*, "a seller of brass vessels." To the east of the Province they have two endogamous sub-divisions—*Purabiya* or eastern and *Pachhiwāha* or western. Besides this they have a large number of sections. According to Mr. Risley² there are as many as ninety-six in Bihar. "A man must not marry in his own section and must also

observe the standard formula of prohibited degrees reckoned to the fifth generation in the descending line." To the east they say that they emigrated from Kara Mânikipur only some two or three generations ago. They practise infant marriage and cannot take a second wife in the life-time of the first without her consent. Widows can marry again by the *sagdî* form, and the levirate is recognised but not compulsory on the widow. They have no regular divorce, but a man can discard his wife for adultery.

2. Many of them are initiated into the Râmanandi sect, and to the east of the Province they specially worship the Pânchonpîr and Mahâbîr. Their family priests are Sarwariya Brâhmans. They are usually grocers, and sell flour, grain, salt, tobacco, and other articles of food. It is said that some, who are Pachpiriyas, eat meat, but the worshippers of Mahâbîr totally abstain from it. Brâhmans and Kshatriyas will not eat either *pakki* or *kachchi* cooked by them; other Banyas will eat *pakki* but not *kachchi*, and they will eat *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own sub-castes. Kahârs and Nâis will eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Distribution of Kasarwânî Banyas according to the census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dûn	4
Sahâranpur	4
Farrukhâbâd	76
Mainpuri	1
Etâwah	146
Cawnpur	550
Fatehpur	1,231
Banda	3,441
Hamîrpur	1
Allahâbâd	34,036
Jhânsi	1

Distribution of Kasarwan Banyas according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Benares	5,936
Mirzapur	8,717
Jaunpur	805
Ghâzipur	1,141
Ballia	3,366
Gorakhpur	641
Basti	84
Azamgarh	47
Lucknow	683
Sitapur	33
Faizâbâd	219
Gonda	123
Sultânpur	93
Partâbgarh	4,246
TOTAL	65,625

Kasaundhan.—(*Kânsa*, "bell metal"; *dhana*, "wealth.")—A sub-caste of Banyas found throughout the Province, except the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions. According to the Benares tradition they have come there from Lucknow. In Benares they have two sections, the Purbiya or Parabiya or "eastern" and the Pachhaiyan or "western." In Mirzapur their sections are Khara or "faithful," who prohibit widow marriage, and the Dûsra or "second," who allow it. Those of the Khara section take wives from the Dûsra, but do not give them girls. The Dûsra are consequently obliged to find brides among themselves. They fix their head-quarters at Jaunpur, and say they emigrated to Mirzapur some two or three generations ago.

2. Marriage usually takes place at the age of five or six. The Dûra section allow widow marriage according to the usual *sagâi* or *dharewa* form. A woman can be discarded for infidelity with the consent of the village council.

3. To the east of the Province they worship Mahâbir and the Panchonpir. Sarwariya Brâhmans are their family priests. According to Dr. Buchanan,¹ in Gorakhpur and Bihâr their family priests are mostly Kanaujiya and Sakadwipi Brâhmans, and they follow the Nânakpantli sect. In Mirzapur they are usually Râmanandis.

4. They make their living by money-changing (*sarrâfi*), dealing in grain and other articles of food and matting (*tât*).

5. They abstain from meat and spirits. They will eat *kachchi* prepared only by themselves. Their family priests, but not ordinary Brâhmans, eat *pakki* cooked by them. This is allowed to any other caste except Kshatriyas. Low castes such as Nâis and Kahârs eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Distribution of Kasaundhan Banyas according to the census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Dehra Dûn	85
Bulandshahr	1
Farrakhâbâd	17
Bareilly	2
Bodhân	50
Morâdâbâd	1
Shâljahânpur	11
Fatehpur	483
Bânda	3,508

¹ *Eastern India*, I., 161.

Distribution of Kasauddhan Banyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Hamirpur	611
Allahâbâd	268
Jhânsi	2
Benares	953
Mirzapur	164
Jaunpur	669
Ghâzipur	491
Gorakhpur	15,983
Basti	18,149
Azamgarh	346
Lucknow	2,014
Unâo	69
Râe Bareilly	4,842
Sitapur	252
Kheri	86
Faizâbâd	12,122
Gonda	22,489
Bahrâich	4,645
Sultânpur	3,593
Partâbgarh	67
Bârabanki	5,458
TOTAL	97,741

Kasera.—(Sanskrit *kāṣya kâra*, "a worker in bell metal.")¹
The brass-founding caste. According to Mr. Risley,² they are

¹ But on the suffix *era* see Hornle, *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages*, para. 249, *sqq.*

² *Tribes and Castes*, I., 423.

"probably an offshoot from one of the higher mercantile castes, which was separated from the parent group by adopting this special profession. The fact that the Kaseras have a well-defined set of exogamous sections and pride themselves on their purity of descent seems to indicate that the caste is a homogeneous one, and is not, like many of the functional castes, a collection of men from several different groups held together merely by the bond of a common occupation." In Mirzapur, which is one of the head-quarters of the caste, they call themselves Kshatriyas, and assert that they were driven to adopt their present occupation when Parasurāma made a general massacre of the Kshatriya race.¹

2 In Benares they name seven endogamous sub-castes—Purbiya or Purbhi (Eastern), Pachhāwan or Pachhiwāhan (Western), Gorakhpuri (from Gorakhpur), Tānk (either connected with the Rājput clan of that name or, as Mr. Sherring supposes, from the principality of Tānk (Tonk), Tanchara, Bhariya, and Golar. Of these the Purbiya or Purabiya, Pachhiwāhan, and Golar are found in Mirzapur. The Purabiya and Pachhiwāhan sub-castes are divided into a number of exogamous sections (*al*). The following are the sections of the Purabiya in Mirzapur:—Baikata, Barwār, Paigiha, Belkatha, Chorkat, Chūrihār, Ganreriya, Ghorcharha, Gurteliya, Hardiha, Kardhaniyator Mahobiya, Kharmauriya, Lohār, Mahobiya, Qalaigar, Tamaha, Teliya. The sections of the Pachhiwāhan are:—Bāri, Bapdahka, Berwār, Belkata, Budhmaniya, Chilmāra, Chūrihāra, Dhumei, Ghoraha, Ghamela, Ghumila, Hardiha, Jarseth, Jhamaiya, Katha, Khutaha, Koraiya, Mahalwār, Paitiba, Rahilaha, Sirbbaiyān, Songar. The Golar are few in numbers in Mirzapur, and do not appear to have any well-recognized sections. They are a separate sub-caste of Kaseras who have been permanently excommunicated for some violation of caste rules and form an endogamous sub-caste of their own. These three sub-castes are endogamous and do not eat together. As to the origin of these sections—some are obviously the names of existing castes such as the Teliya, Lohār, Ganreriya, Chūrihār, Qalaigar, and Bāri. Others like the Mahobiya and Kardhaniyator Mahobiya ("those who break the

¹ In Mirzapur they represent themselves as descended from the ancient Kshatriya Rājās—Tamar, Mordhuja, Tanchardhuja, and Haihaya. Mordhuja is possibly Moradhwaj (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey*, VI., 227; XVII., 98). Haihaya was the name of the Kala Chūri dynasty of Chedi (*ibid.*, IX., 77).

waist string") are of local origin (from Mahoba in the Hamirpur District). It illustrates the fertility with which these sections are produced that none in these Mirzapur lists correspond with those given by Mr. Risley for Bihâr.¹ In the hills the Kasera is represented by the Tamota or Tamta, who is a Dom. The complete lists show 53 sections of the usual type. Some are territorial such, as Ajhudhyabâsi, Brij, Jamnapâri, Jaunpuri, Kanaujiya, Mainpuriya, Pachhiwâhan, Purabiya; others are taken from tribes with which they imply some connection, such as Ahirbansi, Chhattri, Paribais Chhattri, Tânk, and Sombansi. They practise a strict rule of exogamy. No man may marry a woman of his own section, and the tendency among the more respectable Kaseras appears to be to extend this prohibition so as to prevent not only persons of the same section from intermarrying, but to bar intermarriages between persons whose fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers belong to the same section. They have in addition a rule of exogamy based on geographical position. Thus the Mirzapur Kaseras intermarry only with those resident in Benares and Jaunpur, not with those of Bihar.

3. Infant marriage is the rule with all the more respectable Kaseras, but ordinary people marry their daughters at ten or twelve. Inter-tribal fornication in the cases of unmarried people or widows and widowers seems to be lightly regarded. The offenders are not excommunicated, only fined. In Bihar² it would seem that polygamy is allowed only if the first wife is barren: here, as far as can be ascertained, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to keep. They have the ordinary forms of marriage,—*charhauwa*, the respectable form, and *dola*, used by poor people. Widows can marry by *sagâi*, but they profess this to be a modern institution. She may marry the younger brother of her late husband or an outsider as she pleases. A husband can put away his wife for adultery with a member of another caste, and a wife can leave her husband if he does not support her, or abandons his religion. Divorced women cannot re-marry within the tribe.

4. Kaseras generally follow the Vaishnava or Nânakpanthi sect. Their clan deities are the Pâñchônpir, Durga, and Bandi Devi. The first are

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, II., Appendix, 71.

² *Risley*, *loc cit.*, I., 430.

worshipped in the month of Jeth on a Sunday or Wednesday, with offerings of pulse cakes (*phulaure*) and bread. Durga is worshipped on 15th Chait with an offering of cakes (*purī*), rice milk (*khīr*), and sweetmeats. Bandi Devi is honoured with an offering of pepper and sugar dissolved in water (*nirchwān*) at the full moon of Sāwan. When a person recovers from small-pox a yellow cloth and some flowers are dedicated to Sitāla Māta. All these offerings are, after dedication, consumed by the worshippers. Their priests are Tiwāri Brāhmans, who are received on terms of equality by other Brāhmans. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way, and balls (*pinda*) are offered to them on the 15th of any month which falls on a Wednesday, and also in the first fortnight of Kuār. On such occasions uncooked grain (*siddha*) is given to Brāhmans. People who die in a distant land or who have died a violent death are thrown into running water and cremated in effigy, with the usual ceremonies, within six months of death.

5. There is some difference of opinion as to their occupation.

Occupation and social status.

According to Mr. Nesfield¹: "The Kasera's speciality lies in mixing the softer metals (zinc, copper, and tin) and moulding the alloy into various shapes, such as cups, bowls, plates, etc. The Thathera's art consists in polishing and engraving the utensils which the Kasera supplies." On the other hand Mr. Hoey² says that at Lucknow the manufacturer of brass vessels is called indifferently Thathera, Kasera, or Bhariya. In Mirzapur it appears that the name Kasera is confined to the moulder of vessels in brass or alloy and to the man who beats out trays out of metal sheets, while the Thathera makes and sells ornaments made of alloy (*phul*). A workman akin to him is the Dhaliya or Dhalnewāla of Lucknow, who makes ornaments (*hansti, kara, tariya*) of zinc (*jasta*), others from pewter (*rānga*), and who moulds in lead moulds for other artisans.³ The Kaseras pretend that they were originally landowners like the Kshatriyas. Kaseras all wear the sacred thread (*janam*), and are very punctilious in matters of caste. They eat the flesh of goats and sheep and fish. They do not drink spirits. They eat *pakki* cooked

¹ *Brief View*, 29.

² *Monograph*, 198.

³ *Ibid.*, 102. Dr. Buchanan (*Eastern India*, II., 200) says: "In some places these two professions are considered distinct, the makers and menders of vessels being called Kasera, and the makers of ornaments being called Thathera, but in others the terms are used as synonymous."

by all Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, except Kalwars, Kāyasths, Nāis, Bāris, and Abūrs. They eat *kachchi* cooked by their own tribesmen or priests. It is said that all Brāhmans, except Sarwariyas, will eat *pakki* cooked by them, and Nāis, Bāris and Kahārs eat *kachchi* prepared by them. A full account of the Kasera's craft will appear in the forthcoming Monograph on the brass metal trade of the Province and need not be repeated here.

Distribution of Kaseras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Mathura	3
Cawnpur	14
Allahābād	43
Benares	1,697
Mirzapur	2,475
Jaunpur	174
Ghāzipur	7
Ballia	253
Gorakhpur	403
Basti	751
Azamgarh	141
Lucknow	114
Unāo	155
Rāō Bareli	9
Sitapur	67
Hardoi	8
Faizābād	57
Gonda	461
Bahrāich	319
Partābgarh	32
TOTAL	7,273

Kashmiri.—(Residents of Kashmîr.)—A small sub-caste of Banyas, found in small numbers in Bareilly and Pilibhît.

Kâsip.—(Sanskrit, *kashyapa*, "tortoise," which may have been the tribal totem.)—A sept of Râjputs most numerous in Shâhjahânpur, who are low in the social scale, though claiming to be an offshoot of the Kachhwâhas. Their tradition is that they are immigrants from Kashmîr, the Râja of which they claim as a member of the clan, and allege that he recently recognised the fact.¹ He is usually called a Dogra Râjput; but Dogar is only another name for Jammu, and Dogra is a general term for any Kashmîri Râjput.

Distribution of the Kâsip Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar	1
Bulandshahr	7
Mainpuri	17
Etah	1
Bareilly	125
Budâun	44
Shâhjahânpur	2,390
Pilibhît	178
Jhânsi	3
Azamgarh	1
Lucknow	8
Sitapur	9
Hardoi	35
Kheri	180
TOTAL	2,939

Kathak, Kathik.—(Sanskrit *kathika*, "a professional story-teller.")²—A caste of story-tellers, singers, and musicians.

¹ *Settlement Report*, 24: 59.

² Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and a note by Munshi Bhagwân Dâs, Tahsilâdar, Allahâbâd.

2. According to one story they are really Gaur Brāhmans, who used originally to sing and dance in the temples of the gods, and a certain Muhammadan Emperor of Delhi once heard them and was so pleased with their skill that he ordered them in future to perform in public. Another story connects them with King Prithu, "who was son of Vena, son of Anga. He was the first king, and from him the earth received her name Prithivi. The Vishnu Purāṇa says that the Rishis 'inaugurated Vena monarch of the earth,' but he was wicked by nature and prohibited worship and sacrifices. Incensed at the decay of religion, pious sages beat Vena to death with blades of holy grass. In the absence of a king, robbery and anarchy arose, and the Munis, after consultation, proceeded to rub the thigh of the dead king in order to produce a son. There came forth a man like a charred log with flat face and extremely short. This man became a Nishāda, and with him came out the sins of the departed king. The Brāhmans then rubbed the right arm of the corpse and from it sprang the majestic Prithu, Vena's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. At his birth all creatures rejoiced; and through the birth of this virtuous son, Vena, delivered from the hell called Put, ascended to heaven."¹ This monarch found that the art of the Udgatri, or chanter of the Vedic hymns, had fallen into disuse, so he performed a rite (*yaksha*) and out of the sacred fire-pits (*agni-kunda*) came out three men, Māgadha, Sūta, and Bandijad, from the first of whom are descended the Kathaks, from the second the Bhāts, and from the third the Maithila Brāhmans.

3. The Kathaks themselves profess to be divided into sixteen sections, which all seem to be of local origin and derived from the places which they used to occupy in former times. Of these the names of fifteen have been ascertained at Mirzapur:—Bhadohiya, from Pargana Bhadohi in the Mirzapur District; Mathapati, whose ancestors are said to have been heads of a monastery (*matha*); Mahuāri; Bhunsaiha; Gouaha, from Gonda; Usari; Mandik; Rajaipur; Matepur; Nainkan; Jangali and Mangali, who are chiefly found in the direction of Azamgarh and Gorakhpur; Mohānw; Thakurahān; and Mālik. Each of these again is divided into *gotras*, but of these it has been,

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

in consequence of the general ignorance prevailing among the caste, impossible to procure a list. All they can say is that their *gotras* correspond with those of the Kanauiya and Sarwariya Brāhmans. Their law of exogamy is the same as that of the Brāhmans, and a man cannot marry in his section or in his own *gotra* until at least seven generations have passed. In their marriage, birth and death ceremonies they follow the usages of Brāhmans. The complete Census returns give 378 section names of the usual type. Side by side with Brāhmanical terms such as Misr, Dikshit or Bhāradwāja, we find numerous others derived from those of well-known tribes, such as, Bāchal, Bagheli, Bais, Bargūjar, Bundel, Chauhān, Chhatri, Dhārhi, Dhobi, Gadariya, Gabarwār, Gaur, Hurakiya, Jādon, Kāyasth, Khatri, Koliya, Lodh, Mehtariya, Niyāriya, Panwār, Paturiya, Raghubansi, Raikwār, Rāthaur, Rāwat, Sengar, Sūrajbansi, and Tomra. Besides these are numerous purely local terms, such as Ajudhyabāsi, Bahādurpuriya, Bakariya, Bishnpuriya, Dakkhināha, Hasanapuri, Kanauiya, Madhupuriya, Mathurabāsi, Pachhwāhān, Purabiya, Sāranpuriya, Sarwariya.

4. Kathaks are popularly regarded by low-caste Hindus as equal to Brāhmans, and all castes, including Rājputs, salute them and beg a blessing.

Religion and social status. The only practical difference between them is that they cannot receive the gifts of piety (*dāna*) which are taken by Brāhmans. Widow marriage is prohibited. In addition to all the ordinary Hindu gods the Kathaks worship Ghāzi Miyaṇ and offer to him sweet cakes (*pakwān*) in the months of Kuār and Chait. They employ Brāhmans for ceremonial purposes, and such Brāhmans are received on terms of equality with other Brāhmans. They eat fish, goats, sheep, but, of course, not beef, and they do not drink. But while they hold a fairly respectable position, their business degrades them to some extent. Their women are secluded except on very special occasions, such as marriages in very high caste families; but the men are known as Bharuas or the attendants of the ordinary dancing girls, who are often prostitutes, and from this occupation many of them are believed to be negligent as regards the strict caste rules of eating, drinking, etc. They play on the small drum (*dhāl*) and the cymbals (*majīra*), and they also act as the teachers of singing and dancing women whom they accompany to respectable houses at marriages and similar occasions and receive half their earnings. Their clan deity is the goddess Saraswati,

whom they worship at the Basant Panchami festival on the fifth day of Phālgun with offerings of sweetmeats, flowers, burnt offerings (*koma*), and incense (*dhūpa*). On this occasion an image of Saraswati or Gauri is made of cowdung and worshipped. The Census returns show 5,311 worshippers of Saraswati. Mr. Baillie writes: "It is probable that these are due less to her position as a river goddess than to those attributes which she acquired as the patroness of the ceremonies performed on the margin of her holy waters, and subsequently as the inspirer of the hymns recited at these ceremonies. She is now known mainly as the goddess of speech and learning, the inventress of the Sanskrit language and patroness of arts and sciences."¹ Those who are less particular worship Mahābir and the Panchonpir.

Distribution of Kathaks according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Farrukhābād	8
Hamīrpur	24
Jālaun	24
Benares	100
Mirzapur	11
Jaunpur	53
Ghāzipur	25
Ballia	19
Gorakhpur	509
Basti	230
Azamgarh	215
Lucknow	32
Rāe Bareilly	210
Sitapur	51
Hardoi	2

¹ *Census Report, North-West Provinces and Oudh*, 234; *Punjab Census Report* 105; Monier Williams, *Hinduism and Brāhmanism*, 429.

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

DISTRICT.	Number.
Faizābād	6
Bahrāich	312
Partābgurh	136
TOTAL	2,034

Katheriya.—A sept of Rājputs confined to Rohilkhand and the Central Duāb. They derive their name from Kathehar, the old name of Eastern Rohilkhand, which again is supposed to be derived from *kother*, a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature with a subjacent sandy stratum requiring copious rain for irrigation. Others with less probability connect the name with Katyār in the Hills or Karttikeyapura. The country of Kathehar is now confined to the tract lying between the Rāmganga, Sārda, and Khanaut rivers. The accounts vary as to the time they entered Rohilkhand. One story is that Bhīma Sena drove out the Ahīrs about the time that Prithivī Rāja ruled at Delhi and Jay Chand at Kanauj. According to General Cunningham they did not invade the country till 1174 A.D., and their ancient capital was Lakhnaut.¹ They appear to be in some way connected with the Gaur sept, and one account represents that they expelled the Bāchhals; but, on the other hand, Mr. Moens denies that the Bāchhals ever held sway in Bareilly. In Shāhjahānpur² it is said that the Gaurs helped them against the Pathāns. The Morādābād³ tradition is that they were Sūrajbansis of Ajudhya, who were driven from thence when the Aryan invasion was temporarily pushed back by the aboriginal races, and that they came with real or pretended authority from the Muhammadans to seize the country occupied by the Ahīrs.

2. In Bareilly the Katheriyas take their wives from the Bais, Sombansi, Bargūjar, and Bhur Janghāra septs, and give girls to the Chauhān, Rāthaur, Bhadauriya, and Chandel. In Farrukhā-

¹ Bareilly Settlement Report, 21, sq.; Archaeological Reports, I., 251, 356.

² Settlement Report, 107, sq.

³ Settlement Report, 2.

bâd they give their girls to the Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Chauhân, and Râthaur, and procure wives from the Chandel, Ujjaini, Gaharwâr, Jaiswâr, Nikumbh, Panwâr, and Bais.

Distribution of the Katheriya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Sabâranpur	2
Muzaffarnagar	7
Meerut	172
Bulandshahr	45
Aligarh	18
Agra	94
Farrukbâbâd	1,303
Mainpuri	796
Etâwah	143
Etah	3,043
Bareilly	6,708
Bijnor	24
Budâun	4,921
Morâdâbâd	8,145
Shâhjahânpur	9,031
Pilibhît	1,823
Allahâbâd	32
Ghâzipur	3
Tarâi	401
Sitapur	219
Hardoi	280
Kheri	522
Bahrâich	16
TOTAL	37,752

Kāthi.—A Rājput sept, some members of which are found in Bundelkhand. According to Professor Wilson,¹ the word Kathaci or Kattia is derived from Kshatta or Kshatriya. Colonel Tod² classes them among the thirty-six Royal races, and describes them as a most important tribe in the Western Peninsula, which has effected the change of the name from Saurāshtra to Kāthiawār. "Of all its inhabitants the Kāthi retains most originality; his religion, his manners, and his looks are all decidedly Scythic." They have been identified with the Khatraioi of Ptolemy. "According to the Greek writers the people who held the territory comprised between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Biyās) were the Kathaioi, whose capital was Sangala. The Mahābhārata and the Pāli Buddhist works speak of Sangala as the capital of the Madras, a powerful people also known as Bāhika. Lassen, in order to account for the substitution of name, supposes that the mixture of the Madras with the inferior castes had led them to assume the name of Khatriyas (Kshatriya, the warrior caste) in token of their degradation, but this is by no means probable. The name is still found spread over an immense area from the Hindu Koh as far as Bengal, and from Nepāl to Gujarāt, under forms slightly variant: Kāthi, Katti, Kathia, Khatri, Khetar, Kattaur, Kattair, Kattak, and others. One of these tribes, the Kāthi, issuing from the lower parts of the Panjāb, established themselves in Saurāshtra, and gave the name Kāthiavād to the great peninsula of Gujarāt."³ Widow-burning is mentioned by Megasthenes as a peculiar custom of the Kathaci.⁴

2. The Kāthiawār legend is that they were ordered to drive off the cattle of Virāt. This, as Rājputs, they refused to do, and Karan struck his staff on the ground and produced out of the wood (Kāshtha) a man, who carried out his orders, whence their name. They worship the sun and use it as a symbol in all their deeds. "The symbol has much resemblance to a spider, the rays forming the legs, but that there may be no mistake underneath is always written, 'the witness of the holy sun.' Their contact with Hindus has gradually instilled into them some respect for the ordinary Hindu gods and for Brāhmans. They are exceedingly super-

¹ *Asiana Antiqua*, 197.

² *Annals*, I., 119 sqq.

³ McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII., 360.

⁴ Bonhury, *Ancient Geography*, I., 563.

stitious and believe in omens, placing the greatest reliance on the call of a partridge to the left. At funeral ceremonies, instead of feeding crows, they feed plovers, and have a strong friendly feeling towards them. The Kāthiis are exceedingly hospitable, and are always sociable and friendly. They are illiterate and indolent spending their time in gossip and social entertainments, and rarely troubling themselves about their affairs. They have adopted the Hindu feeling about the holiness of the cow, otherwise they are not particular about their food or liquor. The women are proverbially handsome and bear a high character. They are on a social equality with their husbands, and are treated as companions. A Kāthi seldom marries more than one wife, though they are not limited in this respect. Widow marriage is allowed, but it is seldom practised, except in the case of a husband dying and leaving a younger brother. In such cases the rule is peremptory that the younger brother must marry his brother's widow.¹

3. One story about the Kāthi makes them out to have originated in Kurdistan, whence they were driven out by Tiglath Pileser of Assyria about 1130 B. C. Abul Fazal, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, represents them as akin to the Ahîrs.

4. In the Panjāb the Kathiya claim to be Panwār Rājputs.² They are described as "a handsome, sturdy race, and nearly all Jāts of the Great Rāvi, do not allow their children of either sex to marry until they have attained the age of puberty, because, as they justly consider, too early marriages would be detrimental to the physique of the race." One account fixes their original home in Bikāner, whence they entered Gujarāt. Another tradition is that they were driven out of the valley of the lower Ghaggar about the time of Timūr's invasion.

Kathiyāra.³—(Sanskrit *kāsthā kāra*, "a worker in wood.")—A small caste of bricklayers and carpenters, who were recorded in the Aligarh District in 1881, but have probably been included in the Rāj or Barhai caste at the last Census. They have five exogamous sections—Kathar, Kokās, Sakoriya, Hindoliya, and Hirnotiya. They marry outside their section and not in the section of their ancestors on the father's or mother's side, as long as any relationship is remembered, or in families to whom they have, within memory,

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII., 122, 199.

² Ibbetson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, para. 472.

³ Chiefly based on a note by Munshee Maideyal Singh, Deputy Collector.

given a bride. They may marry two sisters, but not at the same time, nor the younger before the elder.

2. The legend told by the caste runs that Sîta, the deserted wife of Râma Chandra, was living in the forest with the Rishi Bhâradvaja. She had

Legend of origin. one son, Lava; and one day she happened to go to fetch water, taking the child with her. When Bhâradvaja returned in her absence, he missed the child, and blaming himself for his carelessness in allowing it to be taken away by a wild beast, he made another child in its image out of *kusa* grass. When Sîta returned with her baby in her arms she was surprised to see the other child; but she adopted it as her own, and from his origin he was called Kusa. At the contest of the Aswamedha he fought so hard (*kathara*) that his descendants were called Kathiyâra. They fix their original head-quarters at Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District, and thence to Jalesar and Aligarh, about one hundred and fifty years ago. On account of their descent from *kusa*, they will not sleep on *kusa* grass, nor will they cut or use it; in other words, *kusa* grass was possibly a totem.

3. They practise adult marriage and sexual license before marriage is lightly regarded. Their marriage ceremonies are of the normal type. Widows marry by *karda*. A wife can be divorced for adultery, with the permission of the tribal council, and she cannot be again married in the caste.

4. They worship the Miyân of Amroha or Jalesar, Zâhirpîr, and Jakhiya. Of Miyân they say that his name was

Religion. Mirân. He was an ordinary Faqir at Amroha. One day he was rebuilding the wall of his hermitage (*takiya*), when he found an old lamp that belonged to the Jinn. When he took it home and lighted it the Jinn appeared and bowed down before him. One day he ordered the Jinn to bring him the daughter of the king of Rûm. He did so, and Mirân was so pleased with her that he made the Jinn bring her every night. At last her father noticed that she was pale; so he got her to tell him what was going on. When the king heard the case he was wroth, and sent his own four Jinns to arrest Mirân. When Mirân heard of this he was afraid and asked his Jinn to protect him. They advised him to get into his water-vessel (*badhana*), and when the Jinns of the king of Rûm came they carried him off in the pot as he was. The king, when he heard of the magical power of Mirân, was afraid to open the pot, and he

had it buried in the hermitage which he used to occupy at Amīcha. Mirān implored his Jinn to release him, but they refused, on account of his iniquity, and he is there still and is widely worshipped.

5. Of Jakhiya the tale is thus told: There was once the wife of a Brāhman, who was taking food to her husband, when she was forced by a sweeper and became in child. She told her husband what had happened; he, believing her innocent, forgave her, and kept the matter secret. When her seventh month had passed, one day her husband beat her for some fault, and the child cried out against him from her womb. The Brāhman was stricken with fear and determined to kill the child. When the baby was born, in fear of his father, he took refuge in the pig-stye of a sweeper, and there his father killed him. As he was dying he implored Bhagwān that his next birth should be in some high-caste family. So he has since then been worshipped. He is also known by the name of Masān or the deity of the cremation ground. Children suffering from convulsions are taken to his shrine and most of them recover. The cure is attributed by some to the thaumaturgic power of the saint, and by others to the electrical effect of the peacock feathers with which the patient is fanned continuously for three days.

6. They employ Sanādh Brāhmanas as their family priests. They do not perform the regular *śrāddha*, but, during the fortnight sacred to the dead (*kandgaṭ*) they usually feed a Brāhman or two, and do the same on the anniversary of a death in the family. They work as carpenters and bricklayers. The only meat they eat is mutton; they drink spirits, and those who abstain both from meat and wine are considered more respectable than the others. They will not eat, drink or smoke with any other caste but their own. They eat *kachchi* cooked by Brāhmanas and *pakki* cooked by Ahīrs, Lodhas, Mālis, and Kahārs.

Katiyār.—A sept of Rājputs shown in insignificant numbers at the recent Census only in the Bulandshahr District. There is, however, a sept of the same name in the Hardoi District, who are said to have emigrated from Sonoriya near Gwālior under Rāja Deva Datta, about three hundred years ago. "His clan was then called Tomar. Family feuds led him to migrate from Sonoriya to Singhi Rāmpur in the Farrukhābād District on the Ganges; thence he gradually fought his way westward. At Khasaura he sided with the Baihar Ahīrs, and crushed their rivals, the Dhānuks. Then, turning on the Baihars, he smote and spared not till they accepted

his dominion. After establishing himself at Khasaura he drove out the Thatheras. A career of massacre earned for his sept the name Katyār or "slaughterers."¹

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

DISTRICT.	Number.
Bulandshahr	26
TOTAL	26

Katwa, Katua.²—(*Kātua*, "to spin thread").—A small caste found at the last Census only in Azamgarh and Pilibhīt, and sometimes classed as a sub-caste of the Kori. They have a tradition that they were originally Bais Rājputs, whose ancestors, having been imprisoned for resistance to authority, were released on the promise that they would follow a woman's occupation of spinning thread. They have the usual rule of exogamy which bars marriage with any relative as long as any recollection of previous marriage connection remains. Marriage should take place in infancy; but if, owing to poverty, it be deferred till after puberty of the girl, no incontinence is tolerated. Marriage follows the usual stages of *tilak* or betrothal, and the *pāc-pūja* or worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom by the father of the bride and the formal giving away (*kanyādāna*).

2. Some few of them work at spinning thread, but most of them keep grain shops and sell cloth and thread. They employ to the east of the Province Sarwariya Brāhmans as their family priests. They do not eat meat or drink spirits.

Distribution of Katwas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Pilibhīt	7
Azamgarh	302
TOTAL	309

¹ Settlement Report, 173.

² From a note by Qāzī Khairuddin, Azamgarh.

Kausik.—A sept of Rājputs hardly found outside the Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions. According to some, the title is a mere nickname, meaning “squint-eyed” (Sanskrit *kusika*). They say themselves that they take their name from their eponymous ancestor, Kusika or Kusa, whom they identify with Viswamitra, the famous sage who was born a Kshatriya, but, by intense austerities, raised himself to be a Brāhman, and was finally promoted to be one of the seven great Rishis. His father, or as some say his son, was Gadhi, the reputed founder of Gadhipur, which is identified with the modern Ghāzipur. Many generations after came Rāja Chandra Prakāsh, who had two sons, Rāja Bhōj and Indradaman; the former became Rāja of Dhāranagar, and the latter of Ghāzipur. The Dhuriyapār family in Gorakhpur claim their name and descent from Rāja Dhruv Chandra, who expelled the Bhars and occupied the present Dhuriyapār Pargana. The town of Gopālpur, from which the family takes its title, was founded by his successor, Rāja Gopāl Chandra. The Ghāzipur branch select their religious guides (*guru*) from a sect of monotheists peculiar to Ghāzipur called Bhēka Shāhi. The Gorakhpur branch hold a respectable rank, and intermarry with the Chandrabansi, Sūrajbansi, Baghel, Sirnet, and Chauhān septs.

2. From Ballia it is reported that they marry girls of the Haihobans, Ujjaini, Nikumbh, Kinwār, Narwāni, Karchhuliya, Sengar, Barwār, Bais, Barhiya, Bargaiyan, Raghubansi, Sūrajbansi, Pachhtoriya, Bisariha, Donwār, and Palwār septs; and to give brides to the Ujjaini, Haihobans, Bais, Raghubansi, Bisen, Sūrajbansi, Narwāni, Palwār, Nikumbh, Sirnet, Rāj Kumār, Durgbansi, Chauhān, and Baghel septs. Those in Azamgarh are said to take brides from the Barhiya, Gaharwār, Dikshit, Kākan, Gahlot, Bachgoti, Bais, and Chandel; and to give girls to the Sirnet, Bais, Rāj Kumār, Panwār, Chandrabansi, Gargbansi, and Raghubansi septs. They claim to belong to the Kausik *gotra*.

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

DISTRICT.	Number.
Cawnpur	3
Allahābād	1

Distribution of the Kausik Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICT.	Number.
Jhānsi	69
Benares	171
Jaunpur	91
Ghāzipur	720
Ballia	4,998
Gorakhpur	7,115
Basti	980
Azamgarh	4,505
Rāō Bareilly	13
Faizābād	574
Bahrāich	4
Sultānpur	85
Partābgarh	39
TOTAL	19,368

Kâyasth, Kâyastha.¹—The well-known writer class of Hindustan.—About the derivation of the term there is some difference of opinion. Mr. Colebrooke gives as the popular derivation the Sanskrit *kāya-sanstitah*, “staying at home,” in reference to their sedentary habits. The caste themselves derive their name from *kāya-stha*, situated in the body, incorporate, with reference to the legend of their descent, which will be given further on.

2. Like all people who are on their promotion the Kâyasths are particularly sensitive as to any imputations on the purity of their descent, and it is, from every point of view, useless to revive a troublesome

¹ Based on notes by Munshi Rām Saran Dās, Faizābād; Pandit Baldeo Prasad, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Munshi Ummed Lal; The *Tawārīkh Qaum Kâyasth*, by Munshi Awadh Bihārī Lal; and *Tawārīkh Gaur Kâyasth*, by Munshi Kishori Lal.

controversy. Mr. Risley remarks that "the physical characters of the Bihār Kāyasths (who are identical with those of these Provinces) afford some grounds for the belief that they may be of tolerably pure Aryan descent, though the group is doubtless a functional one recruited from all grades of the Aryan community." The case of the Kāyasths of Bengal is not so clear, though it is reported that the Kāyasths of Northern India have recently shown an inclination to admit them to full rights of communion. Of them Mr. Risley writes: "Putting tradition aside, and looking, on the one hand, to the physical type of the Kāyasths, and, on the other, to their remarkable intellectual attainments, it would seem that their claim to Aryan descent cannot be wholly rejected, though all attempts to lay down their genealogy precisely must necessarily be futile. It appears to be at least a plausible conjecture that they were a functional group, developed within the Aryan community, in response to the demand for an official and literary class, which must in course of time have arisen. This class would naturally have been recruited more largely from the peaceful Vaisyas and Sūdras than from the warlike Kshatriyas, while the Brāhmins would probably have held aloof from it altogether."

3. It is, of course, not difficult to do, as some advocates of a higher status for the caste than others are disposed to admit have done, to produce texts in support of their views; but it is obvious that the question cannot be settled by reference to writings, the authority of some of which is not quite free from suspicion. The matter is one of purely physical conformation, and, before it can be finally settled, the anthropometrical data must be much larger than they are at present. At the same time it may perhaps be said that most competent observers of the physical appearance of Kāyasths are not prepared to accept the conclusion of the writers of the *Jatimāla* and similar authorities, which deny wholly or partly their Aryan descent; and so far as the evidence from customs and manners goes, the result is the same.¹

4. With this preface we may now go on to relate the legends of their origin given by the members of the caste themselves. One story tells that The tribal legends—
in the beginning of all things there were thirteen Yamas in

¹ Any one curious as regards this controversy may consult, on the one hand, the *Kāyastha Ethnology* of Munchi Kālī Prasad and Bāhu Guru Prasad Sen's article in *Calcutta Review*, XCI, 156.

Yamapuri, the kingdom of the dead. The last of these was Chitra. In those days there were three men of the same name in a certain city. One was a Rāja, the second a Brāhman, and the third a barber. When the time appointed for the Rāja's life had expired, Yama sent his messengers (*dūta*) to bring his soul to Yamapuri. The messengers spared the Rāja and brought the soul of the Brāhman, and barber to Yama, who, when he consulted his register, found that a mistake had occurred. Brahma was grieved when he heard of this, and began to meditate how he could so arrange the affairs of Yamapuri so as to avoid similar mistakes in future. Up to that time there was no such thing as carnal birth; life was produced by the milk of the gods. While Brahma was thus reflecting, Vishnu appeared before him in his four-handed form. In one hand he held a pen, in the second the Vedas, in the third the *pāsa* or noose with which Yama catches the souls of the dead, in the fourth the *danda* or mace with which he punishes the wicked. Vishnu then spread his delusion over Brahma and he took him on his knee and said, "As you existed in my body unseen, I give you the name of Chitrugupta and make you the fourteenth Yama." He then ordered Chitrugupta to assume charge of Yamapuri and to stop mental creation and introduce the arrangement of carnal births. He added that he should, in future, worship Sūrya, Vishnu, Devī, Ganesa, and Siva, but that he (Brahma) was to be his personal god (*ishṭa-devata*). When the gods heard that mental creation was to cease, Dharma Sarma Rishi represented to Brahma that he wished to marry his daughter Irāvati to Chitrugupta, and Manuḥi, the son of Sūrya, proposed to give him his daughter Sudakshina also. To this Brahma agreed, and the double marriage was performed. Irāvati bore to Chitrugupta eight sons—Chāru, Suchāru, Chitraksha, Matiwān, Hanumān, Chitrachāru, Charuna, and Jitindriya; by Sudakshina he had four sons—Chitrabānu, Vibhānu, Visvabhānu, and Vrijbhānu. When Brahma saw the increase of the family of Chitrugupta he was pleased and said, "My son! I have created from my arms the Kshatriyas, who will be lords of Mrityuloka, the world of death. I desire to make your sons Kshatriyas like them." But Chitrugupta said, "Most of the Rājas of the world will fall into hell. I do not desire this fate for my sons. I pray thee to allot to them some other function." Brahma was pleased and answered, "Your sons shall wield the pen and not the sword. For four births shall

they live in the world of death. Then, if they deserve it, they shall be removed to the heaven of the gods." So the sons of Chitrachūpta came down to this world of ours, and, when they had established their human race, they were readmitted into heaven.

5. So Chitrachūpta remains the recorder of Yama. A soul, when it quits the body, seeks its abode in the lower regions; there the recorder Chitrachūpta reads out its account from his register, called *Agrasandhani*, and the soul either joins the *Pitri*, or is sent for punishment to one of the twenty-one hells, or is re-born on earth in some other form. Dr. Muir¹ translates a description of Chitrachūpta from the *Vrihannaradiya Purāna*, which he describes as "tasteless and extravagant": "The dreadful Chitrachūpta, with a voice like that issuing from the clouds at the mundane dissolution, gleaming like a mountain of collyrium, terrible with lightning-like weapons, having thirty-two arms, as big as two *gojanas*, red-eyed, long-nosed, his face furnished with grinders and projecting teeth, his eyes resembling oblong ponds, bearing death and diseases." In the *Padma Purāna* we also read: "Brahma having remained in meditation for a while, there sprang from his whole body a male of godlike form bearing an inkpot and a pen. This being was named Chitrachūpta, and he was placed by Brahma near Dharmarāja to register the good and evil actions of all sentient beings. He was possessed of supernatural wisdom, and became the partaker of sacrifices offered to the gods and fire. It is for this that the twice-born always give him oblations from their food. As he sprang from the body of Brahma he is said to be of the Kāyastha class. His descendants are Kāyastha of numerous *gotras* on the face of the earth." And in the *Bhavishya Purāna* we read: "Thou art sprung from my (Brahma's) body; therefore thou shalt be styled Kāyastha. Thou shalt be known on the earth by the name of Chitrachūpta. O son, having obtained my positive commands, thou shalt be posted for ever in the kingdom of Dharmarāja for the discrimination of virtue and vice! Let the religious duties prescribed for the Kshatriya caste be followed by thee according to rule. O son, beget devout children on the face of the earth." At the last Census only 1,567 persons were recorded as worshippers of Chitrachūpta, which is explained by the fact that "Kāyasths are in general orthodox Saivās or Vaiṣṇavās and worship Chitrachūpta with simply a

¹ *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, V., 202, note.

somewhat greater degree of reverence than other castes use to the spirits of their ancestors".

6. The Kāyasths are divided into twelve endogamous sub-castes.

Tribal organisation. These are Srivāstavya or Sribāstab; Bhatnāgara or Bhatnāgar; Saksena; Amisht or Anvasta; Aithan; Asthāna; Bālmik or Vālmiki; Māthur; Sūryadhvaj or Sūrajdhvaj; Kulsreshta or Kulasreshta; Karan or Karana; Gauda or Gaur and Nigam, with a thirteenth known as Unāya or those of Unāo. These it may be convenient to consider separately.

7. These are said to be descended from Bhānu, the son of

The Srivāstavya or Sribāstab Kāyasths. Chitrāgupta. He is said to have emigrated to Kashmīr, where he became Rāja of Srinagar, and thence obtained his name. On him was conferred the title of Rāja-adhirāja by Chandragupta, the Rāja of Magadha. By another account the name is derived from Srivatsa, "the favourite of the goddess of fortune," an epithet of Vishnu, whom they are said principally to worship. But there can be little doubt that the name is really territorial and derived from the ancient town of Srāvasti, now Sahet-Mahet, in the Gonda District. They, like the Gaur Kāyasths, have two sections Khara and Dūsra—which are also endogamous. About the explanation of these names opinions differ. Khara possibly represents the Sanskrit *sa/sa* in the sense of "right" or "excellent"; while Dūsra implies an inferior grade. By one story those were named Khara who took up their residence at Ajudhya during the time of Rāmchandra; while those who went and lived elsewhere were called Dūsra or "second rate." By an extraordinary feat of folk etymology some of the Oudh Kāyasths say that the twelve sub-castes married each the daughter of a deity (*deota*). On this the Rākshasas determined not to be outdone, and persuaded each of them to take a Rākshasa bride as well. The descendants of the deity became known as Deosra or Dūsra, and those of the demons Khara, which is supposed to be derived from Rākshasa.¹ A third story brings the date of the division down to the time of Akbar. At the Baqar 'Id he, as was the custom of his Court, ordered the flesh of the sacrificed goats to be distributed among his courtiers. Those who accepted the favour were known as Khara or "high-class"; those

¹ *Partabgarh Settlement Report*, 61, 27.

who refused were called *Dūsra* or "second rate." One of them refused the gift with contumely, and was called *Akhori*, which is said to mean "one whose faith remained intact." By another story this word, which is the name of one of the Bengal sections, means "one who would not eat" the forbidden food. According to Mr. Sherring,¹ two other clans of this sub-caste, the *Niplé Shabān* and the *Buddhi Shabān*, are to be found in the *Allahābād* and *Fatehpur* Districts. The *Sribāstab* is by far the most numerous sub-caste of the *Kāyasths* of these Provinces.

8. The *Bhatnāgar* sub-caste is supposed to be descended from *Chitra*, the son of *Chitrāgupta*. They are said to derive their name from their residence on the banks of the *Bhat* river, or at the old town of *Bhatner*, the fort of which is of some historical interest, having been at various times captured by *Mahmūd* of *Ghazni*, *Taimūr*, and *Kamrān*, the son of *Humayun*. Among them are two endogamous sections—*Bhatnāgar Vaisya* or *Qadīm*, the "real" or "ancient" *Bhatnāgars*, and the *Gaur Bhatnāgarī*, who are, as will be seen in the account of that sub-caste, connected with the *Gaur*.

9. According to the tribal tradition, the word *Saksena* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Sakhi-sena* in the sense of "friend of the army," and was a title given to them by the *Srivastāvyā Rājas* of *Srinagar* on account of their skill in war. But there can be no doubt that the name is really a territorial title derived from the old town of *Sankisa* in the *Farrukhābād* District. They have three endogamous sections—*Khara* and *Dūsra*, which agree with those of the *Sribāstab* sub-caste, and *Kharua*, which is said to mean "pure," and was conferred as a recognition of his honesty on one of their ancestors who was Treasurer to *Kusa*, one of the twin sons of *Rāma* and *Sita*. The name of this worthy is said to have been *Sūrya Chandra* or *Soma Datta*. By another story the *Dūsra* section took its name from the fact that they went with *Humayun*, the father of the Emperor *Akbar*, when he had to take refuge in *Irān* after his defeat by *Shīr Shāh*. They remained some sixteen years in exile with that monarch, and when they returned the "real" or *Khara* *Saksena* sub-caste refused to eat *kachchi* with them. It may be conjectured that the terms *Khara* and *Dūsra* really imply some

¹ *Hindu Tribes*, I., 399.

actual distinction of social rank and that the fission of the sub-caste into these two sections was the result of some internal quarrel about eating or some other social observance. The traditional ancestor of the Saksema sub-caste is Matimān, the son of Chitrāgupta.

10. The Amisht or Anvasta or Ambastha sub-caste are by tradition the descendants of Hanumān, son of Chitrāgupta. They are said to have settled at the Girnār Hill and to have taken their name from their worship of the goddess Ambaji or Amba Devi. There seems, however, to be some reason to suspect that they may be the representatives of the Ambastha race, the Ambastæ of Arrian, who are traditionally descended from a Brāhman and a woman of the Vaisya tribe, and were noted for their skill in medicine. It may be noted that the practice of surgery is an occupation of some Kāyasths. At the town of Nāgrām, in the Lucknow District, there is a colony of Kāyasths, known as Kohhal, who are oculists and are held in great local repute. None of the Amisht sub-caste appear to be found in these Provinces; they are chiefly resident in Bengal.

11. The Aithāna sub-caste are traditionally the descendants of Visvabhānu, son of Chitrāgupta. The legendary explanation of the name is that their ancestor once presented to Rāja Banār of Benares eight (*astha*) kinds of pearls—those of the snake, of the shell, of the bamboo, of the conch-shell, of the hog, of the elephant, and one that fell down with the rain from heaven. They have two endogamous sections which do not eat together—the Pūrabi or Mashriqi, "Eastern," who are found in Jaunpur and its neighbourhood, and the Maghribi or Pachhami, "Western," which are found in and about Lucknow.

12. The Vālmiki or Bālmik sub-caste are said to be descended from Vibhānu or Vrijbhānu, the son of Chandragupta, who is said to have gained the name of Vālmiki from his austerities. The name is supposed to be derived from the fact that he was so intensely devoted to meditation on God that he allowed the ants to form an ant-hill (*vālmika*) over him. They do not appear to have any legend connecting them with the famous Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyana. They have three endogamous sections—Mambāi, those of Bombay; Kachehhi those of Kacheh or Cutch; and Sorathi, those of Surat or Saurāshtra. They are not recorded at the recent Census in these Provinces.

13. The Māthur sub-caste are said to be descended from Chāru, son of Chitrāgupta. They take their name from their settlement at Mathura. According to one account they have three endogamous sections—Dihlawi, “those from Delhi”; Kachchhi, from Kachchh or Cutch; and the Lachauli of Jodhpur. By another account the Lachauli or Jodhpur sect is called Panchauli, from a king of that country named Pancha.

14. The title of the Sūrajdhvaj or Sūryadhwaḥ Kāyasths means “one having the sun for his emblem.” By their own story, they call themselves the descendants of Vibhānu, son of Chitrāgupta. The title of Sūryadhwaḥ is said to have been conferred on him by Rāja Sura Sena of the race of Ikshvāku, because he helped him in performing a sacrifice. There is a more scandalous derivation of the name and origin of this sub-caste which is particularly irritating to Kāyasths and need not be repeated. They profess excessive purity and call themselves Sakadwipi or Scythian Brāhmins.

15. The Kulśreṣṭha or Kulśreṣṭha (Sanskrit *kulśreṣṭhin*, “well-born”) claim to be descended from Jitindriya or Atindriya, the son of Chitrāgupta. The legend runs that he was the most amiable of all the sons of Chitrāgupta, and every year used to invite his brothers and, after drinking the water in which he washed their feet, to entertain them. This devotion to his brethren was counted unto him as righteousness. When his allotted space of life had passed, a messenger from Yamapuri came to him and said, “If you do not care to go to Heaven just now, some other arrangements will be made for you by your father Chitrāgupta.” He replied that he preferred to go to Heaven at once, so a heavenly chariot (*vimāna*) came down for him and carried him first to the Agnīloka Heaven, where he saw his father Chitrāgupta, who was pleased to see him, and, mounting on the same chariot, took him round all the Heavens. At last, when they reached Prajapati Loka, another chariot met them and carried them to Brahma Loka, where he was received into eternal happiness. Hence the honourable title conferred on his descendants. The Kulśreṣṭha Kāyasths are divided into two endogamous sections, Bārah Khara, or “the twelve ancient village sites,” and Chha Khara, or “the six sites.” These do not eat *kachchi* together.

16. The Karan is a purely Bengal sub-caste. The name is applied to the indigenous writer class of Orissa, of whom a full account is given by Mr. Risley. The word, of course, is the Sanskrit *karana* (root *kṛi*, "to do"); but traditionally they take their name from some place named Karnāli on the Narbada. They have two endogamous sections—the Gayawāla or "those of Gaya," and the Tirhūtiya or Tirhūt-wāl, who are residents of Tirhūt.

17. The Gaur Kāyasths claim to derive their name from Gaur or Gauda, the old capital of Bengal, and say that the Sena dynasty was furnished from their sub-caste. Their primal ancestor, Bhāga Datta, is said to have fought in the war of the Mahābhārata on the side of Duryodhana against Yudhishtira. Another famous king among them was Rāja Lāla Sena. Among Kāyasths it is the custom at marriages for women to make an image of lamp-black, which they call Kāl Sen, and worship it with the family deity. According to one account this Kāl Sen really represents the famous Rāja Lāl Sen. The last of the dynasty is called by them Rāja Lakhmaniya, and to him the Brāhman announced that a Turk or Musalmān, whose hands were long enough to touch his feet, would wrest the Kingdom of Bengal from him. At last Bakhtiyār Khilji was found able to perform this feat, and he deposed the Gaur Kāyasth dynasty. After the conquest the Gaur Kāyasths learnt that some persons of the Bhatnāgar sub-caste were in the Muhammadan service, and the two bodies began to amalgamate, and some of the Gaur Kāyasths also took service with the foreigner. Finally, they adopted from the Bhatnāgars the Bām Mārgi or left-hand worship and the veneration for Bhairava Chakra, and began to eat with them. So the Bhatnāgars invited the Gaurs to eat *kachchi* with them, and though there was no intermarriage between the two clans, the Bhatnāgars came and ate *kachchi* at the houses of the Gaurs; but when the Bhatnāgars invited the Gaurs to pay them the same compliment they refused. At this the Bhatnāgars took extreme offence, and when some of the Gaurs, who were friendly to them, did eat *kachchi* with them, their more scrupulous brethren excommunicated them. At that time Nasiruddin was Emperor of Delhi, and he had both Gaur and Bhatnāgar Kāyasths in his service. When the Delhi branch of the Bhatnāgars heard of these events they determined to excom-

municate their Eastern brethren unless the Gaur's would agree to eat *kachchi* with them, and pressure was brought to bear by the Muhammadan Emperor to secure this object. In the end some Gaur's did eat with the Bhatnāgars, and were hence called Gaur Bhatnāgari; while other more scrupulous Gaur's fled from Delhi in preference to eating with the Bhatnāgars. One of them was a woman far gone in pregnancy. She took refuge in the house of a Brāhman, and when her son was born and grew up the Brāhman married his daughter to him. The remaining Gaur's went to Budāun and settled there. Hearing of this, the Delhi Bhatnāgars again complained to the Emperor and he sent officers to bring the Budāun Gaur's and force them to eat with the Bhatnāgars. They implored the help of their Brāhman friends, and, in order to protect them, the Brāhman's invested them with the Brāhmanical cord, and when they were asked said that these Kāyasth's were their brethren. The royal officers were not satisfied with this statement and forced the Brāhman's to eat with these Gaur Kāyasth's on the same cooking-place (*chauka*). On this, to the great disgust of the Bhatnāgars, the Emperor dismissed their complaint, and in their anger the Bhatnāgars excommunicated their brethren; and thus there came to be two classes of Bhatnāgars—the Khās or "real" Bhatnāgars, who had held no communion with the Gaur's, and the Gaur Bhatnāgars, who had eaten with them. And for the same reason there came to be four sections of the Gaur's—*first*, the real Gaur's, who held offices on the Bengal frontier, such as at Nizāmābād, Jaunpur, and other places; *secondly*, those who had eaten *kachchi* with the Bhatnāgars; *thirdly*, those who were admitted into communion by the Budāun Brāhman's; and *fourthly*, those who had admitted to caste rights the woman whose son was born in the Brāhman's house.

18. Then followed sundry internal quarrels, which appear not to be quite settled up to the present day. It is said that the third class of Gaur's above mentioned settled at Nizāmābād; with these the members of the third class would hold no connection, and appointed the Budāun Brāhman's to be their family priests. The Gaur's of the second class requested these Brāhman's to arrange to get them admitted to equal rights with their clients. This request was so far agreed to that they were admitted to communion; but the Gaur's of the fourth class refused to give them their daughters in marriage. After a time this difference is said to have

disappeared. Hearing of this the Gauris of the first class, who were dispersed in various places cut off connection with those of Nizāmābād from those of the second class. But in time this quarrel was settled, and they are said now all to intermarry. But even now it would seem that occasional attempts are made to revive this old tribal quarrel. The sections above described are now known as Khara, Dūsra, Bangāla, Delhi Shimālī, and Budāuni.

19. It has seemed worth while to give what may be considered a prolix account of a petty caste disagreement. But the story is interesting from two points of view. In the first place, it illustrates the manner in which these tribal sections are being developed. It is on the basis of some insignificant disagreement about ceremonial, such as eating and drinking, etc., that so many of these endogamous groups are now developed and after a time recombine. The system of caste is, in fact, so far from being in a stable condition, that it is in a state of perpetual flux; and we may conjecture that it was from causes such as these in the remote past, of which we have no trustworthy records, that the endogamous groups, which we now call castes, were largely developed. *Secondly*, it is curious to consider the attitude which the Muhammadan Government adopted in dealing with a caste quarrel like this. Now-a-days we can hardly conceive the Government putting pressure on one body of people to admit another set to caste privileges; but this was not so in the olden time, and the influence of the ruling power in moulding the system of caste is a factor which cannot be ignored.

20. In the matter of intermarriage the Kāyasths follow the standard rule of exogamy based on the text of *Marriage.* Yajñavalkya as expounded by the author of the *Mitākshara*, which bars marriage between *sapindas*, that is, who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the mother and seven degrees on the side of the father. Among the sub-castes which still maintain the organisation of local groups or sections (*al*) marriage cannot take place between persons belonging to the same *al*; nor can a man marry a woman belonging to the *al* of his maternal grandfather or great-grandfather. A man cannot take two sisters to wife at the same time; but he may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife. Mr. Risley gives some examples of outsiders being admitted among the Kāyasths of Bengal; but such a custom is forbidden among the Kāyasths of these Provinces. Of

course if a member of the caste be expelled for misconduct and subsequently perform the expiatory ceremony (*prayās-chitta*) he can be restored to caste rights. Adult marriage is the rule, and infant marriage the exception, among most of the Kāyasths. Sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated, and the parents and other members of a girl thus offending would be promptly excommunicated. Polyandry is utterly prohibited, and polygamy, though allowed, is rarely resorted to unless the first wife be barren, in which case the stringent necessity of begetting male issue makes a second marriage permissible. Re-marriage of widows is absolutely prohibited, and should a widow be found unchaste, she and her relations are promptly put out of caste. There is no legalised divorce; but if a wife commit adultery, she is at once put out of caste, and she cannot eat or associate with any member of the community. Such women cannot, as a matter of course, marry again.

21. Kāyasths follow the highest form of the eight kinds of marriage recognised by Manu in his Institutes—that known as Brahma. The ceremony is performed according to the rules laid down in the Sanskrit treatise known as the Vivāha Paddhati, with Vedic formulas (*mantra*), as in the case of Brāhmins and the other twice-born classes. The essential and binding portions of the ceremony are the *nanyāddāna* or giving away of the girl by her father, the *panigrahana* or taking of the bride's hand by the bridegroom, *saptapadi* or seven-fold circumambulation of the sacred fire by the pair, and the *sindūrdāna* or application of red powder by the bridegroom to the parting of the hair of the bride. As a rule, too, every Kāyasth bridegroom must be invested with the sacred thread before, or at the time of, marriage.

22. The following account of a rural Kāyasth marriage in Oudh was prepared by a native correspondent for Mr. J. C. Nesfield, and may be quoted here. When a son or daughter is twelve years of age the father and other relations begin to make arrangements for their marriage. The father of the girl, or her brother, accompanied by a Pandit and a barber, go in search of a girl. They try, if possible, to secure a girl of higher rank and station than their own. When they have fixed upon a boy they call for his horoscope (*kundali*), and compare it with that of the girl, and consult a Pandit on the subject. This is known as *ganna*

ganana. If the horoscopes agree, negotiations as to the amount of the dowry proceed, and when this is settled, a day for the *barraksha*, or betrothal, is selected. On that day the father or brother of the girl with the Pandit and barber repair to the house of the boy, and make over to the boy a Brāhmanical cord and some money in proportion to the amount of the dowry which has been agreed on. Then the barber or Kahār of the boy's family prepares some *sharbat*, which is given to the relatives, priest, and barber of the bride. After this they are entertained with tobacco, betel, and cardamoms. On this a day is fixed for the regular betrothal (*tilak*) and for the wedding. If the girl's home is near, her friends return at once; if not, they stay for the night. When they are leaving, the bridegroom's father gives the priest and barber of the girl a present, which is known as *bidāi*. When they return, the girl's father also consults a Pandit, to ascertain if the day fixed for the betrothal and marriage is auspicious. If the report of the Pandit is favourable, this date is finally fixed; if not, it is changed and a fresh date selected which will satisfy the Pandits on both sides.

23. It sometimes happens that the *tilak* and marriage do not come off for six months or a year from the date of the preliminary betrothal; and should either party be unable from any cause to make the necessary arrangements, it is again postponed. Up to this stage the engagement may be broken if either party be found to be affected with any physical defect such as blindness, dumbness, leprosy, or the like, or if, on further examination, any disagreement be found to exist in the horoscopes. The girl's father announces the day on which the *tilak* will be sent. At this time half the dowry arranged on is sent to the father of the boy. Half is given in cash and half in vessels and clothes, which usually consist of one large dish (*thāra*) of alloy (*phul*) or silver, one turban, one bale of muslin or other embroidered cloth, four pieces of other cloth (*nainsukh*, *tanzeb*), one or five cocoanuts, some sandal wood, one handful of turmeric, seven betel-nuts covered with silver foil, two-and-a-half *pauseris* or twelve-and-a-half sers of rice coloured with turmeric, some *dūb* grass, one or two annas worth of pice. Others, who can afford it, give richer gifts—horses, elephants, and the like. These things are collected by the father of the bride, and on the appointed day he invites his brethren, who are seated on a carpet and served with cardamoms; while the ladies are taken to the inner apartment and entertained in the same

way. Then on a platform (*chabū ra*) in the court-yard, which has been freshly plastered with cow-dung, the bride is seated and five women, whose husbands are alive, place the gifts on a large tray and lay them in her hands. This is then taken up by the Pandit and laid before the assembled brethren, while he recites auspicious verses. When the brethren approve of the gifts, the father of the girl, his priest, barber and Kahār get ready to proceed to the house of the boy. Meanwhile the assembled women sing the following song:—

Pahilawa sagunwan dahi wa machhariya; he dulhē upran das pān;

Sagun bhal pāyon.

Hāthi charan dulhē hāthi charhi jān sunrār;

Sagun bhal pāyon.

Hausi hausī puchhai dūhān dei dulhē kekari je banjhiya kokhi jānmen?

Sagun bhal pāyon.

Maigu to hamri Kausalya dei, unahi ke je banjhiya kokhi jānmen.

Sagun bhal pāyon.

"The first good omen is the curds and fish and the ten packets of betel on the bridegroom. I have got a good omen.

"O bridegroom! mount on an elephant and ride to the house of thy father-in-law. I have got a good omen.

"The bride laughing asks, 'From what barren mother wast thou born?' I have got a good omen.

"The boy answers—'My mother was Kausalya (mother of Rāma). From her barren womb was I born.' I have got a good omen."

24. When the party of the bride reaches the house of the bridegroom, his barber washes their feet, first washing those of the priest. Then he serves round pipes, *sharbat*, cardamoms and betel. Meanwhile the boy's father has invited his brethren and friends. Betel and pipes are passed round and the girl's Pandit opens the presents before the company. Either on this day, or when the anointing begins, the *tilak* ceremony is performed. This is done as follows:—A platform is made in the court-yard and fresh plastered with cow-dung. On this is placed a wooden seat (*pirha*) and under it some barley. On the seat the Pandit makes a holy square (*chaunk*) with flour, and places a pitcher on the platform, near which is erected an image of Gauri made of cow-dung.

The pitcher represents Ganesa Deota. To the south-west of the pitcher the Pandit makes a representation of the nine planets (*nava-graha*). The boy is seated on the stool, and the Pandit makes him worship Gauri and Ganesa, and the nine planets. This done, the Pandit puts the dish containing the presents in the hands of the girl's brother, and he presents them to the bridegroom, while the Pandit recites appropriate verses. The boy takes the tray into the oratory (*deoghar*) sacred to the family god (*kula-devuta*), and as he walks on, a woman pours a little water on the ground before him. This is known as *arghadāna*. Money is distributed among the Brāhmans present and their wives, and the assembled women sing the following song:—

*Surā gāē kē gobar main angua lipāya wa gajmōi chauk purāya-
warē, lalanwān.*

*Gajmōi chauk purāi ka subaran kalas dharāyi kē mānik diyana
jalāwē, lalanwān.*

Mānik jalāike chandan pīrha dhūdywarē, lalanwān.

*Ādhē pīrwa par baithē Rāja Dasarath ke putwa, ādhē Janak ki
dhiya rē, lalanwān.*

Achhat dūb lāikē dharē wa charan par Sīya dekhi muskān.

Syām baran unki manhin na bhāwai Rām chuman kaisē jāb wali.

Chuman charan sarūp Rām Hariwālē.

Bāyen bar Rām, dahinē ang Sīta, bēch thoiyān Dharmahar gir.

Āvan mār Mahādeva baithi dhyān lagāiale.

Chuman charan sarūp Rām Hariwālē.

Ek sakhi uti bolan lagi, "Sun sakhi bāt hamār."

Wai triya ālankit nhai, hamdhan kul unjiyār.

Chuman charan sarūp Rām Hariwālē.

"I plastered the court-yard with the dung of the sacred cow Surabhi. I made a square of large pearls.

"Making a square of large pearls, I placed in it a golden pitcher full of water.

"Placing the golden pitcher, I lighted the lamps of gems.

"Near it I placed the stool of sandal-wood.

"On half of it sits the son of Dasaratha, on the other half the daughter of Janaka.

"When we placed holy rice and sacred grass at their feet, Sita smiled.

"The swarthy face pleaseth me not. How can I go and kiss him?"

"Kiss the feet of Râma, who is personified as Krishna.

"Râma sits on the right and Sîta on the left, and betwixt them is Mount Dhawalagiri.

"There Mahâdeva sits and the ascetics absorbed in devotion.

"Kiss the feet of Râma, who is personified as Krishna.

"One maiden gets up and says—'Other women may be blamed, but I am the light of this blessed family.'

"Kiss the feet of Râma personified as Krishna."

25. The woman who pours water before the boy as he goes into the oratory sings as follows :—

Ari ari Saguni, ari ari Saguni, sagunwa lai âwa

Tuharê sagunwa rê tuharê sagunwa saguni hoyâ byâh.

Morê kê angana, morê ke angan chandan guchha rukhwa, tehi tur

Râja Dasarath ke putwa sâjai bârât.

Dekhab re mâiya, dekhâb re mâi baba mor beohâr.

Bahiyân le jhjhikorê chhinari ka putwa, tûla motin ka hâr.

"Come, goddess of good luck, come! It is by thy omens that the wedding will be completed.

"In my court-yard, in my court-yard the son of Raja Dasaratha arranges the procession.

"O mother! mother! see my arrangements.

"The son of the rake shook my arm and my necklace of pearls was broken."

26. Meanwhile the guests are entertained by the singing of a nautch girl and dinner is served. The second or third day those who have brought the *tîlak* return home, and the priest and barber are suitably fed. Then they sing as follows :—

Suno, suno, Râm Chandra gâri.

Sâri sarit atlas ka lahnga, âpar naurang sâri.

Bânh bijâyath, joushan sohai âpar tariwan sâri.

Itna pûkîni jâb nikarîn Kausalya chhindari râur mohlâri,

Upra sê aparhi la bolai "Charhi do hamâri alâri."

Suno, suno, Râm Chandra gâri.

Sama Lâla ki dultân aisi banî jaisi Kanchanpur kaminiya ;

bân, hân, Kanchanpur ki kaminiya.

Unkê mângê ka sundar aiso bana jaisê Bhâdon birbahutiya.

*Unkē mātke ki bendi aisi bani jaisē Bhādon kerī bijaliya.
Unkē nain ka kājār aiso bano jaisē Sāwan ki ghata gheriya.
Unkē dānton ki missi aisi bani jaisē Sāwan tankē bijuliya.
Unkē angē ka jobanwa, aiso hanyo jaisē auba lagē likorwa.
Unki nībi ka gathiya aisi bani jaisē nebua galgalwa, hān, hān pakē
nibu galgalwa.*

Samadhi ke bahini ka jolan aiso bana, jaisi jhamra par ka tarvia.

Rāja mohē, bābu mohē aur Mughal Pathān.

Ghōra daurāwat Phiringi mohē, jinki dhiri boniyān.

*Muskini samadhi Lāla tuhanka bulāwen Dīwānji Dīwān salāmat;
Kaun nhai taksīr jī?*

Uhai samadhin aparbal sowai Julahwa ke tīrjī.

Hansi hansī sej bichhai, kekar sē beniya dōldwai jī;

Jab olrai lāgi samadhin chhindariya Julahwa ke dūwai jurī tab jī.

Jab karwat māngai, karwat māngar Julahwa jāla risiyāi jī.

Lanti re Julahwa, lanti re Julahwa, jatiya sē kihesi ajāt jī;

*Hansi hansi puchhai Julahwa sē "Rām kaun uddām koi ke
khaib jī.*

*Terī nariya rē bharangin, terī nariya rē bharangin, dhotiya binauri
chauthān jī.*

Chauthānē ki dhoti rē au malmal ka thān jī.

*Pahiro tu samadhi Lāla pahiro tu samadhi Lāla, apni jōiya ka
prasād jī.*

"O Rāma! Listen to their jeers. The lady's sheet flows like a river. Her petticoat is of satin. Over it is a new robe. On her arm shines the band and armlet. Over her head is a fine sheet. When the coquettish mother of Rāma comes out thus attired they call from the balcony, 'Come to my upper chamber.' O Rāma listen to their jeers.

"The wife of the father-in-law is so decorated that she looks like a woman of the City of Gold. The parting of her hair is red as the lady-bird insect of Bhādon. Her forehead spangles look like the lightning; the lamp-black on her eyes looks like the dark clouds in the month of Bhādon; the black on her teeth is like the lightning in Sāwan; her breasts are like the swelling mangoes; her waist-knot is like the lime; her bosom is like the cucumber. The Rāja, the Bābu, the Mughal, and the Pathān are bewitched by her beauty; so are the Europeans who speak sweetly.

"O father-in-law, smile; Dīwānji (the bridegroom) is calling you. I salute you, Dīwānji. What fault have I committed? The

mother-in-law loves the weaver. She smiles, spreads the couch, and fans him. As she was falling asleep the weaver was attacked with fever. When she wanted him to turn round he was wroth.

"Come back, weaver! Through thee I have lost my caste. How am I to live? I will fill thy shuttle and weave a cloth four pieces long. It will be of muslin, and the father-in-law will wear it round his loins as an offering from his spouse."

27. Meanwhile the fathers on both sides begin making preparations for the marriage. The bride's father collects grain and other supplies, and the father of the bridegroom gives earnest money (*sai*), to musicians and dancers, to the Māli for the wedding crown (*maur*), to the Kahār bearers, to the Bānsphor for a basket (*dāl*), to the Lohār for the wedding bracelet (*kangan*), to the potter for vessels, to the Sunār for the ear-ring (*bāla*), and cloths and jewelry for the wedding gift (*dāl*), are also prepared. Invitations are issued in the form of a letter written on paper dyed with turmeric (*pīli chitthi*), and are sent with a betel-nut by a Nāi or Bāri.

28. Next comes the Pachhorna ceremony. The women of the neighbourhood are invited by a woman of the Nāi or Bāri caste. When they arrive, the parting of their hair is marked with red-lead and oil, and some *urad* pulse is given to them, which they clean (*pachhorna*) in a winnowing fan. As they do this they sing as follows:—

Morē anganwa chandan gachha rukh, tehi tar sugwa sagun liyē thār;

Pahil sagunwa rē suga—Akhīr ghar jāē; dahi ka dahanriya mandana dhāi dei;

Dusorē sagunwa rē suga—Pandit gharē jāē, subh ka lagana mandana dhāi dei;

Tīsarē sagunwa suga—Konharwa gharē jāē, subh ka kalaswa mandana dhāi dei;

Chauthā sagunwa suga—Kunderē gharē jāē, subh ka sindhurwa mandana dhāi dei;

Pānchwān sagunwa suga—Bajajwa gharē jāē, subh ka chunduriya mandana dhāi dei;

Chhathwān sagunwa suga—Chūrikharwa gharē jāē, subh ka jorwa mandana dhāi dei.

*Banai ai badari barasai lagi menh,
Bhijan lagē dūkhā dūkhin jurai sanek.*

Dulha jo puchhai dulhin se "Ek baal chalo, ham tum rachin dhamar."

"Kaise main chahun dulhe? Beivira juri chhank."

Baba ke angua re prabhu sajan sab tharh."

"Kekaré gumanwa ré dhaniya birwa na khañ ; Kekaré gumanwa dhaniya utara na dewa ?

Bábo ku gumanwa ré dhaniya dina dñi chár ;

Hamré ré gumanwa dhaniya janam siraya."

"In my court-yard is a sandal tree on which sits a parrot bearing good omens.

"First, the parrot goes to the Ahîr and brings his curd vessel, which is placed as a good omen in the marriage shed.

"Secondly, he goes to the Pandit and brings the news of the lucky time, which is a good omen.

"Thirdly, he goes to the potter and places the lucky pitcher in the shed, which is a good omen.

"Fourthly, he goes to the carpenter and brings the lucky red-lead box and places it in the shed, which is a good omen.

"Fifthly, he goes to the cloth merchant and brings the coloured sheet to the shed, which is a good omen.

"Sixthly, he goes to the bangle maker and brings the lucky bangles and places them in the marriage shed.

"The clouds collect, the rain begins to fall. The bride and bridegroom begin to get wet and are joined in love.

"Says the bride—"Come, let us go together and make a bower.' 'How can I go under the cold shade of the Bela flower?' 'In the court-yard of our grandfather the worthy elders are assembled.'

"'In whom dost thou trust that thou wilt not take the coriander?'

"'My master, I cannot answer for fear of my brother.'

"'You may trust in your grandfather for two or three days. After that you must trust in me all your life long.'

The women who perform this ceremony are given each two-and-a-half sers of *urad* pulse.

29. Next comes the *matchhua* rite, which is done in the evening. All the women collect, and the barber's wife puts some grain in a sieve with five roots of turmeric, two betel-nuts, and a lighted lamp. All the women, headed by the barber's wife, holding the sieve, go to a tank to the east, north, or west of the village.

Before they start, the head woman of the family puts oil and red-lead in the parting of their hair. They take a large basketful of rice and pulse (*kichari*) to the tank, and sing the following song:—

Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

Angna lipai rakhen ho. Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

Chauki purāi rakheu ho. Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

Kalsā dharai rakhen ho. Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

Pīrhwa dharai rakheu ho. Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

Dulhin baithē rakheu ho. Mewari wāri saguni āj banē.

“The maidens give a good omen. Have the court-yard plastered. Have the holy square made. Have the sacred pitcher placed. Have the wooden stool arranged. Get the bride seated. The maidens give a good omen.”

30. When they reach the tank the oldest woman of the family, wearing a yellow garment, plasters a piece of ground, and in it she places some turmeric and red-lead, and fixes an arrow within it. She also places five roots of turmeric, two betel-nuts, and five handful of earth, with the winnowing fan containing the articles which they have brought with them. She burns some incense and lights a lamp. While this is being done a song which cannot be printed is sung. The food is distributed, and as they come home they sing:—

Thārhi pukārai mero yār ; Mohana terē jiu dard na āwai.

Mohana kiti rupaiya teri chākari aur kitē takē tera roz ?

Thārhi pukārai, etc.

Mohana sau sau rupaiya meri chākari ; lākh takā mera roz.

Thārhi pukārai, etc.

Mohana chhor Phirangiya ki chākari ; Mohana chhor Paturiya ke dāth.

Thārhi pukārai, etc.

Dāntan ke batīsiya Mohana chhoro Mahobē ka pān.

Thārhi pukārai, etc.

“My dear, I stand and implore you, but your heart feels no pity for me. O Mohan ! how much is your pay and how much do you get daily ?” “I get a hundred rupees a month and a lakh of pice a day.” “O Mohan ! give up the service of the European and the company of the dancing-girls. O Mohan ! give up the betel of Mahoba which colours your thirty-two teeth. O friend ! I stand and implore you.”

31. When they return home, an unmarried girl, who brings a little earth from the tank, has a brass drinking-vessel (*lotā*) full of

water and a pestle moved round her head. A rice mortar is then placed on a plastered platform in the court-yard, and seven women whose husbands are alive pound rice in the mortar. While doing this they sing songs unfit for publication. Sometimes instead of rice *masūr* pulse is pounded, and the ceremony is known as *masūr chhātina*. In connection with this is the rite known as *rorā darna*, when seven women, as before, crush *urad* pulse in the family mill (*chakki*). The songs sung on this occasion are of the same description.

32. Then, according to which house the rite applies, the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, is seated on a stool in the house, and seven women whose husbands are alive rub him or her with barley flour mixed with oil and turmeric. A song is also sung on this occasion, and when the rice and pulse has been distributed among them, the women sing the evening (*sandhya*) song, which is as follows :—

Khair supariya besahi mangārī debē Rāja Dasarath hāth,

Āpan āpan dūl sajē jē āwāi bhat biñhi sajē bārāt.

Dhauṭē Naua rē dhante, Bāriya dhāya ken khabar jānāu ;

Ketik dal lawen Rāja Dasarath sut jin dekhi rindhon main bhāt.

Ek lākh hāthi, dūi lākh ghora, tēn lākh āyē sukhpāl.

Majhki palkiya Rāja Dasarath sut āyē chaur dhurai chāriū pāu ;

Kahanwān bājni damru sahniya, kahanwān sankh-bisankh ?

Kahwān ke Rāja put biāhan āwen ? Kahanwān uthai jhankār ?

Awadh ke Rāja put biñhun āwen, Janak uthain jhankār.

Jai bōrāt mandwē tar utari, tasu no parchhai dāmād.

Kachhu parchhai, kachhu badan nihārai kāla bhānwar rē dāmād.

Chummon main haradi, chummon rē lochan, chummon main bar ka lildār.

Sūraj kī jōti sē adhik nain sundar sūnwālē bavan Sri Rām.

Bhazal bāgh charhal sēr sendur nou lākh dāj thor.

Purba ka dandiya pachhu uhai bāba maiga ka dharai lagē ānsu.

Bhājī ka jiyara anand bhāi bāba nanai chalen sanār.

Jāwne bāt dhiya mori jaihen pipara ka pāt khahrāi.

Kōili sabad dhiya roati jaihen chhatya biñri mori jāy.

Bāt ka batohiya ghar kahab sandeswa maiga se kahab arthāi.

Majhi usariya mori gadiya bisari ge mori maiga dharidāi utāi.

“ I bought catechu and betel and handed them to Rāja Dasarath. They have adorned their followers and the wedding

party. O barber and Bāri! run and see how many men have come, and inform me, so that I may cook rice for them.' 'One lākh elephants, two lākhs of horses, and three lākhs of palanquins have come.' In the middle palanquin is Rāja Dasarath's son, over whom fans are being waved. Where is the drum being beaten and the trumpet and conch shell blown? What Rāja has come to be married, and where does the music sound? The King of Oudh has come to be married. The music is in Mathura and the city of Janak. The procession reaches the house, and the door rite is being performed. Diamonds, rubies, gems, and garlands are presented. The procession comes under the marriage shed, and the mother of the bride moves a water vessel and a pestle over the head of her son-in-law. As she does the wave ceremony, she looks at the bridegroom, who is black as the large black bee. I kiss turmeric; I kiss the eyes and forehead of the bridegroom. Rāma is as bright as the sun, black coloured though he be. The marriage is over, the parting of the bride's hair has been marked with vermilion. Nine lākhs are her dowry. When the pole of the litter is turned, the mother weeps. The sister-in-law is pleased that her husband's sister is going to the house of her lover. The mother says—'The leaves rustle on the road as my daughter passes by. My daughter mourns as she goes like the cuckoo, and at this my heart is broken.' As she goes along, my daughter says to those she meets on the road—'Go tell my mother that I have forgotten my dolls in the middle portico, and that she must keep them safe.' "

33. This song is sung daily in the evening till the marriage day. When but two hours remain to dawn, seven women, whose husbands are alive, are called to wash the pounded *arad* pulse. As they wash it, they sing the song which is sung on the occasion of the *tīlak*. The earth which has been brought by a virgin from the tank is used to make a fireplace, which is worshipped on the day when the anointing of the bride and bridegroom commences.

34. Next comes the wake (*rāt jagā*), which is performed on the fourth night before the wedding day. The invitations are sent round by the wife of the barber and the Bāri. Meanwhile cakes are made to the amount of two-and-a-half, five, seven, or ten maunds weight according to the circumstances of the family. Then the oven, which has been constructed of the sacred earth brought from the village tank, is worshipped in this way. It is first smeared with rice soaked in water and turmeric, and then a lamp is put

upon it, with a pice, a piece of turmeric, and some betel-nuts. Then seven women whose husbands are alive smear it with the rice and sing :—

Bhor bhayal bhinsār chiraiya ek bolai

Jay jagāo kaun Rāma jir ghar osari.

Na morē dhenu gābhin na morē osari.

Kukuru ke sabad bhayal bhinsār pathai deb kaun Rām āpan dhana,

Au apani main loni dhana dikhē na deb parchhai na deb.

Kānē kundal, garē moti māl ;

Kāhē kerī torī chulhiya, kāhē lagē uchakan ?

Kaun charitra torī chulhiya ; kaun Rāni pūjai ?

Sonen kari morē chulhiya, rūpē lage uchakan.

Ratan jaril mor chulhiya, to Jirbal Rāni pūjai.

“The morn is about to dawn ; go and wake so and so, whose turn it is. ‘Neither is my cow in calf, nor is it my turn.’ The morning breaks at cock crow. I shall send my son ; I shall allow none to see my bridegroom, nor permit any one to do the wave ceremony over him. He has ear-rings in his ears and a string of gems round his neck. Of what is your oven made, and why is it lifted up ? What quality does it possess, and what Rāni does it worship ? ‘It is made of gold and it is raised up for its beauty. It is studded with gems and the Rāni Jirbal worships it.’”

35. Next comes the *Til pūjā* ceremony, which in some families is done five, and in some two, days before the wedding. At this time the *kohabar*, or wedding symbol, is made either in three or five places in the house. It is usually made at both sides of a special room door, and also within the room itself. That inside the room is made with sixteen lumps (*pirīa*) of cow-dung stuck on the wall. On the right side of the door are fixed three and on the left side four lumps of cow-dung. When this is being done, the following song is sung :—

Angna kai kohabar Mahādeva chitra bichitra, bhātarā kai kohabar
Mahādeva likhlain banai.

Tehi baithi Mahādeva dāsai sej.

Jata phailai Mahādeva sūtain sōri rāt ;

O tisari sūto Mahādeva jata lewa rikori.

Hamārē naikarwa kai chundari Mahādeva dhūmil jani hoyā.

Etna suni Mahādeva chali risāya.

Bhātarā kai sejiya Mahādeva angana le dānsain.

*Jan ham hobai Mahādeva sadā kai sohāgin rimiki jīmiki daiwa barse
sārē rāt.*

*Kukuri lagdi Mahādeva gorwāri; apāni gorwariya Gaura sūtāi
hamen dewa.*

Apāni gorwariya Mahādeva sūtāni jo deb.

Deswa Mahādeva birahi kai likhwa na deb.

“Mahādeva makes a wonderful *kohabar* mark in the court-yard, and I shall make it myself in the inner room. Sitting there, Mahādeva spreads the couch. With his matted hair flowing he sleeps all night. O Mahādeva! draw up thy matted hair that the garment given by my mother be not stained. Hearing this, Mahādeva rises angrily. He brings the couch from the inner room and lays it in the court-yard. ‘O Mahādeva! if I am to be all my life married, the rain will fall pitter patter all night long.’ Mahādeva stands bending at the foot of the bed. ‘O Gaura! let me sleep at the foot of thy bed.’ ‘O Mahādeva! if I allow thee to sleep at the foot of my cot, thou wilt have no thought for those husbands who are away from their wives in the world.’”

The *kohabar* marks are made by the aunt or elder sister of the bride or bridegroom.

36. Next follows the rite of *kalas gothna*, or the smearing of the marriage pitcher. Seven women whose husbands are alive bathe and put on clean clothes. Their hair is oiled, the parting marked with vermilion, and their laps filled with barley. Then they smear a fresh earthen pitcher with cow-dung and stick lumps of the same substance all round it. On these grains of barley are sprinkled, and as they do this they sing:—

*Ādhē talwa men Nāg chunai, ādhē Nāgin chunai, tabhūn na talwa
suhāwan kamāl bina.*

*Ādhē mandwa got baithē, ādhē gotin baithē, tabhūn na mandwa
suhāwan ekre nand bina.*

*Awahu nand gusān, mori thakurdān, baitho mānjh usārē, kalas mor
gotho.*

*Jo main baithon, bhauji, jan baithāon, tūn baran kai sadhi tūn
ham lebai.*

*Bhuiya ka hāsul ghorwa na bhatijwa kai mohar, bhauji, tohari bagar
kai tilarwa tūnū ham lebai.*

*Na morai hāsul ghorawa na bhatijwa kai mohar, na morai garkai
tilariya morē kuchhu nahin.*