

which need not be detailed. He adds that the Chārjāti sub-caste "is again divided into Arbāighar and Chārghar, apparently hypergamous groups, the former of which is deemed superior to the latter. It seems probable that the first five sub-castes were originally hypergamous divisions, the order of precedence being that given above. Inter-marriage between members of different sub-castes is not known at the present day, but it is considered right for a man to marry in his own group, and the sub-castes are practically endogamous. The Piruwāl sub-caste has always been endogamous."

17. Boys are married between the age of ten and twenty-five ;
 but infant marriage is preferred. Girls are
 married between nine and fourteen. Poly-
 gamy is allowed, but there seems to be an increasing prejudice
 against it. Widow marriage is forbidden.

18. Khatriis are generally Vaishnavas or Nānakpanthis and
 their family priests are Sāraswat Brāh-
 mans. Their domestic ceremonies are of the
 standard orthodox type.

19. Khatriis rank high among Hindus. Sāraswat Brāhmans
 eat *pakki* and *kachchi* with them; Banyas
 eat *pakki*; and Kabārs and similar castes eat
kachchi cooked by them. They themselves eat *pakki* and *kachchi*
 cooked only by members of the caste or Sāraswat Brāhmans.
 Their women have a reputation for their beauty and fair com-
 plexion. A Bihār proverb says—*Khatri sē gora pandu rogi, Kāyasth*
se chatur parbhogi—"An albino only is fairer than a Khatri and
 an adulterer than a Kāyasth." Another runs—*Rūp na singār,*
Khatriāni ki sādā—"Without beauty or ornaments she would be
 a Khatri woman."

Distribution of Khatriis according to the Census of 1891.

Division.	Kakhar.	Kapur.	Khasné.	Lahori.	Mahendru.	Mehna.	Rora.	Seth.	Surin.	Tandana.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dün . . .	...	...	7	...	...	130	22	8	10	1	399	577
Sahraunpur . . .	...	103	43	...	...	54	547	32	30	23	1,554	2,421
Muzaffarnagar . . .	3	33	42	...	...	22	890	18	...	...	260	1,268
Meerut . . .	9	77	121	10	...	91	624	16	86	8	935	1,977
Bulandshahr . . .	6	...	6	...	...	1	...	3	22	...	577	615
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	918	944
Mathura . . .	...	144	4	2	10	69	371	53	...	46	855	1,554
Agra . . .	83	251	18	33	9	86	196	70	5	211	981	1,943
Farrukhābād . . .	6	154	9	...	...	260	164	24	...	698	80	1,395
Mainpuri . . .	17	11	27	...	...	7	...	1	129	...	28	230
Etāwah . . .	57	80	3	...	28	75	...	...	...	185	134	562
Etah . . .	6	32	12	...	11	69	...	4	29	2	85	250
Bareilly . . .	12	243	589	8	...	316	69	154	14	299	793	2,497
Bijnor . . .	570	34	...	...	...	36	...	...	313	...	22	945

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

District.	Kakkar.	Kapur.	Khanoh.	Lahor.	Maheudra.	Mehar.	Bora.	Seth.	Surin.	Tandan.	Others.	Total.
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	255	255
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	117	128
Azamgarh	...	1	4	...	12	1	7	1	9	...	217	252
Kumhun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	46
Tarai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	389	389
Lucknow	...	140	190	11	31	198	52	619	92	161	1,335	2,829
Unao	25	...	7	...	...	13	15	...	...	145	147	352
Rab-Baroli	8	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	11	...	117	139
Sitapur	10	158	31	53	125	531	...	223	9	261	442	1,843
Hardoi	6	34	...	...	...	376	1	7	...	278	138	840
Kheri	8	55	1	...	7	176	39	...	...	64	188	538
Faizabad	...	5	...	...	...	403	19	9	...	229	499	1,164
Gonda	...	41	10	...	...	31	...	...	...	41	137	260
Bahráich	8	2	53	...	...	50	1	14	...	...	476	604

Khawâs, Khawâss.—(Plural of *Khâs* "peculiar"; *Khâssas*, "distinguished people.")—A name specially applied to the offspring of slave girls, other than those of Brâhman origin, who have cohabited with the men of Nepâl. Their descendants along the Gorakhpur and Basti frontier are known by this special name.

Khichi.—A Râjput sept, a branch of the Chauhâns. In Lucknow they trace their origin to Raghugarh, near Narsinagarh. Their old country is known as Khichwâra. In the Panjâb their traditions refer them to Ajmer, thence to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Satlaj, during the Mughal rule. In Oudh they have a ridiculous legend to account for their name. One of their sept was once distributing gold and silver in heaps as alms. "It is boiled rice and pulse" (*khichari*), said he. And ever since they have been called Khichi.¹

Khumra.—A tribe found chiefly in Rohilkhand, of whom little is known, save that their chief business appears to be cutting and exporting millstones (*chakki*), an indispensable article in every native household. They carry about these stones by stringing them on an axle through the central hole and dragging them along the road behind a buffalo. In these Provinces they are called Muhammadans. The complete Census returns give their sections as Bâhman, Dulha, Gori or Gaur, Hataiwâlê, Quraishi, Multâni, Nawabâr, Pachhawi, Pathân Najuri, Sadiqi, Tarâi, and Tayâr.

2. From the Râmpur State it is reported that they are low-class Muhammadans, whose occupation is making mats and fans. As regards religion, they are indifferent Muhammadans, and their women dress like Hindus. They resemble Julâhas in their manners and customs, and are converts to Islâm from one of the low Hindu tribes.

Distribution of Khumras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Sahâranpur	216	Tarâi	108
Muzaffarnagar . . .	75	Lucknow	106
Meerut	350	Unâo	43
Bulandshahr	2	Sitapur	168
Aligarh	4	Hardoi	8
Bareilly	565	Kheri	242
Bijnor	2,166	Bahrâich	180
Morâdâbâd	584	Bârbanki	187
Shâhjahânpur	149		
Pilibhit	55	TOTAL	5,198

¹ Lucknow Settlement Report, LXXI; Ibbetson, Panjâb Ethnography, para. 449.

Kinwâr.—A sept of Rājputs in the Eastern Districts, numerous in Bhāgalpur, but of no standing in Gorakhpur. In Ghāzipur one division of the sept is Chhattri, another Bhuinhār. They say that a Dikshit Rāja, named Mān Dikshit, lived at a place called Manchhatra Asthān on the Jumna, and that his descendants established a kingdom at Padampur in the Karnātic. By another account they came from a place named Karnāt Padampur, which they believe to be near Delhi. Two cadets of the family took service, one with the Gaharwār Rāja of Benares, the other with one of the Gautam Bhuinhārs, who were at war, and each married a daughter of his patron. They derive their name from Dankin on the river of the same name, of which all they know is that it is somewhere to the South and was their early home.¹

2. From Ballia it is reported that they take brides from the Barwār, Narwāni, Nikumbh, Chandel, Ujjaini, Karchhuliya, Khāti, Pachhtoriya, and Sengar septs, and give brides to the Haihobans, Ujjaini, Narwāni, Nikumbh, Barwār, Kausik, Raghubansi, Bisen, Chauhān, Palwār, Sirnet, Rājkumār, Sūrajbansi, Maunas, Bhribansi, Singhel, and Sengar septs.

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

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Sabāranpur . . .	16	Gorakhpur . . .	680
Muzaffarnagar . .	1	Basti . . .	528
Meerut . . .	1	Azamgarh . . .	95
Cawnpur . . .	65	Kumaun . . .	56
Allahābād . . .	14	Tarāi . . .	69
Jālaun . . .	164	Lucknow . . .	12
Benares . . .	19	Sitapur . . .	149
Mirzapur . . .	6	Kheri . . .	60
Jaunpur . . .	30	Gonda . . .	513
Ghāzipur . . .	103	Bārabanki . . .	177
Ballia . . .	5,127	TOTAL . . .	7,885

¹ Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 463; Oldham, *Ghāzipur Memoir*, I., 61.

Kingriya, Kingariya, Kingriha.¹—A tribe of dancers and singers found in some of the Eastern Districts. They do not appear in the returns of the last Census, and have perhaps been classed in some places with the Dhārhi, to whom they are probably akin. The name Kingariya is derived from the *Kingri*, a kind of two-stringed gourd lute, which they play. The name Panwariya, by which they are also known, appears to be derived from the Hindi *Pānwara*, "a carpet" (*pānw*, "a foot"), on which they sit when they perform. They are in habits and occupation very like the Garris of the Panjāb, who carry a zither-like instrument called a *King*.²

2. In Mirzapur they name seven endogamous septs:—Kingariya or Kingariha, Banhkata, Jogi, Sewara, Tribal organisation. Khapariya, Atit, and Banhebariya. The Banhkatas appear to derive their name from their custom of cutting their arms (*bānh-kātna*) in order to extort alms. They are also known as Kaparchirwa, or people who wound their heads with the same object. They carry an iron spike on which a number of little bells are hung. They rattle the bells as they beg from door to door, and if any one refuses alms they strike their arms or heads with the spike and draw blood. The Jogis are in no way connected with the regular ascetics of that name. They are professional beggars who dress in clothes coloured with ochre (*goru*) like the real Jogis. When they go on begging excursions they carry a rosary of *rudrāksha* beads, and a *sārangi* or fiddle, on which they play and sing songs in honour of Rāja Bhartrihari, who is said to have been brother of Vikramaditya and to have abandoned his kingdom and become an ascetic. These people are really Sunni Muhammadans, who get themselves up as Hindu Jogis to deceive pious Hindus. The Sewaras, so called because they do service or attendance (*sewa*) to the gods, wear their hair long, and keep ponies and asses on which they carry their families and goods from one village to another in search of alms. The Khapariyas, who are possibly the same as the tribe of that name separately described, are said to derive their title from their habit of carrying about a human skull (*khapar*) in which they take alms. The Atits get

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bāhu Mōl Chand, Subordinate Judge, Family Domains of His Highness the Maharāja of Benares.

² Panjāb Census Report, 1881, page 333.

themselves up like the Hindu beggars of that name (*g. v.*), carry *sudrāksha* beads, and cover their bodies with ashes. The Banh-chariyas beg, but they have some other occupations as well. They make petty ornaments of pewter. Some keep snakes and scorpions, which they exhibit, and some go about with dancing monkeys. The tribe so called is thus made up of very diverse elements, and is obviously of very mixed origin, a considerable part of it being probably derived from the Nats and similar vagrant races. Their only tradition is that they are descended from Bāba Abbās, by whom they possibly mean the paternal uncle of the Prophet; in Mirzapur they say that they came from some place in the West and settled at Bijaypur.

3. They have a tribal council (*panchdyat*) under a headman (*ekaudhārī*), who is an hereditary permanent official.

Tribal council.

4. They follow the Musalmān prohibited degrees, and the ceremony is the regular *nikāh*. They have a curious rule by which an unfaithful wife is, on a charge for adultery being established against her, fined three rupees ten annas, and has then liberty to go where she pleases. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed. When a betrothal is arranged the father of the boy pays two-and-a-half annas to the father of the girl. This makes the engagement binding. A date is then fixed with the consent of both parties, and on that day the boy's father goes to the house of the bride with some clothes and molasses. He presents these things to the girl, and her father pays in return two rupees, and the matter is settled. If either party after this breaks the engagement, he has to pay a fine of five rupees, and is awarded five blows of a shoe in presence of the council.

Marriage.

5. After child-birth the mother is impure for one month and twenty-five days. During the first twelve days she is bathed thrice—on the sixth, tenth and twelfth. Then the thirteenth day ceremony (*terhīn*) is performed, and after a month and twenty-five days elapse she is again bathed, and then becomes pure. After menstruation a woman is impure for four days, and is then purified by bathing. After a funeral they are impure for forty days. In the interval a feast is given on the third day (*tija*).

Purification.

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² *Panjāb Census Report*, 1891, page 338.

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6. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect and venerate Ghâzi Miyân; some also make an occasional sacrifice to Kâli Bhawâni. The latter is worshipped in the house kitchen in the month of Sâwan with an offering of cakes (*pûri*) and sweetmeats (*halwa*). They offer food to the spirits of the dead during the Muharram. They employ Brâhmans to give them the omens at marriages and other important occasions. Their regular priests, who perform the marriage service, are drawn from the Dafâli caste. Their great festivals are the Id, Baqarîd, and Shabirât.

7. They will not eat or drink with a Dhobi, Dom, Chamâr, Bhangi, or Pâsi. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of cloven-footed animals, fish, and fowls; they will not eat the flesh of monkeys, beef, pork, whole-footed animals, snakes, jackals, crocodiles, or vermin. There is, however, a tendency in recent times to restrict the use of liquor, and now in Mirzapur if a man drinks he is fined five annas before he is allowed to take his seat in the tribal council. They use *ganja* and *bhang* like Hindu begging tribes. The women wear a sheet (*sârî*), a bodice (*jhûlî*), and put red-lead on the parting of the hair, like Hindu wives. In their ears they wear rings of iron or silver, nose-rings, necklaces, bangles of glass, and anklets. The men wear the loin-cloth (*dhotî*) and jacket (*miradî*) like Hindus, and let their beards grow. When they go begging they carry an alms bag (*jhori*), dress like Hindu Faqîrs, and carry their musical instruments with them—the *tumba* or gourd drum and the *kingri*—from which they take their name. They attend the houses of rich Hindus and Muhammadans when a son is born and sing the *sohar* or song of rejoicing. Generally they wander about from house to house begging and singing. A few cultivate, but in a careless, unthrifty fashion.

Kirâr.—A caste which has been separately recorded at the last Census, but which is usually treated as a sept of Râjpûts. In Aligarh,¹ where they appear in the largest numbers, though numbered among Râjpûts, they are considered of very inferior rank. In Mainpuri,² where also they are numerous, they claim to be a branch of the Mathura Jâdons, and say that their ancestor Kun-

¹ Settlement Report, 32.

² Mutnupuri Settlement Report, 20.

war Pál invaded the country about five centuries ago and conquered the fort of Kirarwā, now Karera, where they settled, and were named after it. But the process was evidently different, and Kirarwā was so called from Kirārgānw, the village of the Kirārs. They have been identified with the Kirātas, who, according to Manu, with other Dasyn tribes, became Vrishala, or outcast, from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no intercourse with Brāhmins.¹ Of them Mr. Atkinson² says:—"There is every reason to suppose that the Nāgas, Kirātas, and Khasas entered India by the same route as the Aryas, and that the Kirātas were the first to arrive, then the Nāgas, and then the Khasas. The earliest notice regarding the Kirātas brings them as far westward as the Jumna in the first century. Local tradition in Nepāl gives them an eastern extension to Hūntān, and at a very early date they held the Nepāl valley. Twenty-nine names³ of kings of this race are given in the local history of Nepāl. We have collected the names of fourteen rulers attributed to the Khasa race in Kāli Kumaun, which are so similar in character that there can be little doubt of a close connection between them. Indeed the community in manners and religion between the different divisions of the snake-worshipping tribes would alone show a common origin, and will also explain how they all insensibly blend with each other. In the list of peoples given in the Vishnu Purāna⁴ we have already seen that the Kirātas or Kirātis are said to have occupied the country to the East of Bharata, as the Yavanas dwell in the West. In the Mahābhārata we find them to occur with the Jangalas (or 'dwellers in thickets'), Kuruvānakas (or 'dwellers in the Kuru jungles'), and Barbaras in one place, and again we have the 'Kirātas, Tamasas, and Kirātas Sudestas, and people near the mount called Yamuna.' All these indications⁵ agree with the position already arrived at on the Upper Jumna and Ganges. The Tamasas are the people of the Tons or 'dark river,' so called from the effects of the forests on its banks, and itself an affluent of the Yamuna or Jumna. The Kirātas are also joined with the Sakas and Savaras as Dasyns,⁶ and in the Rāmāyana they are described as 'with sharp-pointed hair.

¹ N., 43, 44; Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I., 452, 453.

² *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 363.

³ Wright, *Nepāl*, 89, 106, 312.

⁴ Wilson, VII, 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 171, 176, 187.

⁶ Muir, *loc. cit.*, II., 365, 491.

knots, gold-coloured, and pleasant to behold.' It was as a Kirāta that Rudra appeared to Arjuna in the valley of the Ganges. The local annals of Nepāl ascribe to the Kirātas a dynasty, that ruled in the valley for ten thousand years in Dwaparayuga, where also there was a celebrated settlement of the Nāgas, and after expelling an Alūr family, they continued in the valley, and were rulers of Nepāl when Asoka visited it in the third century before Christ. We are further told that they lived previously to the East, but that they were removed to Suprabha (Thānkot), to the West of the valley, before establishing themselves in Nepāl.¹

"The Kirātas are now a short, flat-faced people, powerfully built, and are Buddhist by religion. From Dr. Campbell we learn that on the frontier between Sikkhim and Nepāl they are regarded as generically one with the Limbus. According to him, the subdivisions of the tracts inhabited by the Limbus are two in number—Kirāntdes, extending from the Dūd Kosi to the Arun river east, and the Limbudes from the Arun to the Konki. Using the tribal name Limbu in its extended sense, we have the Hung and Rāê divisions, the first of which carries us back to the Hunas and the Hingu of the Markandeya Purāna. This identification is strengthened by the marked Mongolian features of the people, who, owing to their isolated position, have had but little intercourse with Aryans or Aryanised tribes, and preserve the original type intact. We cannot be wrong in assigning these Kirāntis to the Kirātas, of whom we have recorded so much, but they have no connection in appearance, language, or religion with any important section of the people now inhabitants of the tract between the Tons and the Sārda."

2. The connection between any of these races and the present Kirārs of the Central Ganges-Jumna Duāb is only pure speculation.

3. Their sections do not throw much light on their origin, except that the occurrence among them of the names of other Rājput septs may tend to show that their claim to Rājput origin is unfounded. Thus we have the Dhākara, Jādon, Jādonbansi, Jasāwat, Rāwat, and Sengar, combined with local terms such as Maheshpuriya, Mathuriya, and Sherpuriya.

¹ Wright, *Nepāl*, 89, 106, 110, 312; *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1849, pages 738, 766; 1856, 456.

Distribution of Kirārs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Aligarh	10,364	Morādābād	144
Agra	1,554	Pilibhīt	3
Mainpuri	5,900	Jhānsi	374
Etah	6	Jālaun	18
		TOTAL	18,363

Kisān.¹—(Sanskrit *krishāna*, “a ploughman.”)—A caste of cultivators found chiefly in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duāb. They are undoubtedly very closely allied to the Kurmi, Koeri, and Kāchhi. In Farrukhābād they are sometimes known as Kisān Mahur, and in the Oudh as Mahatiya (*mahto*, “a leader”). There are, according to the last Census, nine endogamous sub-castes:—Bātham (named from Srāvasti); Gadghara, or donkey-men; Hardiya, or growers of turmeric (*halādi*); Jariya; Khāgi; Lodha; Patariya or Patariha; and Saksena, which take their name from the old town of Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District. There is a tradition in Hardoi that they were once extensive owners of the soil.²

2. A man must marry within his own sub-caste; a man does not give his daughter in marriage in a family where his son has been already married.

Persons descended from a common ancestor do not intermarry for three or four generations. A man cannot marry the children or grandchildren of his sister or daughter. Two sisters may be married one after the other, but not at the same time, and the elder must be married before the younger. Marriage is both infant and adult, and sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. Polygamy is allowed, but is very rare, and only allowed when the first wife is barren. There are the usual three forms of marriage—that by the revolution, (*bhānwar*) round the sacred fire, which is the most respectable form;

¹ Chiefly based on notes received through Mr. E. Rose, C.S., and Dānu Sānwal Dās, Deputy Collector.

² *Settlement Report*, 198.

the *dola* marriage, where all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom; lastly, there is the *dharauua* form for widows. The levirate is permitted, but not enforced, and, as usual, the widow can marry the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband. A man can put away his wife for adultery, and all he has to do is to notify the fact to the tribal council.

3. Kisâns are all Hindus and worship the ordinary gods. They venerate in addition the Miyân of Amroha as their patron saint. Goats and sheep are offered to Devi and Miyân on a Monday or Friday; the worshipper and his family consume the meat, while a share is given to the Faqirs and Dhânuks, who tend the shrine. During the month of Kuâr offerings of water and sacred balls (*pinda*) are made to the sainted dead. If a man dies without a son, his nearest relative makes the offering. The ordinary *Srâddha* is performed at the anniversary of the death. The Kisâns eat the flesh of sheep and goats and fish; they will not eat, drink, or smoke with any other caste. Most of them are cultivators and a few field-labourers. They are a respectable, industrious people, and many of them practise the higher forms of agriculture, growing crops, such as sugarcane, tobacco, vegetables, etc.

4. The Khâgi,¹ who are nearly all found in Budâun, claim to be Chauhân Râjputs; but it is needless to say that their assertion is disputed. According to the tribal legend two brothers, by name Kanka and Mahesa, Chauhân Râjputs, with a few followers, left Ajmer in a year of famine and settled at Sahaswân in the Budâun District. Here they grew in importance, and were after a time raised by the Emperor of Delhi to the post of Sûbah or Governor. One of them ruled Sahaswân and the other the Pargana of Soron, in the Etah District. The terms on which they held these offices was that they should pay a quarter of the revenue collected into the Imperial treasury. This after a time they failed to do, a remittance which they sent to Delhi in charge of a Musalmân being embezzled by him. A punitive force was sent against them by the Emperor, and both the brothers with a considerable number of their followers were killed. Now the widows of the men who were killed, contrary to the custom of the tribe, married again, and such connections being locally known as *Kâj*, they came to be called Khâgi! There are two sites at Sahaswân, which they point to as monuments of their former

¹ Based on a note by Mr. C. S. Delmerick.

glory : one is a mound (*Khēra*) known as "the old fort," and the other a mango grove called Lakha Pera, or "the grove of one hundred thousand trees." The Khâgis are excellent agriculturists, industrious, thrifty, and well-behaved. Another explanation of their name is that it means "swordman" (Sanskrit, *Khadga*).

Distribution of Kisâns according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Bithur.	Gadgha.	Hardiya.	Jangra.	Khari.	Lotha.	Pateriya.	Rajauriya.	Saksena.	Others.	TOTAL.
Farrukhabad . . .	8,241	3,240	222	25,045	...	1,203	63,094	...	...	1,418	60,633
Mainpuri . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Bareilly . . .	...	...	...	129	...	2,513	47,889	...	1,549	11,063	65,133
Budâm . . .	...	...	...	...	584	...	3,188	...	771	16,793	21,336
Morâdâbâd . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	842	...	290	649
Shâhjahânpur . . .	59,368	...	...	...	16	...	22,588	...	...	3,450	94,425
Pilibhit . . .	10,265	...	...	...	...	...	41,139	28	7	3,760	55,206
Cawnpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9
Hamirpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Tarai . . .	16	...	...	...	...	...	2,406	690	...	351	3,383
Sitapur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
Hardoi . . .	20,763	...	...	...	...	...	8,822	...	...	4,880	34,435
Kheri . . .	4,692	...	...	...	...	...	3,563	...	...	3,514	11,669
Paritâbgarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
TOTAL . . .	100,245	3,240	222	25,174	600	3,806	182,691	928	2,327	40,522	364,756

Koiri, Koeri.¹—(Perhaps from Sanskrit *krishi kâri*, "cultivating." Mr. Nesfield's idea that the name implies that they are civilised Kols is not probable.)—They are undoubtedly closely allied to the Kurmis, with whom, according to Dr. Wise, in Bengal, they drink, but do not eat, while the Kurmis attend their marriages and partake of the feast.² Colonel Dalton believes them to be the descendants of the earliest Aryan colonists in Bengal.³ It is possible that they may have some non-Aryan affinities, but how far this may be the case is at present very doubtful. Their only

¹ Based principally on a note by Pandit Bhân Pratâp Tiwâri, of Chunâr.

² Bisle, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 500.

³ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 317, sq.

tradition, which is common to many of the gardening tribes, is that they were created by Siva to tend the raddish (*mūli*) (whence the title of Murāo, which is sometimes applied to them), and to work in the sacred garden of Benares.

2. They are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes,

the titles of which vary in different districts. Some of these sub-castes are of local origin:—Sarwariya (from Sarjupâr, "country beyond the river Sarju"); Prayâgha (from Prayâg or Allahâbâd); Kanaujiya or Kanaujiha (from Kanauj); Illahâbâdi (from Allahâbâd); Brijbâsi ("residents of Brij, Braj, or Mathura"); Purbiha ("Eastern"); Dakkhinâha ("Southern"); Banarasiya ("from Benares"); Magahi or Magahiya ("from Magadha"). There are again the Kachhwâba, which assert connection with the Râjput clan of that name; the Narâigana; the Torikoriya, who appear to take their name from cultivating the *turai* or *taro*, the *cucumis acutangulus*; the Hardiha or Hardiya, who take their name from the turmeric plant (*haldî*, *hardî*); the Bardawâr or "bullock men"; the Bhaktiya or "vegetarians" (*bhagat*), who wear a necklace made of the beads of the sacred *tulasi* and do not use meat, fish, and spirituous liquor, and offer no blood sacrifices (*balidân*); the Sakatiya, who are said to derive their name from their preference for the Sâkta ritual; and the Kori, who must not be confounded, as Mr. Sherring does, with the weaver class of the same name. It illustrates the fertility with which these sub-castes are developed that only two of the sub-castes in these provinces, the Kanaujiya and the Magahiya, agree with those enumerated by Mr. Risley in Bihâr. Of the 140 sub-divisions enumerated in the complete Census lists a large number are of local origin, such as Ajudhyabâsi, Audhiya, Azamgarhiya, Bhimpuriya, Brijbâsi, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Jaiswâr, Jaunpuriya, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Rajauriya, Saksena, and Sarwariya. Others are the names of other well-known castes, as Bairâgi, Baiswâr, Hurakiya, Râthaur, and Sûrajbansi.

3. The sub-castes practise exogamy according to the standard formula, which prevents intermarriage with the

Marriage rules. families of the maternal uncle and paternal and maternal aunt within three generations. Within the sub-caste, again, they have a sort of phatria or brotherhood, known as *chalâi*, from the mat on which the council assembles. Thus, in Mirzapur there are fourteen *chalâi* of the Sakatiya sub-caste, each of which has

a headman (*chaudhari*) of its own; and unless he gives permission the members of another *chatāi* are not permitted to join in discussion on caste matters. But this organization seems to have only this connection with marriage that they generally choose their brides locally out of the *chatāi* to which they are attached, but the *chatāi* is not endogamous: at marriages, too, only the members of the particular *chatāi* are invited, and this acts as a check on expenditure. The marriage invitations are issued by the Chaudhari, each of whom keeps a tribal mat and a tribal cauldron (*panchāyati tāl*, *panchāyati handa*). These are purchased out of the fines imposed on offending members, and are used at all marriage and funeral ceremonies within the *chatāi*. The mat is spread at the door of the person at whose house the meeting is held, and the cauldron is filled with water for the refreshment of the guests. At all meetings the house-owner has to provide two annas for tobacco and two annas for the pay of the barber who circulates the invitations. When the council assembles, the person who proposes a marriage stands in the middle with his hands folded and says—"I wish to marry my son or daughter. What is the opinion of the Panch?" He then names the family and *chatāi* of the person with whom he proposed the marriage. When the council gives its approval a Brāhman is called in who makes the calculation known as *rāsbari*, to ascertain if the omens are propitious. When this is settled, the Chaudhari sends for the parents on both sides and sanctions the alliance.

4. On this the boy's father gives four pice and the girl's father two pice to the Brāhman, and the two fathers-in-law smoke together. This is known as *taka utthāoni*, or the "lifting of the copper coin." The marriage ceremony is usually in the *dola* form. When the lucky time for the betrothal (*tilak*) is fixed, the girl's father brings an eight annas piece, a handful of rice, five pieces of betelnut, five roots of turmeric, and some *dūb* grass to the boy's house. Before some of the clansmen he marks the boy's forehead with curds, on which some grains of holy rice (*achhal*) are stuck, and gives him the presents he has brought. Then the marriage date (*lagan*) is fixed by the Brāhman, and singing (*gīt ganna*) begins in both houses, and is followed by the *matnangara*, common to all the lower castes to the East of the Province. On the day fixed the boy's father, accompanied by some clansmen and a litter (*dola*) and bearers, goes to the girl's house. For her he brings a white sheet and loin-cloth (*chādar*, *dhoti*), and

a white loin-cloth for her mother. The clansmen are assembled, and with the salutation *Rām! Rām!* sit and smoke together and then eat. Meanwhile the women sing songs, usually of a very obscene character. Next morning her mother dresses the girl in her new sheet and loin-cloth, in the folds of which (*kāvinohha*) she puts pice to the value of one anna, a handful of rice, and a ball (*piriya*) of coarse sugar. The marriage is usually performed after the pair arrive at puberty. Then the bride is sent off in the litter to her husband's house. When the litter arrives at the boy's house, it is rested on the ground outside. Some curds are placed in a saucer (*daheri*), and some pepper and sugar are mixed in water, and the whole poured on the ground as an offering to Dharti Māta, the earth goddess. This offering is called *Mirchwān* (*mirch*, "pepper"). Then her husband's sister (*nanad*) takes the bride out of the litter, and receives as her perquisite the money which had been placed by her mother in the folds of the bride's loin-cloth.

5. On that day the bride is fed on cakes (*pūri*) and rice milk (*khir*) sweetened with coarse sugar. Then the Brāhman fixes an auspicious time for the anointing (*tel hardi*). Some of the clansmen erect a nuptial shed (*mānro*), and the Brāhman makes the pair sit down on stools. He reads only a few verses of the regular service and rubs them on the forehead, arms, and legs with a bunch of *dūb* grass soaked in oil and turmeric. Next comes the *bhalwān*, when the guests are entertained on boiled rice and pulse. On the day of the marriage the bride's father appears with his family priest (*purohit*), barber, and some of his clansmen. He brings with him a set of brass vessels (*lota, thālī*), a stool (*pīrha*), a yellow loin-cloth (*pīari dhoti*) for the bride, and a yellow upper sheet (*kanhdwar*) and a yellow loin-cloth for the bridegroom. He stays outside, at some distance from the boy's house. At the actual marriage he is allowed to stand near the door—obvious survivals of marriage by capture. The boy goes into the marriage shed and puts on the clothes brought by his father-in-law and a coat (*jāma*), a turban (*pagri*), and a nuptial crown (*maur*), provided by his own family. He sits facing the east on the stool which his father-in-law brought with him. Then the barber's wife brings out the girl and seats her on a leaf mat (*patari*) to his left, and ties her loin-cloth to his upper sheet. Then the bride's father washes the feet of his son-in-law, and putting the bride's hand into that of the bridegroom places on them a lump of wheat dough on which an eight-anna piece is

stuck. Over this the girl's brother pours some water, and this constitutes the giving away (*kanyādān*) of the bride. Then the Brāhman recites a verse known as the song of prosperity (*śuman-gān*), which runs—"O Bhagwān and Vishnu, may the marriage be lucky ! O Garuda, vehicle of Vishnu, be auspicious ! O Vishnu, with eyes like the lotus, be auspicious ! O Hari, you are the incarnation of prosperity !" Then the bride's father gives the vessels to the bridegroom, who takes some red lead in his hands and makes a dedication to Gauri and Ganesa, whose images are made in cowdung. Then some cloths are spread round to conceal them from view, and the boy takes five pinches of red-lead and applies it to the parting of the girl's hair. After this they march five times round the pavilion, the bridegroom leading the way and the bride following. Then the barber's wife takes them both into the retiring room (*koḥabar*), the walls of which are decorated with five streaks of a mixture known as *aipan*. The bride and bridegroom fold their hands, and the latter takes off his bridal crown (*maur*) and places it at the foot of the wall where the marks have been made. On that day the girl's father fasts—a survival of marriage by capture. The clansmen are entertained that evening. Next morning comes the ceremony of "sugar and curds" (*gurdahi*). The bridegroom's father feeds the bride's father with sugar and curds, and receives a present of eight annas. In the evening the girl's father with his clansmen goes to the bridegroom's house and eats there. When he has done eating, he presents eight annas to his daughter's father-in-law.

6. On the third day the bride's father takes her home on foot, and on the fourth day is the regular departure (*gauna*). The bridegroom goes with a litter and bearers, his barber, and some clansmen to the bride's house. As is the usual custom, his father does not accompany him, because it is believed that if he hears his daughter-in-law weeping as she leaves her parents, his son will die. That night they are entertained by the bride's relations, and next morning bring her home. When her litter approaches the house of her husband, the ceremonies of *daheri* and *mirchvān*, as already described, are repeated, and her mother-in-law, taking the bride out of the litter, escorts her into the house, feeds her on cakes (*pūri*) and rice milk (*baḥḥēr*), and presents her with four annas for the privilege of looking at her face (*munā dikhāi*). In the evening the women of the clan are entertained, and the men eat after them. This

custom appears to be a speciality of the Koiris. The Brāhman receives two rupees and four annas as the marriage fees (*byāh ka neg*). A wife can be divorced by the tribal council for infidelity.¹

7. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife (*Chandīn*), and a fire (*pasanghī*) is lighted over it. This fire is

Birth ceremonies.

intended to protect the child from the evil spirit Jambua, the terror of Indian mothers.² A lamp lit with castor oil is also burnt in the room for twelve days. They have the usual sixth (*chhathī*) and twelfth day ceremony (*barañī*). On the latter occasion they have what is called the "nail-cutting" ceremony (*nakh kataiya*). The women of the neighbourhood collect and rub their bodies with oil and turmeric, and going to the house contribute each an anna and receive a little caudle (*sulhauri*) in exchange. This is done when a son is born.

8. The dead are cremated in the usual way. On the thirteenth

Death ceremonies.

day after death they make the mourning oblation (*khorasi ka pinda*), and distribute dry grain to Brāhmanas. The only *mantra* used is *Pitr rūpi Janardhana*—"Vishnu is present in the form of your ancestors." They have no ceremony at six months or a year after death.

9. Whenever Koiris follow any of the recognised sects, it is

Religion.

usually the Vaishnava. Those of the Bhakta sub-caste initiate their children as Bhagats or vegetarians at a very early age. They are specially devoted to the worship of the Pāñchonpīr and Mahābīr, and the followers of these two deities do not intermarry. Mahābīr is worshipped on Tuesday in the month of Sāwan with an offering of sweetmeats (*laddu*), a Brāhmanical cord (*janu*), and a burnt offering of barley, butter, and sugar. On tenth light half of Sāwan, tenth light half of Kuār, and first dark half of Chait they worship the Pāñchonpīr with offerings of crushed grain and cakes. At the Naurātra of Chait and Kuār, milk and rice are cooked and made into long cakes (*phur*), which are offered at the house shrine (*diukari*), a lamp is kept lighting for nine days, garlands of flowers

¹ Bagāī wives, i.e., widows married in accordance with the custom of *sagās* prevailing among the Koiris and other low castes of Bihar, are so far the legal wives of their husbands as to justify the punishment of persons committing adultery with them.—Bissurām Koiri versus *The Empress*, III, *Calcutta Law Reports*, 419.

² Jambua appears to be a form of Yama, the god of death. It is really infantile lockjaw caused by careless cutting of the cord.

are offered, and incense is burnt. During this festival they meet at the house shrine, and some member of the family generally becomes possessed by the deity and falls into a state of religious ecstasy, in the course of which he utters what are taken for prophecies.

10. As among many of the middle class Hindus, when a man eats with a person who has offended against the rules of caste (*kupadi*), or intrigues with a woman of another caste, or uses unseemly language to the tribal council, he is excommunicated, until he has a recitation at his house of what is known as the *Katha Satnārāyan*. This among the Koiris and the tribal feast which accompanies it costs about twenty-five rupees. The offender has to fast all day; in the evening he bathes and employs a Brāhman to do the *Satnārāyan* worship. The *Sālagrāma*, or ammonitic pebble representing Vishnu, is washed in a compound of five ingredients (*panchāmrit*) made of curds, milk, butter, honey, and sugar, and is then bathed in Ganges water. If any one is invited to hear the recitation and fails to attend, it is believed that he will die or fall into trouble. Every spectator brings with him a garland of flowers, some sweetmeats (*batāsha*), and money, which are the perquisite of the officiating Brāhman. After the recitation is over, the Brāhman performs the *ārti* ceremony by burning some camphor over the *Sālagrāma*, in the smoke of which all rub their hands, touch their foreheads, and give a copper coin to the officiating Brāhman. There are five parts (*adhya*) in the *katha*, and at the end of each the conch shell (*sanāḥ*) is blown, and a bell is rung. At the close a burnt offering (*hom*) is done and each one receives a little portion of the offering (*prasād*) laid before the *Sālagrāma*. This offering is called *panjiri*, and consists of (wheat, flour, and sugar.) If he does not take it with him, he falls into misfortune. At the next tribal meeting the offending person receives some of the *panjiri* and *panchāmrit*, and is restored to caste privileges.

11. Koiris are excellent cultivators, and generally devote themselves to growing the more valuable crops, such as opium, tobacco, garden vegetables, etc. They maintain a fairly high standard of social purity. Among the sub-castes in the east of the province only the *Prayāgaha* drink spirits. The *Bhakta* sub-caste do not eat flesh; the others eat mutton, goat's flesh, and fish. The *Prayāgahas* eat *pakki* cooked by Brāhmans, but the others do not eat even *pakki*, except when cooked by their own caste-fellows. Brāhmans drink water from their

hands, and low castes, such as Dhobis and Chamars, eat both *pakki* and *koakhi* cooked by them. They never accept personal service, and are a thriving, industrious, well-conducted class.

Kol.—A Dravidian tribe found in considerable numbers along the Vindhya Kaimur plateau. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the name. *Kola* in Sanskrit means "a hog"; and, according to some, the tribal designation is simply a term of contempt applied by the Aryans to the aborigines. According to Herr Jellinghause,¹ the word means "pig-killer." According to others, like the tribal terms Ho and Oraon, it is derived from the Mundari *Ho*, *Hora*, or *Horo*, which means "a man."² The change of *r* to *l* is familiar and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *h* into *k* we may cite *hon*, the Mundari for "child," which in Korwa becomes *kon*, and *koro* the Muasi form of *horo*, "a man."³ It may be added that the Khariyas of Chota Nagpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.⁴ The name Mundari or Munda, which is the usual title of the tribe in Chota Nagpur, does not appear to be known in the North-Western Provinces. According to Mr. Risley, this term is of Sanskrit origin (*munda*), and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe as well as by outsiders, much in the same way as the Santals call themselves Manjhi, the Bhumijs, Sardar, and the Khambu of the Darjiling hills, Jimdar. Colonel Dalton⁵ tentatively connects it with *mon* or *man*, the Assamese term for the Burmese. Others, again, take the term Munda to mean "the shaven people (Sanskrit, *munda*). A sept of Raigas in the Central Provinces are called Mundiya, as it is alleged, because their heads are shaved with the exception of a single lock."⁶

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 101.

² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 178.

³ In Kathiawar the Kolis derived their name from *kol*, a boat, seafaring being a distinctive occupation of Kolis, or, as Dr. Wilson alleges, *Koli* means a "classman" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII., 140). In the Dakkhin the word *Kolis* said to mean "classman," from *kul*, a clan, as opposed to *Kunt*, "the family man," from *kuntumb*, "a family." The mystic Brahmanic origin of the Kolis is that they are the same as the Kirata of the Puranas, who are said to be descendants of Nistada, who was born from the arm of Vena, a king of the sun race. The Kolis claim descent from Valmiki, the compiler of the *Ramayana*.—Mackintosh, *Transactions, Bombay Geographical Society*, I., 201, 202, quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII., 193; also see a curious dissertation on the subject in Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 121, sqq.

⁴ Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 101.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, 179.

⁶ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 279.



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KOL

2. Among the Mundâris of Lohârdaga, who are certainly identical with the Kols of Mirzapur, Colonel

Appearance.

Dalton¹ describes the males as averaging five feet five or six inches in height:—"In features they exhibit much variety, and, I think, in a great many families, there is a considerable admixture of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and oval faces, and young girls are at times met with who have delicate and regular features, finely chiselled straight noses, and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom so large, so bright and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindu maidens, but I have met strongly marked Mongolian features, and some are dark and coarse like the Santâls. In colour they vary greatly, the copper tints being about the most common. Eyes dark-brown, hair black, straight or wavy, and rather fine, worn long by males and females, but the former shave the forehead. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine erect carriage and long free stride."² In Mirzapur there is a curious belief prevalent that no pure Kol woman has any hair on the pubes. Mahâdeva, so the story goes, once caught a Kol girl and parched some gram on that part of her person, on which ever after hair refused to grow.³ The Mirzapur Kols are a very dark race, but their features are hardly so coarse as those of the Mânjhis or Kharwârs.

3. According to one legend, Yayâti, the fifth king of the Lunar race, divided his empire among his five sons.

Traditions of origin.

The offspring of his son Turvasu, according to the Harivansa, settled in the South, and the tenth generation from him inclusive, consisting of four brothers, Pândya, Keraia, Chola, and Kola, divided the empire they had inherited. The descendants of Kola were the present Kols.⁴ The Munda myth, as recorded by Colonel

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 190. The Bengal statistics show the curious fact that the Bhûmij and Kol, who are the first in the rank of fecundity in Orissa, are at the bottom of the scale in Chota Nâgpur. The great tribe of Larka Kola in Sinbhhûn marries less than any race in the Lower Provinces, there being in every 100 males between 15 and 40 years of age as many as 55 unmarried men, and in a similar female population 49 unmarried women. This is due to the pre-nuptial infidelity of the Dravidian woman, which enables the men to postpone marriage till they are well advanced in age and desire to found homes for their old age (*Census Report*, 175, 189).

² *Loc. cit.*, 190.

³ De indigenis Tanembaris et Timorlanis, dum loquatur Riedel, adolescentes et puellas dicit sæpe consulto abraderé pilos pubis nulla alia mento, nisi ut illas partes altiori sexui magis conspicue fiant.—Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 201.

⁴ Colonel Willford, *Asiatic Researches*, IX., 31. sq., quoted by Dalton, *Ethnology*, 161; Elliot, *Glossary*, s. v. Cole.

Bengal.¹ They are divided into a number of endogamous septs, such as the Rautiya or Rautel (Râwat, Sanskrit *Râjputra*, "a prince"). They are also known as Dahait or villagers, and have another sub-division, the Mahtiyân (*mahto*, "a leader"), with whom they intermarry on equal terms; Thakuriya (Thâkur, "a lord"); Banaï; Pahariya, or "mountaineers"; Barwâr, "descendants of the fig tree"; Bin, who may be the same as the Binds; Harwariya, "ploughmen"; Rajwariya, who may take their name from the Bengal Rajwâr;² and Hanriyânwa or "people of the cooking pot" (*hârri*), which is also a sub-sept of the Murmu Santâls.³ Some Kols also name as one of their septs the Chero, who are now regarded as a distinct tribe, but have clearly parted from the parent stock in comparatively recent times.

5. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*), at which only the heads of families have a seat.⁴ The council decides questions regarding marriage and morality. There is no special time for meeting, but these questions are considered when the brethren assemble at marriages and funeral feasts. The office of the headman (*chandhari*) is hereditary.⁵ All offences are reported to the headman, who, if he thinks the matter worth enquiry, calls in a few of the brethren, consults them, but does not necessarily follow their advice, and then issues his order. The usual punishment is a cash fine, which is spent in feeding the clansmen. In serious offences, the culprit is put out of caste, sometimes for a considerable period, and only restored on feeding the brotherhood. Any resistance to the order of the headman is dealt with very severely. If the headman happen to be a minor, one of his kinsmen is nominated to perform his duties until he comes of age.

6. The septs (*kuri*) are endogamous, and they do not intermarry as long as any relationship between the parties is remembered, or into the family of the maternal grandfather (*vâna*) or father's sister (*pâua*). The negotiations are commenced by the father of the bridegroom, who, when he approves of

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, Appendix, 102, *sq. q.*

² Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 122; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 326.

³ Risley, *loc. cit.*, I, 313.

⁴ This contempt for persons unmarried is common among similar people; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 137.

⁵ This corresponds to the Munda Parha system of the Mundas. Dalton, *loc. cit.* 166.

the girl, makes over to her father one-and-quarter rupees to clench the engagement. Like most Hindus, they will not marry in the dark fortnight of the month.¹ They generally marry in the months of Māgh, Phālgun, Baisākh, and Jeth, and have the usual prejudice against Pūs and Chait, which are prohibited (*kharvāna*) for this purpose. After the bride comes to her husband's house, she is not allowed to cook for the family until a village astrologer fixes an auspicious time. This is known as the *kichari* or meal of boiled rice and pulse. All the bridegroom's friends eat the food cooked by her, and give her a present known as "the dowry" (*daija*). Kols profess a prejudice against polygamy, but this is a counsel of perfection, and most of them who can afford it marry more wives than one. Women are worked so hard that the first wife often selects her husband's second partner: the wives very seldom quarrel among themselves, and in a Kol family there is very little of the wrangling, wife-beating, and nose-cutting which goes on in ordinary Hindu households.² As a matter of fact every man and woman is married. The only bachelors are those who are so miserably poor as to be unable to pay the bride-price, and the only unmarried woman is one who suffers from blindness, leprosy, or some incurable disease; and in the same way all widows are married to some one or other. Her relations in fact insist, like the parents of Penelope,³ on this being done. Concubinage with a woman outside the tribe is forbidden; but a man may cohabit with any woman of the tribe, provided he gives a feast to the tribesmen, and her children rank as heirs with those of a regular marriage. Sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl is tolerated, as in the case with the Bengal Mundas,⁴ but if she is detected in an intrigue with an outsider, she is expelled from the tribe. Infant marriages are not customary, except among the more Hinduised branches of the tribe; but to keep a girl unmarried after she attains the age of puberty involves disgrace to her parents.⁵ While the parents of both parties are alive, the assent of them to the marriage is considered

¹ On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 424.

² Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 495, *sq.*; for nose-cutting, *ibid.*, 122; on hard labour as a cause of polygamy, Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 123.

³ *Odyssey*, XIX., 158, and see the instances collected by Westermarck, 134, *sqq.*; 438, *sq.*

⁴ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 102; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 364.

⁵ See instances in Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 136.

essential; and if the father and mother are dead, their power of veto and arranging the marriage devolves on the paternal uncle or elder brother of the boy or girl. As a rule, the parties themselves have very little to say to the matter.¹ The relatives on each side examine the bride and bridegroom so carefully that no physical defects can escape detection: if between betrothal and marriage one party turn out to be leprous, crippled, blind, or impotent, the marriage can be broken off; but when once married, such defects are not a ground for the annulment of the marriage. Among the Kols of Mirzapur there appear to be no tradition of polyandry or of the custom of the *jus prime noctis*; but the latter certainly existed in a modified form in comparatively recent times in Rāwa and Palāmau. It is said that the Rāja used to make tours in his dominions and visit those of his subjects who had pretty daughters. There was a special phrase for such visits (*bijay karna*, "to conquer, enjoy"), and he used often to give a village to a girl who pleased him. Such villages are to this day known as *Bijāya gānw*.

7. There is no regular form of divorce. A husband or wife can be separated for habitual infidelity or for eating food not permitted to the caste. But divorces for infidelity are uncommon, as the matter must be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council by the evidence of actual witnesses, and proof of general repute or suspicion will not be accepted. Women who have children are very seldom divorced, unless the evidence against them is absolutely overwhelming.² If a woman is divorced for adultery with a stranger to the tribe, she is permanently expelled, and cannot be re-married in the tribe; but this is not the case with divorce for offences against caste rules regarding food, in which case, if her friends care to satisfy the tribesmen by a feast, she can be restored to caste and re-married. Divorced women often form connections with males of the tribe in secret, or live apart from their friends by labour or begging, or become Muhammadans and drift into cities as prostitutes. But prostitution in the tribe is unknown, and married women have generally a better character than Hindus of the same social grade. A seducer of a married woman is often

¹ On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 219, 221.

² See cases collected by Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 525.

forced by the council to repay the marriage expenses to her husband.¹ Men feel shame, it is said, in bringing about their babies in their arms in the presence of their father or uncle; and if two brothers live together, they generally each carry about the child of the other. This can hardly be anything but a survival of the system of female kinship.² This is further proved by the fact that many of the quarrels between husband and wife result from this practice, the refusal of the husband to take his own children in his arms being looked upon by the mother as an imputation on her character. Children of a concubine of the tribe are, as already stated, recognised as legitimate. Children by a strange woman follow the caste of the father,³ but are not admitted to rights of commensality and marriage. It is understood, however, that in the next generation the prohibition is removed. Such people marry among themselves, and a class of half-breeds, known as *ardhet*, is occasionally found. But tribal discipline is so strong that such cases are uncommon.

✓ 8. So far from any prohibition extending to widow marriage, it is considered right and proper that marriageable widows should be married, and the only restriction is that it is understood that she should not make a fresh alliance until a year after her husband's death.⁴ When a woman becomes a widow she takes off the toe-rings (*angúha*), and does not put them on until she marries again. She also washes the red lead out of the parting of her hair. The levirate is permitted, under the usual restriction, that a widow can marry only the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband. In fact, it is the duty of the levir to take her over,⁵ and it is only on his refusal that she can ally herself with a stranger, who, in most cases, is a widower. The widow, if she remains unmarried, has a right to maintenance; but if she marries again she loses all rights

¹ This is the case with the Bengal Mundas also.—Dalton, *Ethnology*, 194.

² Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 145, *sqq.* The taking up of the child in the arms of the father was by the Romans an admission of paternity, and they had a special term—*suscipio*—for the practice.

³ Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 102.

⁴ Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 128.

⁵ As among the Gonds—Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 158. Mr. O'Donnell, *Census Report*, 186, remarks that the smaller number of widows among the Dravidian tribes is not due to their re-marrying more often than Hindus, but simply to virgin marriages being made so very much later in life, with the necessary result that widows are absolutely fewer at twenty years of age.

in her husband's estate, and her children remain with their paternal uncle, who acts as trustee of their property till they come of age, when, if they are sons, they inherit; if daughters, the estate goes to the associated brethren. The children of a second marriage have no claim to the first husband's property, and there is no fiction by which they are supposed to be the issue of the first husband. There are no traditions of *sati* among the Kols and allied tribes.

9. The Mirzapur Kols profess to have an elaborate series of rules on the subject of adoption; but it is almost certain that most of these have been

Adoption.

borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. The more primitive basis of the practice among them seems to be that a sonless man can adopt his brother's son, and that this is done without any religious sentiment in connection with the *śrāddha*. They say that if a man have a son or grandson he cannot adopt; that he need not consult his heirs; that he may adopt his daughter's son; that he can adopt, if his son adopts another faith or has committed such an offence against tribal rules as to be beyond forgiveness by the council; that, while an adopted son is alive, a second cannot be adopted; that a bachelor, a blind or impotent man, can adopt, but not a person who adopts a religious life (*Sāthi*, *faqir*); that a woman cannot adopt as long as the younger brother of her husband (*dewar*), her husband's elder brother (*bhasur*), or her husband's father (*sasur*) are alive, nor can she adopt at all except under the death-bed instructions of her husband. The eldest or only son of a man may be adopted, and the person adopted should be of the same family (*kul*) as the adopter. But if a suitable relation cannot be found, a boy may be selected from any sept (*kuri*) except that of the Rautel. A boy adopted loses all rights to the property of his natural father, unless the latter die without heirs.

10 A man's heirs are his sons, and they inherit equally, except that the eldest son gets something (such as a bullock, a brass vessel, etc.) in excess of the

Succession.

others.¹ It is, however, an understood rule that the inheritance is not divided among the sons until the youngest comes of age, and the feeling seems to be in favour of maintaining the union of the

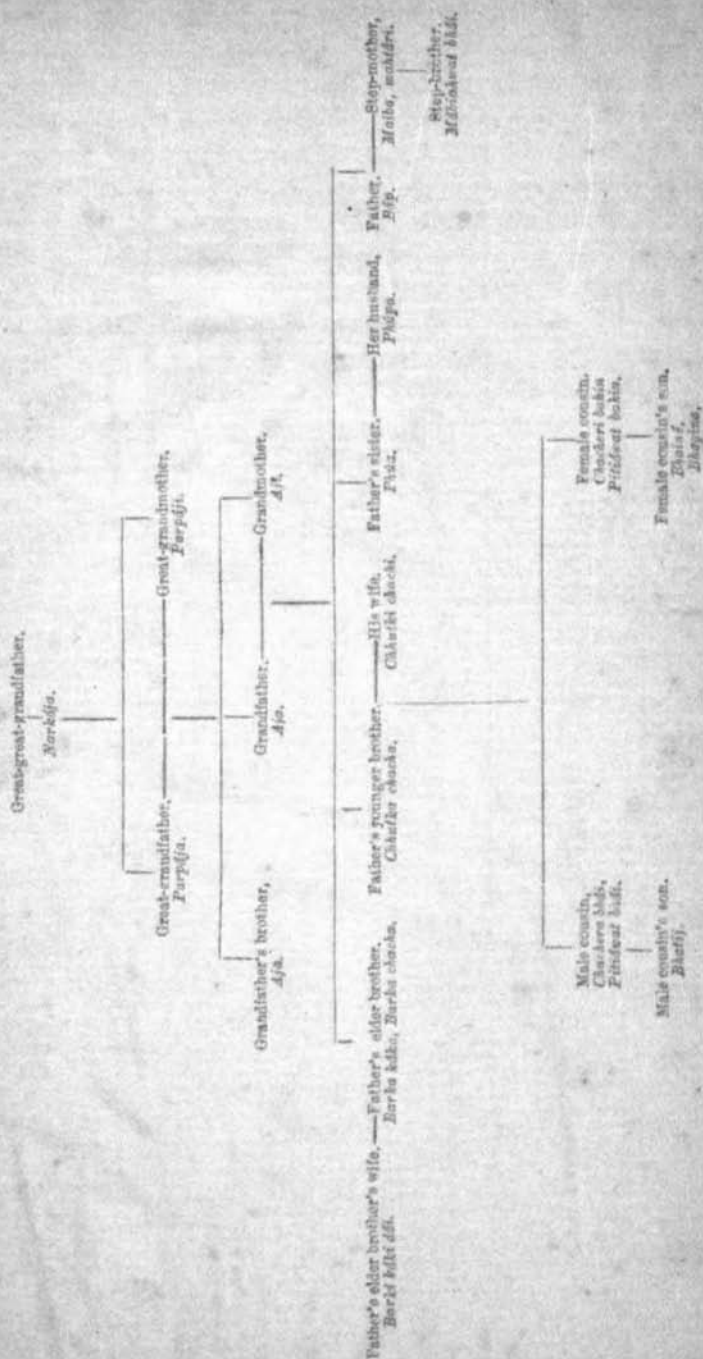
¹ On the rights of the eldest son, see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 100.

associated brethren. Daughters have no rights, except to maintenance, if they cannot agree with their husbands and are obliged to return to their father's house. There seems to be no custom, as among the Bengal Mundas, by which unmarried sisters are divided among the brothers.¹ The sons share equally, no matter how many mothers there may be; nor is the rank of the mother taken into account in deciding the right to succession. A sister or her children have no right to succeed. If a widow who has a child at the breast re-marries, she takes it to her new husband, who is understood to be bound to support it till, if a girl, she marries, or a son, till he is able to support himself. It is said that if a man becomes a *sādhu* or ascetic he can take away his personal goods, but loses his rights of inheritance. Such cases are, however, so uncommon that it can be hardly said that any definite rule prevails.

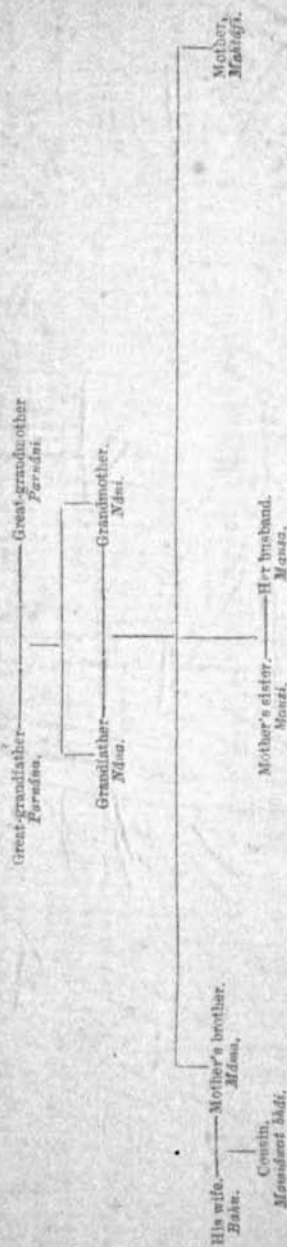
11. Besides persons descended from a common male ancestor, members of those families from which brides are taken, or into which daughters are married, are considered relations, and the relations of the wife are held to be relations of the husband. The following scheme of relationship applies to all the kindred tribes except the Mānjhis, who are more closely allied to the Gonds, than the surrounding races.

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology*, 201, sq.

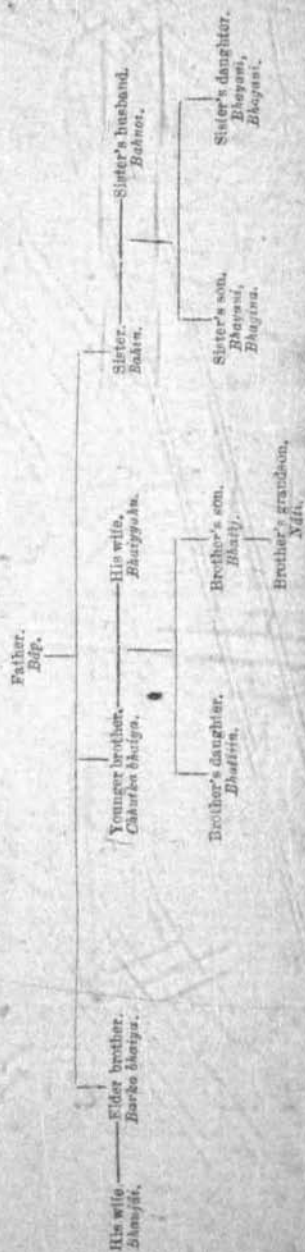
A.—Relations through the Father, whether of man or woman.



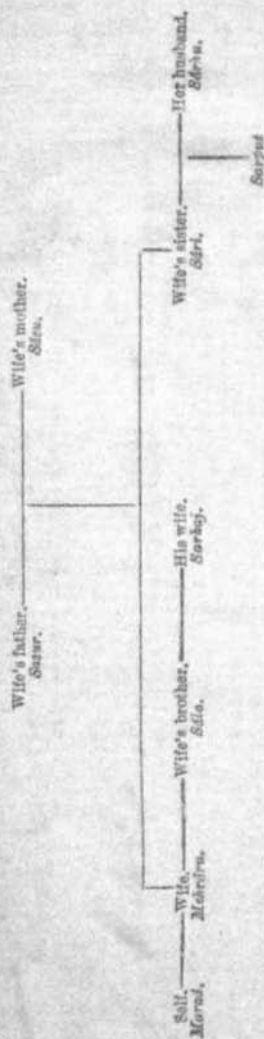
B.—Relations through the Mother, whether of man or woman.



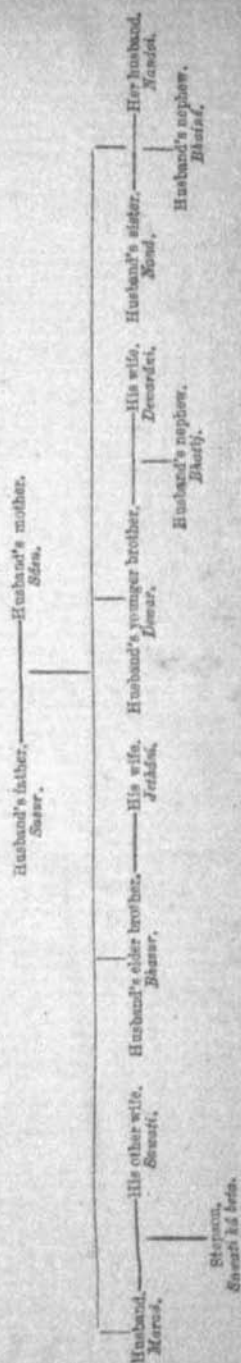
C.—Relations through the Brother and Sister, whether of man or woman.



D (1).—Relations through the Wife of a man.



D (2).—Relations through the Husband of a woman.



E (1).—Relations through the Son, whether of a man or woman.



E (2).—Relations through the Daughter, whether of a man or woman.



The family in which the father's sister (*pāñu*) is married is *pāñu-phuāwar*; where a sister is married, *bahinidwar*; the grandmother's family, *ajiāwar*; the mother's family, *naniāwar*; where one is married, *sasurār*; the family in which a son or daughter is married, *samdhiyān*. The father is called *bābu*, *dāda*, *kāka*; his father's elder brother, *chacha*; his younger brother, *kakka*; father's father, *bāba*; elder brother, *bhaiyya*; elder sister, *didi*, *bahin*; father's mother, *barkī māi*; elder paternal uncle's wife, *barkī kākī*; younger paternal uncle's wife, *chhutkī kākī*; elder brother's wife, *bhaijī*; younger brother's wife, *dulaiya*; son's wife, *dulaiya*; maternal uncle's wife, *māmi*; mother's mother, *nāni*; mother's sister, *māsī*; mother's father, *nāna*; wife's father, *mahto*; brother-in-law's elder sister, *jethaar*; brother-in-law's younger sister, *sāri*; sister's husband, *bahnōi*; his father, *mahto*. A man calls his wife "mother of his son"—*Rām kī māi*, "Mother of my son Rāma."¹ When they call a friend they say *bhaiyya*, "brother," or *ār* (*yār*), "friend." They remember genealogies up to the third or fourth generation, and the names of women up to that of their grandmother.

12. They observe the usual taboo for five days in the case of menstrual women. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. When a boy is born, a song of rejoicing (*sohar*) is sung by the women of the clan. It is etiquette that the child should be born in the house of the father as an admission of paternity.² When the child is born, the cord is cut and buried in the room, and over it a fire is lit in an earthen pot, into which a bit of iron is put as a protection against evil spirits which may assail mother and child.³ There is an elementary form of the couvade in the theory that the husband is impure, as well as his wife, sits apart and cooks for her, and receives a sip of the purifying draught which is administered to her. Among the more advanced Kols the woman is regarded as impure up to the twelfth day, when the barber's wife comes, bathes mother and child, and removes the foul clothes. Among the more primitive Kols a Dhobi is not employed, and the cleaning of the clothes is done by the mother herself, or some other woman in the family. The child is usually named in the sixth month, when it is first fed on grain (*auna*

¹ On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 373.

² See Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 105.

³ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 195.

prāsana, pāsni). They do not seem to have any form of ordeal in selecting the name,¹ but the child is generally named after some deceased ancestor, whose spirit is supposed to be embodied in the infant. The husband does not cohabit with his wife until the child is weaned, for about nine months after her confinement.

13. After the match is arranged, there is a regular form of betrothal, in which in some places part of the

Marriage.

bride-price is paid in advance.² The bride-price is low, five rupees in cash, a loin-cloth (*dhoti*), and five measures (*paseri*) of paddy. This is much lower than among the Bengal Mundas, where the extravagance of the bride-price has become a serious obstacle to marriage.³ Among the Kols of Mirzapur the moderation of the bride-price encourages marriage and promotes tribal morality.⁴ Before the marriage they do the ceremony of the lucky earth (*matmangara*),⁵ which is brought home by the barber's wife and made into a platform, on which the wedding jar (*kalsa*) is placed. The pavilion (*mānre*) is erected at both houses on the fifth day before the wedding. The poles are of the wood of the *sāl* tree (*shorea robusta*), and it is roofed with bamboos. Inside are placed the marriage jar, images of parrots (*suga*) made out of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*), and an iron spike is fixed in the ground in the centre. The bride and bridegroom are carefully anointed for five days—the former by her sister-in-law (*nanad*) and the latter by his sister. The bridal party, on arriving at the bride's village, presents an offering of money, cloves, betel, etc., to the village headman, which may possibly be a relic of the commutation of the *jus prime noctis* already described, but is more probably one of the ordinary dues levied by the landlord from his tenants. In return, he is expected to give wood, the use of a horse or cart, or other assistance to the marriage. The more advanced Kols have a ceremony of the usual Hindu type. The bride and bridegroom worship Gauri and Ganpati. The bridegroom sits on a stool, and the bride's father pours water on his hands, with which the boy washes his feet. The Pandit reads the usual verses; but among the more primitive Kols, no Pandit is called in, and the sister's son of the bridegroom performs

¹ As among the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 191.

² For betrothal among kindred races, see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 224.

³ Ball, *Jungle Life*, 479; Dalton, *Ethnology*, 192.

⁴ On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 133.

⁵ See *Bhuiya*, para. 14.

the ceremony.¹ While the women sing the song of rejoicing (*gītāṅgar*), the bridegroom rubs red-lead on the parting of the bride's hair, and this is the binding part of the ceremony. This is clearly a survival of the original blood covenant.

14. Next the pair are led into the retiring room (*kaṇabār*), where rude jokes are played on the bridegroom by the women of the bride's family. One form of this is to say—"This rice pestle (*lorṇā*) is your bride's father, and this lamp (*chirāgh*) is your bride's mother." On this the boy breaks the lamp with the pestle. The whole ceremony appears to be a survival of the primitive custom of the immediate consummation of the marriage after the wedding.² Then follows the wedding feast, which is an important part of the ceremony among all primitive races,³ and after this is the regular *confarreatio* (*khiṇharī*) of bride and bridegroom, in which the latter refuses to share until he gets a present from the girl's father.⁴ This is the regular form of marriage called *sindūrdān*, so called from the red lead (*sindūr*) which the bridegroom applies to the parting of the bride's hair. Besides this there is the *dola* form, where the bride is brought to her husband's house and the marriage performed with a much less elaborate ritual. Two other forms are also recognised—the *gandharap*,⁵ or marriage by mutual consent of the parties, and the *udhār*, or marriage by abduction. These terms are of course due to the Brāhman priests of the tribe, but the forms are primitive. These marriages are so far prohibited that in the former a fine of three rupees, and in the latter four rupees, is levied, and then, after a tribal feast, the wife is recognised and her children are legitimate.

15. The dying person is taken outside the house and laid on the ground.⁶ The Mirzapur Kols have quite abandoned the primitive form of funeral rites in force among their Munda brethren in Bengal,⁷ and they do not erect the curious *menhirs* or monuments which are described

¹ This is the usual custom among the Kolarian races of Bihār.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 63.

² The rite in its primitive form is maintained among the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 191.

³ Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 413.

⁴ Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 419, 427.

⁵ For the real Gandharva marriage see Mann, III., 26.

⁶ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I. 453.

⁷ For this see Dalton, *Ethnology*, 202.

by Dr. Ball.¹ People dying of small-pox and cholera are always thrown into a river. Children who die while being nursed by their mothers are buried, and among the less Hinduised branches of the tribe the body is taken into any convenient place in the jungle and burnt in a very perfunctory way by the relatives, without any special ritual or the services of any funeral priest. The more Hinduised Kols north of the river Son cremate the body in the way common to low-caste Hindus. After cremation the way home is led by the chief mourner, who is protected by the companions, who follow him, from the spirit of the dead. On arriving at the house of the deceased, each of the mourners chews a small piece of pepper pod, which he spits out, and then, after rinsing his mouth and washing his hands, returns home.² From that time till the next evening the tribesmen fast, and then assemble and eat together. This feast is known as the "milk" feast (*dādh*); and the chief mourner who lit the pyre plants in the ground a few blades of the sacred *kusa* grass near some water, and on this, as a dwelling-place for the wandering ghost, the tribesmen pour water daily after bathing. The man who fixes the pyre goes about with a brass vessel (*lota*) and a piece of iron in his hand as a preservative against ghosts. They do not hang a vessel (*ghant*) on a *pīpal* tree, and have no regular *śrāddha* ceremony; but on the tenth day some of the more Hinduised Kols give a little grain to a Brāhman. Like the Bengal Mundas,³ they lay some ashes on the floor of the house. On the night of a death, and if, in the morning, a mark like the foot of a fowl is found in it, they conclude that the spirit of the deceased has quitted his former abode.⁴

18. Whenever there is a tribal feast, a fowl is offered to the spirits of the dead and a little liquor is poured on the ground. The victim is con-
- Ancestor worship.

¹ *Jungle Life*, 64, 162, 347; and Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 203.

² This perhaps represents the leaf of the bitter *āmra* tree, which is used in the same way by Hindus.

³ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 205.

⁴ "Every night for one moon two old men went to the grave about dusk and carefully swept all round it: each morning for the same period they visited it to see if there were any tracks of the dead man on the swept space."—Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I., 119. "After a death has taken place in a family the straw or chaff from the bed of the departed is taken into an open space and burned. Among its ashes the survivors look for a footprint, and that member of the family whose foot fits the impression will be the next to die."—Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Countries*, 51.

sumed by the worshippers, who also make a fire offering (*hom*) with butter and coarse sugar. When the offering is made they say—"Do not injure us or our children." They do not make any special offering to the dead at funerals or cremations, but they fear them greatly. Such ghosts appear in dreams and trouble those who do not duly propitiate them. They appear in the form of the nightmare, sit on the chest, squeeze the throat, or suck the blood like the vampire.¹ These ghosts most usually appear at the Naurâtra in the months of Chait and Kuâr. Persons who have died in an unnatural or unusual way, such as by drowning or snake-bite, are specially propitiated, and this department is in charge of the village Baiga, who fixes down these wandering vicious spirits in a special shrine (*thân*) under a tree, where, when any trouble visits the village, he offers a fowl, which he eats himself, and makes an oblation (*tapauni*) of spirits.

17. The Mirzapur Kols appear to have lost all recollection of

Religion.

Sing Bonga, the Sun god, revered by the Mundas of Bengal—"a beneficent but some-

what inactive deity, who concerns himself little with human affairs, and leaves the details of the executive government of the world to the gods in charge of particular branches or departments of nature."² In Mirzapur the Kol bows before Sûraj Nârâyan the Sun god, when he leaves his house in the morning, but does not seem to venerate him more than all Hindus do. There is a regular sect of Sauras, or worshippers of Sûrya, the Sun god, who numbered at the last Census 41,904 persons. These are quite distinct from the ordinary domestic worship of the sun. The Kol worships demons and sprites (*bhûl*, *pret*), whom he greatly fears, and the souls of the dead—those of women being propitiated by women and those of men by men. He also worships the aggregate of the local gods (*dîk*, *deohâr*) through the village Baiga. Besides these there are several special Kol deities. Of these the chief is Gansâm, who is usually identified with Bara Deo,³ "the great god." Gansâm, who is certainly a non-Aryan deity, is now becoming gradually admitted into the Brâhmanic pantheon as Ghanasyâma, "the dark-blue rain cloud," which has become an epithet of Krishna. The current explanation

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II., 189, 191.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 103; Dalton, *Ethnology*, 186, *eg.*

³ Bara Deo is a well-known deity of the Gonds.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*,

that Gansām is a debased survival of an Aryan nature god is much less probable than that after a Sanskrit etymology has been discovered for his name, this deity is becoming recognised by Hindus.¹ Gansām is worshipped by the Baiga in a rude hut outside the village, inside which is a mud platform (*chaura, baithak*), on which the deity rests when so disposed. A red flag marks his temple. He is the protector of crops, and is propitiated by the Baiga with the sacrifice of a fowl, goat, or young pig, with an oblation of liquor, in the month of Kārttik, when the transplanted rice is ripening. He very often too resides in a *nīm* tree, and near his shrine is generally a rude stone representing Devi, some vague manifestation of the female principle in nature.

18. Rāja Lākhan is a godling of another type. He is a deified mortal, Rāja Lakhana Deva, the son of the great Rāja Jay Chandra of Kanauj, who was killed by Shahābuddīn Ghori in 1194 A. D.² The dominions of Lakhana Deva must have reached close to the Kol country, as there is a pillar with an inscription in his honour at Belkhara near Chunār.³ There is reason to believe that he led a campaign against the Muhammadan invaders, and this is perhaps the cause of his deification. Now nothing is known of him, except that, by an obvious folk etymology, he is said to have a shrine somewhere near Lucknow. Besides these there are several minor deities, such as Rakhsel and Phūlmatī Devi, who are the local guardians of men and cattle, and are little more than village gods of a somewhat higher rank than the undescribed aggregate of divinities who reside in the village shrine. The Nāg or snake-god is worshipped at the Nāgpanchami. The Baghaut or tiger-ghost, Bansapti Māta, the goddess of the jungle, Chithariya Bīr, "the hero of tatters," who lives in a tree on which rags are hung, and many similar deities of forest and mountain are respected, particularly when disease attacks men and animals. On this occasion the usual ceremony of the scapegoat (*chalāwa*) is managed by the Baiga. Brāhmans of an inferior type are occasionally called in, and are even paid to eat cakes (*pūri*) in the houses of the more Hinduised Kols. The house-god is Dulha Deo, the bridegroom god, who is specially revered by women and at mar-

¹ A similar instance is Siva in his form as Bhairava, who is a direct adaptation of the non-Aryan Bhairon.

² See Elphinstone, *History of India*, 365.

³ Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XI., 129.

riages with the bloodless sacrifice of cakes and milk. To the souls of the dead the house-master occasionally offers a fowl, ram, or goats, which is then eaten by the family.

19. They appear in Mirzapur to have abandoned the regular tribal festivals of the Mundas.¹ They now observe the usual Hindu festivals of the Naurâtra in the first nine days of the light half of Chait and Kuâr; the Phagua on the first of Chait; the Khichari in the end of Pûs; and the Nâgpanchami.² On the fifth of the light half of Sâwan, at the Naurâtra they fast; at the Phagua drink liquor and eat good food; at the Khichari they eat rice and pulse (*khichari*) and give some to Brâhmans; at the Nâgpanchami they offer milk and parched rice at the hole of some snake; at the Naurâtra they get into an ecstatic state (*abhûdha*), and some one falls into a frenzy and screams out oracles. The spirits of the dead reside in a special mud platform erected in the south room of the house. Dulha Deo has his abode in the cook-room. The women also pay particular honour to a deity called Bâsdeo, who resides in a *pîpal* tree. This is really Vasu-deva, which is an adaptation of the Hindu cult of Krishna. The axe and sickle are looked on as a kind of fetish: no one will spit on them or defile them, and they are kept in a place safe from injury.

20. They have the usual meeting, sneezing, twitching omens, and their regard for lucky days and directions is the same as those of the other Dravidian races.

21. They swear by putting the hand on the axe or sickle, by the religious preceptor (*guru*), by the Ganges. by taking up the shoe of a Brâhman—"May my children die if I lie," is the usual form.

22. Dreams are believed to indicate the future, and in particular imply the dissatisfaction of the sainted dead when they are neglected. The oldest man in the family interprets them. The only way to ward off evil dreams is to propitiate the souls of the dead.

23. All disease is due to demoniacal influence, and the Ojha is called in to define the offended demon, and present suitable offerings. The Evil-eye

¹ For which see Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 104.

² According to Dalton, *Ethnology*, 177, there are no traces of snake worship among the Kols, except in the name of the rainbow (*îrbeng*), which means "serpent." There are, however, Nâgbansie and Nâgesars allied to them.

is avoided by amulets, particularly the soap-nut, which bursts when the glance falls on them.

24. They revere the cow and buffalo, and will not injure them

Taboos.

Every hair on a cow's body is a godling (*deota*), and he who kills a cow offends as many godlings as there are hairs on its body. They appear to have almost entirely lost the prejudice against the use of milk which is common to other Kolarian races.¹ They will not eat food touched by a Dhobi, Chamâr, Dom, Dharkâr, Dusâdh, Kharwâr, Majhwâr, Panka, Agariya, Ghasiya, Chero, or Bhuiyâr. They have an especial abhorrence for Dharkârs, whom they consider particularly polluted. Children are not allowed to join in any worship, and it is only the head wife who does worship to the ancestors or Dulha Deo. A man will not touch his younger brother's wife, the mother-in-law of his son or daughter, nor his wife's elder sister.² They will not call by name their wives, nor the wife of a younger brother, nor the mother-in-law of their son or daughter. Nor will they name their religious teachers (*guru*). They prefer not to name the dead. Certain villages, where murders have occurred or where misers or bad characters live, are tabooed in the morning. So in the morning they will not speak of death or beasts of prey. When they have to mention an unlucky place or persons, they point in that direction and say the first letter of the name. If they have to speak of an elephant in the morning they call him *dantihawa*, "he with the teeth," the tiger, *panjahawa*, "he with the claws," and so on.

25. The best day for commencing agricultural operations is Friday. They do not plough on the Nâg-panehami. They do the Kûnrmundan ceremony with an offering to the local gods when sowing is over.³ Fields should be ploughed five times for luck. Before sowing they sacrifice to "the goddess of verdure," Hariyâri, Hariyari, or Hariyâi Mâi. She is worshipped by breaking up some cloves in a brass vessel (*lota*), which are mixed with water and poured on the ground. If cloves are not procurable, a simple stream of water is poured on the ground in honour of the goddess.

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology*, 190.

² On this see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, II., sqq.

³ This perhaps corresponds to the Damurai of the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 198.

26. They eat the flesh of pigs, fowls, and all kinds of fish.

Social rules.

They will not eat the flesh of cows, horses, donkeys, camels, elephants, alligators, snakes, lizards (*bistuiya*), or jackals. They certainly do not eat carrion, as appears to be the case in Sinhbûm.¹ They do not eat meat during the fortnight sacred to the manes of the dead (*pitrapaksha*): women are not allowed to eat pork, and have their meals separate from the men.² Liquor and tobacco are freely used, and oblations of spirits are made to the godlings. The women are treated fairly well, and little quarrelling goes on among them, but it is doubtful if there is much affection between husband and wife, though the contrary has been asserted.³ They have the fondness for children which is characteristic of most primitive races.⁴ The senior wife is honoured and respected. Youngers salute elders with the *pâblagi* form, and the answer is *jigo nihô raho*—"may you live and thrive." To strangers they *salâm*. When guests arrive they are saluted, and the wife washes his feet and gives him a tobacco pipe. If any woman in the family is connected with the guest by blood, she seizes him round the waist and weeps, and then provides him with food with the elders of the family. It is the custom for a guest to bring with him some parched grain for the children of his host. The lowest caste who will accept food from their hands is the Kurmi. They only use pipes smoked by Kols. Only Doms, Dharkârs, and Chamârs drink water from their vessels. They wear the scalp-lock, but never shave the beard and mustache, except in mourning. They have a special kind of music known as *koljhari*.

27. Most Kols are ploughmen; a few have land of their own.

Occupation.

The usual wages of a Kol ploughman are two sers of grain *per diem*, and a leaf umbrella (*chhopi*, *khôlûr*), a blanket, and a rupee-and-a-half in cash *per annum*. They also get some special food at the festivals of the Dasahra, Kûmmundan and Pachheinyân on 20th Sâwan. They also get a *bigha* of land free of rent. This is known as *kola*, *koliya*. The village landlord takes two days' forced labour in the year from

¹ Ball, *Jungle Life*, 159.

² For singular restrictions among savages see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 447.

³ Jellinghauser quoted by Westernarch, *History of Human Marriage*, 358.

⁴ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 66.

all ploughmen, one for ploughing and the other for thatching his house. The more primitive Kols practise the system of cultivation by burning (*dahya*) down the jungle.

Kori.¹—The Hindu weaver caste. Their name has been derived from that of the Kol caste, of whom they have by some been assumed to be an offshoot. In Sanskrit, *kaulika*, in the sense of "ancestral," has also come to mean "a weaver." According to their own story, the Saint Kabir was one day going to bathe in the Ganges, and met a Brāhman girl who saluted him. He said in reply—"May God give you a son." She objected that she was a virgin and unmarried; but he answered that his word could not fail. So she immediately got a blister on her hand, out of which a boy was born. She was ashamed and left the child on the banks of the river, where a heifer that had never calved gave him milk, and he was adopted by a weaver who taught him his trade. He got his name because he was born of a virgin (*kuāri*) or of a girl untouched by man (*kori*). Hence the verse popular among them—

Kori korē kalas kē, nirgun kē jāya;

Kāya dhānkē apni bhava sāgar āya.

"Born of an undefiled jar, of him free from passion, he lowers his body and enters the ocean of existence."

They are probably an occupational caste derived from various sources.

2. At the last Census the Koris were recorded in a large number of principal sub-castes:—Aharwār, taking Internal structure. their name from the old town of Ahār in the Bulandshahr District; Bais, the name of a well-known Rājput sept; Ballāi; Bhadauriya, which is also another Rājput sept; Bhainhar; Bunkar (*bunna*, "to weave"); Dhaman; Jaiswār, from the town of Jais in the Rāē Bareli District; Jatua, who say they have some connection with the Jāts or were born direct from the matted hair (*jata*) of Siva; Juriya; Kabirbansi, called after Kabir, the forefather of the caste; Kaithiya, who spring from the Kāyasths; Kamariha or Kamariya; Kanaujiya, from Kanauj; Katua; Korchamra, who spring from Chamārs; Kushta; Mahurē; Odh or Orh; Parsutiya (Sanskrit, *prasava*, "procreation"); Sakarwār,

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Rām Saran Dās, Faizābād; Munshi Rām Sahāy, Teacher, Tahelli School, Mahoba, Hamirpur; Munshi Mai Dayal Singh, Deputy Collector, Shābjahānpur; and Munshi Gopal Prasād, Naib Tahsildār, Phaphānd, Etāwah.

or those from Fatehpur Sikri; Sankhwâr. There are many other sub-castes spread over the province. Thus in Shâhjâhânpur we find Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Kachhwâr, Manwâr, Gangapâri, or "those from beyond the Ganges, Banswâr, Baiswâr, Katyâr, Patnâ, Gujarâti, Khatiya, and Chapar. In Hamîrpur are the Kutar, Kamariha, Jaiswâr, Sakhwâr, Dhiman, and Sunwâni. In Bijnor those who practise the occupation of applying leeches on patients are called Jonkiyâra (*jonk*, "a leech"). In Etâwah are the Mahur, Sakhwâr, Bhandauliya, and Chandauliya. In Mirzapur they class themselves as Chamâr-Kori who follow the usages of Chamârs and the Kori who connect themselves with Kahârs. Here they say that they are emigrants from Udaypur. The Juriya or Joriya of Faizâbâd claim to be Brâhmans and immigrants from a place called Katwi in the Jaunpur District. They admit Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Ahîrs, Kurmis, Murâos, and similar people into their caste. This generally occurs when they have contracted illicit intercourse with women of the tribe. They are worshippers of Mahâbîr and Bhâgawati, to whom they offer sacrifices of sheep and goats. Formerly they used only to weave in silk; now they make cotton cloths and do masonry. The Koris have been extraordinarily fertile in the development of sub-divisions. The complete Census lists contain no less than 1,040 names.

3. In their manners and customs Koris agree very closely with the Chamârs and people of a similar social grade, which it is unnecessary to repeat. In Hamîrpur, they are reported to have a special form of introducing the bride into her husband's house. The oldest man of the household prepares some cakes fried in butter, known as *mâén*, and offers them with the sacrifice of a pig to a local godling known as Baltai. Then comes the *nihâran* ceremony, when three wheaten cakes are baked, which the newly-married pair tread under foot, and are then allowed to enter the house. There are regular marriage brokers in Hamîrpur, each of whom receives a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*) contributed by the parents of the pair at betrothal, marriage, and the coming home of the bride, should she not have arrived at puberty when the wedding takes place. In most cases, however, the marriage is arranged by the sister's husband of the boy—apparently a survival of the matriarchate. A woman married by the *Karâo* ceremony is not allowed to enter her husband's house in the day-time; she must do so secretly and at night. Hence of such marriages the

proverb runs—*Kāla munh, andhiyārē pākḥ*, “with a black face and in the dark fortnight of the month.” A widow cannot re-marry by the *Karāo* form until at least the thirteen days of mourning for her late husband are over. Authorities differ as to whether they admit outsiders into the caste. A correspondent from Etāwah asserts that it is a well-known fact that they admit Brāhmins, Rājputs, Banyas, Kāyasths, Ahirs, Gadariyas, Kāchhis, Kahārs, Bhurjis, Barhais, Khātis, and Kurmis into their community, but draw the line at Chamārs, Telis, Dhobis, and Bāris, as well as sweepers and Dhānuks. This is said not to take place in other districts. The same correspondent also asserts that in Etāwah it is well ascertained that in the levirate the widow is allowed to marry the elder as well as the younger brother of her late husband. This, if correct, is very remarkable, as it is totally opposed to the usage of all other castes of the same social status.

4. The Kori are all Hindus. In Faizābād they are said to follow the Rāḍāsi or Sivanārāyani sect, of which some account has been given in connection with Chamārs. In Bijnor they are Kabīrpanthis. This is also the case in Hamīrpur, where their religious ceremonies are performed by the daughter's husband, another relic of the matriarchate. To the West they also worship Zāhirpīr and the Miyān of Amroha and Jalesar, and to the East the Pānchompīr and Sitala Māta.

5. The status of the Kori is very low. In Mirzapur it is said that Brāhmins will drink water from the hands of the Kahār Kori, but not from the Chamār Kori. Only Dhobis and Chamārs will eat *kachchi* or *pakki* cooked by the latter; Kori will, to the East, eat *kachchi* cooked by Brāhmins and Kshatriyas and *pakki* prepared by all Vaisyas, except Kalwārs. Their occupation is weaving coarse country cloth, but some take to service and field labour or hold land as tenants. Kushta or Koshta, one of their sub-castes, is the general name for a weaver in the Dakkhin.¹

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, 112, *egg*.

Distribution of the Keri's according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Aharwar.	Bala.	Balut.	Bhadaurga.	Bhatnagar.	Bunkar.	Dhanan.	Jalwar.	Jatna.	Jurys.	Kabirbandi.	Kaithiya.	Kamaria.	Kanaujya.	Katua.	Korehmatu.	Kushia.	Mahura.	Odli.	Parsaiga.	Sakrawat.	Sankhwar.	Others.	Total.
Dohra Dén	24	...	368	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	41	...	...	...	3,860	4,444
Sahamur	38	143	...	3,077	...	...	...	114	...	451	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,686	17,489
Munafarnagar	6	...	3,330	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,483	11,819
Shere	408	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	1,604
Behadshahr	3	...	1,701	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,715	24,205
Aligarh	673	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,458	2,966	...	...	...	21,834	32,319
Maitura	3	2	14	240	...	...	...	5	...	...	19	15,968	763	...	...	181	283	1,921
Agra	324	...	...	...	...	...	26	114	...	36	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	21,720	16	...	...	323	6,877	2,690
Farukhabad	78	341	860	369	...	...	...	...	...	466	...	694	6	113	...	245	5,968	3,369
Munpuri	31	64	79	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	723	...	...	...	6	9,886	1,137
Kidwar	640	...	...	...	...	...	...	66	...	114	1,994	3,931	36	...	...	64	...	500	1	696	...	3,639	9,477	2,333
Etab	7	...	377	945	339	...	...	...	30	...	4,433	58	1,173	...	3,152	7,698	12,237
Bareilly	896	...	...	...	...	...	43	100	...	...	...	...	411	42,828	46,060
Benjor	7,865	7,985
Benarus	3	...	...	6,103	1,504	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	154	4,584	12,036
Moradabad	23	...	1,203	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,037	...	...	...	...	...	3,353
Shahjahanpur	695	712	50	7	179	460	156	...	...	...	...	...	60	...	...	...	...	8,777

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

District.	Aharwar.	Balia.	Bhadrav.	Bhadrav.	Bunkar.	Dhaman.	Jalawar.	Jatun.	Juriga.	Kabirbandi.	Kalchiga.	Kamardin.	Kanawliya.	Katun.	Korphanam.	Kuehta.	Mahura.	Odh.	Parautiya.	Sakarwar.	Santhwar.	Udhura.	Total.	
Pilibhit	...	...	...	...	...	1,643	615	145	...	609	31	1	35	7	...	378	...	...	394	1,408	515	2,681	8,253
Cawnpur	2,339	...	...	...	...	3,755	1,002	...	...	199	...	30,459	81	...	68	66	177	...	374	...	842	14,630	44,003
Fatehpur	...	...	...	...	...	6,471	3,921	...	...	148	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	9,320	20,483
Banda	...	...	...	...	...	529	13	...	...	525	...	...	17	...	8	458	...	...	...	2,433	...	22,719	27,780
Hamirpur	7,548	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	29	...	616	1	...	...	89	25	...	...	2	4,000	14,300	27,279
Allahabad	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,042	...	1,397	16	...	...	...	...	...	90	...	...	...	...	...	11,338	19,427
Jhansi	31,800	613	8	108	135	...	2	889	203	...	2	22	36	2,108	1,477	27,485
Jalaun	12,266	98	...	9	161	424	...	7,980	1,654	23,659
Lalitpur	1,070	6,908	61	168	30	1	21	2,108	10,474
Benares	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	146	...	...	...	...	...	...	150
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	38
Ghazipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	57	67
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	397	1,087
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	670	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,600	2,391
Arangach	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	379	661
Gadwall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8
Tasli	...	...	...	...	425	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	631	977
Lucknow	...	...	...	...	...	12,000	210	...	...	59	28	...	...	...	2	...	29	...	...	111	164	6,073	19,072

Unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	12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Kormangta.—A Hindu religious order, so-called because they are said to beg only from members of the Kori tribe (*Kori māngna*). We have similarly the Chamar-mangta, who beg from Chamars, and the Pasmangta from Pâsis. The Census shows them only in Oudh.

Distribution of the Kormangtas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.		Number.
Unão		82
Râé Bareli		223
Bârabanki		583
TOTAL		887
Males		439
Females		448

Korwa.—A Dravidian tribe found in the part of Mirzapur south of the river Son and along the frontier of Sarguja. They assert that they have emigrated from Sarguja within the last two or three generations. They appear to be the aborigines of Sarguja, Jashpur, and Palāman, and this "claim is in some measure borne out by the fact that the priests who propitiate the local spirits are always selected from this tribe."¹ Among the offshoots of the original tribe now residing in Mirzapur there appears to be no trace of the singular legend that they are descended from the scare-crows set up to frighten wild animals by the first men who raised crops in Sarguja, which were animated by the great spirit to save his votaries the trouble of continually making new ones.² There seems little doubt that they are in name and origin closely connected with the Kûrs, whose name Mr. Hislop connects with Kol, and describes as "found on the Mahādeva hills and westward in the forest on the Tâpti and Narbada until they come in contact with the Bhils. On the Mahādeva hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muâsi, the origin of which I have not been able to ascertain, unless it be that the word is derived from the *mahua* tree."³ Like the Kûrs, the Korwas of

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 511.

² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 226; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 511; Driver, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 25.

³ *Papers*, 25. A scattered tribe with a very similar name, Mûhwaiya, are found in some of the jungles in Fargana Barhar of Mirzapur and seem now to be disappearing by amalgamation with the Kols.

Chota Nāgpur have some traditions connecting them with the Mahādeva hills as the first seat of their race.¹ The word Korwa seems to be another form of Kol. Herr Jellinghause interprets the word Kol to mean "pig-killer,"² but the better opinion seems to be that it is a variant for *horo*, the Mundāri for "man." The Khariyas of Chota Nāgpur call the Mndas Kora—a name closely approaching Kol.³

2. No trace can be found in Mirzapur of the sub-tribes of

Tribal organization.

Agariya Korwa, Dand Korwa, Dih Korwa, and Pahariya Korwa found in Bengal,⁴ nor of the Birhor and Kisan Korwas mentioned by Mr. Driver.⁵ There is, again, no trace of the interesting series of totemistic sub-divisions recorded from Rānchi by Mr. Risley.⁶ The Mirzapur tribe say that there are two sub-tribes, Korwa and Korāku, both of whom are mentioned by Colonel Dalton.⁷ The former live in Pargana Dudhi, the flat country north of the Sarguja plateau, and the latter in the Sarguja hills. The former have almost abandoned the use of the bow and arrow, which is said to be habitually used by the latter. Among themselves the Mirzapur Korwas call the males Korāku and the women Koriku.

3. Colonel Dalton's description applies very well to the Mirzapur

Appearance.

tribe. He describes them as "short of stature and dark-brown in complexion, strongly built and active, with good muscular development, but, as appeared to me, disproportionately short-legged. The average height of twenty Sarguja Korwas whom I measured was five feet three inches, and of their women four feet nine inches only. In feature the characteristic types are not very prominent: a breadth of face from the lateral projection of the zygomatic arches and narrowness of forehead are the most remarkable traits: the nose, chin, and mouth are better formed than we generally find them among the rude tribes of the Dravidian stock; and, notwithstanding the scarecrow tradition, the Korwas are, as a rule, better looking than the Gonds and Oraons. The males, I noticed, were more hirsute than

¹ Driver, *loc. cit.*, 24.

² Kola in Sanskrit means "a hog."

³ Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 101.

⁴ Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 512.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, page 25.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, Appendix, 83.

⁷ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 230, 231.

the generality of their cognates, many of them cultivating beards or rather not interfering with their spontaneous growth, for in truth in their toilettes there is nothing like cultivation. They are as utterly ungroomed as the wildest animals. The neglected back hair grows in matted tails which fall behind like badly frayed ropes or is massed in a chignon of gigantic proportions, as preposterous as any that the present tactless period has produced, sticking out behind sometimes a foot from the back of the head. The women appear ground down by the hard work imposed upon them, stunted in growth, black, ugly, and wretchedly clad, some having only a few dirty rags tied round their persons, and in other respects untidy and unclean."¹ Dr. Ball noticed particularly "the unkempt condition of their matted locks of hair, in which they commonly hitch the shafts of their arrows."²

4. They have a tribal council (*bhaiyāri*), in which, degraded as they are, they are superior to the Cyclopes
Tribal organization. Homer's type of "a froward and lawless folk."³ This is summoned by invitation (*neota*) when necessary. It is presided over by a permanent hereditary president (*pradhāu*). The leader of all the Korwas in Mirzapur is Somchand Korwa of Bistrāmpur in Pargana Dudhi. Every adult male has a right to sit on the council, which deals with cases of adultery, etc. Only clansmen are accepted as witnesses. No one is sworn. The sentence is usually to give a feast, and if any offender disobeys the order, he is excommunicated and remains outcaste until he obeys.

5. There are in Mirzapur no exogamous sub-divisions. The
Marriage rules. family of the mother's brother (*māmu*) and that of the father's sister's husband (*phūpha*) are barred: and when a family lives together the members do not intermarry within four or five degrees.⁴ As a rule, they have only one wife and do not indulge in concubinage or polyandry. The marriage age is twelve for males and ten for girls. The marriage is usually arranged by the brother-in-law (*bahnai*) of the

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 226.

² *Jungle Life*, 661.

³ *Odyssey*, IX., 112.

⁴ In Chota Nāgpur, according to Mr. Driver, "Korwas are divided into several families, each of which is known by its *gotra*, and no two people of the same *gotra* are allowed to marry."—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 26.

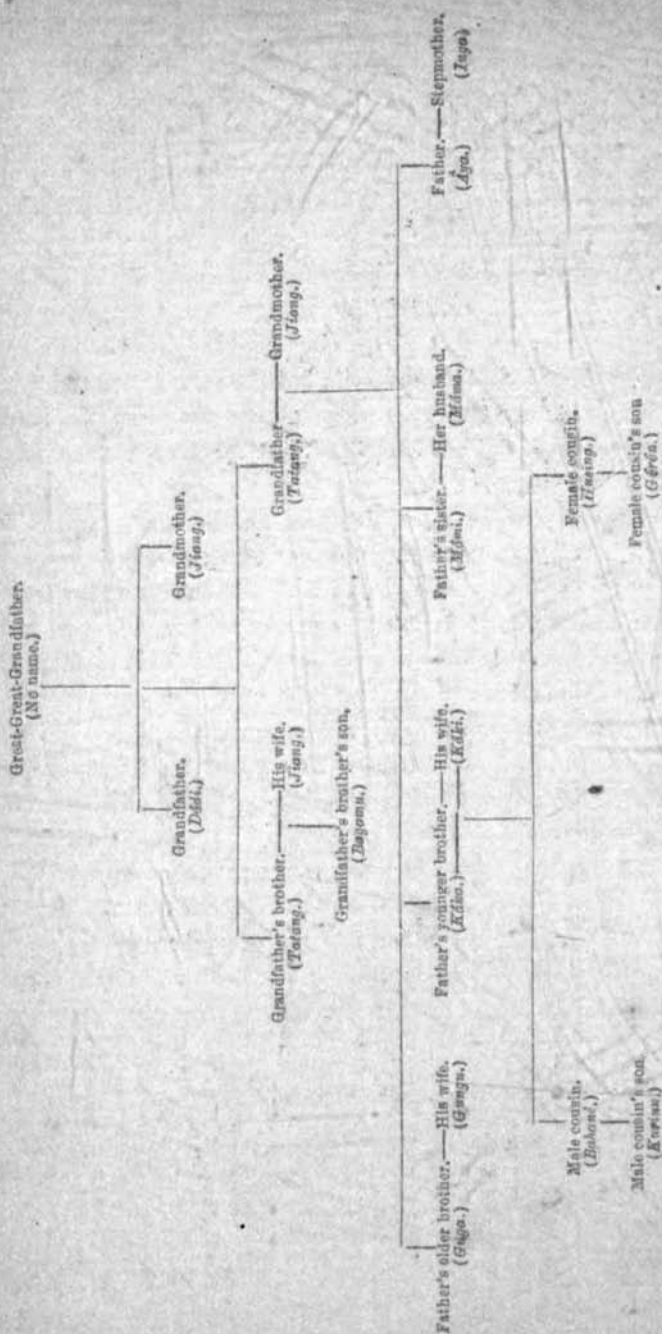
bridegroom. The bridegroom has, however, generally a voice in the matter. There are many runaway marriages. In selecting a wife working capabilities are more regarded than beauty. The bride-price is five rupees and one or two maunds of rice. After the betrothal the appearance of any physical defects is not a ground for breaking off the match, nor are idiocy, lunacy, impotence, or mutilation a sufficient cause.

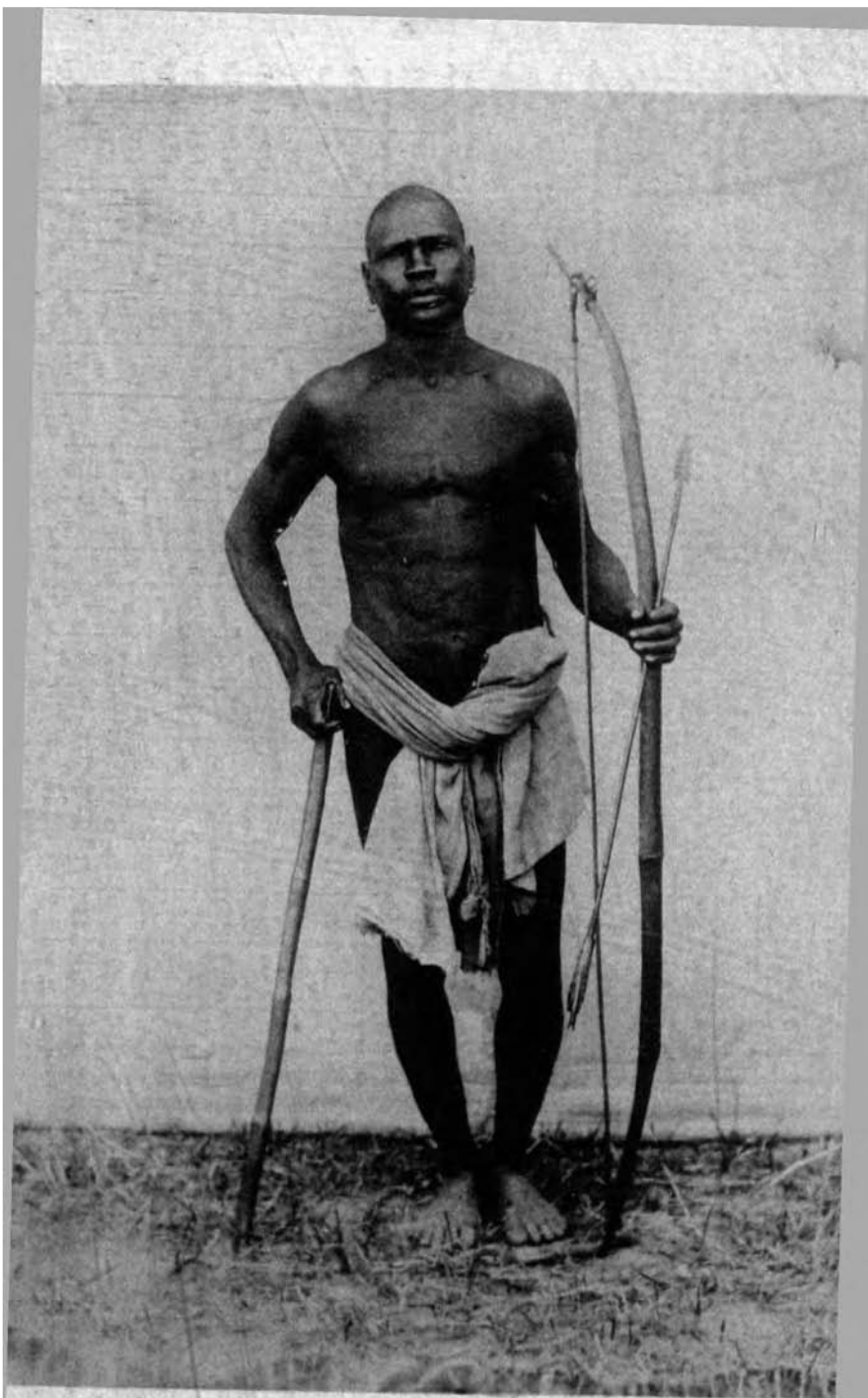
6. Sufficient grounds for divorce are eating from the hands of, or intriguing with, a Dom, Chamâr, or Dhar-kâr. The only ceremony is the announcement of the fact before the council; but the council will put a man out of caste if he maltreats his wife, and she can complain against him to the council and get him fined. A divorced woman cannot re-marry.

7. Widows may be married again by the *sagdi* form. They generally marry widowers, and it seems unusual for a bachelor to take a widow to wife. The man has to give the relations of the widow a rupee and a quarter and then takes the woman home. The levirate is permitted under the usual restriction that it is only the younger brother of the husband who can take his widow: and if he chooses to claim her she cannot marry an outsider. If she have a child at the breast, she takes it with her to her new husband. Older children remain with their paternal uncle.

8. The family into which his son marries or into which his daughter is married are relations. They call a father *apa*; grandfather, *tatang*; great-grandfather, *dâdi*; a son is *hopon*; a grandson, *kurin*; a great-grandson, *baholu*. The following is their system of relationship:—

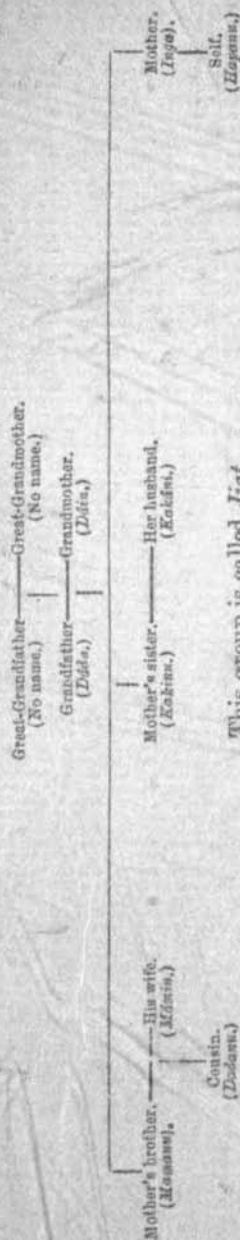
A.—Relations through the Father, whether of man or woman.

This group is called *Jiat*.

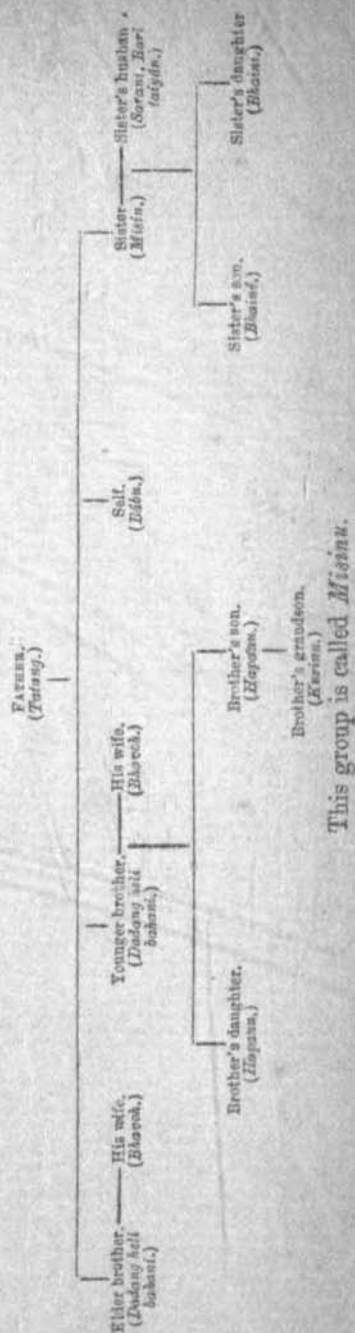


KORWA.

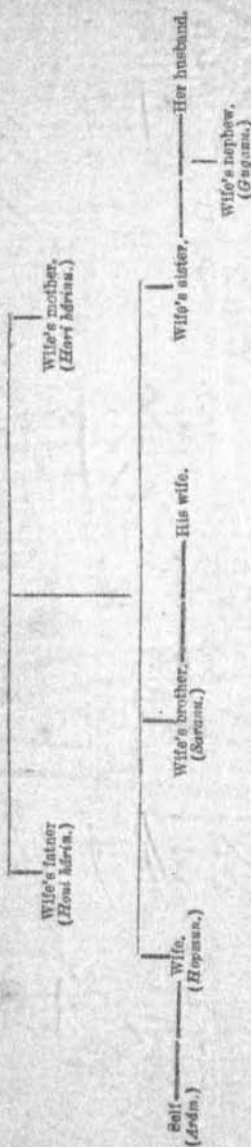
B.—Relations through the Mother, whether of man or woman.



C.—Relations through the Brother and Sister, whether of man or woman.



D.—Relations through the wife of a man.



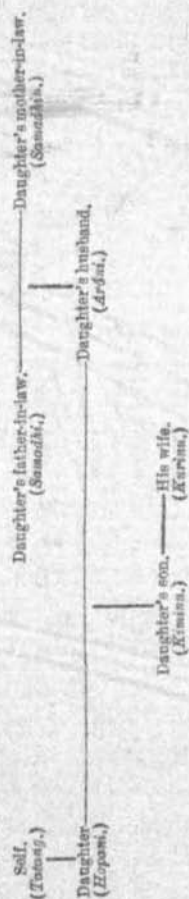
This group is called Sasural.

E (1).—Relations through the Son, whether of man or woman.



This group is called Sasodai.

E (2).—Relations through the Daughter, whether of man or woman.



This group is called *Samadhinu*.

This is not the place to attempt systematic analysis of these records of relationship. It may merely be noticed that there is no term for a great-grandfather or great-grandmother; that the names for the grandmother and grandfather's brother's wife are the same; that the term for the father's younger brother and his wife are purely Hindi, as is the case with the wife of the younger brother, sister's son, sister's daughter, and for the father and mother of the son's wife. This illustrates the vagueness of the marriage tie among these people.¹ Among themselves they call the sister *aya*; their own wife, *Bābu kai inga*; elder brother's wife *bhavoh*; mother's brother, *māma*; mother's father, *tatang*; sister's husband *taiyān*; wife's brother, *saranu*; father's sister's husband, *māma*; father's sister, *māmi*; a woman's father-in-law *būrhā* ("old man"); wife's sister's husband, *saddhu*; wife's brother's son, *dangeru*; son's wife, *bāi*; son's or daughter's son, *kurin*.

9. The woman is delivered sitting on the ground. Some old woman of the tribe cuts the cord with a sickle, and throws it outside the house. The Chamāin midwife is not employed. The moment the child is born a fire is lit in the house and kept burning for twelve days. The husband does not enter the delivery room for five days. On the sixth day the old woman bathes the mother and child, and two or three of the clan are fed on pulse and rice. The woman's clothes are washed, and she goes back to the delivery room (*saur*). On the twelfth day the mother goes and bathes in a stream, washes her clothes, and comes home and cooks for the family. On the twelfth day the child is named by the father or grandfather, and is generally called after some deceased ancestor, who is understood from a dream to be re-born in the baby.² There appears to be no trace of the

¹ For a discussion of the system of nomenclature see McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History and the Patriarchal Theory*; Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, *passim*; Starcke, *Primitive Family*, Chapter V.; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, Chapter IV.

² Mr. Driver notes in Chota Nāgpur that children are named a month after they are born. "They are only named after their grandparents, when the mother dreams of a visit from the said ancestors. If a girl is to be born, the woman dreams that either her own or her husband's mother came with an offering of *tārpāt* earrings or beads; but if a boy is expected she dreams that either her own or her husband's father came with an offering of a *dibi* or *batua* (small brass pots for eating out of). The child is then called its grandparent's embodiment (*dātār*) and is named after the said ancestor. A big feast is always given at a christening. Boys are preferred to girls."—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 28.

couvade. These people have the intense fear of pollution from the menstrual or parturition discharge which is characteristic of all primitive races.¹

10. The boy's father goes and inspects the girl: when he approves of her, the maternal uncle (*māmu*) of the boy completes the negotiations. If

the girl's father approves of the proposal, he feeds the envoy. On the marriage day, which is fixed by mutual arrangement, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house with some of his relations. Once the procession starts, neither party can withdraw from the match; and if either object, he is forced to consent by an order from the council. At the marriage the oldest man present calls the bride and says to her—"We have made you over to the son of so and so. You must never leave him, no matter what trouble you undergo. Don't disgrace your family by an intrigue with a man of another caste." After this exhortation the bridegroom rubs red lead on the girl's head. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. After this the clansmen are fed on goat's flesh and rice, and next day the bridegroom brings the bride home and feasts his clansmen. There is no trace of the professional match-maker, the best man and the bridesmaids, and the knotting of the garments of the pair which are part of the ritual in Chota Nāgpur.² When a girl is married a piece of jungle is assigned her as a hunting ground where she can dig roots and collect wild fruits. No one else dares to interfere with her domain, and the right is strictly enforced by the council.³

Mr. Campbell (*Notes 4*) remarks:—"Another ground for the belief in the return of ancestors was the likeness of children to the dead. The Konkani Kunbis, and even Brāhmans, believe that the dead ancestors sometimes come in children, and so in many cases children are named after their grandfathers or grandmothers. Among Gājarāt Musalmāns, if a child is naughty or peevish, its mother or nurse says—'Its kind has come on its head.' It is the belief of the Khonds that an ancestor comes back in a child (Macpherson, 56). Among the American Indians when a man dies the medium puts his hands on the head of one of the mourners, and the spirit of the dead enters him, ready to appear in his next offspring (Baneroff, III., 517). Among the Laplanders of Europe an ancestral spirit tells the mother that he has come into the child, and to call the child by his name.—Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II. 4."

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II., 233, sq.

² Driver, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 27.

³ See similar cases in Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 455, and compare *Bhur*, para. 10.

11. The dying person is taken into the open air before death.¹

Death customs.

The tribe is in a transition stage between burial and cremation.² Some families practise one form and some the latter. Those that bury the dead have regular tribal, or family, burial-grounds. Even among those who cremate the dead, young children and those who die of epidemic diseases are buried. When they cremate, they take the corpse to a place north-east of the village. It is laid on its back, with the feet to the south. Wood is piled over it, and the son of the deceased, or if he has no son, his brother or other male next of kin, walks five times round the pyre with a grass torch and fires it. When it is well alight they leave it, bathe, and return home. Next day the chief mourner goes to the pyre and collects the ashes. Then a message is sent round to the effect that the funeral ceremony (*khoiya*, *khaur*) will take place on a certain day. The clansmen collect and shave themselves.³ A barber is not employed. Then they wash their clothes and have a feast at the house of the deceased. From that day all are pure. They have, as far as can be ascertained, no ceremony to propitiate the spirits of the dead. When they burn or bury a corpse, they place with it the ornaments, clothes of the deceased, and an axe, none of which are broken. These are to be the support of the deceased in the after world, but as to any abode of happiness or retribution they have no idea. All they know is that the spirit goes to Paramesar, but this is the case with the souls of trees and animals as well as men.

12. They do not even pretend to be Hindus, and have no connection with the Brāhmins. They worship

Religion and superstitions.

as their tribal god Rāja Chandol in the month of February (Phālgun) with an offering of a cock, some red lead (*sendūr*), and flowers. This offering is made by the Baiga, many of whom are found in the tribe.⁴ They are much beset by malignant ghosts (*bhūṭ*), particularly those of strange villages, who are excluded by the Baiga, who goes round the village circuit once a year dropping a little liquor as he walks, and thus forming a magic

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 453.² There is a good note on this fact among the Greeks in Blackie's *Iliad* on VII., 328.³ On this ceremonial shaving after a death compare Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII., 135; *Odyssey*, IV., 193.⁴ This is also the case with the Bengal Division of the tribe, Dalton, *Ethnology*, 130, 221. For the worship of Rāja Chandol, see *Majhwār*, para. 40.

line over which foreign ghosts are unable to cross. When the Baiga is a drunken rascal, as is often the case, this performance takes a considerable time, and the heavy charges for liquor are received badly by his parishioners. When Bhûts attack people and bring disease, particularly fainting or epileptic fits, an Ojha is called in to exorcise the Bhût, or if the patient is a young woman, she is taken to a local shrine and thrashed by the Baiga with his heavy iron magic chain (*gurda*).¹ There is hardly any trace of ancestor worship, except in times of extreme sickness, when a Korwa will sacrifice a goat in the name of his late father or mother. They do not consider any more remote ancestors deserving of any propitiation. When they make an offering of food to the dead they throw a morsel on the ground. They do not appeal to any deity when eating. They believe in the local gods (*dih*) which live in the tree over the village shrine (*mārar*). They respect the house and will not bathe inside it. They will not touch the threshold on entering or coming out. When there is small-pox or cholera in a Korwa village, the Baiga makes a daily burnt offering with sugar and butter. When cholera appears, he goes to the village gods and says—"If you remove this pestilence, we will do extra worship to you." In cases of fever, which are regarded as of demoniacal origin, the Baiga prays to the local gods and prescribes a decoction of various jungle roots for the patient. Thursday and Friday are their lucky days, and the north and east the auspicious quarters of the sky. When a snake hisses rain is near; when the bees swarm it is an omen of good rain, but when they abandon their hive famine may be expected. Their only oath is to swear by their mothers, and this is the strongest oath which a Korwa can take. A man will not touch the wife of his younger brother or his sister. They sow, if possible, on the first Friday in Asārh. At sowing time the Baiga first makes an offering of butter and molasses in his field, and he is paid to make a similar offering at the village shrine (*mārar*). They count the new year from the beginning of February (Phālgun), when they give the Baiga a sieve full of grain, a contribution known as *kharwan*.

13. They will not eat the flesh of the snake, tiger, hyæna, jackal, iguana, tortoise, house lizard, and similar animals. Among birds they do not eat the
- Food and social cus-
toms.

¹ See *Majhudê*, para. 45.