

*Ganuān kē natā Nānuīya nanad mor lagui. Tu baitha mānjh us-
ariya kalas mor gotho.*

*Angana sē bhūiya bhīlar gāe, bhauji se mati karai. Deawa nitari
ham jābai bahiniya ke kāran.*

*So nanad gusdān, mori bhakurdān, baith mānjh ūsar, kalas mor
gotho.*

*Debon main hāsul glorawa, bhāijwa kai mohar, āpanē garē kai
tilariya, morē gharē sab kuchh.*

“The snake feeds in half the tank and his mate in the other half. Even then the tank has no beauty without the lotus. In half of the marriage shed sit the tribesmen and in the other half their wives. But even then the pavilion has no beauty without the husband's sister. O husband's sister! mistress of your passions, my mistress, sit in the midst of the pavilion.’ ‘O wife of my brother! if you ask me to sit here I agree, but three things you must give me—the horse of my brother with the gold chain round its neck, the gold coin my nephew wears, and you must present me with your three-strand gold chain.’ ‘No horse, nor gold coin, nor three-strand chain have I.’ By village relationship the barber's wife is as my husband's sister, sit in the middle and smear the pitcher. The brother goes into the house and consults his wife. I shall quit my native land on account of my sister. O my husband's sister! mistress of passion, my own mistress, sit in the midst and smear the pitcher. ‘I will give you the horse with the golden chain, the nephew's gold coin, and the three-strand chain round my neck.’”

37. After this the grandfather or uncle of the bride or bridegroom sits on a platform in the courtyard, which has been plastered with cow-dung, with the corners of their garments tied together. This is done, they bathe and put on clean clothes. They sit facing the east, and the worship of *Tel* is performed as follows: In a dish flowers, holy rice, *dūb* grass, betel, red lead, curds, and sweetmeats are placed. The Pandit makes an altar (*bedī*), and Gauri and Ganesa are worshipped, and after them the Nine Planets (*nanagraha*) to whom the offering is made. Incense is burnt, and a lamp lighted with camphor. The barber then digs a hole in the ground, in which the worshippers fix a harrow (*henga*), and the earth is filled in round it. Then the worshipper makes seven marks on the harrow with powdered rice and oil, and binds a thread (*raksha*) round it and the sacred water pitcher (*kalsā*). Two wisps of grass are tied to the top

of it, and a lamp is lighted on each side. More wisps of grass are tied to the harrow, and on each a lighted lamp is fixed. The harrow is then worshipped, and garlands of flowers are tied round it. This worship is known as *Taran toran*. The offerings in this case are turmeric, washed rice, betel, and flowers. After this a shallow hole is dug on the right side of the house in which the *Kohabar* marks have been made, as already described, and the earth from the hole is laid on seven leaves of the plantain or *sāl* tree, which are worshipped with an offering of turmeric, clean rice, flowers, curds, incense, and lamps. The earth is formed into a rude representation of the deities who are worshipped. This is known as *Bastu pūja*. After this, they lay some shoots of the mango tree on the plantain and *sāl* leaves, and the hole is filled up and plastered over. The mango shoots are allowed to project just over the surface of the ground. To these worship is again done as before, and this is known as *Bansapti pūja*, or the worship of the forest goddess.

38. This done, they return to the platform and worship the gods. They go into the *Kohabar* room and do worship to the lumps of cow-dung fixed on the wall. This is known as *Nandādi sapta mātṛi pūja*. Then they put two earthen pots on the fire-place and tie threads (*raśha*) round them. Under them is placed some mango wood, but it is not lighted. They return to the *Kohabar* room, and again worship the sixteen lumps of cow-dung placed on the wall. To them is fixed a piece of new cloth dyed in turmeric. This is known as *Kumār jādi khodas mātṛi pūja*. Next a small earthen vessel is covered with a new cloth dyed in turmeric, and the worshipper mentally repeats the names of his deceased relations up to the seventh generation, and drops a grain of rice at the name of each. The names of both male and female ancestors are repeated, and the hair of each pair of worshippers is tied together and upon it milk and *sharbat* is poured, so as to fall into the vessel into which the rice has been dropped.

39. When this is done, the bride or bridegroom, according to which family is performing the rite, is seated on a wooden stool (*pirka*) on the platform, and under it barley or rice is scattered. Oil and turmeric are sprinkled with a wisp of grass on the images of Gauri and Ganesa, and the Pandit does the same for the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. After this seven women whose husbands are alive rub oil and turmeric on the body of the bride or bridegroom, and sing a song, kissing the feet, knees, breast,

shoulders and forehead of the bride or bridegroom. Rice, pulse, and cakes are distributed, and songs are sung, and in the evening the friends are entertained.

40. Next the father's sister of the boy or girl is called. Her head is oiled and the parting marked with red-lead. A new earthen pot, to the outside of which lumps of cow-dung are fixed, is placed on the fire-place close to the platform near the harrow, and the sister of the father of the boy or girl parches twenty-five sers of paddy in it, and a song is sung. Flour, turmeric, and water are then mixed up in the same pot, and when it is taken off the fire-place the heads of seven women whose husbands are alive are decorated with oil and red-lead. These women proceed to make an image of Gauri. Thirty-five sers of rice flour are kneaded and mixed with sugar and fruits. Out of this are made the images of a male and female. Sometimes two pair of images are made, and the female image is dressed with women's ornaments and the male with those of a man.

41. After this, at the house of the bride, the rite of *sohāg bāndhna* is done. A box is filled with the trinkets, red-lead, etc., used by a woman who is not a widow. These are put in the box by seven women whose husbands are alive. That night, about two hours before dawn, the bride and her female friends take some rice and a red-lead box and go to the house of a Dhobin to ask for *sohāg*. She has her head smeared with oil and red-lead near the Dhobi's washing-tub (*uānd*). The Dhobin sits facing the east, and the bride opposite her. The Dhobin covers the bride's head with her sheet, and marks the parting of her hair with red-lead, with the finger of her left hand. Then she rubs her own forehead against that of the bride, and the bride gives her the box of red-lead while a song is sung. Then they go in succession to the houses of seven women whose husbands are alive, and to each of them the bride gives a box of red-lead. They return home just as the day dawns. A number of women who are not widows are invited and fed, and the bride sits before them on a wooden stool on the platform, under which rice is sprinkled. Behind her sits her mother, grandmother or aunt, who covers the bride's head with her sheet. A leaf platter is placed before the bride, and each of the women gives her *sohāg* or the symbol of married happiness in this way: Each woman puts in the bride's dish cakes (*pāri*), sugar, curds, two pice and a box of red-lead, and covers her head with her sheet. Each woman marks her

own head with red, and the bride does the same seven times, taking the colour from the heads of the married women. While this ceremony goes on the bride and the women fast. Then follows a general feast.

42. Meanwhile, at the house of the boy on the Bhatwān or day but one before the wedding, all the brethren are fed, and those who intend to accompany the procession have uncooked food served out to them. Dancing goes on at the door. On the morning of the wedding day the boy is anointed with turmeric and oil, and part of his head is shaved. Then he is made to stand on a plough yoke (*juātha*), and the Nāi or Kahār bathes him. The water thus used is received in an earthen pot, and his body is wiped with a cloth, which is the perquisite of the man who bathed him. A new loin-cloth is put on him, and the old one is given to the Nāi. His father's sister moves over his head mustard and salt to baffle the Evil-eye, and lights a lamp before him. He is then seated on a wooden stool, under which rice is sprinkled on the platform; the Nāi cuts his nails, while the Bāri holds an umbrella over his head. When the nail-cutting is over, the women give a present to the Nāi, who dyes the feet of the boy with lac (*mahāwar*). The tailor then dresses him in his wedding suit, and the Sunār brings his ornaments. He puts the marriage bracelet (*kangan*) on his wrist. The Pandit marks his forehead with sandal-wood, and his father's sister marks his eyelids with lamp-black. Next the Māli puts the marriage crown (*maur*) on his head, and all these persons are rewarded by the parents.

43. Next, the husband of the bridegroom's father's sister does the rite known as *Takri pherna*. He holds a thread and walks seven times round the boy. When the circuits are complete, the thread is broken. For this he receives a present. Then he pounds some rice, of which a little is tied in a red cloth round the wrist of the boy with the thread which has already been used in this ceremony. This done, the bridegroom comes out and gets into his palanquin, accompanied by his mother or grandmother. They are all carried round a well which has been duly married and music is played. While he goes round the well, his other female relations sit by turns in the palanquin, and each of them gives four pice to the Kahār bearers. This ceremony is known as *Dera chapāwan*. Next the mother offers her breast to her son, and as the women return home the procession starts for the house of the bride.

44. That night again the women friends are invited, and a rice mortar is placed on the platform. On this the mother and grandmother sit, and on it is placed a pot full of barley flour and sweetmeats, and a lamp is lighted. A basket is put over all, and finally the food is distributed to seven women whose husbands are alive, and they sit round the pot and drum on it with sticks.

45. The actual marriage rite at the bride's house is of the normal type, and need not be described at length.

46. Kāyasths are Hindus, but belong to various religious sects :
 Religion. some are Saivas, some Sāktas, some Vaishnavas.

The first two predominate. Some few are Nānakshāhis, Kabīrpanthis or Achāris, or belong to the Arya Samāj. The fact of their belonging to different sects does not prevent them from associating freely as members of the same brotherhood. A man of the Vaishnava sect may marry a Sākta woman, provided the rules of exogamy are observed, and after the marriage it will be optional for the woman to give up animal flesh and wine or to continue to use them, even though the husband as a Vaishnava be a vegetarian and total abstainer. Chitrāgupta, the progenitor of the caste, is worshipped by them daily, in places where a temple in his honour exists. In other places he is worshipped annually on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttik, which is known as the Yamadvitiya, Chitrāgupta being one of the fourteen Yamas. He is also worshipped on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chait. The offerings to him consist of fruits, sweetmeats, and money, the last being appropriated by the Pujāri or Brāhman priest in charge of the temple. Worship is also done to the Kula devatas, or family gods, which are different in different families. The other deities worshipped are the same as those of the other higher Hindu castes. The chief among these are Durga, Jayanti, Lakshmi, Shambhari, Mahādeva, Vishnu, Ganesa, Krishna, Rāma, Ganga, Ananta, and Nārāyana. Brāhman are employed for all religious rites, and are received on an equality with other Brāhman. They are generally known by the titles of Purohit, Pādha, Achārya, etc.

47. Notwithstanding the jealousy with which they are regarded by their less astute neighbours, the social position of the caste is a high one. Those who do not belong to the Vaishnava sect usually eat meat. Those who are Sāktas drink intoxicating liquor, but it is believed that the more-

Social status and
 occupation.

ment in favour of total abstinence has in recent years done much to reduce the drunkenness which formerly prevailed to a large extent. Those who are Vaishnavas are, of course, abstainers. The only meat they eat is mutton or goat's flesh, and in matters of food they are strictly orthodox. // They cannot eat *kachchi* or *pakki* out of the same dish, or drink out of the same vessel of, or smoke out of the same *hugga* with members of any caste but their own. They will use the cocoanut pipe bowl (*nārigal*) of any Kâyasth, but they cannot smoke out of the mouthpiece (*naicha*) of any one not belonging to their own sub-division. Suratwāla, or those who are illegitimate, cannot smoke with those of legitimate descent. All the sub-divisions may eat *pakki* together but not *kachchi*.

The occupation of the caste is in the main literary, and they have supplied many valuable officers of Government and members of the Bar and Educational Department. There are numerous Sanskrit terms indicating the present occupations of the caste such as Lekhaka, Lipakāra, Aksharjīvaka, Aksharachana, Aksharachuncha, Lipakāra, and Aksharachanchu ; but it is impossible to identify the present caste specially with any of these. While the higher members of the caste rank high in general repute, the village Lāla, who is very often an accountant, is in evil repute for his astuteness and chicanery.

Distribution of Kayasths according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Asthana.	Bengal.	Bhatnagar.	Gser.	Kabirishahi.	Māthur.	Nigam.	Sakrena.	Srināsthab.	Udāya.	Others.	Total.
Delhra Dūn . . .	1	...	174	...	...	41	...	55	83	...	7	361
Sahāranpur . . .	...	...	1,129	...	...	61	...	369	177	...	318	2,054
Muzaffarnagar . . .	6	...	684	...	9	56	...	96	120	5	123	1,101
Meerut . . .	27	12	1,420	...	2	275	...	1,308	271	5	475	3,795
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	350	...	...	341	...	1,253	469	9	1,976	3,798
Aligarh . . .	...	1	30	...	402	1,175	...	2,603	304	...	3,472	8,047
Mathura . . .	66	1,206	130	2	1,114	376	19	1,359	912	23	293	5,500
Agra . . .	535	4	884	...	2,176	724	3	2,875	3,373	15	127	10,716
Farrukhābād . . .	5	36	105	5	12	93	75	7,848	3,611	54	612	12,456
Mainpuri . . .	...	2	59	1	1,013	88	...	4,786	1,577	51	105	8,282
Etāwab . . .	...	93	80	...	217	41	273	3,386	3,608	80	332	8,260
Etah . . .	4	5	64	1	2,015	56	1	5,728	344	4	53	8,275
Bareilly . . .	28	9	537	...	...	156	...	15,804	1,076	...	15	17,625
Bijnor . . .	3	...	2,591	...	...	418	...	502	153	2	70	3,739
Budhan . . .	...	18	322	...	1	304	...	8,347	185	10	17	9,204
Morādābād . . .	...	26	3,253	...	11	1,459	...	5,367	702	2	378	11,198
Shahjahanpur . . .	47	...	244	...	16	70	...	7,572	3,629	...	25	11,603

[illegible]

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

District.	Ardhans.	Bengal.	Bhatnagar.	Gaur.	Kalsariaht.	Māthar.	Nigam.	Saksum.	Schidab.	Unaya.	Others.	Total.
Garhwal	91	...	53	144
Terai	129	...	2	51	...	944	74	...	7	1,207
Lucknow	...	208	67	49	1	247	858	2,716	11,003	1,620	551	17,420
Unao	...	7	25	...	...	1	1,333	257	7,591	934	13	10,744
Ras Bareli	...	86	12	...	...	...	60	69	12,713	23	115	13,077
Sitapur	...	22	162	29	...	6	83	1,886	10,862	173	15	13,420
Hardoi	...	1	15	...	...	420	17	861	6,491	57	...	9,935
Kheri	...	14	60	...	...	207	8	1,562	6,922	42	190	9,065
Faizabad	78	101	...	18	4	305	15,627	81	10	16,235
Gonda	...	1	37	...	...	154	129	206	19,564	149	...	20,271
Bahrich	...	2	30	...	...	135	39	401	9,709	68	...	10,410
Sultanpur	50	...	...	...	10	124	13,283	...	...	13,428
Parabgarh	47	...	...	6	1	75	9,264	5	265	9,676
Bambanki	21	...	...	177	395	156	12,164	831	133	13,962
Total	8,598	2,058	13,876	1,307	8,180	7,794	4,561	90,538	339,117	10,022	23,785	511,426

Kewat.—A caste of fishermen, boatmen, and cultivators. The analysis of the Kewats is rendered very difficult, because they merge on the one side into Binds and on the other into Mallāhs, and, as was the case at the recent Census, each is very often recorded as a sub-caste of the other. They are usually considered to be the modern representatives, at least in name, of the Kaivartas or Kevartas. Their name is generally derived from Sanskrit *ka*, "water," and *vritti*, "occupation," in the sense that they live on or by water. But Professor Lassen¹ asserts that the use of *ka* in this sense is extremely unusual in early Sanskrit, and that the true derivation is Kivarta, a corruption of Kimvarta, meaning "a person following a low or degrading occupation." "This," he adds, "would be in keeping with the pedigree assigned to the caste in Manu, where the Kaivarta, also known as Mārgava or Dāsa, is said to have been begotten by a Nishāda father from an Ayogavi mother, and to subsist by his labours in boats. On the other hand, the Brahma-Vaiyarta Purāna gives the Kaivarta a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother as far more distinguished parentage; for the Ayogavi, being born from a Sudra father and a Vaisya mother, is classed as *pratiloma*, 'begotten against the hair,' or in the inverse order of the precedence of the castes."

2. As will be seen from the annexed figures, abstracted from the returns of the Census, a large number of the Tribal organisation. Kewats of the Eastern Districts have recorded themselves as a sub-caste of Mallāhs, and they are also obviously very closely mixed up with the Binds. This list gives their sub-castes as—Agarwāl, which is also the title of a sub-caste of Banyas; Bātham from Srāvasti; Ghogh, who say they take their name from *ghōnga*, "a cockle shell"; Jaiswār, a common title for the sub-castes of various menial tribes; Kharbind or "pure Binds"; Kharot or "straw men"; Mallāh; Nikhād or Nishāda. In Mirzapur they class themselves as Chāi, Tiyyar, Bathawa or Bathama, Soraliya, Muriyāri, Bind or Kewat, and Goriya, which are connected with the Gour grain-parchers and workers in stone. All these are endogamous, and their rule of exogamy follows the usual formula, *chachera, manera, phuphera, mauvera*, by which the line of the aunt and uncle on the paternal and maternal sides are barred as long as any recollection of relationship can be followed.

¹ Quoted by Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 376.

Like the Mallāhs, they call themselves the descendants of Nishāda, who rowed Rāma Chandra across the Ganges on his way to Prayāg or Allahābād, and they fix the scene of this occurrence at the Rām-chaura Ghāt over the Ganges near Bindhāchal in the Mirzapur District, which they regard as the head-quarters of the caste. The detailed Census lists give 296 names of the usual type. Their connection with other tribes is marked by names such as Bind, Chāin, Kharbind, Kharwār, Koriya, Luniya, Mallāh, side by side with others, which express the rising pretensions of the more prosperous members of the tribes, as Dichhit, Gaur, Kachhwāna, Sombansi, and local names like Agarwāl, Aharwār, Ajudhyabāsi, Kānpuriya, Jaiswar, Magahiya, Māthur, Pachhwāhan, Sarwariya, and Sribāstab.

3. Marriage takes place among them at the age of five or seven.

Marriage.

Mr. Risley¹ notes the curious fact in Bihār that "it is deemed of less importance that

the bridegroom should be older than the bride, than that he should be taller. This point is of the first importance, and is ascertained by actual measurement. If the boy is shorter than the girl, or if his height is exactly the same as hers, it is believed that the union of the two would bring ill luck, and the match is at once broken off."

The marriage ceremonies are of the ordinary character. A second wife cannot be taken during the life-time of the first unless he can show to the satisfaction of the council that she is barren or hopelessly diseased. Widows can marry by the *sagāi* form.* She can marry her husband's younger brother, and she usually does so if he is a bachelor and of marriageable age. A man can expel his wife for adultery; but inter-tribal incontinence is very lightly regarded, and can be atoned by giving a feast. But if a woman is detected in an intrigue with a stranger, she is permanently expelled from caste. A wife can also, with the permission of the council, separate from her husband if he fail to support her.

4. The Kewats are orthodox Hindus. To the east of the Pro-

Religion.

vince they worship Kālī, Bhāgawati, and their boat. Kālī is worshipped every second year

with a sacrifice of goats and an offering of flowers. Māhabār gets some *laddu* sweetmeats on a Tuesday, and the river gets a few drops of milk on Sundays. When they return from a voyage they make a burnt offering to, and hang some flowers upon,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, I., 455.

their boat. If possible, they feed a few Brāhmans at the same time. Sarwariya Brāhmans officiate at their weddings and other ceremonies.

5. The Bātham Kewats pretend to extra purity, and are careful to conform to a higher standard of living than the ordinary members of the tribe, most of whom, unless they are Bhagats, eat all kinds of fish, and even, it is said, the tortoise and crocodile. They drink spirits, but will not eat beef, pork, or fowls. They will eat *kachchi* cooked by no caste but their own; *pakki* cooked by Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas. They rank on about the level of the Koiri or Teli. A Bihār proverb quoted by Mr. Christian runs—*Nausa Kewat chihhē jāt; barka log kē chikkan bāt*—"The barber and the boatman are the only people who recognise their caste-fellows; high-caste people are good only for talk."

Distribution of Kewats according to the Census of 1891, including Mallāh Kewats.

DISTRICT.	Agarwāls.	Bātham.	Ghugh.	Jalwāls.	Kharbōd.	Kharat.	Mallāh.	Mallāh Kewat.	Nirbād.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dūn	29	29
Sahāranpur	18	...	8	21
Muzaffarnagar	2	...	...	2
Morad	61	...	...	61
Farrukhabād	1	...	...	1
Pilibhit	20	20
Cawnpur	8	8
Fatehpur	...	9,460	8,710	...	4	...	153	...	403	11,640	30,270
Bānda	...	149	8,273	11,615	...	23	...	60	...	80	24,040
Hamirpur	...	5,026	55	3,822	...	...	...	...	40	707	9,409
Allahābād	6	31,197	14	7	31,224
Jhānsi	...	291	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	297
Jāloun	...	677	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	112	690
Benares	1,806	...	...	1,806
Mirzapur	46,068	...	...	46,068
Jaunpur	31,330	...	...	31,330
Ghāsiyar	0	...	...	0
Ballia	130	...	...	130
Orakhpur	82,417	20,543	897	16,854	7,416	31,114	147,640
Masi	20,927	...	...	365	2,637	2,840	30,669

District.	Agarwala.	Bathani.	Ghoghi.	Jalewar.	Kharband.	Khetol.	Kalib.	Mallah Mewat.	Nikhil.	Others.	Total.
Azangarh	14,327	2,069	...	647	...	2,097	19,640
Lucknow	189	...	...	68	...	3	230
Unao	254	...	...	...	...	870	1,124
Bâe Bareil	96	...	...	96
Shapur	2	...	12	14
Hârdol	534	14	548
Kheri	1,065	...	90	1,145
Falâbâd	30,740	3,509	108	...	833	4,320	39,709
Gonda	6,223	6,223
Bâhrâich	43	403	...	...	...	61	1,350	1,866
Sultânpur	12,632	...	...	1	1	2,552	15,185
Partâbgarh	5,743	...	...	...	69	119	5,925
Bârâbanki	170	...	...	170
TOTAL	6,041	17,788	19,752	43	167,629	85,160	1,226	129,313	11,062	67,997	345,195

Khâgi.¹—An agricultural tribe found in Rohilkhand. One derivation of the word is from Sanskrit *Khadgika*, “a swordsmen.” According to the Budâun tradition they were originally Chauhân Thâkurs, who emigrated under their leaders Kanka and Mahesa from Ajmer in a season of a famine, about three hundred years ago, and settled at the town of Sahaswân in the Budâun District. Here they grew in importance, and were after a time appointed by the Emperor of Delhi Sûbahs or Governors, one of Sahaswân, and the other of the adjoining Pargana of Soron in the Etah District. They were required to pay a quarter of the revenue of these Parganas into the Delhi treasury, and this after a time they failed to do, the remittance being embezzled *en route* by one of their agents, a Musalmân, at Delhi. A punitive force was sent against them by the Emperor, and a battle ensued, in which both their leaders and a considerable number of their followers were killed. The widows of those killed, contrary to the custom of Thâkurs, remarried (which is known locally by the phrase *kâj karna*), and from this they are said to take the name of Khâgi. In Bareilly one tradition makes them the descendants of Râja Bhâgiratha, a descendant of Sâgara, whose austerities induced Siva to allow the Ganges to descend to the

¹ From notes by Mr. C. S. Delmerick, Opium Department, Budâun, and Pandit Janardan Dat Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly.

earth for the purpose of bathing the ashes of Sâgara's sons, who had been consumed by the wrath of the sage Kapila. Hence their special reverence for the Ganges. By another account they are descended and derive their name from Râja Kharga, eighth in descent from Râja Sâgara. In their appearance, manners, and customs there is nothing to corroborate their claim to Râjput descent. There are two sites in Sahaswân which they point out as monuments of their former glory. One is a Khera or mound known locally as "the Old Fort," and the other a mango grove called Lakha Pera, or "the grove of the hundred thousand trees."

2. Their sub-divisions, shown to the number of 135 in the detailed Census lists, are of the usual type. Side by side with tribal names like Bais, Baiswâr, Banya, Banjâra, Chandeli, Chanhân, Dalera, Dhîmar, Gaurâhar, Kharhuniya, Lodha, Raghubansi, Raikwâr, Râjput, Râthaur, Sainikhor, Sombansi, and Tomar, we find the usual local titles, such as Ajmeri, Amritpuriya, Chandpuriya, Jaiswâr, Jalâlpuriya, Mathuriya.

3. Their manners and customs are exactly the same as those of inferior Hindu tribes, such as the Lodha. **Manners and customs.** They do not perform the regular *Śrāddha*, but in the Kanâgat, or fortnight sacred to the manes of the dead, they do what may be called the minor *Śrāddha* by feeding Brâhmans and offering sacred balls (*pinda*). They recognise widow marriage by the *Kôj* form and also the levirate. They worship the Ganges, Siva, Devi, and Ganesa, but are not initiated into any particular sect. Their priests are Sanâdhya Brâhmans, who hold a low rank in their tribe. In their demonology they follow closely the customs of the inferior Hindu tribes by whom they are surrounded. As a local godling they chiefly worship Bhûmiya. They will eat *pakki* with Kabârs; they eat *kachchi* with none but members of their own tribe, but they will eat *kachchi* prepared by Agarwâlas and no other class of Banyas. Some families refuse, according to general Hindu custom, to have the noses of their girls pierced or to allow them to wear nose-rings. For this they are unable to assign any reason. They do not hold land as zamîndârs, but they are excellent agriculturists, industrious, thrifty, and well-behaved.

4. For the distribution of the Khâgi, see under *Lodha*.

Khairwa.¹—A small tribe of catechu-makers and cultivators found in Jhânsi. They do not appear under this name in the last

¹ Based on notes supplied through Mr. H. C. Ferard, C. S., Lalitpur.

Census. They take their name from the *Khair* tree (Sanskrit *Khadira*, the *acacia catechu*). They are admittedly a compound of various jungle tribes who have taken to this special occupation. They have some vague traditions that they once were lords of the country, and that their ancestor was a prince, who was defeated and driven into the jungles by his elder brother. They allege that their ancestors came into the Jhânsi District in the time of Râja Chhatar Sâl of Panna, who died in 1713 A. D. By another account they are an offshoot of the Sahariyas, with whom their *gotras* are said to be identical: this is far from improbable.

2. They do not marry in their own *gotra*, or in the family of their maternal uncle, father's sister, or mother's sister for six generations after the last intermarriage. They profess now to have abandoned the practice of introducing strangers into the caste. A second marriage is allowed only if the first wife be barren. Concubinage is tolerated. Pre-nuptial immorality is lightly regarded, provided the paramour of the girl is a member of the tribe; in this case the stigma is removed by a tribal feast. Marriage takes place between the age of seven and fifteen. The match is arranged by the father or maternal uncle of the boy. There is no freedom of choice allowed to the pair themselves. When the family of either party is considered less respectable than that of the other, a sum of money is paid to help the marriage expenses. This does not go to the parties themselves, but to the father, who spends it at the wedding. A wife can be turned out by her husband on proof of adultery. Such a woman can re-marry in the tribe by the *sagdi* form, if her friends give a feast to purify her. Children by any sort of marriage or connection which has been sanctioned and approved by the council share as heirs in the goods of their late father. Children by a father or of a woman of another caste are not admitted to tribal privileges. Widow marriage and the levirate under the usual restrictions are recognised, and it seems to be compulsory on the widow to marry the younger brother of her late husband if he be willing to take her. It is also said that the fiction prevails that the children of the levir are those of his late brother; if this be true, it is perhaps a solitary instance of this idea among castes like this.

3. When a woman is seven months pregnant a tribal feast is given by the father. A woman of the Basor tribe acts as midwife, and her place is taken

Birth ceremonies.

as nurse by the wife of the barber. On the tenth day is the *daswán*, when the mother is bathed and the clansmen fed. There is no trace of the *couvade*. Adoption is recognised when the child is formally accepted in the presence of the members of the council. Just before puberty the ears are bored and the ceremonial shaving (*mūnran*) takes place.

4. The betrothal is fixed by the payment of a rupee to the bridegroom ; his forehead is marked, and then the engagement cannot be broken. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the *phari*, or walking round the marriage shed. They perform the ceremony, such as it is, themselves, and do not employ Bráhmans.

5. The adult dead are burnt near the village. The ashes are thrown into some neighbouring stream, and the bones reserved for removal to the Ganges. They do not employ Bráhmans at these ceremonies, and do not perform the *Srāddha*. The man who lighted the pyre is impure for eleven days, when he shaves, bathes, gives the funeral feast and some uncooked grain to a Bráhman.

6. As already said, they do not accept the religious services of Bráhmans. They usually worship Devi with a sacrifice of goats or rams. Their holidays are the Rām Naumi, Janaki Naumi, Siva Rātri, Janamashtami, Deothān, Phagua or Holi, Diwāli, Dasahra, Sankrānt, and Nāgpanchami. The women have the Tija as their festival. They have much fear of the ghosts of the dead, and lay out food and drink to propitiate them. But they have no time sacred to the worship of ancestors, whom they seem to regard as a sort of family guardians to be propitiated in times of sickness and other trouble. They believe in the usual meeting omens. When one or two children die in succession they give the next baby an opprobrious name. All of them have two names—one for ordinary use, and a second, which is kept secret, and used only for ceremonial purposes. They swear by taking a *lota* full of water on their heads, by standing in water, by going to the temple of Devi, and by putting fire on the palm of the right hand. They know little of magic and witchcraft. They are firm believers in demoniacal possession, and in cases of illness call in a sorcerer to drive off the evil spirit. They believe in dreams, which are interpreted by some old person of the tribe; dreams which appear towards the morning generally turn out true. Good-looking or

prosperous people are likely to be attacked by the Evil-eye; its effects are obviated by waving some salt and pepper round the head of the patient and then throwing them on the fire. They object to touch Chamârs, Bhangis, Koris, and Kumhârs.

7. They practise the usual taboos of avoiding eating at the house of a son-in-law and calling the wife or head of the family by name. They eat goats' meat and fish and drink spirits. They will not eat beef. At the commencement of a meal they dedicate a scrap of food to Devi. They use intoxicants, such as *bhang*, *gânja*, and opium. Their salutations are *Râm! Râm! Jay Krishna! Jay Râdha Krishna*. They eat and smoke only with clansmen.

8. Their occupation is making catechu from the wood of the *Khair* tree. In this they approximate to the Khairis of the Lower Himalayas, who are usually Doms, and to the Kathkâris of Bombay, who represent themselves as descended from the monkeys of the army of Râma. These people in Bombay now "subsist almost entirely by hunting; now that their more legitimate occupation of preparing catechu (*Kath*) has been interfered with, they habitually kill and eat monkeys shooting them with bows and arrows. In order to approach within range they are obliged to have recourse to stratagem, as the monkeys at once recognise them in their ordinary costume. The ruse usually adopted is for one of the best shots to put on a woman's robe (*sâri*), under the ample folds of which he conceals his murderous weapons. Approaching the tree on which the monkeys are seated, the sportsman affects the utmost unconcern and busies himself with the innocent occupation of picking up twigs and leaves. Thus disarming suspicion, he is enabled to get a sufficiently close shot to render success a certainty." To illustrate the superstitious ideas connected with the manufacture of catechu, it may be noted that in Bombay "every year, on the day after the Holi, the *châlha* ceremony takes place. In a trench, seven feet long by three and about three deep, *Khair* logs are carefully stacked and closely packed till they stand in a heap about two feet above ground. The pile is then set on fire and allowed to burn to the level of the ground. The village sweeper breaks a coccanut, kills a couple of fowls, and sprinkles a little liquor near the pile. Then, after washing their feet, the sweeper and the village headman walk barefoot hurriedly across the fire. After this the strangers come to fulfil vows, and giving one anna

and a half cocoanut to the sweeper and the other half cocoanut to the head man, wash their feet and turning to the left walk over the pile the fire seems to cause none of them any pain." ¹

The same form of fire worship prevails among the Dusâdhs and similar tribes in the Eastern Districts of these Provinces. In Mirzapur the business of preparing catechu is almost entirely confined to the Bhuiyas and Bhuiyars.

Khandelwâl, Khandelwâla. ²—A sub-caste of Banyas, with a Hindu and Jaina branch, found principally in the Western Districts. They take their name from the town of Khandela, north of Jaypur, like the tribe of Brâhmans of the same name. Their tradition is that there were four brothers who were soldiers. One day they went out hunting and killed a favourite deer belonging to a hermit. He was about to destroy them by his curse, when they promised to abandon soldiering and hunting. From them the present Khandelwâls are descended. This is the sub-caste to which most of the celebrated Mathura Seths belong.

2. The Khandelwâls have seventy-two *gotras*, of which the following list was procured in Mirzapur:—**Internal organisation.** Torawâl; Baraiya; Dhamani; Dhankaliya; Dangaich; Machhiwâl; Pabuwâl; Barhera; Batwara; Kalwal; Sanbhariya; Bail (1); Burhwaliya; Thakuriya; Kadâwat; Râwat; Jhâlâni; Saunkhiya; Nâtâni; Vais; Amairiya; Dâni; Jasoriya; Gandhi; Katta; Kath; Kayathwâl; Kathoriya; Kilkiliya; Khunteta; Kharâwat; Jhaginiya; Tâmi; Tamoliya; Dusâdhu; Pitaliya; Bâjârghar; Bhukhmâra; Methi; Mânikbahora; Mamoriya; Sethi; Haldiha; Âkar; Ghiya; Babb; Bhagla; Pharsoiya; Pâtoda; Banwâri; Bhusar; Bargota; Meharwâl; Sahoriya; Atoriya; Mâli; Nârâyanwâl; Rajoriya; Bisaura; Harsoiya; Bharâriya; Sankhani; Bhuriya; Patoriya; Bawari, or Babari; Bâr; Mangrauriya; Pagwewa; Goliya; Chamariya; Bail (2); Tandwaiya. It would be useless to speculate on the meaning of these names: some are plainly connected in some way with other existing castes, some are local, and others occupational.

3. The prohibited degrees in marriage are the bridegroom's *gotra*, that of his maternal uncle, and those of the maternal uncle of his father and

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, X., 48; III., 310; and on the Catechu Industry, Watts Dictionary of Economic Products, I., 27, 229.

² From enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Mâl Chand, Khandelwâl, Native Commissioner to His Highness the Maharâja of Benares.

mother. Girls are usually married before the age of twelve. A man cannot marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first without her consent. Widow marriage is not permitted.

4. They are usually initiated into the Vaishnava sect. Their *gurgharāna* or family of spiritual guides is the Sādhubara of Jaypur. Their priests are Gaur Brāhmans. They are said to have either twenty-four or thirteen clan goddesses; but it has been found impossible to procure a complete list. The following eleven are named at Mirzapur:—Chawan; Nāgin; Baburi; Jiyan; Ātan; Kalyāni; Mukhta; Sakrāi Māta; Tāmbi; Loha; and Jhalāi. One of these goddesses goes to three *gotras*. They are worshipped after child-birth and marriage and at the Naurātra in the months of Chait and Kuār. Nine kinds of sweetmeats are offered to them, *viz.*, *papari*, *gujhiya*, *pheni*, *doyatha*, *pua*, *ghughuri*, *kasar*, *khir*, and *halwa*. Garlands of flowers and the fire sacrifice (*hom*) are also made as offerings.

5. The use of meat and spirits is prohibited in the sub-caste. They eat *kachchi* cooked only by Gaur Brāhmans and their own castemen. They eat *pakki* cooked by Agarwālas, Oswāl, and Maheswari Banyas. Only Kabārs, Nāis, and lower castes will eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

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

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Jainas.	TOTAL.
Sahāranpur	25	74	99
Muzaffarnagar	15	2	17
Meerut	238	40	278
Bulandshahr	1	...	1
Aligarh	232	...	232
Mathura	2,338	348	2,686
Agra	1,509	720	2,319
Farrukhābād	72	36	108
Mainpuri	122	...	122
Etāwah	506	...	606

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

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Jainas.	TOTAL.
Bareilly	6	...	6
Bijnor	52	113	165
Budâun	40	26	66
Morâdâbâd	250	566	816
Pilibhit	68	...	68
Cawnpur . . . . .	...	11	11
Bânda	30	...	30
Allahâbâd	79	...	79
Benares	40	...	40
Mirzapur	27	...	27
Lucknow	20	43	63
Hardoi	18	...	18
Partâbgarh	8	...	8
Bârâbanki . . . . .	...	6	6
TOTAL	5,886	1,985	7,871

Khandelwâl.—A local tribe of Brâhmans, who take their name from the town of Khandela in the Jaypur territory on the borders of Shaikhâwâti. They claim to be a branch of the Adi Gauda or high class Gaur Brâhmans.

Distribution of Khandelwâl Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Numbers.	DISTRICT.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur	30	Etah	7
Meerut	16	Budâun	43
Bulandshahr	9	Morâdâbâd	34
Mathura	199	Hamirpur	5
Agra	2	TOTAL	345

Khangâr,¹ Khagâr.—A tribe of thieves and village watchmen practically confined to Bundelkhand. They are also known as Râo Khangâr in relation to their alleged Râjput descent, or Râwat. When they hold the post of village watchmen, they are called Kotwâl or Kotwâr, "head policemen." There is much controversy as to the meaning of the name. According to some it is connected with the Hindi *Khanḡh*, Sanskrit *Karkara*, "withered or degraded." Others derive it from *Khadga*, "a sword."

2. The tradition of the caste is that they were formerly Râjputs of the Khagâr sept and were degraded. One

Tribal legends.

tradition tells that they entered Bundelkhand

from somewhere to the north of Kâlpî, and took service with the Bundela Râjputs. Their chief settlement was at Kurârgarh in the Bhîkamgarh State. They failed to pay their revenue, and by the orders of the Emperor Akbar, the Bundela Râja, with the help of some Gabarwâr Râjputs from Kâshi or Benares, destroyed them by giving them drugged wine to drink, and then massacred them. It is needless to say that this is a legend common to many of the degraded tribes, such as the Bhars and others. Their Râja at the time was Nâga Râja, and, after the massacre of his followers, he and his Râni escaped. He cut off half his mustache, and she took off half her jewelry, which they swore not to wear again until they wreaked their revenge on the Bundelas. By another legend only the Râni escaped the massacre of the tribe. She took refuge in a field of saffron (*kusum*), whence she was rescued by some Parihâr Râjputs, and bore a son, who was the ancestor of the present Khangârs. All this is, of course, mere folk-lore, and this escape of the pregnant mother is one of the stock incidents in the folk-tales. It is said that no Khangâr is, even to the present day, allowed to enter the fort of Kurâr, and that, in memory of the birth of their ancestor in the saffron field, no Khangâr will wear cloth dyed with saffron. Another legend runs that the Bundela Râja had a son by a Khangâr woman, who was called Baghel, and received Kurâr as his inheritance. His descendants are now known as Bimhar, and until lately they were not acknowledged by the Khangârs; this has been lately allowed after a tribal council. By another account they were the

¹ Based on notes by Mr. J. S. Weston, C.S., Settlement Officer, Jhânsi; Mr. W. Cockburn, Deputy Collector, Jâloun; and M. Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi.

descendants of Rāja Bijay Sinh of Gurnāl, and were exterminated by the Gaharwār Rājputs from Kashi, because their Rāja dared to propose to marry a Gaharwār girl. This legend is also common to a number of tribes of the same social rank. They also say that one of the Bhadauriya Rājputs once married in their sept, and to this day that, whenever there is a marriage among the Bhadauriyas, the house-master sends for a Khangār and marks his back with his hand steeped in turmeric before he pays the same mark of respect to his other guests. As a further mark of their Kshatriya descent, they say that they to this day give a sword as a marriage gift, as other Rājputs do. Further, whenever a new Bundela Rāja of Datiya is enthroned, a model of the Kurār fort and of the last Khangār Rāja is made in clay, which the Bundela breaks as part of the ceremony. Still another story tells that one of their Rājas once offered his head to Devi and the goddess replied, "Wash it" (*khangārna*). From this they were called Khangār.

3. All these legends are an interesting example of a process which has undoubtedly gone towards the formation of many Rājput septs. That there is a large body of tradision in corroboration of the Rājput descent of the tribe is quite certain. It may also be assumed as true that the Khangārs were once lords of that part of the country; but when we examine their system of *gotras*, it seems plain that their claim to Rājput lineage cannot be accepted. They have, in fact, a well-developed totemistic series of *gotras* which marks them down at once to be of Dravidian origin.

4. One list of these is as follows:—Sārdū; Bhārtā; Parsaniya; Bisora; Hathgotiya; Maltiya; Kurariya; Ghorgotiya; Bilgotiya; Bijaniya; Bhārda;

Tribal organisation.

Nāhargotiya; Nāggotiya; Kusumgotiya; and Bargotiya. Of these, the Sārdū are said to be the highest, and will not drink spirits, in memory of the catastrophe which fell upon the clan at the hands of the Bundelas. The Hathgotiya claim kindred with the elephant (*hātī*), and at marriages mount the bridegroom on an elephant; the Ghorgotiya similarly respect the horse (*ghora*); the Nāhargotiya are of the kindred of the lion (*nāhar*); the Bargotiya with the *bar* or banyan tree, which they worship; the Nāggotiya with the *nāga* or serpent; and the Kusumgotiya with the safflower (*kusum*). Another list gives the Khargotiya and Sangotiya, who are connected in the same way with the grass (*khar*) and hemp plant (*san*). A third list gives as one of their *gotras* Basor, which is

the name of a Dom sub-caste; Nîngotiya, sprung from the *nîm* tree; Gohiya from the *goh* or iguana; and Bâmbhan Rautiya, who claim to be half Brâhmans and half Râjputs; and to these apparently totemistic names may be added from the Census lists—Chhachhûndar, "musk-rat"; Gajgoti, "the kindred of the elephant"; Hirangot, "the kindred of the deer"; Pipariya, "of the Pipal tree." Besides this there is a tribal legend that they are the forefathers of the Arakhs, a distinctly Dravidian caste, who are said to be an offshoot from them. This totemistic tribal structure clearly shows their Dravidian origin, and disposes of their claim to Râjput descent. They are, in short, on the same level as the Benbans Râjputs, who are Kharwârs, and the Pâsi and Bhar tribes of Oudh, some of whom have almost certainly succeeded in establishing a fictitious Râjput connection. It was out of such elements doubtless that many of the Râjput tribes were formed, and in the case of the Khangârs it is only from the fact that they have as yet been unable to shed off their totemistic sections that we are able actually to ascertain their real origin. The lesson is a useful one in dealing with the pretensions of many now degraded tribes to a higher origin, and it would not be perhaps too much to say that while we have instances in plenty of tribes who have raised themselves in the social scale, it would be difficult to point to one undoubted instance of a tribe which, having once arrived at that stage of culture to enable them to assert the rank of Râjputs, ever fell back into the grade of landless labourers and thieves such as the Khangârs are at present.

5. The rule of exogamy is that a man does not marry in the

Marriage rules. *gotra* of his father or mother until three generations have passed, and they have the

usual formula known as *dâdh bachâkê*, or avoidance of blood relations, which is common to them and all ordinary Hindus, and is intended to reinforce the *gotra* law of exogamy and prevent intermarriage, which, without it, would still be possible. In their ceremonies there is a line drawn between the more respectable Khangârs, who are a Râjput descent, and the Kotwâr or village watchman class, who retain many usages of a more primitive type. Thus, the higher class Khangârs profess to have only quite recently adopted the custom of widow marriage and the levirate, which is admittedly authorised among those of the lower class. Among the Nâhargotiyas the clothes of the bridegroom are dyed with turmeric, and with saffron among the other sections. The lower members of the

tribe employ no barber or Brâhman except for the actual ceremony, while among the higher class the preliminary negotiations and ceremony are performed in the orthodox way. The more respectable Khangârs are now prohibiting concubinage with women of other tribes, but a low-grade man may keep a concubine of a caste other than his own, provided it be of a grade superior to his own. A man cannot marry a second wife without the distinct leave of the first wife. At a marriage among respectable Khangârs the bridegroom is expected to send five rupees by the barber who arranges the match; the same sum when the *lagan* or fixing of the wedding day comes off. On the other hand, the father of the bridegroom receives a present of one rupee when he enters the village of the bride, ten rupees when he reaches her door; her mother gives him a rupee when he goes to her room after the marriage: besides which all the bride's relations are expected to give something. All the other ceremonies at a respectable wedding are of the normal character.

6. The birth rites are of the usual kind. When a boy is born the mark of the Swâstika is made on the wall of the house, and on the thirteenth day a cow-dung Swâstika is made and taken to a tank, into which it is flung. *Laddu* (sweets made of rice) are distributed, which are known as *chhathi kâ chônval*, or "the rice of the sixth day." There is no sign of the convade, but it is contrary to etiquette for the father to talk about the birth of his child or to receive the congratulations of his friends. He leaves the grandfather of the child to receive and interview friends who call for this purpose.

7. Khangârs are all Hindus, and by preference worshippers of *Devi*. In addition, they worship the sainted forefathers of the tribe, Nâga Bâba and Kaneriya Bâba. The worship of the latter seems to be confined to the lower section of the tribe. They also make periodical pilgrimages to Kurâr, the original home of the tribe, where they worship Gidwânsa Mâta, a tribal mother who has a shrine on the embankment of the lake. Each family among the lower class Khangârs makes a platform to Kaneriya Bâba at his house, and offers eggs and coconuts on the occasions of domestic ceremonies, such as birth or marriage. The worship is performed at night, and is kept secret: only members of the family can receive a share of offerings (*prasâd*). At marriages the women do the mysterious Mehra Pûja,

or woman worship, at which only members of the family on the paternal side are allowed to attend.

8. Tree worship is very well developed among the tribe. The

Tree worship.

Rajauriya section worship the *gunj* tree (*abrus precatorius*); the Jacheriyas, the *jacher* tree; the Sanauriyas, the *nandi* tree; the Beliyas, the *bel* or *agle marmelos*; just as the Baguliyas worship the *bagula* or paddy-bird and the Magariyas the *magar* or alligator. All Khangārs worship the *anola* (*phyllanthus emblica*) on the ninth day of the waxing moon of Kārttik. The worship of the *bar* or banyan tree by the Bargotiya subdivision has been already referred to.

9. Unlike the higher castes, they have a tribal council (*pañchāyat*),

Social life and occupation.

with a president (*mukhiya*), who is appointed from time to time on the ground of fitness for the post. They have some connection with eunuchs. One of their women, they say, was once saved by an eunuch, and to this day eunuchs call Khangārs *bhānjā* or sister's son. The higher class Khangārs will eat only the food which is permitted to Rājputs; those of the lower sort no doubt eat jungle animals, and, it is said, various kinds of vermin; but if they do so, they do not care to admit the fact. Their rules of eating are uncertain. According to one account they will eat *pakki* and *kachchi* with Kurmis; according to another they will eat *kachchi* cooked by any Brāhman, Rājput, or Banya, and *pakki* from the hand of any one but a Chamār, Dhobi, Mehtar, Kori, or Basor. They will not smoke with any caste but their own. The Nāi is said to be the highest caste which will eat *pakki* with them. The Kori will eat *kachchi* and Brāhmans will drink water drawn by them; but it is not quite certain how far these rules apply to the whole caste, or only to the more respectable branch. The Khangārs are landless labourers, except in very few instances. They serve the Bundelas as servants, and as they have a very indifferent reputation, they are very often appointed village watchmen on the same principle that Pāsis very often hold the same position in Oudh and the Eastern Districts of the Province. Though not exactly a criminal tribe, they are prone to commit thefts and burglaries.

Distribution of Khangars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Bal.	Chikwa.	Mugda.	Others.	TOTAL.
Mathura . . . .	...	...	...	188	188
Agra . . . .	...	...	...	6	6
Mainpuri . . . .	...	...	...	59	59
Etāwah	18	...	...	147	165
Bijnor . . . .	...	...	...	3	3
Cawnpur	364	...	...	126	490
Fatehpur . . . .	...	...	...	50	50
Bānda	319	...	...	146	465
Hamīrpur	2,372	...	...	6,428	8,800
Jhānsi	376	...	...	9,123	9,499
Jālaun	810	...	...	6,869	7,679
Lalitpur	175	118	437	4,787	5,517
TOTAL	4,434	118	437	27,932	32,921

Khānzāda.¹—(Descendants of the Khān; another and probably less correct explanation would make them out to be Khānazād, or “descendants of a slave.”)—A tribe who do not appear in the returns of the last Census, but who deserve mention. There appear to be two classes of people known in these Provinces by this name—those of the Western Districts and those of Oudh.

2. Of this tribe in Gurgāon Mr. Channing writes²:—“The Khānzādas were a race who were formerly of much more importance than they are at present. They claim to have been formerly Jādon Rājputs, and that their ancestors, Lakhana Pāla and Sumitra Pāla, who dwelt at Tahangarh in Bhartpur, were converted to Islām in the reign of Firoz Shāh (A. D. 1351 to 1358), who gave Lakhana Pāla the name of Nāhar Khān, and Sumitra Pāla that of Bahādur Khān, and, in recognition of their high descent, called them Khānzāda, and

¹ Partly based on a note by M. Sayyid 'Alī Bahādur, Deputy Collector, Partābgarh.

² Gurgāon Settlement Report, 30.

made them bear rule in Mewāt. There is no doubt that they were the ruling race in Mewāt down to the time of Bābar; since then they have gradually declined in importance, and now own only a few villages in this District. In Alwar, also, the Khānzādas have fallen from their ancient rank, and now possess but few settlements. I have a suspicion that they are more intimately connected than they acknowledge with the Meos; but the Meo inhabitants of various villages profess to have been formerly Khānzādas and to have become Meos by intermarriage. Their traditions, also, which point to Sarahā as their ancient home, agree, I think it will be found, with those of more than one class of Meos. If my supposition, that the Meos are converted Mīnas, is correct, I am inclined to suspect that the Khānzādas are the representatives of the noble class among the aboriginal population." General Cunningham writes:—"The Khānzādas, who, for several centuries, were the rulers of Mewāt, claim descent from the Jādon Rāja Tahan Pāla. When Muhammad Ghorī captured Tahangarh, many of the Jādon families dispersed and settled wherever they could find a home. One Chief, Tej Pāla, founded Tejāra, and Lakhana Pāla, one of his descendants, was the founder of the great family of the Khānzādas. During the last two centuries, since the territory of Mewāt has fallen into the hands of the Hindus of Alwar and Bhartpur, it has become the fashion to doubt the Jādon descent of the Khānzādas, and to suggest that the title is derived from Khānazāda, 'a slave.' But the term is Khānzāda, 'the offspring of a Khān,' and not Khānazāda, 'the offspring of a house, a slave.' But their claim to royal descent from the Hindu Rājas of the country is too well attested to be shaken by the mere guesses of their enemies." ¹

3. Of the clan in Sultānpur the following account is given in the

Settlement Report²:—"Jaychand Sinh was son of Jura Sinh, of the line of Rāj Sāh, son of Baryār Sāh (see *Backgotī*). His son, Tilok

The Khānzādas of
Oudh.

Chand, was a contemporary of Bābar, during one of whose Eastern expeditions he laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house. Either taken prisoner in battle or arrested as a refractory landholder, Tilok Chand fell a prisoner into Bābar's hands. He was allowed to choose between the adoption of the faith of Islām

¹ *Archæological Reports*, XX., 10, 299.

² Page 142, 299.

with immediate liberty, or adherence to his own religion with incarceration for an indefinite period. With many respectable precedents to guide him, he selected the former alternative, was received into Imperial favour, and called Tâtâr Khân. His sons, Barîd Khân and Jalâl Khân, adopted the title of Khânzâda from their father. This is the local tradition, and differs somewhat from the account given by Sir H. M. Elliot (s. v. *Bachgoti*), who says that the Khânzâdas must have been converted before the Mughal dynasty commenced, as we read of Bachgotis [with Musalmân names before that. Perhaps their conversion was indirectly connected with the turbulence in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Hasan Khân, son of Bazîd Khân, gave his name to Hasanpur, now their headquarters." The same writer goes on to give a full account of the family, which can be consulted by the curious.

4. The Khânzâdas of Partâbgarh include representatives of several Râjput septs—the Bisen, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, Bhâlê Sultân, Sombansi, Baïs, Kânhpuriya, Chauhân, Bilkhariya, Bharsyân;

and there are others known as Madarakiya, Shaikh, and Khânzâda. Shaikhs and Khânzâdas are such as have acquired most of the Musalmân usages. The Bilkhariyas and Bhâlê Sultân Khânzâdas are endogamous; the other groups are exogamous. Daughters, by the rule of hypergamy, are married into higher groups than their own, and boys into those that are equal and inferior. Most of them have now taken to call themselves Shaikhs. They belong to the Sunni sect, but it is reported that some of their women worship Devi.

Kharâdi.—(*Kharrâd*; *Kharrât*, "a lathe.")—The caste of turners. They are probably closely allied to Barhai. The Kunera (q. v.) is another artificer of the same class, and like him is the Gargarasâz, who makes the stems of pipes (*luqqa*). The Kharâdi makes in his lathe the legs of beds (*chârpâi*), and in Benares and Ahraura, in the Mirzapur District, he makes the wooden toys which are so popular under the name of "Benares toys."

2. These are turned on the lathe and then laquered. A good account of the process will be found in the monograph on the wood manufacturers of the Panjâb by Mr. M. F. O. Dwyer, C. S. The Kharâdis are a very respectable class, and one of them is said never to be seen in jail. Those recorded at the last Census include the Hindu and Muhammadan branch. Probably many of the turners have been entered under some of the sub-castes of Barhai.

3. Of the seventeen sections of the Hindu and three of the Muhammadan branch, some, such as Bais, Kanha Thákur, Kath Bais, illustrate the pretensions of the caste to Rájput origin: others, as Dhundiya Khara, Jaiswár, Jannapári, and Mainpuri, are of local origin.

Distribution of the Kharádis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Musalmáns.	TOTAL.
Saháranpur . . . . .	...	226	226
Muzaffarnagar . . . . .	...	25	25
Farrukhábád	1	...	1
Etah . . . . .	...	2	2
Bijnor . . . . .	...	19	19
Budhán . . . . .	...	5	5
Cawnpur	15	...	15
Fatehpur	41	...	41
Jálaun . . . . .	...	1	1
Benares	302	...	302
Gorakhpur	197	65	262
Basti	109	...	109
Ráe Bareilly	37	...	37
Sítapur	1	6	7
Gonda	9	...	9
Bahráich . . . . .	...	27	27
Sultánpur	82	18	100
Partábgarh	12	...	12
Báranbanki . . . . .	...	4	4
TOTAL	806	398	1,204

Kharot.—A caste shown in the returns of the last Census as containing 5,641 persons in the Basti District only. Mr. Baillie would class them with the Kewat sub-caste of the same

name. But they are more probably identical with the sub-caste of Bel-dâr, under which article some reference has been made to them. The detailed Census returns give three sections—Dakkhinâha, or “Southern,” Jaraut, and Mahuâr or “collectors of Mahua” (*bassia latifolia*).

Kharwâr.—A Dravidian landholding and cultivating tribe found in South Mirzapur. The differences in social position between various branches of the tribe render an analysis of it difficult. Some have attained a good position as landholders and claim a high social rank, while others are menials, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the superior tribes. That they are of Dravidian origin is clearly proved by their totemistic sept system. One account connects them closely with the Cheros.¹ The Santâl legend, again, runs :—“A wild goose coming from the great ocean lighted at Ahiri Pipri, and there laid two eggs. From these two eggs a male and female were produced, who were the parents of the Santâl race. From Ahiri Pipri² our progenitors migrated to Hara Dutti, and then they greatly increased and multiplied, and were called Kharwârs.”³ Again, we are told that the tribe now calling themselves Santâl were formerly called Kharwâr.⁴ What the real origin of the name Kharwâr may be is not easily determined. The Kharwârs in South Lohârdaga, according to Mr. Risley, regard the *Khar* grass as their totem, and will not cut or injure it while it is growing.⁵ He remarks: “The adoption of the *Khar* as a totem may, of course, be due merely to the consonance of names—a factor which plays an important part in the speculation of savages regarding their own descent. If, on the other hand, the case is one of genuine survival, it goes far to suggest the inference that the Kharwâr tribe of the present day may be merely an enlarged totem sept, which broke off from some larger group, and, in course of time, developed a separate constitution.” On the other hand, the people themselves in Mirzapur seem to have no tradition of this *Khar* totem, and derive their name either from their occupation as makers of catechu (*Khair*) from the tree *acacia catechu* or to their emigration from some place called Khairagarh, regarding which there is

¹ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 127.

² This Pipri is identified by Noddel (Calcutta Review, LXXXVI., 11,) with an old Chero stronghold in the hills close to Chunar in the Mirzapur District.

³ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 200.

⁴ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 210.

⁵ *Tribes and Castes*, I., 474.

a great difference of opinion. If the Santāl tradition is to be accepted, Khairagarh is the place of that name¹ in the Hazāribāgh District; but the Mirzapur tradition seems to point to some place of the name either to the South or West, in which case Khairagarh may be identified with the most important of the Chhattisgarh feudatory states,² or with the Pargana of that name in the Allahābād District. The tradition of a connection with the fort of Rohtāsgarh³ appears to be unknown to the Mirzapur tribe, who represent themselves to be emigrants from Rîwa and Singrauli. Their tribal shrine is at a place called Kota in the Singrauli Pargana of Mirzapur, where there is a shrine of Juālamukhi Devi, where most of them assemble for worship at the Rāmnaumi festival in the month of Chait. They bring their Brāhmins from Singrauli and Pālamau.

2. The internal organization of the tribe varies in different parts of Mirzapur. Throughout they seem to have shed off the elaborate organization of totemic sects which prevails in Bengal.⁴ North of the river Son there are four exogamous and one endogamous sub-division. The four exogamous sub-divisions are—

(1) Sūrajbānsi, who claim descent from the sun, like the corresponding Rājput tribe. It may be noted that the Bengal Birhors affirm that they and the Kharwārs are of the same race, descended from the Sun.⁵ This sub-division is now in process of elevation to Rājput rank. This process is also going on in Bengal, where the Rājas of Rāmgarh and Jashpur have nearly succeeded in obliterating their Turanian traits by successive intermarriages with Aryan families.⁶

(2) Duālbandhi, these are the Duālbandh of the Bengal lists.⁷ They say that their name is derived from *duāl*, "a leather belt," because they were once soldiers.

3. Pātbandhi, the Pātbandh of the Bengal lists. They say they are so called because they were once very rich and wore silk (*pāt*).

¹ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 211.

² *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 242.

³ Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 472; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 127.

⁴ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., *Appendix*, 78, *seq.*

⁵ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 219.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 129. For examples of the same process at work in other Dravidian tribes, see Ball, *Jungle Life*, 117; Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 8.

⁷ Risley, *loc. cit.*

(4) Benbansi; of the origin of the name there are two accounts: one is that *ben* means a bamboo, from which this sub-division is descended, and which some of them will not cut. Others derive it from Râja Ben or Vena, the early type of the insolent opponent of the religion established by the Rishis. This sub-division has made rapid strides to acquire the rank of Râjputs. The head of them is the Râja of Singrauli in Mirzapur, who calls himself a Benbansi Râjput. Up to a generation or two ago his family used, it is said, to shave their heads when deaths occurred among the Dudhi Kharwârs. Now he keeps Hindu priests, wears the Brâhmanical cord, and has succeeded in intermarrying with such a well-known Râjput tribe as the Chandels. These four sub-divisions are exogamous, and intermarry on terms of equality, though, as might be expected among the sub-divisions on their promotion to Râjput rank, the rule of hypergamy is advancing in favour.

(5) Khairaha, who are said to derive their name from the extraction of catechu (*kattha*) from the Khair tree (*acacia catechu*). This occupation is considered disreputable, and the members of this sub-division do not intermarry with the other four higher sub-divisions. In Dudhi, again, there are apparently only two sub-divisions—the Duâlbândhi and the Pâtbandhi—which are exogamous and intermarry on equal terms. In Singrauli they name seven exogamous sub-divisions—Pâtbandhi, Duâlbândhi, and Sûrajbansi, which have been already described. Besides these there are the Bhogta or Bhugta, which is one of the sub-divisions recognized in Bengal¹; the Kharchurwa, who are makers of catechu and apparently identical with the Khairaha noted above; the Chikchikwa; and the Pradhân or “leader.” This sub-division, like the Sûrajbansi, who now claim to be Râjputs, say that they originally belonged to that tribe, but suffered a temporary loss of respectability when they began to eat fowls and drink liquor. These abominations they have now discarded, and have been restored to their proper rank.

3. In appearance the more advanced members of the tribe are in strong contrast to the more primitive families. Some of the former have received some admixture of Hindu blood. The real Kharwârs Colonel Dalton

¹ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 129; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., Appendix, 78.

compares with the Santâls: "They are very dark, with pyramidal-shaped low noses, thick protuberant lips and cheek bones or zygomata, which project so as to make the temple hollow." A writer in the *Calcutta Review*¹ says of the tribe in Shâhâbâd:—"The hair of the Kharwâr is black and straight. The form of the face is more oval, and the nose and lips are thinner than is the case with the other hillmen, the Chero, who has more regular features, alone excepted. There is nothing peculiar in the skull, but a slight depression from the extremities to the eyes and downwards gives a height to the cheeks and a protrusion but closeness to the lips, imparting an expression of shyness, for which the Kharwâr is too well noted. The chest is rather narrow, the abdomen large, the limbs long and flat, the gait erect, but both fingers and toes disproportionately heavy." At the same time, in South Mirzapur, even people who have lived all their lives among these Dravidian races fail to identify them easily. All they can say with certainty is that the Majhwârs and Kharwârs are known by the breadth and coarseness of their noses, while the Bhuiyârs are known because they speak through their noses in a very marked way.

4. In Pargana Dudhi there are three tribal councils, with their head-quarters at Gonda, Bajiya, and Bamhni, respectively. They sometimes take the title of Mânjhi (with the tribe of which name they have no connection) or Mahto. The president first makes private enquiries into cases brought to his notice, and, if he thinks it advisable, convokes a meeting of the general council. Every householder has a right to a seat on the council. No oath is administered, the witnesses being simply admonished to tell the truth. If the council disagree, a sub-committee or cabinet of five leading members, known as the Pachkûti, or "five families," is appointed to investigate, and whatever decision they arrive at, it is accepted by the general council. In Singrauli whoever pleases can call a meeting of the council, for whom he must provide sufficient food and liquor. The meeting is presided over by the headman (*gānwāha*) of the village in which the meeting takes place. If the village headman does not happen to be a Kharwâr, another *gānwāha* of the tribe is summoned from elsewhere. If the offender does not accept the order of the council, he is excommunicated (*lota bāj kar dena*) until he submits, and he is then obliged to feed the brethren.

5. As already stated, the sub-divisions, except the Khairaha, are

Marriage rules.

exogamous ; but in order to bar close inter-marriages, which are possible even with this prohibition, marriages within the family of the mother's brother (*mānu*), father's sister's husband (*phūpha*), are prohibited for two or three generations, and the same rule applies to families into which a sister has been married. Differences in geographical position, wealth, or social position are not a bar to intermarriage ; but marriages with families who carry on degrading occupation are prohibited. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase and maintain. They live in separate rooms in the same house. The senior wife is head of the household, and is treated with respect at social meetings. Concubinage is not allowed, and there is no trace of polyandry. Women enjoy considerable freedom both before and after marriage. Inter-tribal incontinence is lightly regarded, and an unmarried girl detected in an intrigue with a man of her tribe is restored to caste rights on her father giving a tribal feast. If her lover is of another caste, the expulsion is permanent. As in Bengal,¹ infant marriage prevails. The marriage age is from five to ten. Adult marriage is considered disgraceful. After the girl has been inspected by the boy's father, all subsequent arrangements are made by the brother of the boy's mother (*mānu*). There are no professional match-makers, and the parties have no right of choice. The bride price is five rupees in cash, two to four sers of sweetmeats, and five maunds of rice and pulse. This is not a fixed amount, but is increased or decreased according to the circumstances of the parties. The bride price is understood to be spent by her father on the marriage feast.

6. A woman can be divorced for habitual infidelity, and a woman

Divorce.

can leave her husband for the same reason, which must in both cases be proved to the satisfaction of the council. If a man ill-treats his wife, she runs away to her father's house, and the council then warn the husband to treat his wife better ; in bad cases they fine him, and recognise the wife's right to refuse cohabitation. A divorced wife may marry again in the *sagái* form. If the husband is impotent, and it is assumed that the marriage has not been consummated, the council divorce them, and give the bride leave to marry again in the regular

¹ Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 475

form: in this case the new husband has to return the original bride price through her father.¹ Concubinage, as already stated, is prohibited, but illegitimate children, though assumed to belong to the father's tribe, are not admitted to caste privileges.

7. The tribe is at present in a state of transition as regards widow marriage and the levirate. The more Hinduised Kharwârs, particularly those who aspire to Rājput rank, prohibit both.² But those of the more primitive type permit these arrangements. A noted ascetic, the Dūbiya Bāba, has recently led a crusade against both customs among the Mirzapur Kharwârs. Where widow marriage prevails, a man, whether already married or a bachelor, can take a widow into cohabitation, and when he announces the fact to the council, he has to give a feast. Children by such cohabitation are considered to rank lower than those born of a regular marriage, and in some families they receive only one-fourth share as compared with that of legitimate children.

8. The more Hinduised branches of the tribe are beginning to recognise the ordinary rules of Hindu adoption. Among those of a more primitive type, adoption does not depend on any religious theory, and it seems to be recognised that a sonless man can select one of his brother's sons as his heir, and the arrangement will be valid if it is sanctioned by the council.

9. The custom of beena³ marriage (*gharjaiyān*) prevails. The son-in-law, while on probation, does field work, and receives maintenance, but has no claim to succeed to the property of his father-in-law.

10. As regards succession, there is the same divergence between the more Hinduised members, who abide by the regular Hindu law, and the less advanced, who adhere to a vague tribal custom. Among them primogeniture is so far admitted that the eldest son receives, in excess of his younger brothers, one-twentieth of the cattle and one-tenth of the vessels and other household goods. With the exception of this, all joint property, whether ancestral or acquired, is divided equally

¹ On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 528, 534.

² In Bengal, too, the same variance of custom prevails. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 475.

³ Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 78.

among the sons. If the widow remains at home, does not re-marry, and looks after her children, she has a life interest, which may cease on her expulsion for unchastity. Girls have no rights, except that of support out of love and affection, if they cannot get on with their husband, and have to return to the family home. If a widow, while pregnant, marries again, her child is attributed to the step-father. Only children at the breast accompany the widow on re-marriage, and the step-father is bound to support and get them married. If a man becomes an ascetic, he is regarded as civilly dead, and all his goods pass to his sons. The office of headman (*gānwā*) is hereditary, and if the eldest son of the deceased turn out incompetent, the council will appoint his younger brother in his stead.

11. The birth pollution lasts for six days. The Hinduised Kharwârs name the child when it is first fed on grain (*anna prāsana*) in the sixth month, and the name is fixed by the family priest (*purohīt*), according to the asterism (*nakshatra*) of birth. The child's head is ceremonially shaved in the third, fifth, or seventh year at the temples of Kuāri Sobnāth on the Son, Jnālamukhi Devi, and Kota in Singrauli, or at the shrine of Vindhyabāsinī Devi at Bindhāchal. At the same time the child's nails are cut: until this time the mother may bite off the child's nails, but not touch them with iron. Among the ruder Kharwârs, in cases of difficult parturition, the mother is given two-and-a-half leaves of the *makua* (*bassia latifolia*) crushed in water. She is delivered on the ground facing the north, and if a son is born, while the Chamāin midwife is cutting the cord, the women of the family sing the song of rejoicing (*sohar*). On the sixth day the mother is bathed by her brother's wife (*bhawjāi*) or husband's sister (*nanad*), the latter of whom cleans and re-plasters the delivery room (*saur*), for which she receives a trifling present. Some families have a similar custom on the twelfth day (*barahi*). There is the usual survival of the couvade in the husband doing no work on the day his child is born and taking a monthful of the cleansing draught which is given to the mother.

12. The Mirzapur Kharwârs have retained some of the primitive or non-Aryan customs which those in Bengal have abandoned as far as marriage is concerned.¹ They, however, get the village Pandit to fix a lucky

¹ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 120.

day for the betrothal (*mangani*, *barrekhi*), when the boy's father brings to the girl's house three or four jars filled with flour cakes (*pūa*) cooked in butter and five rupees in cash. It is the etiquette on this occasion that he should be accompanied by five of his clansmen, among whom the *mānu*, or brother of his wife, who has arranged the marriage, takes a leading place.¹ The two fathers-in-law *in futuro* sit opposite each other, the boy's father puts the bride price into his platter and exchanges it for that of the bride's father. The platters are then filled with liquor and exchanged four times more. This constitutes the betrothal, and the boy's father and his friends sit down outside. One or two of the girl's friends bring them a goat, and it is the etiquette to say—"Although the girl's father cannot entertain you, he sends you this vegetable"² (*chaurāi sāg*), which, we hope, you will honour us by accepting." To this the reply is—"My connection by marriage (*samdhi*) is good in every way." They then bring the goat back to the girl's father, who kills and cooks it with other food, and then invites them to the betrothal dinner saying—"I have provided the best in my power. Be pleased to accept it as an offering" (*prasād kariyē*). After this, when the wedding day is fixed by the Pandit, the earth ceremony (*matmangar*) is done in both houses, the earth being dug by the Baiga, who is blindfolded while doing so. He takes up five handfuls of the earth and passes them over to five unmarried girls of the tribe, who carry it off in the folds of their sheets, and then bring it in five baskets to the marriage shed (*mānro*), which has five bamboos fixed in the centre. The girls make the earth into a stand for the sacred water jar (*kāsa*), over which is a saucer of barley with a lighted lamp. The Pandit next sprinkles some oil with a bunch of *dāl* grass over the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, and then the women rub him or her all over with oil and turmeric. With this mixture on the boy and girl sleep for the night, and next day the bridegroom is bathed by the barber and the bride by the barber's wife, who cuts the nails and colours their feet with lac dye (*mahāwar*). The mother of the boy or girl and four other women relatives have their nails cut and their feet coloured at the same time. Before the procession starts, the boy's brother-in-law (*bahnai*) brings him

¹ On this see *Majhwar*, para. 14.

² The *chaurāi* or *chaulāi* is a common potherb (*amaranthus anardana*)—Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products*, I., 210.

five times backwards and forwards to his mother, who sits on a rice mortar (*okhal*), and she seizes him by his loin-cloth and will not let him start until she gets a present. The bridegroom is carried in the procession in a large cot known as the ship (*jahâs*).¹ When they arrive at the bride's house the "door worship" (*duâr pûja*) is performed. The bridegroom sits in a square (*chauk*) made of flour, and the girl's father puts a mark (*tika*) on her forehead with rice and curds, after which the Pandit says—"If you intend to give anything to your son-in-law, do so now," and he presents him with a calf, a loin-cloth, and two brass vessels (*lotâ, thâli*). Then the bridegroom with his friends retires to the reception place (*janwânso*), where some friends of the bride wash his feet (*pânw pakhârna*)² with those of his party. When the bridegroom comes to be married, there is a survival of marriage by capture in five boys blocking the way and preventing him from going in until they are paid five annas each. Here, again, he receives presents from the bride's father, and after this the clothes of the pair are knotted together, and they walk five times round the five bamboos fixed in the centre of the shed, one of which he marks with red-lead each time as he goes round. After which he marks the bride's head with red-lead in the usual way. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are decorated with various figures by the younger sister of the bride. The most common mark is three converging lines like the top of Siva's trident. Then the bridegroom refuses to sit beside the bride until he gets a present, when the barber unknots the clothes of the married pair. In the centre of the marriage shed is placed a sort of totem consisting of images of parrots (*suga*), represented sitting on a tree made of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*). After the marriage this is scrambled for, and the pieces are carried off as trophies by the unmarried boys of the tribe, while, in the retiring room, it is the rule for the bridegroom to mark the wall decorations with a splash of red-lead, and then five unmarried girls wash the feet of the bride and bridegroom, and will not let them go until they get a small present. Next morning is the *confarreatio*, when the bridegroom eats rice and pulse with the bride, and refuses to do so until he gets a tray (*thâli*) as his fee (*khichari khilâi*). After this

¹ See *Majumdar*, para. 16. The same custom prevails among the Kurmis of Bengal. See Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 319.

² On the foot-washing ceremony see Campbell, *Notes*, 29.

a tray is passed round and every guest is expected to make a small contribution to cover the marriage expenses. The bride and bridegroom are then sent off together in the "ship litter" (*jahás*). When she arrives at her husband's house, the bride holds on to the poles of the litter and refuses to dismount until her mother-in-law gives her a rupee. Then they go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where the bride splashes red-lead on the wall decorations, and their clothes are again knotted and untied by five girls, who wash the feet of the pair. Next morning the bride comes into the marriage shed (*mduro*) with a tray, and all the friends present give a contribution in aid of expenses. The same day the bride and bridegroom take the two sacred jars and throw them into a neighbouring stream, bring them home filled with water, and worship the village shrine on the way. The binding part of the ceremony is the marking of the bride's hair with red-lead, but the Mirzapur tribe have discarded the Bengal custom of mixing it with blood,¹ while they retain the practice of emblematical tree marriage.

13. The dying person is taken into the open air to die, and on the day of death the house court-yard is not swept. This is like the practice of the Congo negroes, who abstain for a whole year from sweeping the house, lest the dust should injure the delicate substance of the ghost.² Among the more Hinduised Kharwárs the dying man is made to touch a female calf, which is then given to a Bráhmaṇ, and some Ganges water and a leaf of the sacred *tulasi* (*ocimum sanctum*) are placed in his mouth. The corpse is cremated in the usual way. No implements are placed with the corpse. The chief mourner after cremation sweeps the ashes and bones together, and pours over them a libation of unboiled milk, barley, and sesamum, to support the soul in the next world.³ After a person dies it is always necessary to watch a corpse lest demons should possess it. They tell a story about this. Once an unmarried girl of the tribe died, and her relatives went to fetch wood to cremate her. A demon got hold of the girl, and she was rescued only with the greatest difficulty. The death impurity lasts

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 475.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 424.

³ In Sháhábád, in Bengal, the chief mourner buries part of the bones near the pyre on the day after cremation, and in the following month of Kártik takes them to the river Ganges or Durgávati, where he dives deep into the water and commits them to the stream, *Calcutta Review*, LXIX., 363.

ten days, and ends with the shaving of the kinsmen and a feast given by the relatives of the deceased.

14. On the tenth day after death, a goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, and during the days of mourning, food is regularly laid out for him¹ along the road by which the corpse was removed. Each house has a mud platform (*chaura*), which is supposed to be the abode of the family dead. They do the usual *śrāddha* ceremony through a Brâhman.

15. They call themselves Hindus, but they do not worship any of the usual Hindu gods, except the Sun (*sūraj*), to whom, as in Bengal, they appeal in times of trouble, and to whom the householder bows when he leaves his house in the morning. Their tribal deities are Juālamukhi Devi of Kota and Râja Lâkhan. This Juālamukhi Devi must not be confounded with the more famous Juālamukhi Devi or Juālamāi who has her shrine at Nagarkot in the Kāngra Valley. The two Juālamukhi Devis were recorded at the last Census as possessing 116,769 votaries. All they know of Lâkhan is that, as they believe from the similarity of name, he came from Lucknow. This deity has a curious history, for he is almost certainly identical with Lakhana Deva, the son of the famous Jaya Chandra of Kanauj, who apparently led the Hindus against the advancing Muhammadans.² Lâkhan is worshipped in the month of Sâwan in the house, at the same platform where the dead are propitiated, with the sacrifice of a goat and a burnt offering (*hom*). Juālamukhi Devi is also worshipped in Sâwan. Other local deities are Mahâdeva, Râja Chandol,³ and Mother Earth, which is usually revered in association with the collective village gods (*Dih*, *Dharti*) in the month of Baisâkh by the offering of a goat, which is sacrificed by the Baiga. In none of these offerings do the women share, except the senior wife, who takes part in the offerings to the sacred dead. The worship to Mahâdeva is done by a low class of Tiwâri Brâhman, who also officiate at marriages. The south and west rooms of the house are those in which the family godlings (*deota*) reside, and no one will touch the threshold of

¹ For other instances see Campbell, *Notes*, 2.

² There is a pillar in his honour at Balkhara, in the Mirzapur District. See Cunningham, *Archaeological Reports*, XI., 122.

³ For his worship see *Majhwâr*, para. 40.

these rooms with his foot. When the newly-married pair come home, Dulha Deva, the god of marriages, is worshipped near the family cooking-place. They feed a goat with rice and pulse, cut off its head with an axe, and say—"Take it, Dulha Deva, and be merciful to us!" Then they cook and eat the victim. On the day this worship is done, they remove the ashes out of the fireplace very carefully, without using a broom, and throw it away some distance from the house. If the ashes are dropped on the ground while being removed in this way, it is considered a very unlucky omen. No woman is allowed to be present at the worship of Dulha Deva.

16. The worship of Muchak Rāni seems hardly to reach Mirzapur, but the following account by Mr. L. R. Forbes from his Palāmanu Settlement Report may be quoted:—"The Kharwārs, like all the aboriginal tribes, are very superstitious, and people the jungles and hills with spirits and gnomes, to whom they offer sacrifice at certain times of the year. One of the most remarkable of these is called the Durgagiya Deota. This spirit rejoices in the name of Muchak Rāni. She is Chamāin by caste and her home (*naihar*) is on a hill called Būharaj; her priests are Baigas. All the Kharwārs regard her with great veneration, and offer up pigs and fowls to her several times during the year. Once a year, in the month of Aghan, what is called the *Karāj pūja* takes place in her honour. The ceremony is performed in the village threshing-floor, when a kind of bread (*pokwān*) and kids are offered up. Once in three years the ceremony of marrying the Rāni is performed with great pomp. Early in the morning of the bridal day, both men and women assemble, with drums and horns, form themselves into procession, and ascend the hill, singing a wild song in honour of the bride and bridegroom. One of the party is constituted the priest, who is to perform the wedding ceremony. This man ascends the hill in front of the procession, shouting and dancing till he works himself into a frenzy. The procession halts at the mouth of a cave, which does, or is supposed to, exist on the top of the hill. The priest then enters the cave and returns, bringing with him the Rāni, who is represented as a small oblong-shaped and smooth stone, daubed over with red-lead. After going through certain antics, a piece of *tasar* silk cloth is placed on the Rāni's head, and a new sheet (*dohar*) is placed below her, the four corners being tied up in such a manner as to allow the Rāni, who is now supposed to be seated in her bridal couch, to be slung on a bamboo, and carried like a

dooly or palanquin. The procession then descends the hill and halts under a *bar* tree till noon, when the marriage procession starts for the home of the bridegroom, who resides on the Kandi hill. On their arrival there, offerings, consisting of sweetened milk, two copper pice, and two bell-metal wristlets, are presented to the bride, who is taken out of her dooly and put into the cave in which the bridegroom—who, by the way, is of the Agariya caste—resides. This cave is supposed to be of immense depth, for the stone goes rolling down, striking the rocks as it falls, and all the people listen eagerly till the sound dies out, which they say it does not do for nearly half an hour. When all is silent, the people return rejoicing down the hill, and finish off the evening with a dance. The strangest part of the story is that the people believe that the caves on the two hills are connected, and that every third year the Râni returns to her father's house (*naikar*). They implicitly believe that the stone yearly produced is the same. The village Baigas could probably explain the mystery. In former times the marriage used to take place every year, but, on one occasion, on the morning succeeding the marriage ceremony, the Râni made her appearance in the Baiga's house. The Baiga himself was not present, but his wife, who was at home, was very indignant at this flightiness on the part of the Râni, and the idea of her gallivanting about the country the morning after her marriage so shocked the Baigâin's sense of propriety, that she gave the Râni a good setting down, and called upon her to explain herself; and as she could give no satisfactory account of her conduct, she was punished by being married every three years, instead of yearly as before.¹

17. They have apparently abandoned the custom of triennial festivals.² Their great festival is in the month of Sâwan, when they dance the Karma dance and indulge in a good deal of rude debauchery. They will not name the pig, tree squirrel, hare, jackal, monkey, or bear in the morning: if they have to mention the pig, they call it *lamlot banaila*; the squirrel, *chikhura*; the hare, *changora* ("the footed one") and *patthar ghurwa* ("he that hides in the rocks"); the jackal, *sigo*; the red monkey, *pat mahari*; the bear, *jagariya*. They

¹ This is a very interesting account of a ceremony, which is evidently analogous to those described by Mr. Frazer in his *Golden Bough*, where the corn spirit is annually revived to secure a favourable harvest.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 475; Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 129.

have a great respect for the tiger, and when one is killed, they retire out of view and will not look on its dead body. They believe that if they join in hunting the animal, it will never show itself. On the feast of the Nâgpanchami they do not worship the snake, but smear the horns of the cattle with oil and give them salt. At the last Census 25,336 persons were recorded as Nâga worshippers. When a man has been killed by a tiger, his ghost is propitiated with an offering of a female goat or fowl, and a mud shrine (*baghaut*) is erected in his memory, and placed in charge of the Baiga. When the Sâmbhar stag eats the leaves of the *kâhor* and *mâmar* trees, it is a sign of abundance of rain. Other signs of rain are when the throat of the chameleon (*girgit*) gets red, when the under-hairs of a buffalo's tail become scarlet, when the paddy-birds collect round the cattle as they graze, and when the peacocks cry. Witchcraft is firmly believed in. Witches often take the form of tigers. When the demons, who live in the *bakera* (*terminalia bellerica*) and the cotton tree (*semal*), are on the move, a little bird, called the *kûsal*, cries out and raises the alarm. They tell of a Kharwâr who once came on the snake goddess (*nâgin deota*) laying her eggs. When she saw him she came and rolled herself at his feet. The man asked what she wanted. She implored him to throw the eggs into a water hole. So he made a sort of litter of bamboos, and, putting all the eggs on it, went with the Nâgin to the water. The Nâgin plunged in. He was afraid to follow, but the Nâgin said—"Come on! Don't be afraid." When he went in, the water dried up, and he took the eggs to the resting-place of the Nâg. The man remained there eight days, and the Nâg entertained him royally. His relatives thought that a tiger had carried him off, and prepared to do the tenth-day ceremony for him. When the Nâg heard this he said—"Your people think you are dead; now ask whatever you want." The man asked for a brass pot (*batua*), a spoon (*karchkul*), and a pan (*kardhi*). These the Nâg gave him and let him go. When he came home he found his clansmen preparing to do his funeral ceremony. They asked him where he had been, but he never told any one till the day of his death.¹ They have a great respect for the sacred drum

¹ These stories of how a human being makes friends with the denizens of the water are common in folk-lore; for instance, Crofton Croker's tale of the "Soul Cages"; W. B. Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*, 61; and "Julianur of the Sea," Laube's *Arabian Nights*, III., 234. Nâg, it may be noted, is a general term among the Mundas of Bengal for the minor deities or spirits who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields. Dalton, *Descriptions Ethnology*, 188; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 103.

(*mûnda*), which is used at the Karama festival. In some places it is even worshipped in the form of Mândar Devî, who has her shrine under a *makua* tree (*bassia latifolia*). Demons of all sorts are much dreaded, and they are supposed especially to haunt cremation grounds and old wells and tanks, particularly those in which any one has been drowned. The *kumbhi* tree is believed to be specially infested in this way, and no one will walk under a tree of that species; but to walk under a mango tree is very lucky. On the 11th of the light half of Kârttik, special propitiation is done to malignant ghosts, and people drive iron nails into the head legs of their beds to keep them off. On the 11th Kârttik and at the Diwâli, a cock is offered in the cow-house and a young pig in the buffalo enclosure. Gaurâiya Deota is the godling of the cow-house, and to him are offered the earthen bowl (*gaurâiya*) of the tobacco pipe. Before the Holi fire is lit, a fire sacrifice (*hom*) is made under a cotton tree (*semal*), and its trunk is smeared with red-lead. The men are in the habit of using foul language to women not related to them from the Basant-panchami to the Holi. Fields are constantly injured by the thievish sprites, the *chor* and *chorni*, who are specially looked after by the Baiga. Like the Parahiya (para. 14), they have a great respect for the goat, which they worship before they sacrifice it. Trees and animals they consider have souls like men. The only difference is that when the souls leave them, they do not go to Parameswar as those of men do. Beyond this they appear to have no tangible belief in a future world of rewards and punishments.

18. The women are tattooed in the style common to the Dravidian tribes;¹ there is no trace of a tribal

Social customs.

tattoo. If they are not tattooed, they think

Parameswar will brand them in the next world. The women wear heavy pewter anklets (*paiṛi*), glass bangles (*chûṛi*), and head necklaces. Their special oaths are taking a piece of hot iron in the hand, by the Ganges, putting their hands on their sons' heads, or touching a sow. These oaths are usually sworn in boundary disputes and caste quarrels, and the violation of them is believed to lead to poverty and death. They believe in the demoniacal theory of disease, and whenever a person is sick, an Ojha is called in. He puts some rice before the patient, who blows on it, gets into a

¹ For details see *Agariya*, para. 22.

state of ecstasy, and names the particular *Bhût* which has done the mischief. When he announces this, the patient also gets into a sort of fit and asks the *Bhût*, who answers by the *Ojha*, what offering he wants. They believe in the treatment of hysteria in girls by beating them with the sacred chain (*gurda*), which is in charge of the *Baiga*.¹

19. They will not touch a woman during the pollution after parturition. A woman in her menses is kept in a separate room with another entrance, so that she can go in and out without passing through the court-yard.² They will not touch a *Chamâr*, *Dharkâr*, or *Ghasiya*, nor the maternal aunt of the wife (*mamiya sâs*), nor the wife of a younger brother. They will not mention by name their wives, father-in-law, mother-in-law, or younger brother's wife.³

20. Their great festival is in the middle of *Bhâdon*, when a leafy branch of the *karam* tree is cut, daubed with red-lead and butter, and fixed up in the court-yard. This marks, as among the *Orâons*,⁴ the time for the transplanting of the rice. The women and men, dressed in gala clothes, place themselves into opposite rows. The national drum (*mândar*)⁵ is beaten, when they advance and retreat, and finally dance round the branch in a circle. Sometimes, in the course of the performance, one of the men is seized with the divine afflatus, and murmurs some broken words, which are taken as an omen of the prospects of the coming harvest.⁶ The deity connected with agriculture is *Baghesar*, the tiger lord, who is worshipped by the *Baiga* with the sacrifice of a white cock; and at the same time a white hen is offered to *Âd Chandi Devi*, who appears to be a Hinduised representative of *Chando Omal*, the moon divinity of the *Mundas* in Bengal.⁷ At the last Census, 1,326 persons recorded themselves as worshippers of *Chandi Devi*, but she has her seat at the *Chandi hill* overhanging *Hardwâr*, and is apparently different from the *Dravidian* goddess of the same name. They surround the

¹ On this see *Majhûdr*, para. 45.

² On this see *Fraser, Golden Bough*, I., 238, *seqq.*

³ See *Lubbock, Origin of Civilisation*, II., 122.

⁴ *Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology*, 259.

⁵ There are numerous instances of the respect paid to the drum. In the *Atharva Veda* (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, V., 466) is a hymn to the sacred drum, and see *Tylor, Anthropology*, 298; *Calcutta Review*, LXXVII., 372.

⁶ See a good account of the observances in *Calcutta Review*, LXIX., 364, for *Shâhâbâd*.

⁷ See *Dalton, loc. cit.*, 186.

piled grain with a ring of cow-dung or charcoal, and put on the top of it a piece of cow-dung which is called *barhswan* or "that which gives the increase." Until the grain is measured they will not leave an open basket near the pile, lest Bhûts should remove the grain. After it is measured they never touch it.¹ When they are sowing they take five handful of grain from the sowing basket and pray to Dharti Mâta, the earth goddess, to be benignant. They keep this grain, grind it, and offer it to her at her regular festival in the month of Sâwan (September). When they eat they call on Paramesar, and throw a little of the food on the ground.²

21. They will not eat the meat of the cow, buffalo, monkey, horse, elephant, camel, donkey, alligator, lizard, or rat. Men and women eat apart. The children eat first, and the head of the household after them. They use liquor freely, and chew tobacco (*surti*). The use of liquor they consider wards off disease, but drunkenness is discreditable. They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khâna*) from the hands of Brâhmans, and will drink water from a Chero, but the better class are giving this up.

22. They are very clannish and have a local organisation called *eka*, including the people of two or three villages, which meets to consider public matters; but this is becoming weakened.

23. Most of them are cultivators; a few hold land. Their social position varies: the more Hinduised claim the rank of Râjputs, those of the more primitive type are on the same level as Cheros and Majhwârs.

Khashiya.—A sub-division of hill Brâhmans, who take their name from the ancient Khasa race. Of these Mr. Atkinson writes:³—"The lists give some two hundred and fifty septes of Khashiya Brâhmans, of whom the majority are cultivators and plough themselves. They worship sometimes Siva and Vishnu, but chiefly Bhairava, the more common forms of the Sâktis and the village deities. It would be useless to give a list of their names, which are chiefly derived from the villages in which they live. Some claim common origin with the Brâhmans of the plains; thus the Shâranis, Dobhâls, Gahtyâris, Kanyânis, and Garwâls say that

¹ See M. Conway, *Demonology*, II., 117.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II., 270.

³ *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 423, 599.

they were originally Tiwâris; the Mûnwâlis, that they were Chaubês; the Papanois, that they were Upretis of Doti; the Chaunâls, that they were Chaubês of Mathura, who settled in Mânili, in Kâli Kumâun, and took the title Pânre and their present name on emigrating to Chauni; the Kuthâris call themselves Pans; the Ghushuris, Daurbas, Shanwâls, and Dhunilas call themselves Pânres; the Laimdaris, Chavanrâls, Phuloriyas, Oliyas, Naniyâls, Chaudâsis, Dalakotis, Burhalakotis, Dhulâris, Dhurâtis, Pancholis, Baneriyas, Garmolas, Walauniyas, and Birariyas allege that they are Joshis; the Bânaris and Nainwâls, that they were Phulâri Brâhmans; the Kaphulis, Dhankolas, and Bhagwâls, that they were Bhattas of Doti; the Jâlis, Nakhyâls, Thapaliyas and Hari-bols, that they were Upâdhyas; the Bhanautiyas, that they were Gaurs; the Mashyâls, that they were Kanauiyas; the Pâtasis, that they were Pâthaks; and the Baraniyas, that they came from Benares and were astrologers to the Râja. Septs named after villages, and who do not attempt to give any account of their origin, are the Kholiyas, Kunwâlas, Lweshâlis, Kaphariyas, Baithariyas, Mehal-khâniyas, Nainoliyas, Meltis, Tarâriyas, Hâtwals, Pokhariyas, Chhatguliyas, besides some one hundred and fifty others. They do not know either *sâkha* or *prâvara*, and often have little knowledge even of their *gotra*. The Kanseris worship Siva as Bibhândeswar, a name for which there are few temples. Akariyas derive their name from the fact that they were free from taxation (a "privative" and *kara*, "tax"). Balariyas belong to Purnagiri in Kâli Kumâun. Ghughutyâls are Râjputs of Ryûni, degraded from Brâhmans on account of an offence committed by their ancestor. Rasyârs say they were so called because they were Brâhman cooks (*rasoiga*) to Râjas. The Namgis supply Purohitas to the Bhotiyas of Juhâr. The Phulrâis supplied flowers for worship at the Nanda Dêvi temple. The Ghaibhanariyas perform funeral ceremonies for people who die without heirs. Panerus are suppliers of drinking-water (*pâni*). The Dobhâls of Doba village are also called Jagariya or exorcists, and are authorities on the possession by devils, and are called in on such occasions. The Oliyas, on the other hand, avert the evil effects of hail-storms (*ola*), and in Kuâr wander about from village to village begging their dues, a measure of rice. The Chila-kutis act as priests of the village god Saim, in Chaugarkha. Nearly ninety per cent. of the Brâhmans in Kumaun belong to the Khasiya race, and are so classed by the people themselves. A few of the

better class worship the orthodox deities alone, but the great mass serve the Bhairavas, Bhūts, Bhūtīs, and are, to all intents and purposes, as much priests of non-Brahmanical deities, as their representatives further east who know not the name of Brāhman. They are a simple race, and not to be confounded with the Hill Pujāri or temple priest, or the Nāth; but in times of rejoicing assume the functions of religious directors in the very simple ceremonies deemed necessary. The Khasiyas never tried to connect themselves with the plains till late years, when they see that such connections add to their personal dignity."

Khasiya.—A sept of hill Rājputs who represent the great Khasa race. In the Vishnu Purāna we find Khasa as the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kasyapa and mother of the Yakshas and Rākshasas. In the same compilation they appear under the name of Yaksha. They are mentioned in the Karna Parvan of the Mahābhārata as living in the Panjāb between the Arattas and Vasatis. In the Vayu Purāna, the Khasas are named as one of the tribes which Sāgara would have destroyed had he not been restrained by Vasishtha; and in Manu they are reckoned as degraded Kshatriyas. They inhabited the part of Tibet immediately north of Garhwāl, and we have here a hint as to the origin of the celebrated fable told by Herodotus about the ants who throw the gold out of their burrows. In the Mahābhārata the Khasas are specially mentioned among the Northern tribes who brought presents of *pipilīta* gold, so called because it was collected by ants (*pipilaka*). This would indicate that the Khasas were the carriers of Tibet gold dust. The same word occurs in various well-known geographical terms, such as Kashgār, Hindukush, Kashmīr, and many others.¹ Even Bābar had a very shrewd idea of this. "About these hills," he writes, "are other tribes of men. With all the investigation and enquiry I could make among the natives of Hindustān, I could get no sort of description or authentic information regarding them. All that I could learn was that the men of these hills were called Kās. It struck me that as the Hindustānis frequently confound *shās* and *sū*, and as Kashmīr is the chief, and indeed, as far as I have heard, the only city in these hills, it may have taken its name from that circumstance."²

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 375, seq.

² *Leyden, Bābar*, 313.

2. "The account," writes Mr. Atkinson, "that the Khasiyas of Kumaun give of themselves tallies in all respects with the indication from other sources. They always profess to be Rājputs, who have fallen from their once honourable position by the necessity of living in a country and in a climate where the strict observance of the ceremonial usages of their religion is impossible; and undoubtedly this statement is supported by all the facts, so far as we are acquainted with them, which have any bearing on the question. It has been sometimes, but hastily, assumed, apparently from analogous circumstances in Nepāl, that the Kumaun Khasiyas are a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian race. The Khasiyas of Nepāl may have been less exposed to Aryan influences throughout their successive wanderings, or may have been modified by admixture with Tibetan tribes. For, as we proceed eastward from the Kāli, we find conditions of climate, which, however unlike those of Tibet, must still be less antagonistic than those of the Western Himālaya to the diffusion of a Mongolian race. But this admission does not affect the Khasiyas of Kumaun, who, in physiognomy and form, are as purely an Aryan race as any in the plains of Northern India. The language of the Khasiyas is a purely Hindi dialect both in its vocables and in its grammatical structure, and no signs of foreign admixture have hitherto been discovered in it. Supposed resemblances in feature between the Khasiyas and the neighbouring Tibetan tribes have helped to lead some to a conclusion different from that now given, but this resemblance has no real foundation in fact. The people of the plains, no doubt, differ greatly in appearance from those of the hills, but not more so than might be expected, when we consider the great difference in the physical conditions of the countries that they respectively inhabit, nor more than the Aryan races of the plains, owing to similar causes, differ amongst themselves. The moist climate of Lower Bengal, the comparatively dry heat of the North-Western Provinces, and the still drier climate of the Panjāb, with its great extremes of heat and cold, cause those physical changes in the inhabitants that are so remarkable and clearly recognisable by the most casual observer. If, to the effects of climate, we add the influence of the various races which have from time to time invaded India, we shall have reason to believe that much of the variations observed in the plains is due to circumstances which have been wanting in the hills. However this may be, this much is certain at least, that, at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumaun

and Garhwāl are in all respect Hindus. They are so in language, religion, and customs, and all their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that, though their social habit and religious belief are often repugnant to the orthodox of that faith, it is impossible for any one who knows them to consider them other than Hindus. Year by year, with increasing communication with the plains, the hill Hindu is more and more assimilating his practice with that of his co-religionists in the plains, whilst to the North, the Tibetan Bhotiyas are becoming more observant of Hindu customs."

3. "In Garhwāl there are numerous sections of the Khasiyas named after the parent village (*thāl*), and carrying its name wherever they go, such as Patwāl, which gives its name to Patwālsyān; Kaphola, hence Kapholsyān; Bagarwāl; Ambāna, who were Bhattes of Benares, but are here Rājputs; Ramola; Dānas, or Dānavas, representatives of the old tribe of that name; the Khandawāris, Durhyāls, Sanaulas, Dalanis, and Bukilas call themselves Rāwats; Boras, Kairas, and Choriyas come from Kumaun. All of these are engaged in agriculture and petty trade, and none of them will call themselves Khasiya. All style themselves Rājputs and many say that they were settled in their present village before Brāhmins and Rājas came. They worship principally the village gods, care little for Brāhman aid in their domestic ceremonies, unless he be a Khasiya, do not wear the sacred thread (*janau*), and on occasions of joy or sorrow, marriage or deaths, the house is simply purified by cow-dung and cow urine. The marriage or funeral ceremonies are short or long according to the purse of the employers. They intermarry with each other according to local rules peculiar in some respects to each tract."¹

Khatik.²—(Sanskrit, *Khattika*,³ "a butcher or hunter.")—A cultivating, labouring, and vegetable-selling caste found all over the Province. They are no doubt very closely connected with the Pāsis, of whom they are sometimes classed as a sub-caste. Of the seven sub-castes enumerated by Mr. Sherring, two—Banriya and Pāsi—may be excluded. Of the remaining five, two are territorial—

¹ Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, III., 276.

² Based principally on enquiries made at Mirzapur, and partially on a note by Nawab Muhammad Ali Khān of Bulandshahr.

³ As an amusing instance of a folk etymology, a writer in North-Western Provinces. Census Report (1863), Appendix B, 42, derives the name from *khatka*—"raping," because a man of this caste once had an intrigue with a married woman and used to rap at her door to gain admittance! Rāja Laohman Singh derives it from "ghāt," "to kill or watch." *Bulandshahr Memoir*, 186.

Ajudhyabâsi and Sunkhar. The Sunkhar are said to take their name from the town of Sonkh in Mathura. At the same time Sonkh does not appear¹ to possess any traditions of the caste, and their own legends point rather to Jaunpur and Oudh. The other three—Bakarqassâb or Qassâi are butchers, who sell and slaughter goats; the Chalan-mahrâo are workers in leather, especially using it for covering or lining; the Ghorcharâos are grooms. The Ajudhyabâsi sell fruit and vegetables and do general work for hire. All the sub-castes are endogamous.² In Mirzapur the sub-divisions are Ajudhyabâsi and Sunkhar, between whom the only difference is that the former eat beef and the latter abstain from it. To the West of the Province they have two endogamous sub-castes—Khara and Khairanga or leather dyers.³ The last Census classifies them under the heads of Chauhân; Chik or Bakarqassâb; Kabâriya or Mewafarosh, "fruit-sellers"; Rajauriya, who probably take their name from the old Râjput Chauhân fort in the Etah District; and Sunkhar. The Kabâriya is often a sort of marine store-keeper, who buys all kinds of old rubbish (Hindi *kabâr*, Sanskrit *kapâla*). In Agra they have three sub-castes—Chik, Bûchar (our English "butcher"), and Sunkhar. There some of these Chiks make winnowing fans (*sûp*) and sieves (*chhalni*); the Bûchar sell goats' flesh and mutton, not beef; and the Sunkhar sell fruit and work as grooms. In Bulandshahr we have the Khara or "pure," Khallu or "hidemen," and Chik. The complete Census returns show no less than 816 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 7 of the Musalmân branch. Of these, those of the most local importance are the Bilwariya of Meerut, the Bargûjar, Chauhân, Chauseni, Khatri, and Sanwariya of Bulandshahr; the Gandhîla and Tomar of Aligarh; the Ajudhyabâsi and Khokhar of Allahâbâd; the Sengarwâr of Mirzapur; the Kanaujiya and Sagahiya of Gorakhpur; the Bandichhor of Basti; and the Tanbina of Lucknow.

2. In Bihâr they regulate their marriages by the standard formula, calculated to five generations in the descending line.⁴ In Mirzapur they do not marry into the family of the maternal uncle, father's sister, and mother's sister for three generations, and in their own family they

¹ Growae, *Mathura*, 379.

² *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 400.

³ Raja Lachhman Singh, *loc. cit.*, 185.

⁴ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 477.

do not intermarry for four generations. The occupations considered disreputable in forming alliances are those of a butcher, shoemaker, or carter of manure. Monogamy is the rule of the caste and concubinage is prohibited. In Bihar they practise infant marriage, marrying their daughters between the age of five and twelve years. In Mirzapur the age is eight or ten. The bride price is fixed at seven rupees. They have a powerful tribal council (*panchayat*) under a hereditary president (*Chaudhari*). When he is appointed he has to present the council with a gallon of spirits. If a man abduct another man's wife, he is fined twenty-five rupees. This, which is also the rule among some of the cognate castes, is known by the special name of *pachisi*. Besides this, he has to provide a dinner, consisting of boiled rice, pork, and three gallons of liquor. If an unmarried girl intrigue with a clansman, her parents are fined two gallons of liquor, and then they are re-admitted to caste; but the man has to give something more to buy liquor before the clansmen will smoke with him. Men or women caught intriguing with a stranger to the caste are permanently excommunicated. All money fines are spent on liquor. If the Chaudhari or any member abuse the caste as a body, he is put out of caste. In former times the orders of the Chaudhari used to be enforced by corporal chastisement, but this has now ceased, and a fine is imposed. A wife can be expelled if she is proved faithless, and she can put away her husband if he is impotent or abandons his religion. No separation is permitted without leave of the council.

3. The levirate is permitted, but not enforced. A widow generally marries a widower. The only

Widow marriage.

ceremony is that the pair are shut up in a dark room, and he rubs red-lead on the parting of her hair and puts a new suit of clothes and some ornaments on her. The clansmen are then treated to boiled rice, pork, and liquor, and next morning the bride is brought home. When she arrives the female relatives of her husband look in her face and give her a present (*munhdi khat*).

4. The ceremonies at birth are as usual among menial castes.

Birth ceremonies.

When the midwife cuts the navel string, she throws it outside the house, a fire is lighted near the mother, and some branches of the thorny *bel* (*agla marmelos*) are hung to the house eaves to scare off ghosts. The birth pollution lasts for twelve days, and the husband does not cohabit with his wife for six months after her confinement.

5. Marriage is arranged by the father's sister's husband of the boy. The betrothal (*mangani*) is confirmed by the two fathers sitting together in a square in the court-yard of the bride's house. They exchange a leaf platter (*dauna*) full of liquor, drink it, and the bride's father receives one *ser* of rice and five pieces of turmeric. The clansmen feast and drink; next morning the bridegroom's father returns home and sends the bride price—seven rupees. Then follows the *matman-gar* ceremony three days before the wedding. At this the drum of the Chamār, who leads the procession of women as they go to dig the clay, is worshipped, and offerings are made at the village shrine (*deohār*). The bridegroom's mother then smears his back with turmeric and barley flour, and the earth is brought home and put under the marriage shed, which is made of bamboo, with a bamboo in the centre. In the centre is the water jar (*kalsa*), which is smeared with cow-dung and decorated with red-lead and mango leaves. On the top is placed a saucer (*parai*) full of rice. The actual ceremony takes place towards morning. The bride's father's sister brings out the bride, and her father washes her's and the bridegroom's feet and drinks a little of the water. The bridegroom then rubs red-lead on the parting of her hair, and the pair walk five times round the central bamboo: at each revolution the bride's brother puts a little parched rice into a fan (*sūp*), which the bridegroom holds, and then scatters the rice on the ground. Next follows the usual ceremony of the *Kohabar*.¹ After the bride is brought home, her father-in-law-sister plunges the water jars and marriage festoons (*bandanwār*) in a neighbouring stream or tank, and on her way home offers sweetmeats and a burnt-offering (*kam*) to the ghosts which inhabit the old *pīpal* and banyan trees in the village. The binding portion of the ceremony is the foot-washing and the rubbing of red-lead on the parting of the bride's hair.²

6. The dead are cremated in the usual way. When the mourners return, a fire is kindled at the door of the dead man; on this a little oil is poured, and the mourners warm their feet in the smoke and then

¹ For which see *Majhudār*, para. 18.

² Mr. Sherring says that, at the marriage ceremonies of Khatiks and Pāsia boys dress themselves in women's clothes and dance in public; but the Bhars do not observe this custom and make use of the drum and other instruments of music on such occasions which the others do not. *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 400.

chew some *nīm* leaves; liquor is then served round. Food is regularly laid out for the dead during the days of mourning. On the ninth day the mourners shave their heads, and the barber makes ten lumps of milk and rice cooked together, which the chief mourner throws into a tank or stream in the name of the dead. In the evening a pig is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, and the clansmen consume the flesh with liquor. In the first fortnight of Kuār, they offer lumps of boiled rice and milk to the dead, and lay out cakes, rice, milk, and flesh for the spirits. No Brāhman officiates, and his place is taken by the barber.

7. The great deity of the tribe is Karār Bīr, who has his shrine at

Jaunpur.¹ In Mirzapur they say that he
Religion. was an Ahīr by caste, who was killed by the

Muhammadans, because he would not renounce his religion. Karār Bīr was found to possess 31,408 worshippers at the last Census. He was a demon who inhabited the site of the present Jaunpur. Rāmchandra attacked him, tore him to pieces, and left his trunk in the form of a shapeless mass of stone, which is now worshipped. The fort is known as Karārkot to Hindus, and the neighbouring quarters of the city as Karāra Muhalla. He is said to have left his name in that of the Karākat Pargana of Jaunpur.

He is now represented by a black stone, which is supposed to have marvellous powers. He last displayed his influence when the British tried and failed to blow up part of the Jaunpur fort. His offering is a loaf, five-and-a-quarter sers of rice, a pitcher of liquor, and the *laddu* sweetmeat. They also worship the deified ghost of some unknown Brāhman known as Bāmat, Bābhan or Brāhman Deva. This worship of a dead Brāhman under the name of Brahm is most popular. No less than 406,787 persons recorded themselves as votaries of Brahm at the last Census. Some of the more famous Brāhms are Ratan Pānré and Harshu Pānré.² His offering is a Brāhmanical thread (*janu*), a pig, and a cup of liquor. He is said also to have been a martyr to the faith. Some worship Bhawāni and others Birtiya, who is, according to them, a demoness. Her votaries have a mud altar (*bedi*) in the house, and on it, in the full moon of Sāwan, they offer a young pig, and drop a mixture of pepper, sugar, and water (*mīrchuān*) on her altar. They have the usual worship of Sitala Māi performed by women when small-pox

¹ *Archaeological Reports*, XI., 104.

² For these worthies see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folk-lore*, 121, 122.

prevails. The special time for worshipping Bhawāni is at the Naurātra of Chait. Her offering is a pig, cakes (*pūri*), and sweetmeats (*halwa*). In Bulandshahr they worship the Ganges, Devi, and the Mīran Sāhib of Amroha. On feast days they offer liquor to the village gods (*deohār*). On the Pacheinyān festival they lay some milk and parched rice near the hole of a snake. Their festivals are the Khichari or Khincharwār in Pūs, the Phagua in Chait, and the Kajari in Sāwan. On these days they drink liquor and offer some to the tribal deities. The ghosts of the dead, if not propitiated, appear in dreams and bring disease and death. Such cases are treated by the Ojha.

8. Women are tattooed on the arms. They wear no nose-rings nor glass bangles (*chūri*). They have ear-rings, armlets (*dharkana*), and necklaces.

Social observances: Men swear on the heads of their sons and on Ganges water, in the form *Rām dōhāi*. Some will not eat beef. They will not touch food touched by a Chamār, Dom, Dharkār, Musahar, Pāsi, or Dhobi; the last they consider the foulest of all. They will not touch the wife of a younger brother or a daughter's mother-in-law, and will not speak of a wife by her name. Men and women eat together, but not out of the same dish. They salute a daughter's father-in-law in the form *Rām Juhārē*, and others with the *pāṭagi* and *asirbād*. To the West of the Province they are considered next lowest to the Bhangi.¹ In the West of the Panjāb they are tanners and rank higher than those to the East, who are pig-keepers.² To the East of these Provinces they hold a very low rank: no one will drink water touched by them. They will eat food touched by the Nāo, Bāri, or Ahir. Their chief occupations are keeping and selling pigs and selling vegetables and fruits, which they buy wholesale from Koiris. On the whole they bear a good character, and seldom come before the Courts.

Distribution of Khatiks according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	HINDUS.						Muhammadians.	TOTAL.
	Chauhān.	Chik : Bakar-qasāb.	Kabā-riya : Movn-tarosh.	Rajauriya.	Sunkhar.	Others.		
Bara Dāt.	40	330	...	370
Sahāranpur.	2,523	...	2,523

¹ Rāja Lachhman Singh, *loc. cit.*, 185.

² Ibbotson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, para. 602.

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

DISTRICT.	HINDUS.						Mahomedans.	TOTAL.
	Chandala.	Chik :— Bakar- qasab.	Kab- riya : Mow- farosh.	Rajauriya.	Sonkhar.	Others.		
Muzaffarnagar .	23	9	36	9	...	2,751	...	2,828
Meerut .	...	...	...	...	6,567	1,530	...	8,097
Bulandshahr .	2,954	...	...	2,210	...	16,305	...	21,469
Aligarh .	52	...	...	22,623	...	17,656	...	40,331
Mathura .	56	153	17	1,725	...	3,353	1	5,305
Agra .	70	1,521	54	174	38	3,830	...	3,987
Farrukhabad .	...	...	...	...	10	950	17	977
Mainpuri .	12	125	122	22	...	1,510	...	1,791
Etawah .	118	144	143	140	...	1,657	...	2,302
Etah .	200	196	40	101	98	1,235	...	1,870
Barilly .	...	...	722	22	...	2,167	...	2,911
Bijnor .	...	...	...	...	...	555	...	555
Budaun .	1,102	...	...	234	36	2,430	...	3,802
Moradabad .	1	...	...	423	85	462	...	977
Shahjahanpur .	...	...	...	...	14	1,906	...	1,920
Pilibhit .	...	...	...	...	...	1,463	...	1,463
Cawnpur .	...	3	116	...	2,698	4,650	...	7,467
Fatehpur .	...	...	...	...	3,847	4,194	6	7,547
Banda .	...	...	...	...	1,153	1,255	13	2,421
Hamirpur .	...	15	...	...	425	1,025	...	1,405
Allahabad .	...	...	15	...	3,569	1,566	9	5,148
Jhansi .	...	47	104	5	10	1,105	12	1,283
Jalaun .	19	27	2	34	12	769	...	862
Lalitpur .	18	82	...	...	...	273	...	373
Benares .	...	...	...	...	4,305	1,424	15	5,745
Mirzapur .	...	...	...	...	4,738	248	...	4,986
Jampur .	...	...	...	...	3,100	132	...	3,232

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

DISTRICT.	HINDUS.						Muhammadans.	TOTAL.
	Chauthan.	Chik :— Bakor- qasab.	Kabā- riya :— Mowā- farah.	Rajauriya.	Sonkhar.	Others.		
Ghāzipur	5	...	1,185	76	...	1,266
Ballia	32	...	32
Gorakhpur	3,352	...	1,826	4,714	1	9,893
Basti	5,800	956	...	6,256
Azamgarh	12	...	3,968	1,407	...	5,387
Kamann	1	...	1
Garhwal	9	...	9
Tarai	22	...	96	187	305
Lucknow	...	181	887	...	727	1,780	...	3,477
Unao	258	538	...	796
Kāē Bareilly	...	11	335	...	844	1,003	...	2,193
Sitapur	99	59	...	158
Hardoi	36	...	89
Kheri	2	2	11	15
Faizābād	603	938	...	1,536
Gonda	9,287	582	...	9,869
Bulārah
Sultānpur	1,049	499	...	1,548
Partābgarh	286	218	15	519
Bānabanki	271	456	...	727
TOTAL	4,625	2,764	5,912	27,750	55,949	92,639	290	189,929

Khatri.—(Sanskrit *Kshatriya*.)—A mercantile caste which has its origin in the Panjab, but is found in considerable numbers throughout these Provinces.

2. One of the best accounts of the caste is that given by Sir G. Campbell in his paper on the "Ethnology of India" published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." Sir G. Campbell's account of the caste.

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1866. He writes:—"Trade is their main occupation, but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Panjāb and the greater part of Afghānistān and doing a good deal beyond these limits, they are in the Panjāb the chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, moreover, the priests or Gurus of the Sikhs. Both Nānak and Govind were, and the Sodhis and Belis of the present day are, Khatri. Thus, then, they are in the Panjāb, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Marhatta Brāhmins are in the Marhatta country, besides engrossing the trade, which the Marhatta Brāhmins have not. They are not usually military in their character, but quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Diwān Sāwan Mal, Governor of Multān, and his notorious successor Mūl Rāj, and many of Ranjīt Singh's chief functionaries, were Khatri. Even under Muhammadan rulers in the West they have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatri Diwān of Badakhshān or Kundūz, and, I believe, of a Khatri Governor of Peshāwar under the Afghāns. The Emperor Akbar's famous minister Todar Mal was a Khatri, and a relative of the man of undoubted energy, the great Commissariat contractor of Agra, Joti Prasād, lately informed me that he also is a Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatri are one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India, though, in fact, except locally in the Panjāb, they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatri are staunch Hindus, and it is somewhat singular that while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The Khatri are a very fine, fair, handsome race, and, as may be gathered from what I have already said, they are very generally educated.

3. "There is a large subordinate class of Khatri, somewhat lower but of equal mercantile energy, called Rors or Roras. The proper Khatri of higher grade will often deny all connection with them, or at least only admit that they have some sort of bastard kindred with Khatri; but I think there can be no doubt that they are ethnologically the same, and they are certainly mixed up with Khatri in their avocations. I shall treat the whole kindred as generally Khatri.

4. "Speaking of Khatri, then, thus broadly, they have, as I have said, the whole trade of the Panjāb and of most of Afghānistān. No village can get on without the Khatri, who keeps the accounts, does banking business, and buys and sells the grain. They seem, too, to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of this kind. In Afghānistān, among a rough and alien people, the Khatri are, as a rule, confined to the position of humble dealers, shop-keepers, and money-lenders; but in that capacity the Pathāns seem to look on them as a kind of valuable animal, and a Pathān will steal another man's Khatri, not only for the sake of ransom, as is frequently done on the Peshāwar and Hazāra frontier, but also as he might steal a milch cow, or as Jews might, I dare say, be carried off in the Middle Ages, with a view to render them profitable.

5. "I do not know the exact limits of Khatri occupation to the West, but certainly in all Eastern Afghānistān they seem to be just as much a part of the established community as they are in the Panjāb. They find their way far into Central Asia, but the further they get the more depressed and humiliating is their position. In Turkistān Vamberg speaks of them with great contempt, as yellow-faced Hindus of a cowardly and sneaking character. Under Turkomān rule they could hardly be otherwise. They are the only Hindus known in Central Asia. In the Panjāb they are so numerous that they cannot all be rich and mercantile, and many of them hold land, cultivate, take service, and follow various avocations.

6. "The Khatri is altogether excluded from Brāhman Kashmīr. In the hills, however, the Kakkas, on the east bank of the Jahlam, are said to have been originally Khatri (they are a curiously handsome race), and in the interior of the Kāngra Hills there is an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds called Gaddis, most of whom are Khatri. Khatri traders are numerous in Delhi; are found in Agra, Lucknow, and Patna; and are well known in the Bara Bāzār of Calcutta, though they are principally connected with Panjāb firms.

7. "The Khatri do not seem, as a rule, to reach the Western coast; in the Bombay market I cannot find that they have any considerable place. In Sindh, I find in Captain Burton's book an account of a race of pretended Kshatriyas, who are really Banyas of the Nānakshāhi (Sikh) faith, and who trade and have a large

direct representatives of Kshatriyas¹ of Manu "is as doubtful as most other matters connected with the fourfold caste system." On the other hand, Mr. Nesfield thinks their claim to be valid, and adds that "the cause which detached the Khatri from the Kshatriya and shut out all possibility of a return to the ancestral caste was the establishment of a marriage union between fragments or clans drawn from several different sub-castes of Kshatriyas, between whom no connubial rights had hitherto existed, or from sub-castes of Kshatriyas mixed with Brāhmins. There is much reason to believe that Brāhmins as well as Kshatriyas have contributed to form the new caste of Khatri," and he goes on to allude to the fact, already referred to, that Sāraswat Brāhmins eat food at their hands. On the other hand, Mr. Risley² urges that the internal organisation of the caste "furnishes almost conclusive proof that they are descended from neither Brāhmins nor Kshatriyas, and that the theory connecting them with the latter tribe rests upon no firmer foundation than a resemblance of name, which, for all we know, may be purely accidental. Their features and complexion, indeed, entitle them to be ranked as Aryans of comparatively pure lineage, but among their numerous sections we find none of those striking marks which are characteristic of the Kshatriyas. The sections named Khatri, however, are a heterogeneous and entirely artificial group, formed by the union of various tribes. When they descended from the same source as the Kshatriyas, they must have had the same patronymic, and it is difficult to see why they should have abandoned them for less distinguished patronymics. In addition to their own sections, they have also the standard Brāhmanical *gotras*; but these have no influence upon marriage, and have clearly been borrowed, *honoris causa*, from the Sāraswat Brāhmins, who serve them as priests. If, then, it is at all necessary to connect the Khatri with the ancient fourfold system of castes, the only group to which we can affiliate them is the Vaisyas. This conjecture is at least in keeping with the present occupations of the caste, and gets us out of the difficulty which led Sir G. Campbell to propound the doubtful theory that in the ordinary course of history the warlike conquerors of one age become the astute money-dealers of another. In truth, however, all specu-

¹ Punjab Ethnography, para. 539.

² Tribes and Castes, I., 430.

lations which profess to connect existing castes with the four traditional castes are on the face of things futile and misleading. We do not know enough about these primitive groups to be able to apply to their internal structure that minute analysis which alone can determine their precise tribal affinities."

10. By another authority¹ an attempt has been made to connect the Khatri with the Jāts. It is urged that the *soḥra* or veil, and not the *maur* or crown, is used in marriage among both races; that the Khatri women alone of Hindus wear shoes, though the custom down East is dying out and the only observance of it is the sending of a pair of shoes among the wedding presents of the bride. The Khatri deny that they ever had the custom of eating from vessels (*rikābī khāna*) or that their women ever wore clothes of Muhammadan fashion (*turkī kapra*), while the Pachhāda Jāts still openly practise both customs at marriage feasts. Again, there is a tradition that the Tagas were once Khatri, and expelled for drinking; the Tagas ridicule this, but the Khatri assert that it is the case. On the other hand, their connection with Jāts has been denied on the ground that no pious Brāhman eats food prepared² by a Jāt, but most will if cooked by a Khatri. As Khatri mostly inhabit the Muhammadan capitals, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, etc., many Muslim customs, as wearing the *adri* on marriage, the use of shoes by females, etc., have crept into their society as well as among Kāyasths, Agarwālas, Oswāls, and other similar tribes, and Khatri and Kāyasths for the same reason use a greater number of Persian words in familiar language than other Hindus.

11. Another suggestion³ is that their peculiar customs and modern immigration into these provinces indicate them to be one of the Hindu tribes which occupied the trans-Indus region at the time of Alexander's invasion, and an attempt has been made to identify them with the Kathri, who were recorded by the Greek historians to have been on the Chināb when Alexander invaded the Panjāb.

12. On the whole, it seems quite clear from their physique and general appearance that the Khatri are of Aryan descent, and if we admit, which is probably the case, that the aggregate of tribes now known under the name of Rājput and Brāhman is of mixed

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, I., 299, vi.

² *Ibid.*, II., 26, sqq.

³ Raja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 166.

origin, it is not difficult to imagine that the Khatri may have been an offshoot from one or the other, and Mr. Risley's argument based on the character of their sections does not seem conclusive. We know from numerous instances, such as the Benbans Rājputs of Mirzapur and some of the Oudh septs, that this internal structure is far from stable, and it may be true that the Khatri were once a higher race which accepted a lower status when they took to mercantile occupations.

13. The internal structure of the Khatri is very intricate.

At the last census of these provinces they recorded themselves in ten main sub-castes—Kakkar, Kapūr, Khanne, Lāhauri, Mohendra, Meheré, Rora, Seth, Surīn, and Tandan. The complete returns show 761 sub-divisions in which the endogamous sub-castes and exogamous sections are inextricably mixed together. To quote Mr. Ibbetson for the Panjāb branch of the caste:—"In recent times there has sprung up a system of social graduation in accordance with which certain Khatri tribes refuse to intermarry with any save a certain specified number of their fellow-tribes, and the distinctions thus created have been formulated in a set of names such as Dhāighar, 'he who only marries into two-and-a-half houses'; Chārzāti, 'he who marries into four tribes'; Chhahzāti, 'he who marries into six tribes'; and so on. This purely artificial and social classification has obscured the original tribal divisions of the caste; for Khatri of the same tribe may be in one part of the province Chārzātis, and in another Bārahzātis, and so forth. The returns then show three different kinds of divisions—first the four real tribal sections—Bunjāhi, Surīn, Bahri, and Khokhrān; then the four of the most important of the artificial divisions alluded to above Dhāighar, Chārzāti, Panjāti, and Chhahzāti; and finally six of the most important clans—Sodhi, Bedi, Kapūr, Khanné, Marhotra, and Seth. The origin of the division into the four sections called Bunjāhi, Surīn, Bahri, and Khokhrān, is said to have been that Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī attempted to impose widow marriage upon the Khatri. The Western Khatri resolved to resist the innovation, and sent a deputation of fifty-two (*bāwan*) of their members to represent their case in court; but the Eastern Khatri were afraid to sign the memorial. They were therefore called followers of Shara Ayīn, or the Muḥammadan customs—hence Surīn; while the memorialists were called Bāwan-jāti, from the number of the deputation or of the clans, respectively,

represented by the members of the deputation; hence Bunjâhi. The Khokhrân section is said to consist of the descendants of certain Khattris who joined the Kokhars in rebellion, and with whom the other Khatri families were afraid to intermarry; and the Bahri section, of the lineage of Mahr Chand, Khân Chand, and Kapûr Chand, three Khattris who went to Delhi in attendance upon one of Akbar's Râjput wives, and who, thus separated from the rest of the caste, married only within each other's families. But these are fables, for the same division into Bahri and Bunjâhi appears among the Brâhmans of the Western plains. The number of clans is enormous. The most important in point of social rank are the Marhotra or Mahra, the Khanna, the Kapûr, the Seth, the first three of which are said to be called after the names of the three men just mentioned, while Seth is a term now used for any rich banker. These four clans belong to the Bahri section of the caste, and constitute the Dhâighar and Chârzâti divisions, which stand highest of all in the social scale. The origin of the term Dhâighar lies in the fact that the families of that division exclude not only the father's clan but also such families of the mother's clan as are closely connected with her, and thus reduced the clans available for intermarriage to two-and-a-half. I should say that each division will take wives from one below it, though it will not give its daughters to it in marriage. The Bedi and Sodhi clans belong to the Bunjâhi tribe, and owe most of their influence and importance to the fact that Bâba Nânak belonged to the former and Guru Râm Dâs and Guru Har Govind to the latter. They are commonly said to be the descendants of these men, but this appears to be a mistake, the two clans dating from long before Bâba Nânak. The Sodhis played an important part during the Sikh rule. They claim descent from Sodhi Râê, son of Kal Râê, king of Lahore; and the Bedis from Kaipat Râê, brother of Kal Râê and king of Kasûr, who, being deprived of his kingdom by his nephew, studied the Vedas at Benares and was known as Vedi. The modern headquarters of the Bedis is at Dera Nânak in Gurdâspur, where Bâba Nânak settled and died, and of the Sodhis at Ananpur in Hoshiyarpur, which is also the centre of the Nihang devotees.²⁴

14. In Mirzapur the tribal arrangement is very intricate. They name five main sub-divisions, Dhâighar, Chârghar, Bôrahghar, Bâwanghar, and Suratiwâl, who are lowest in rank. Each of these has four sections Meharhotra, Tandan, Kapûr, and Khannê.

These again are provided with sub-sections. Those of the Meharhotras are Lalwânê (Natkhol) and Kanauj kê Meharê; of the Tandan, Ranjît kâ Tandan, Pibâna kâ Tandan, and Billimâr Tandan; of the Kapûr, Kodokhânê Kapûr; and of the Khanna Nakhshikhaa Khanna. The Dhâighar give their daughters only in marriage to members of their own sub-division and take wives from their own sub-divisions or from the Chârghar. If one of the Dhâighar marry in the Bârahghar he is degraded. The daughters of the Dhâighar are sometimes married in their own sub-divisions or to members of the Dhâighar. The males of the Chârghar take wives from the Bârahghar. There is thus a well-established rule of hypergamy in force in the tribe.

15. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring¹ they are divided into two main branches—the Purbiya or “Eastern” and the Pachhainiya or “Western.” The Pachhainiyas are divided into six sub-tribes, each of which has a number of clans (*gotra*). The Arhâighar or Chauzâti comprise the Khanna, Kapûr, Mehra, and Sêth clans, whose *gotras* are for the first three Kausal and of the last Vatsa. They are the head of the Pachhainiya branch, and will marry their sons into any of the next four sub-tribes, though they will not permit Chhahzâti men to marry Chauzâti women. The second sub-tribe, the Chhahzâti, has six clans, Bahel, Dhanwân, Beri, Vij, Saigal, and Chopra. Of the third sub-tribe, the Panjzâti, Mr. Sherring does not give the clans. Of the fourth, the Bahri, there are, according to the same authority, twelve clans,—Upal, Dngal, Puri, Kochar, Nandê, Mahpê, Handê, Bhallê, Mangul, Badahrê, Sowâti, and Kulhar. All these clans intermarry. They also marry their daughters into the three preceding sub-tribes, but cannot receive their women in marriage. The fifth sub-tribe, Bâwanjâhi, has fifty-two clans which intermarry. The Bahri clan will receive their women in marriage, but will not give their own in return. Of the sixth sub-tribe, the Khokhrân, there are nine clans, who are—Kohali, Anad, Bhasirn, Chuadha, Sabrwâl, Suri, Sahani, Ghei, and Sethi. These nine clans intermarry, but Khokhrân are endogamous.

16. The divisions of the Khatri of Bengal are very similar. Mr. Risley names six sub-castes, Chârjâti, Panchjâti, Chhahjâti, Bârahjâti, Bahannajâti, and Piruwâl, each with a number of sections

¹ *Hindu Tribes*, I., 280, *seq.*