

vulture. They will not eat locusts. They will eat the flesh of the bear, monkey, pig, ox, buffalo, and all kinds of deer. They also on occasions eat carrion. They use liquor, hemp, and tobacco as intoxicants, but not *gánja*. Liquor they believe keeps off malaria. Most of their food is, however, jungle products, such as the *makua* (*Bassia latifolia*), the *piyár* (*Buchanania latifolia*), the *tend* (*Diospyros ebenum*), *sarai* (*Boswellia thurifera*), *ber* (*Agle marmelos*). They also eat a number of seeds, leaves, stems, roots, and fungi, some of which are bitter or poisonous and require special treatment to make them wholesome.<sup>1</sup> Roots are dug with a special instrument called a *khanta* or "digger," which every Korwa carries.<sup>2</sup> It consists of a stick, on the end of which is fastened a long iron spike. They procure what they want in the way of food by exchanging forest products, such as *bahera* (*myrobalan*), lac, silk cocoons, and various jungle dyes and seeds. The young salute the elders by *páclagi* or bending the left hand on the hollow of the right elbow: the right hand is then lifted up to the face with the word *páclagi*, "I touch your feet," in reply to which the senior says "*Jiyo pátá!*" "Live long, my son!" They are considered so degraded that they will eat and smoke with Doms. The clothes of both sexes are disgracefully scanty. But the women wear brass rings (*churla*) on the arms and pewter anklets (*pairi*). A few have now taken to working as ploughmen, but as a rule they pick up their living as best they can in the jungle and practically do no cultivation. The women are worked hard and roughly used at times. The tribe certainly does not do any iron work, as would seem to be the case in Bengal.<sup>3</sup> They are very expert in the use of the axe (*lángi*, *bhatua*), and some can shoot fairly well at short distances with the bow and arrow. They are also expert in making fire by the friction of two pieces of dry bamboos. They smoke tobacco out of leaf pipes made of the leaves of the *sál* (*Shorea robusta*).<sup>4</sup> The Korwas, on the whole, are much the most primitive and miserable tribe to be found in these Provinces.

<sup>1</sup> A full list of jungle products used by the Dravidian tribes is given by Dr. Ball in *Jungle Life*, 695 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> This is exactly like the *gadaha* or *gahdal* which Mr. Neesfield, *Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI, 23, describes as the distinctive weapon of the Musahars, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I. 512.

<sup>4</sup> Of some of these pipes recently sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, Mr. Dalfour writes that he smoked one nine times, and that it drew excellently and was little burnt.

**Kotwâr.**—(*Kotwâl*, "the keeper of a castle.")—A small tribe containing only 97 persons recorded at the last Census only in the Mirzapur District. In Bengal the term is applied to a special tribe of village watchmen.<sup>1</sup> In the Central Provinces it is the name of one of the sections of the Halba Gonds.<sup>2</sup> In Mirzapur the name is only an occupational term applied to the Pankas (*q. v.*), in relation to their duty as watchmen.

**Kunera, Kundera.**—(Sanskrit *kunda-kāra*, "a bowl-maker.")—A caste of village turners found along the Rîwa border in the Mirzapur District. Their business is making on the lathe the stems of tobacco pipes (*hugga*) out of the wood of the acacia catechu (*Khair*). They are evidently closely allied to the Kharâdi (*q. v.*). They do not appear in the Census lists. They say that they were originally Bais Râjputs, and were driven by the tyranny of some conqueror to take to their present occupation. They are endogamous and say that they do not intermarry with a family with whom they have a previous connection by marriage until eight generations have passed or all knowledge of the connection has disappeared.

**Kumhâr, Kumbhâr.**—To the east of the Province, *Kohâr*; *Konhâr*.<sup>3</sup> (Sanskrit *kumbha-kāra*, "a maker of jars.")—The caste of potters. There are various traditions of their origin. According to the Brâhmana-vaivarta Purâna they are born of a Vaisya woman by a Brâhman father; the Parâsara Sanhita makes the father a Mâlakâra or gardener and the mother a Chamâr; while the Parâsara Padhati holds that the ancestor of the caste was begotten of a Teli woman by a Pattikâra or weaver of silk cloth. Sir Monier Williams, again, in his Sanskrit Dictionary describes them as the offspring of a Kshatriya woman by a Brâhman.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, this respectable lineage is claimed by only one sub-caste, the Chauhâniya Misr. According to a Bengal story, a water jar was wanted at the marriage of Siva, and as no one knew how to make one, the god took a bead from his necklace and created a potter out of it; while with a second he made a woman, who became the potter's wife. By a legend current in these Provinces

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 515.

<sup>2</sup> Howitt, *Râjpur Settlement Report*, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Sayyad Ali, Bahadur, Deputy Collector, Partâgarh, and Mr. W. H. O'N. Segrave, District Superintendent, Police, Basti.

<sup>4</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 518.

the progenitor of the caste was one Kopa Bhagat, a Rishi, who was ordered by Parameswar to make earthen vessels. One day he put some vessels into his kiln, and it so happened that in one of them a cat had given birth to kittens. In those days it used to take a full year to make earthen pots; but by the prayers of the saint the pots were baked in a single day, and the kittens came out safe and sound. This happened on the Sakat chauth or birth-day of Ganesa; and since then, in honour of this event, Kumhârs will not load their kilns on that day. This Kopa Bhagat is said to have lived at Jagannâth, and hence Kumhârs regard it as their head-quarters. Another account is that in old days people used to work up the clay for pots with their spittle, and Parameswar, deeming this unclean, revealed the secret of the wheel. That the trade is an ancient one is shown by the fact that earthen vessels are mentioned in the Rig Veda.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Kumhârs of these Provinces are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes. The last Census enumeration classes them under the main heads of Bardiya or Bardiha, Bardhiya or Bardhiha, "those who convey their clay on oxen" (*barda, bardha*); Chakbais, or "the Bais of the wheel" (*châk*), who claim kindred with the famous Râjput sept of that name; the Gadherê who carry their clay on asses (*gadhê*); the Gola who make round (*gol*) vessels, or who, according to another account, are of impure blood; the Kanaujiya from Kanauj; Kasgar or Kûzagar, "makers of goblets" (*kaa, kûza*), who are usually Muhammadans; Mahar; and Mathuriya, "those from Mathura." This, however, does not exhaust the catalogue. Thus, in Mirzapur we find, in addition to the Bardiha or Bardhiha, the Kanaujiya and the Gadhilaha or Gadhaiya already referred to; the Suariha or Suariya, who keep pigs (*sûar*) and are the lowest of all; the Churiha or Churiya, who are so-called because their women wear glass bangles (*chûri*), instead of the ordinary metal bracelet (*mdlhi*); and the Athariya or Athariha, who are said to be so-called because they use vessels of the shape of the Muhammadan *sahnaki*, of which the local name is *alkâri*. In Benares Mr. Sherring adds the Hatheliya, who take their name from the handle (*hatheli*) with which the wheel is turned; the Kastora, who are the same as the Kasgar and

<sup>1</sup> Rajendralâla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, I, 274.



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make water goblets (*surdhi*); cups, plates, tobacco pipe bowls of the *madāri* shape, and the ordinary pipe bowl (*chilam*); and the Chauhāniya Misr, who claim descent from Chauhān Rājputs and Misr Brāhmans. In the Central Duāb we find, in addition to the Mathuriya and Gola, who work by wheel, the Parodiya, who are moulders of toys. In Partābgari are found the Bardiya, the Puriya or Purabiya or "Easterus," the Agarwāla, who follow the name of the well-known Banya sub-caste, and the Pahāriya or hill men. In Basti are the Dakkhināha or "Southerners," the Chamariya, who have something to say to Chamārs, the Bardiha, the Kanaujiya, the Tikuliya, who make the forehead spangles (*tikuli*) worn by women, and the Kasgar. In Agra are the Bardhiya and Gadhwār, which latter corresponds to the Gadhaiya already mentioned. The complete lists give no less than 773 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 52 of the Muhammadan branch. Those of most local importance are the Badalna and Mehra of Sahāranpur; the Baheliya, Baresra, Bharatduāri, and Desi of Bulandshahr; the Bidaniya and Chakhri of Agra; the Dilliwal of Bareilly; the Baheliya of Budāun; the Gaur of Morādābād; the Gadhila of Shāhjahānpur; the Bakhri, Chakhri, and Pundir of Bānda; the Kasauncha of Jaunpur; the Ajudhyabāsi, Beikhariya, Dakkhināha, Desi, and Sarwariya of Gorakhpur; the Birhariya and Dakkhināha of Basti; the Bahrāichiya and Daryābādi of Bahrāich; and the Rāmpuriya of Gonda.

3. All these sub-castes are endogamous. Their rules of exogamy do not appear to be very strictly defined.

Marriage rules.

To the East they generally follow the standard formula—*chachera*, *mamera*, *phuphera*, *mausera*, which bats the line of the paternal and maternal aunt and uncle as long as any recollection of relationship prevails. From Bareilly it is reported that they marry in their own sub-caste, but not in the families of relatives or strangers. In other places, again, this clannish habit of the Kumhārs is noticed, and it would seem that there is a tendency to marry in the families of neighbours and acquaintances. There is no trace, as far as can be ascertained, of the exogamous, totemistic sections found by Mr. Risley in Bengal. They generally practise monogamy; but a second wife may be taken with the permission of the tribal council if the first be barren. Marriage is both infant and adult, the former being invariably adopted by any one who can afford it. The actual ceremony is

performed in the way common to the castes of the same grade which has been already described. The respectable form is *byāh* or *charhaua*, the second *dolu*, and the *sagāi* or *kāj* or *kardo* for widows. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed on the usual conditions.

4. The ceremonies at birth and death present no feature of interest. Those who are Hindus cremate, and those who are Muhammadans bury their dead. When a man wishes to separate from his wife or *vice versa*, they appear before the council, and whichever desires a separation, breaks a tile before the other with his or her foot.

5. The Kumhārs are mostly Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any of the recognised sects. To the east of the province their deities are the Pānchōnpīr, Bhawāni, the village godlings (*deohār*), and Hardiya or Hardiha. He who is properly the deity who presides over cholera, Hardaul or Hardaur Lāla, has become among them a household godling with much the same functions as the Dulha Deo of the Dravidian races. He is worshipped in the months of Kārttik and Baisākh in the light fortnight with an offering of a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*) dyed with turmeric, two saucers full of rice with a piece of coarse sugar in each, some betel and areca nut (*pān supāri*), catechu (*khair*), cardamoms (*ildohi*), and cloves (*laung*). The worshipper puts on the loin-cloths and his family eat the offering. Nearly every house has some sort of family shrine dedicated to this deity. The Pānchōnpīr receive an offering of cakes (*pūri*) and sweetmeats (*halwa*) on the tenth day of the months Kuār and Baisākh. They are also, when sickness or other serious trouble comes, propitiated by the sacrifice of a goat, of which the head goes to the Dafāli or hedge priest and the rest of the meat is cooked then and there and eaten by the worshipper and his relations and friends. A young pig, cakes (*pūri*), and sweetmeats (*halwa*) constitute the offering to Bhawāni, and she also receives by deputy through the worshipper, who himself wears it in her honour, a coloured loin-cloth at the Naurātra of Chait. Brāhmins do little for them, except fixing the lucky days for marriages and the commencement of other business, and their place at marriages and cremations is taken by the family barber. But, as in most of these tribes who hold rather a low rank in the social scale, there is a tendency to secure, if possible, a rise in the world, and this can be most easily



done by shedding off low customs like widow marriage and the like, and accepting the services of a Brāhman priest. Hardly any have as yet risen to the performance of a regular *siddha*; but some of them offer sacred balls (*pinda*) and pour water on the ground in honour of the sainted dead in the holy fortnight (*pitra paksha*) of Kuār. When a child is born, during a small-pox epidemic and in the month of Chait, women worship Sitala or Māta. The Kumhārs are, as the keepers of Sitala's vehicle, the donkey, much addicted to this worship. They also, as we have seen in the case of the Agarwāla Banyas, bring their donkeys for use in the marriage ceremony. The potter's wheel (*chak*) is looked on by them as a sort of fetish, and is worshipped as a representation either of Krishna or of Prajapati, being the emblem of reproduction. In many places Kopa Bhagat, the tribal saint, is worshipped under the title of Baré Parukh, or "the great old man." This worship is mostly done by women, and his offering consists of bread, rice, and some *urad* pulse. In Basti they have a collection of local deities - Samai, Devi, Kālī, the village godlings (*dih*), Bhawāni, Chamariya, Korhaniya, and the Pānchonpīr. Samai is a jungle goddess like Bausapti Māi, who is worshipped with blood sacrifices. At the last Census 37,584 recorded themselves as her worshippers. All these, except the Pānchonpīr, are worshipped with sacrifices of pigs, goats, and buffaloes, and with cakes, betel, and flowers. They are generally worshipped at the Naurātra or the nine days of the waxing moon in the month of Kuār. The objects of worship are consumed by the worshipper and his relations and friends. All the above mentioned things are offered to the Pānchonpīr, except the pigs. They employ Brāhmans only in the worship of Kālī when a fire offering (*homa*) is made to the goddess.

6. A very complete and interesting account of the Panjāb Kumhārs and their industries has been given in the "Monograph on the pottery and glass industries" of that Province compiled by Mr. C. J. Halifax, C.S. The Kumhār of the plains is represented in Garhwāl by the Pajai, some of whom come from the plain country, but some of whom are indigenous HandKiya or vessel-making (*hānri-karna*) Doms. In the Panjāb he is more often called Gumiyaṛ. Mr. Ibbetson describes him as "true village menial, receiving customary dues, in exchange for which he supplies all earthen vessels needed for household use, and the earthenware pots used in the Persian

wheel, wherever that form of well gear is in vogue. He also, alone of all the Panjâb castes, keeps donkeys, and it is his business to carry grain within the village area, and to bring to the village grain bought elsewhere by his clients for seed or food. But he will not carry grain out of the village without payment. He is the petty carrier of the villages and towns, in which latter he is employed to carry dust, manure, fuel, bricks, and the like. His social standing is very low, far below that of the Lohâr and not very much above that of the Chamâr; for his hereditary association with that impure beast, the donkey, the animal sacred to Sîtala, the small-pox goddess, pollutes him, as also his readiness to carry manure and sweepings. He is also the brick-burner of the Panjâb, and he alone understands the working of kilns, and it is in the burning of pots and bricks that he comes in contact with manure, which constitutes his fuel." As he cannot make pots during the rainy season, he is obliged to take to some other form of day labour, such as working as a carrier, plasterer, etc. At the same time it must be remembered that he deals only with the purer forms of manure, such as cowdung, road sweepings, and the like, and has no connection with ordure. In some of our towns such as Lucknow, Chunâr, and Azamgarh, he makes various kinds of ornamental pottery, toys, images of the gods, and the like. Only the Suariya sub-caste keep pigs and eat pork. The others eat mutton and goat flesh and all fish, except the river shark (*gūnch*). In these Provinces their social status is very low. One reason assigned for this is that he is a kind of butcher, because he cuts the throats of his pots as he takes them from his wheel. "Had they cut human throats," drily remarks Dr. Buchanan, "they would probably have attained a higher station." They profess not to eat food cooked by any caste but themselves; but this rule does not apply to the women and children. In the villages many have taken to agricultural work. Mr. Halifax calculates that in the Panjâb only one-third or one-fourth of the Kumbhars actually work at the pottery trade, and the proportion is probably not much higher in these Provinces. They are a quiet, respectable, industrious people, and seldom come before our courts.



*Distribution of Kumhars according to the Census of 1891.*

District.	Bardha.	Chakbais.	Gaderi.	Gola.	Kamaujya.	Kasgar.	Nahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muhama- nadaus.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . . . .	14	1	...	485	...	...	...	..	874	...	1,324
Saharanpur . . . . .	1,886	...	...	.	...	94	6,025	...	5,904	936	15,445
Muzaffarnagar . . . . .	...	...	...	8,548	3	58	4,329	...	954	1,148	15,040
Meerut . . . . .	...	...	...	22,909	...	869	562	...	2,277	1,111	27,738
Bulandshahr . . . . .	...	...	...	4,214	...	319	45	30	11,079	591	16,878
Aligarh . . . . .	...	...	244	4,491	...	...	...	...	11,742	42	16,519
Mathura . . . . .	...	...	511	7,114	...	...	190	191	2,795	5	10,806
Agra . . . . .	1,256	3,972	5,568	3,476	...	...	10	132	1,724	...	16,188
Farrukhabad . . . . .	7,169	214	91	288	11	...	83	41	135	1	8,033
Mainpuri . . . . .	4,269	...	3,835	415	...	...	203	3	1,726	18	10,469
Etawah . . . . .	9,597	345	312	11	5	3	...	...	614	121	11,008
Etah . . . . .	...	40	1,632	7,090	...	...	...	297	1,430	37	10,526

*Distribution of Kumhars according to the Census of 1891—continued.*

Distric.	Bardha.	Chakbels.	Gadch.	Gola.	Kanaujya.	Kargar.	Mahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muham- madas.	Total.
Bareilly	131	..	100	7,454	..	..	..	1,602	1,289	57	10,633
Bijnor	..	..	..	3,768	..	40	7,255	..	557	2,550	14,170
Budaun	67	..	..	6,960	655	28	..	107	3,610	40	11,467
Moradabad	..	..	..	20,108	..	6	393	392	2,307	487	23,673
Shahjahanpur	7,626	65	..	834	23	12	27	70	1,325	1	9,933
Pilibhit	3,881	..	155	667	..	56	..	..	708	115	5,532
Cawnpur	7,947	6,227	..	..	38	4	..	7	850	..	15,073
Fatehpur	2,040	7,339	..	..	38	..	..	..	555	50	10,622
Banda	309	16,120	19	11	2	..	..	..	2,626	..	19,097
Hamirpur	848	4,854	11	..	..	..	..	..	10,768	..	16,481
Allahabad	16,121	1,686	..	..	4,565	85	..	..	3,468	117	26,042
Jhansi	3,733	..	2,179	..	..	..	..	..	898	..	6,810
Jalaun	6,627	30	654	..	..	13	..	54	889	..	8,213

[illegible]

*Distribution of Kumhars according to the Census of 1891—concluded.*

Division.	Barilla.	Chakbais.	Gaŕri.	Gola.	Kanaujya.	Kasgar.	Mahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muhams- maddas.	Total.
Kheri . . . . .	7,295	331	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	16	7,688
Faizabad . . . . .	12,710	1,280	...	...	7,824	65	...	...	1,010	97	22,986
Gonda . . . . .	15,458	321	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,048	244	18,071
Bahrich . . . . .	5,060	259	...	...	10	..	20	...	5,204	238	10,791
Sultānpur . . . . .	12,107	1,528	...	...	2,086	...	...	...	1,831	138	17,630
Parāibgarh . . . . .	9,612	823	...	...	228	...	...	...	789	...	11,522
Bāmbanki . . . . .	6,870	221	...	...	155	...	...	...	3,764	505	11,516
TOTAL	217,810	53,995	15,358	100,499	169,116	1,670	19,857	2,967	118,533	10,189	712,994

**Kunjra.**—(Sanskrit *kunj*, "a bower, an arbour".)—The caste of greengrocers, who sell country vegetables and fruits. They are also known as Mewa-farosh, Sabz-farosh, or Sabzi-farosh. In Lucknow<sup>1</sup> the castes who usually deal in country vegetables and fruits are Kunjras, Kabāris, or Kabariyas (who more generally correspond to our marine store dealers and are dealers in all kinds of second-hand rubbish) and Khatiks. "These persons buy vegetables daily in the marts (*maadi*), to which they are brought by Murāos, Kāchhis, and others who are occupied in market gardening. They buy country fruit in the various seasons in the same way. Others buy up produce of fields, sugarcane, potatoes, onions, and other vegetables, store onions, potatoes, and other tubers for seed and for sale when the market is dear." Others deal in fruit imported by Kābuli merchants. The Kunjra is returned in that name only in the east of the Panjāb, and probably in other parts of the Province it is more usual to call him Arain or Bāghbān.<sup>2</sup> In some parts of Bengal the term Kunjra is used in an abusive sense, and they call themselves Mewa-farosh, Sabz-farosh, or Bepāri.

2. In Mirzapur they have two endogamous local sub-divisions—  
 Tribal organisation and marriage rules. the Kalkatiya, "those of Calcutta," and the Mirzapuriya. The complete Census returns show 94 sections of the normal type—some local, as Gorakhpuri, Jaiswāra, Jaunpuriya, Kashmīri, Kolapuri, Purabiya, Sarwariya, Uttarāha; others occupational, as Bāghwān, "gardeners," Kabariya, "general dealers," Mewa-farosh, "fruit sellers," Sabzi-farosh "greengrocers," Tambākuwāla, "tobacco men"; others are derived from well-known castes, as Bhūinhāri, Chaubān, Kahariya, Lodhi, Mehtariya, Rājput. They appear to be broken up into groups which habitually eat and smoke together, and with these they intermarry. Their rule of exogamy is that they will not marry any one with whom a direct relationship can be traced, but the recollection does not go beyond two or three generations. They can marry the daughter of a maternal uncle, but not of a father's sister. All marriages are made among families residing in the same locality. Polygamy is allowed, and a man may marry two sisters; but in the case of second marriages in the lifetime of the first wife, the permission of the tribal council must be obtained. Marriage usually

<sup>1</sup> Hooy, *Monograph on Trades and Manufacture*, 149, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ibbotson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, 301.

takes place at the age of twelve or fourteen. The regular form of marriage is known as *charhauwa*, of which the binding portion is the recital of the Muhammadan *sharab*. Widows can marry by the *sagāi* form, and the levirate generally prevails. Divorce of the husband by the wife is practically unknown: a man may divorce his wife by leave of the council for unchastity. If her paramour be a member of another tribe, she is permanently excluded from caste: if of her own tribe, she can re-marry by the *sagāi* form.

3. Kunjras are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. Their clan

Religion.

deities are Ghāzi Miyān and the Pānchopīr. To the former they offer sweetmeats and garlands of flowers on the first Sunday in the month of Jeth; and to the latter the fruit of the *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*), sweetmeats, and *sharbat*. They bury their dead in the recognised Imām-bāra. On the day of the 'Id they offer vermicelli (*sonwāi*, *siwaiyān*) and milk, and on the Shab-i-bārāt *hulwa* sweetmeats and bread to the souls of the dead.

4. In the cities their women have an equivocal reputation, as the

Social status.

better looking girls who sit in the shops are said to use considerable freedom of manners to attract customers. They drink liquor and eat beef, mutton, goat's flesh, fowls, and fish. They will not eat the leavings of any other caste. They eat and smoke with all Muhammadans except Mehtars. Doms alone will eat food touched by them. Some now practise cultivating like the Kāchhi and Koeri tribes, with whom they are very closely allied, and are an industrious, well-conducted class of people.

X **Kurmi, Kunbi.**<sup>1</sup>—A very important cultivating caste widely distributed throughout the Province. Various derivations have been proposed for the name. Some take it to be derived from Sanskrit *kutumba*, "family," others from Sanskrit *krishi*, "cultivation"; others from *kurma*, the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu, either because it supports the earth or because it is worshipped by this and some of the allied agricultural castes, or because it may have been the tribal totem. The Western Kurmis have a vague tradition that they are descended from, and named after, the Kauravas of the great Mahābhārata war.<sup>2</sup> Recently some Kurmis in these

<sup>1</sup> Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Bādeo Sahāy, Head Master, High School, Farrukhābād; Mr. W. H. O' N. Segrave, District Superintendent, Police, Basti; Pandit Baldeo Prasad, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Oppert connects them with the Dravidian Kurumbas or Kudumbas.



Provinces have claimed Brāhmanical origin and the right of investiture with the sacred cord.

2. Regarding the origin of the tribe there has been considerable discussion. At least in these Provinces they have no tangible traditions which are of any service in ascertaining the origin of the caste. Dr. Buchanan asserts a connection between the Gorakhpur Thārus and the Kurmis,<sup>1</sup> but this rests on no satisfactory evidence. Colonel Dalton<sup>2</sup> regards the Kurmis of Bihār as some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal, a brown tawny-coloured people, of average height, well-proportioned, rather lightly framed, and with a fair amount of good looks. They show well-shaped heads and high features, less refined than Brāhmans, less martial than Rājputs, of humbler mien even than the Goālas; but, except when they have obviously intermixed with aborigines, they are unquestionably Aryan in looks. Grey eyes and brownish hair are sometimes met with among them. The women have usually small and well-formed hands and feet.

3. On this Mr. Risley<sup>3</sup> comments:—"The foregoing description clearly refers only to the Kurmis of Bihār, who are on the whole a fine-looking race, though perhaps hardly so Aryan in appearance as Colonel Dalton seeks to make out. The caste bearing the same name in Chota Nāgpur and Orissa belongs to an entirely different type. Short, sturdy, and of very dark complexion, these Kurmis closely resemble in feature the Dravidian tribes around them. In Manbhūm and the north of Orissa it is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhūmij or a Santāl, and the latter tribe, who are more particular about food than is commonly supposed, will eat boiled rice prepared by Kurmis, and, according to one tradition, regard them as half brethren of their own, sprung from the same father, who begot Kurmis on the elder and the Santāls on the younger of two sisters. The question then arises—Are these Kurmis a degraded branch of the Kurmis of Bihār and Upper India, or

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern India*, II., 469.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive Ethnology*, 320.

<sup>3</sup> *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I., 520. On the other hand, Mr. O'Donnell writes:—"The statistics indicate very clearly, when read along with the similar figures for Bihār, the ethnic origin of the Bauri, Dom, Dusādh, Rajwār, Koori, and Kurmi. They are Dravidians of the full blood, with a small admixture of Mongoloid admixture in both Bihār and Western Bengal. It is very doubtful if they have been in any way affected by contact with the Aryan."—*Census Report*, 175.

should they be treated as a separate caste formed out of Dravidian elements and owing their name to the accident of their having devoted themselves exclusively to cultivation? Colonel Dalton does not distinctly commit himself to either view; but it is clear from his account of the caste that he was conscious of the difficulty, and was on the whole inclined to dispose of it by the hypothesis of degradation. This theory, however, fails entirely to account for either the remarkably uniform type of the Chota Nāgpur Kurmis or for their totemistic usages. The latter point, however, appears to have been unknown to Colonel Dalton, and might possibly have induced him to change his opinion. Three hypotheses seem to be more or less tenable—(1) that the class Kurmi is made up of two distinct stocks, the one Aryan and the other Dravidian; (2) that the entire group comes of an Aryan stock, the type of which has been modified to a varying extent by mixture of blood and vicissitudes of occupation; (3) that the entire group was originally Dravidian, but that those portions of it which lay in the way of the Aryan invasion were refined by intercourse with the immigrants, while those settled in remote parts of the country preserved their primitive type."

4. The question can be settled only by the evidence of anthropometry, which has hardly advanced sufficiently to enable the matter to be settled. Most observers in these Provinces will be inclined to believe with Mr. Risley that the signs of so-called Aryan origin in the Kurmis are not so clear as Colonel Dalton found to be the case in Bihār. But with a tribe so widely spread, and so exposed to varied influence, as the Kurmi, such a divergence in physical type is only to be expected. On the whole, perhaps it is safest, for the present to regard them as an occupational caste from which has, at various times, diverged a series of kindred castes, such as the Koeri, Kāchhi, Saini, Māli, and others connected with the higher forms of husbandry.

5. At the last Census the Kurmis were enumerated in eleven main endogamous bodies or sub-castes—  
 Internal structure.      Baiśwār; Bardiha ("bullock-men"—*bardh*, *bardh*, "an ox"); Gangapāri ("residents beyond the Ganges"); Gujarāti ("residents of Gūjarāt"); Jaiswār ("residents of the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District"); Kanaujiya ("residents of Kanauj"); Kharêbind or "pure" Binds, which is a well-known division of the Bind tribe; Patariha, or Patthariha, "stone men"; Rârîh; Sainthwâr or Saithwâr, who appear to take their name from

the *sentha* (*Saccharum sara*), a sort of reed grass, from the stalks of which chairs and stools are made; Singraur, who assert some connection with the Pargana of Singrauli in the Mirzapur District. Besides these, there is in the Azamgarh District the caste of Mals, who are apparently closely allied to the Kurmis. In Mirzapur we have the Jaiswâr; Chanan or Chanau; Patanwâr or "residents of Patna"; Sandhauwa or "washers of hemp" (*san-dhona*); the Patthariya, or workers in, and sellers of, stone, and the Athariya. In Farrukhâbâd are found the Kanaujiya; Kathiyâr; Gangwâr or Gangapâri; Jaiswâr; Sachân; and Bota. In Râê Bareli are the Kanaujiya; Gûjarâti; Chhappariya ("makers of thatches"); Patthariya; Khapribandh or "tilers"; Lakariya, "workers in wood," and Jaiswâr. In Gorakhpur are found the Patanwâr; Saithwâr, whom Dr. Buchanan identifies with the Ajudhiyas of Bihâr, who claim there to be of the highest dignity and the purest blood and are usually cultivators, while in Bengal they often enlist in the native army or serve as constables;<sup>1</sup> the Chanau; Dhelphora or "clod-breakers" (*dhela-phora*); Sankatwa or Sankata, "hemp-weavers" (*san-kâtwa*); and Audhiya of Ajudhya. In Cawnpur are the Sachân; Katwâr; Umrân; Bhandâri, "store-keepers"; Kanaujiya; and Patariya or Patthariya. In Kheri their sub-castes are Kanaujiya; Thakuriya; Kachhwâha; Haridwâra; Manwa; Jaiswâr; and Kori. The strongest sub-caste in Oudh is the Jaiswâr, who trace their origin to Kanauj, whence they say they were driven five hundred years ago by famine. In Gorakhpur they are divided into Kanaujiya; Bâhmaniya; Goyit; and Jaruhâr. In Râê Bareli the Kharêbind sub-caste is in some way closely connected with the Bais Râjputs. The sub-castes in Azamgarh<sup>2</sup> are Audhiya; Dhilphora or Dhelphora; Jaiswâr; Sankata; Sainthwâr; and Mal, who consider themselves superior, and regarding them it is said *Banal Mal, bigaral Kunbi*—"When the Mal thrives, the Kunbi fails." Mr. Sherring<sup>3</sup> gives their sub-castes in Benares—Kanaujiya; Hardiya or "growers of turmeric" (*hardi*); Illahâbâdi, "residents of Allahâbâd"; Brajbâsi, from Braj or Mathura; Kori, which is the name of a distinct tribe; Purbiba or Purbiya, "those of the East"; and Dakkhinâha, "those from the South."

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Settlement Report*, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Hindu Castes*, I., 326

6. The complete census lists give 1,488 sub-divisions, of which those locally most important are the Gaharwar, Kathiyâr, and Lohât of Farrukhâbâd; the Jâdon, Jadua and Kathiyâr of Bareilly; the Jâdon of Pilibhît; the Katwâr, Sunwân, and Uttarâha of Cawnpur; the Andhâr, Karjwa, Sahjan, Singraul, Uttarâha, and Uttam of Fatehpur; the Bargaiyân, Chandel, Chandpurha, and Chandrâwal of Bânda; the Simmal and Usrehti of Hamîrpur; the Chandel, Chandaur, Chandrâwal, Jariya, Jhamaiya, Karjwa, Sakarwâr, and Singraul of Allahâbâd; the Usrehti of Jhânsi; the Bhukarsî, Mahesri, and Usrehti of Jâlaun; the Usrehti of Lalitpur; the Uttarâha of Benares; the Gondal of Mirzapur; the Jhura of Ghâzipur; the Dhelaphor of Ballia; the Akrethiya, Audhiya, Bathma, Birtiya, Chandaur, Dhelaphor, Naipâli and Tarmala of Gorakhpur; the Samsoil of Basti; the Dhelaphor, Dhindhwâr, and Uttarâha of Azamgarh; the Jâdon of the Tarâi; the Bhûr of Râê Bareli; the Bâchhal, Gangwâr, and Kutwâr of Sitapur; the Mewâr and Sankhwâr of Kheri; the Samâna and Samsoil of Gonda; the Khawâs of Bahrâich; the Birtiya of Sultânpur; and the Chaudhari, Kairâti, and Râwat of Bârabanki.

7. Their immigration to Cawnpur<sup>1</sup> must have followed that of the Thâkurs and Maliks because they occupied most inferior lands. One branch of them is called Jhamaiya, after a Faqîr, Jhâmbaji, who, about five hundred years ago, attracted persons of various castes, Banyas, Ahîrs, Kurmis, etc., to become his followers. As these partook of his food, they were expelled from their own caste. Many of their customs are more Musalmân than Hindu, *e.g.*, till seventy years ago they buried and did not burn their dead; certain mosques are attributed to them, and they marry among themselves, having regard only to nearness of relationship. There is a shrine in Maswânpur, Pargana Jajmau, where one of their notables is worshipped, more, it is said, with Musalmân than Hindu rites. They are curiously reticent about their origin and customs.

8. There appears to be no trace in these Provinces of the elaborate system of totemistic sections which  
 Marriage rules. are found in Chota Nâgpur. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley, "the section names are titular, and the tendency is to discard the primitive rule of exogamy in favour of

<sup>1</sup> Settlement Report, 26, sqq.

the more modern system of reckoning prohibited degrees by the formula of certain prohibited sections (*mūl*). Where the section rule is in force, it is usually held that a man may not marry a woman of his own section, or of the sections to which his mother and his paternal and maternal grandmothers belonged. These facts tell in favour of the theory that all Kurmis are derived from a Dravidian stock; for if the Bihâr Kurmis had been originally Aryans, they could have had no motive for discarding their original section-names; whereas a Dravidian tribe, intimately associated with Aryans and subjected to Aryan influences, would certainly be anxious to cast off totemistic designations, which would serve only as a badge of social inferiority. It should be observed, moreover, that even in Bihâr the Kurmis have not risen high enough to establish a claim to use the Brâhmanical *gotras*, and have had to content themselves with a titular series of names; while in Bengal they are excluded, on the ground of their Dravidian descent, from the group of castes from whose hands a Brâhman can take water." To the east of these Provinces the Kurmis practise a law of exogamy, under which marriage is prohibited with the family of the maternal uncle for five generations; with the family of the father's sister for the same number of generations; in their own family (*kul*) for as long as they can remember relationship. As in many of the castes of the same social grade, there is a strong prejudice against entering into a marriage engagement with a family with whom there has been no previous alliance or connection. From Farrukhâbâd it is stated that marriages still take place between the Kathiyâr and Bota sections, and that the rule of exogamy is that a man must not marry a blood relation on the father's or mother's side. In Cawnpur the rule is said to be that a man cannot marry in a family which is known to have a common ancestor with him; nor in the family of his father's sister or mother's brother; he cannot marry two sisters at the same time, but he may marry the sister of his deceased wife.

9. Polygamy is allowed, and practically a man may have as many wives as he can afford to keep; but there seems to be an increasing prejudice against the practice, and among some of the sub-castes there appears to be an advancing tendency to the adoption of the rule that a man should not marry again while his first wife is alive unless she is barren or incurably diseased. There is a preference for infant marriage where the parents can afford it, and

in any case it is considered disgraceful to keep a girl unmarried after she has become nubile. There is no regular system of paying for either the bride or bridegroom; but it is understood that her parents should give the bride a dowry to the best of their ability. A faithless wife can be divorced with the assent of the brethren, and, indeed, when adultery is notorious, it is incumbent on the husband to put her away. To the east of the Province at least a clear distinction is drawn between an immoral connection with a clansman and a stranger. In the former case, the divorced wife may marry again in the tribe by the *sagāi* form; in the latter case re-marriage in the tribe is forbidden. Widow marriage and the optional levirate, under the usual restriction that the elder brother of the late husband is barred, generally prevails; but even here there seems to be a progressing change in practice; to the East it seems to be generally allowed; of the Farrukhābād sub-castes the Kathiyārs and Gangwārs allow it; the Kanaujiyas have almost entirely put a stop to it; and a movement for its prohibition is in progress among the Kathiyārs. If the widow marry an outsider, the children and the property of the deceased husband pass to his brothers, who act as guardians of the children and provide for them out of their father's estate; but if the widow have a baby in arms, she usually takes it away to her new home, and there it passes into the family of her second husband.

10. There is nothing very peculiar in the marriage ritual. In Bihār they have a curious custom of tree marriage, of which Mr. Risley has given a full account; in these Provinces the only trace of this seems to be the rule that if the astrological signs portend that the bride may probably be left a widow, she is married to a *pīpal* tree before the regular ceremony comes off. In the marriage of virgin brides (*shādi*, *byāh*, *charhāna*) the binding parts of the ceremony are the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom by the father of the bride (*pāno pīja*); the giving away of the bride (*kanyādān*); the applying of red lead to the forehead of the girl (*sendārdān*).

11. The Kurmīs seem to be particularly sensitive regarding the birth pollution. The mother is regarded as impure for fifteen days after parturition, and, as among the lower castes, though the usual sixth and twelfth day ceremonies (*chhatthi*, *barahi*) are performed, she is still not allowed for some days to cook and join her family. When they adopt, a



brother's son is generally selected, and the only observance is the formal announcement of the fact at a tribal feast. They cremate their married dead, and bury the corpses of children and those who die of any epidemic disease. The death ritual is of the orthodox type, and they perform the *śrāddha*. To the east of the Province some go to Gaya for this purpose.

12. In religion they follow the rule of other Hindu castes of similar social standing. To the East their ceremonies are performed by Brāhmins of the Sarwariya tribe; further West by the Kanaujiyas. To the East they worship Mahābīr, Thākurji, Sītala. Mahābīr is worshipped on a Tuesday in Baisākh or Sāwan with sweetmeats (*laddu*), sweet bread (*rot*), gram (*ghughuri*), a Brāhmanical cord (*janu*), and a piece of cloth dyed with turmeric. Thākurji is worshipped in an oratory (*deoghār*) attached to each house in the latter half of the month of Kārtik. They offer to him rice, treacle, and a cloth dyed with turmeric, all of which are used by the worshippers. He also receives flowers and garlands. Sītala is worshipped on the seventh day of Asārh with an offering of cakes (*pūri*) and the *halwa* sweetmeat. In the Western Districts some few of them accept the *Guru mantra* or formula of initiation given by the spiritual preceptor. In Gorakhpur the household deity is Surdhir, who is worshipped by women in the month of Sāwan with the sacrifice of a young pig and rice boiled in milk (*khīr*). He is apparently the same as Sānwar or Kunwar Dhir, who, according to the last Census Report, is closely connected with the Pāñch-Pīr and worshipped with the assistance of a Dafāli. In Basti they worship Mahābīr and a household godling, Bābi Pīr. The offerings to the former are received by Brāhmins, Gusāins, and Mālis and those of the latter by Muhammadan faqīrs. In Cawnpur they appear to be chiefly worshippers of Devi.

13. Their social status is respectable. They will not eat *kachchi* even if cooked by a Brāhman who is not their Guru. The same rule applies to *pakki*. Some local Brāhmins will eat *pakki* from their hands, and the same is the case with respectable Kshatriyas. All other castes eat *pakki* from their hands without hesitation. In Farrukhābād it is reported that they will eat *pakki* from the hands of Kāyasths, *kachchi* of Brāhmins; they will drink from the vessels of Banyas, but will smoke only with members of their own caste. Rājputs will eat

*pakki* from them, and Nâis and Mâlis their *kachchi*, while the latter will drink water from their vessels. In Oudh<sup>1</sup> they have traditions of having been land-owners before the Râjput conquest, and Mr. Butts remarks that the same is the case in Lucknow, where "they do not seem to have been a low-caste tribe. They worshipped Mahâdeva. In the village of Gadiya he is still worshipped under the name of Kurmiyâni Nâth, or 'Lord of the Kurmi race,' and of late years a small temple has been erected in his honour. In the village of Tika is a tank at which, it is said, the Kurmi women used to commit *sati*." They very generally object to sow pepper and similar vegetables, which they regard to be the business of Kâchhis and Koeris. Many of them are Bhagats and will not eat meat or drink spirits; but some eat goat's flesh, mutton, and fish. They have a prejudice against eating the turnip.

14. They are about the most industrious and hard-working agricultural tribe in the Province. The industry of his wife has passed into a proverb—

*Bhâlî jât Kurmin, khurpi kâth,  
Khet nirâwê apan gî kê sâth.*

"A good lot is the Kurmi woman; she takes her spud and weeds the field with her lord."

Her interest in the welfare of the crop is expressed by—

*Ek pân jo barsê Swâti,  
Kurmin pahirê sonê kî pâti.*

"If only one shower fall in the asterism of Swâti, the Kurmi woman wears rings of gold."

At the same time he is in popular belief untrustworthy, and a Bihâr proverb quoted by Mr. Christian says—

*Patthal par jo jâmê ghurmi,  
Tabahân nân âpan hokhê Kurmi.*

"The tender creeper *ghurmi* will sooner grow into the stone than the Kurmi be true to you."

<sup>1</sup> Sitapur Settlement Report, 73; Lucknow Settlement Report, 138.

*Distribution of the Kurmis according to the Census of 1891.*

District.	Balewdr.	Bandha.	Gangapuri.	Gūjarāthi.	Jalesār.	Kanaujya.	Kharbūd.	Patādhā.	Rāth.	Sainthwār.	Singaur.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dūn	...	...	...	340	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	999	1,379
Sahāranpur	...	...	...	4	158	...	...	22	...	...	...	287	471
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	2	89	39	...	1	...	...	...	106	187
Meerūt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	111	...	...	...	2,242	2,353
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	67	67
Mathura	...	...	...	...	92	1	...	...	...	2	...	139	174
Agra	380	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	489	869
Farrukhābād	...	...	8,131	...	113	5,530	...	...	...	...	...	15,261	29,035
Mainpuri	...	...	...	...	16	152	...	...	...	...	...	149	317
Etāwah	...	...	225	...	59	1,641	...	...	...	...	...	249	2,174
Etah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	21
Bareilly	...	...	60,717	...	...	10,157	...	...	...	...	...	16,436	87,310

*Distribution of the Kurnis according to the Census of 1891* — continued.

[illegible]

[illegible]

*Distribution of the Kurmis according to the Census of 1891—concluded.*

Division.	Balewár.	Bardha.	Gangapári.	Gujaráti.	Jalewár.	Kanaujya.	Kharabind.	Patalha.	Barh.	Saithwár.	Singrauz.	Others.	Total.
Bahráich .	11	...	...	45,580	41,463	...	...	53	3,006	...	...	5,125	95,238
Sultánpur .	...	83	...	...	26,825	243	7,501	793	...	...	...	4,478	39,923
Partábgarh .	...	...	...	...	2,403	...	12,639	61,197	...	...	...	43,999	110,238
Rámbanki .	59,968	...	...	439	95,486	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,030	158,923
TOTAL .	98,660	6,615	127,447	95,205	649,215	117,365	23,931	234,971	3,007	98,922	26,433	524,486	2,005,657



**Kurwâr.**—A sub-caste of Banyas found only in Etah and the Districts of the Rohilkhand Division.

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

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Etah . . . . .	1,954	Morâdâbâd . . . . .	7
Bareilly . . . . .	471	Pilibhît . . . . .	22
Bodânn . . . . .	4,436	Sitapur . . . . .	14
		TOTAL . . . . .	6,904

**Kûta, Kûtamâli.**—A small caste found only in Bijnor, Morâdâbâd, Gorakhpur, and Bahrâich. They seem to take their name from *kûta*, *malua*, "to pound," as their occupation is husking rice.

*Distribution of the Kûtas according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Bijnor . . . . .	139	Gorakhpur . . . . .	530
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	3,009	Bahrâich . . . . .	351
		TOTAL . . . . .	4,029

## L

✓ **Lakhera** (*lāh* ; *lākh* ; Sanskrit *lakṣa-kāru*, "worker in lac") the caste which makes bangles and other articles of lac.—Of these Mr. Baillie<sup>1</sup> writes: "Entries for persons shown as of the caste of Lakhera, Kancher, Manihār, Chūrihār, and Potgar, appeared with such irregularity from different districts, that it was considered necessary to make enquiry on the subject. The result was that Lakheras and Kanchers have been combined ; but Manihārs, though probably identical, kept separate. ' The accounts given by members of the caste of their origin are very various and sometimes ingenious. One account is that, like the Patwas, with whom they are connected, they were originally Kāyasths. According to another account they were made from the dirt washed from Pārvati before her marriage with Siva, created by the god to make bangles for his wife, and hence called Deobansi. Again, it is stated, they were created by Krishna to make bangles for the Gopis. The most elaborate account of their origin given is that they were originally Yaduvānsi Rājputs, who assisted the Kurus to make a fort of lac, in which the Pāndavas were to be treacherously burned. For this treachery they were degraded and compelled eternally to work in lac or glass. They are in status ordinary low caste Hindus, permitting widow marriage and divorce, drinking wine, but not eating pork. They make forehead spangles (*tikulī*) as well as lac and glass bangles." In Bihār they are known as Lahera or Laheri, and Mr. Risley gives an account of them.<sup>2</sup>

*Distribution of Lakheras according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Farrukhābād . . .	31
Balāndshahr . . .	1	Mainpuri . . .	24
Mathura . . .	58	Etāwah . . .	182
Agra . . .	90	Etah . . .	7

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report, North Western Provinces, 1,321.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tribes and Castes.*

*Distribution of Lakheras according to the Census of 1891—concl.*

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Bareilly . . . .	57	Benares . . . .	143
Morādābād . . . .	1	Ghāzipur . . . .	1
Cawnpur . . . .	55	Gorakhpur . . . .	577
Bānda . . . .	111	Basti . . . .	87
Hamirpur . . . .	303	RAO Bareilly . . . .	223
Jhānsi . . . .	430	Gonda . . . .	348
Jālaun . . . .	374	Bahrāich . . . .	151
Lalitpur . . . .	242	Bārabanki . . . .	281
		TOTAL . . . .	3,378

Lālkhānī,<sup>1</sup>—a sept of Muhammadan Rājputs, who take their name from Lāl Khān, their chief.—The Census returns obviously underrate their numbers. They claim descent from Kunwar Pratāp Sinh, a Bargūjar Thākūr of Rajor in Rājputāna, who joined Prithivi Rāja of Delhi in his expedition against Mahoba. On his way thither, he assisted the Dor Rāja of Koil, or Aligarh, in reducing a rebellion of the Mīnas, and marrying the Rāja's daughter, received as his dowry one hundred and fifty villages near Pahāsu in Bulandshahr. The eleventh in descent from Pratāp Sinh was Lāl Sinh, who, though a Hindu, received from the Emperor Akbar the title of Khān, whence the name Lālkhānī, by which the family is ordinarily designated. It was his grandson, Itimād Rāē, in the reign of Aurangzeb, who first embraced Muhammadanism. The seventh in descent from Itimād Rāē was Nāhar Ali Khān, who, with his nephew Dūndē Khān, held the fort of Kumona in Bulandshahr against the English, and thus forfeited his estate, which was conferred on his relative Mardān Ali Khān. The chief families of the sept have their head-quarters at Chitāri, Pahāsu, and Dharnpur, all in the Bulandshahr District. The family, in commemoration of their descent, retain the Hindu titles of Kunwar and Thākūrānī, and have hitherto, in their marriage and other social customs, observed

<sup>1</sup> Growse, *Mathura*, 19.

many old Hindu usages. The tendency of the present generation, and particularly of the Chitāri family, is rather to affect an ultra-rigid Muhammadanism.

2. They are often called Naumushim, which is a general term for all recently converted Hindus. The customs of Naumushim Thākurs are a curious mixture of the Hindu and Muhammadan, as they intermarry only with Thākurs similarly situated, maintaining the relative precedence of caste as among Thākurs, and being generally called by well-known Thākur names. But their dead are buried; they are married by Qāzi, and they observe Muhammadan customs at birth, marriage, and death. They cannot, as a rule, recite the prayers or perform the orthodox obeisances (*sijda*). At the same time they worship Devi to avert small-pox, and keep up their friendly intercourse with their old caste brethren in domestic ceremonies; eating, however, apart from them.<sup>1</sup>

*Distribution of the Lālkhānis according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sabāranpur . . . .	2	Farrukhābād . . . .	8
Muzaffarnagar . . .	170	Mainpuri . . . . .	2
Bulandshahr . . . .	3	Morādābād . . . . .	81
Aligarh . . . . .	127	Jhānsi . . . . .	1
Mathura . . . . .	2	Lucknow . . . . .	9
Agra . . . . .	42	Sitapur . . . . .	1
		TOTAL . . . . .	448

**Lautamiya:**—a Rājput clan found in Pargana Duāba of Ballia; they are a sturdy, independent race, and addicted to frays and feuds, of a serious character. Their origin is doubtful, and they do not hold a high rank among Rājputs. Many of them used to be closely associated with the gangs of Dusādh robbers for whom the Pargana was famous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cawnpur Settlement Report, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Oldham, Ghāsiyur Memó., I, 59.

Lodha<sup>1</sup> an agricultural and labouring caste very widely distributed through the North-West Provinces and Oudh.— Various derivations have been suggested for the name, such as Sanskrit *lodhra*, the bark of the tree *Symplocos racemosa*, used in dyeing; Sanskrit *lubdhaka*, “a hunter;” Hindi *launda*, *londa*, “a clod.” Of the tribe in the Bulandshahr District, Rāja Lachhman Singh<sup>2</sup> writes :—“ From their short stature and uncouth appearance, as well as from their want of a tradition showing their immigration from other parts, they appear to be a mixed class proceeding from aboriginal and Aryan parents. They call themselves the ancient inhabitants of the district, and we know from the Purānas that, among the forest tribes, there was one variously called Sodh, Bodh, Lodh, and Rodh. We also know that there was a large forest along and below Delhi on the Jumna. These may be the descendants of these foresters. In the districts below Agra they are considered so low, that no one of high caste drinks water touched by them; but such is not the case in the districts above Agra. Below Agra, they work chiefly as boatmen.” Under the name of Lodhi they are found widely spread throughout the Central Provinces; in some places they have a reputation for turbulence and defiance of the law; they seem all to be comparatively recent immigrants from the direction of Bundelkhand. In Jhānsi they say that Narwār was the original seat of the tribe after their immigration from Ludhiāna in the Panjāb, and that they came thence to Bundelkhand about a thousand years ago. In Lalitpur<sup>3</sup> also they claim kinship with the hill Lodhis of Central India, call themselves Thākur, and are described as turbulent and ill-disposed. In Agra they are known as Pariya, which is the name of one of their sub-castes, or Purabiya, “Eastern,” because they call themselves Bais Rājputs and immigrants from Dundiya Khara or Ajudhya. In Hamīrpur they call themselves Kurmi, Jariya, Mahālodhi or Taudaiya. They were early settlers in Oudh<sup>4</sup> prior to the Rājput invasion, and were sufficiently powerful to offer a stern resistance to the invaders. They may possibly be an off-shoot from the great Kurmi tribe and

<sup>1</sup> Based on information supplied by the Deputy Inspector of schools, Agra; Bābu Ishan Chandar Banarji, Rāe Bareilly; M. Rām Sahay, Tahsīl School Mahoba, Hamīrpur.

<sup>2</sup> Bulandshahr Memo. 182, sq.

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer, North Western Provinces, I., 831.

<sup>4</sup> Chronicles of Oudh, 25.

it is certain that physically they are more allied to the lower or so-called aboriginal section of the population than to any of the higher castes.

2. The Lodhas are divided into a large number of endogamous sub-castes. Among these, at the recent Census, were enumerated the Bhoṣiya or Bhoṣiya, "Chaff men" (*bhūṣa*, "chaff"); the Jaiswār, who take their name from the old town of Jais in the Râē Bareli District; Jariya; Khâgi who have been dealt with separately; Mathuriya "those from Mathura;" Patariya; Saksena from Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District; and Singraur. In Agra we find the Jariya; Patariya or Patariha; the Mathuriya; and the Antarvedi, "the inhabitants of Antarveda" (*antar*, "between," *vedi*, "a piece of flat ground prepared for sacrifice,") which was an old name for the Lower Duâb or the country lying between Etâwah and Allahâbâd, but is sometimes applied to the whole of the Ganges-Jumna Duâb. The women of the Jariya sub-caste wear bangles of lac and bore their noses, both of which practices are prohibited to those of the Patariya sub-caste. In Unâo they are sometimes known as Patariya after the sub-caste of that name, and they have three sub-castes:—Patariya, Jariya, and Kathariya, who probably take their name from Kathehar, the old name of Rohilkhand. The complete Census returns name 515 sub-divisions of the normal type. Of these, those locally of most importance are the Katâri and Mahra of Bulandshahr; the Mahuriya of Aligarh; the Bhagīrathi and Tarwariya of Mathura; the Sankhwâr of Mainpuri; the Dilliwal and Purabiya of Pilibhît; the Sengar of Fatehpur; the Mohan and Mahur of Hamirpur; the Barwariya and Mahâlodha of Jhânsi; the Bhadauriya and Sanauriya of Lalitpur; the Khâgi and Khargbansi of the Tarâi; the Bâtham of Unâo; and the Binaunân of Bahrâich.

3. All these sub-castes are endogamous. Their rule of exogamy is not very clearly stated; but it would seem that they avoid intermarriage with near relations, both in the paternal and maternal lines, and will not give a bride to a family into which one of their youths has intermarried within the period of ordinary memory.

4. Their domestic ceremonies are of the normal type. Widow marriage and the levirate under the usual restrictions are permitted. Divorce is allowed



in case of adultery proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council; but for the first offence, the erring wife is merely reprimanded. Divorced women are not allowed to marry again within the caste. The betrothal is settled by the mutual exchange of presents between the two families. There is no bride price; but it is understood that the bride is provided with a dowry. In Unão the betrothal is called Takahai, because the father of the bride puts two pice (*taka*) in the hands of the bridegroom and this settles the match. In Râc Bareli, on his marriage day, the boy eats a dish, called *lakhani*, made of rice and *urad* pulse, with the other boys of his own caste.

5. They are all Hindus. In Agra Devi is their tribal goddess, but they also worship Râmachandra,<sup>1</sup> Kuân-wâla, or the well godling, and Jakhaiya.

Religion.

Kuânwâla has a brick temple with three doors in front, and inside a miniature well, in which are placed two images. Cakes of wheat flour, boiled rice, milk, sweetmeats, and flowers are thrown into the well as an offering, and water is poured on the ground before the temple. The women dance and play on rude tambourines made of brass cups (*katora*). This worship is done in the month of Asârh. There is a famous shrine in honour of Jakhaiya in the village of Pendhat or Painedhat in the Mainpuri District. "There is no fixed day, but the latter fortnight of Mâgh or Asârh are chosen for these meetings (*jât*) on a Sunday. The story runs that during the war between Prithivi Râja and Jay Chand of Kanauj, an Ahîr was bringing his wife from home, and with him were a Brâhman and a low caste man, a Bhangi or a Dhânuk. The three men joined in the fight and were killed. The Bhangi fell first, and the other two fell at some distance from him. Even when dead their headless trunks (*dând*) continued the fight. The Bhangi became a Bhût, or malignant ghost, under the name of Jakhaiya, and the place where he fell is called Jakhaiya to this day. Doves of pigs are grazed here, and at the time of the great gathering the swine-herds will kill one of them for a trifle and let the blood flow on the spot. At the other place, where the Brâhman and Ahîr fell, there is a temple, and cocoanuts and the like are offered. People come in thousands from the surrounding districts, even from Farrukhâbâd, which touches the opposite side of the district,

<sup>1</sup> At the last Census 1,000,111 persons were recorded as worshippers of Râm-Chandra.

and pay their devotions here. The great object of the journey is to obtain offspring and have an easy child-birth.

"The worship is said also to have a good influence on the winter rains (*mahāwat*)"<sup>1</sup>

6. Another saint, worshipped by the Lodhas of Agra, is Sayyid Mohsin Khān, whose tomb is in the town of Ihtimādpur. Lamps, filled with ghi, sweets, and flowers are offered to him, and the offerings are taken by the Musalmān Faqīrs who attend the tomb. In most of their villages they have a temple of Devi, to whom offerings are made of goats, sweetmeats, and a fire sacrifice. This worship is performed at night and in times of trouble. Kuānwāla and Jakhaiya are the special deities who guard children.

7. In Unāo they worship Brahma Deo, and the Miyān of Amroha and Jalesar, with offerings of boiled rice and cakes, the produce of the last harvest, in the months of Kuār, Aghān, and Chait. When a son is born, this offering is made on a larger scale. The Faqīr, who officiates, receives a fee of eight annas and the greater part of the offerings. In Hamīrpur they worship Gusāin, "the Lord;" they prepare both *pakki* and *kachchi* food for the occasion and offer a goat.

8. As we have already seen, their social position to some extent varies in different parts of the province. In Agra they will eat *kachchi* only from the hands of a casteman or Brāhman. They will eat *pakki* from the hands of Halwāis; will smoke only with a man of their caste; and will take water from a Banya. Sanādhya Brāhmans eat *pakki* from their hands; and Koris, Chamārs, Kahārs, Gadariyas, and the like will eat *kachchi*. In Hamīrpur they drink liquor, and eat pork, goat's flesh, fish, fowls, and eggs. All through the Province they are tenants and field-labourers, and are considered to be good agriculturists, with a special aptitude for growing rice.

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer, North Western Provinces, IV, 748.

*Distribution of Lodhas according to the Census of 1891.*

Districts.	Bhojia.	Jaiswar.	Jatya.	Khaqi.	Mathuria.	Patania.	Sakona.	Singraur.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dun	...	...	678	...	...	2,001	...	...	277	2,956
Saharanpur	7	10	1,246	...	992	43	...	...	484	2,782
Muzaffarnagar.	...	27	64	...	16	35	...	...	1,200	1,342
Masut	...	...	1,093	...	...	2,705	...	...	3,788	7,586
Balandshahr	191	...	...	...	28,107	1	...	...	21,958	45,257
Aligarh	...	...	1,047	...	6,558	...	...	...	31,192	38,797
Mathura	20	...	62	...	6	72	...	...	2,509	2,669
Agra	...	...	1,006	...	15,833	4,829	...	...	1,551	23,219
Farrukhabad	...	...	272	...	270	1,306	...	...	267	2,115
Mainpuri	...	...	61	262	16,278	29,882	7,361	...	801	54,445
Etawah	...	...	29,123	...	3,951	5,109	...	...	1,311	39,554
Etah	...	...	...	667	24,308	51,455	1,358	...	2,218	79,916



*Distribution of Lodhas according to the Census of 1891—concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Bhojpur.	Jaiswar.	Jajpur.	Khag.	Mathuria.	Pattartha.	Sakasa.	Singaur.	Others.	TOTAL.
Basti	...	...	20,755	...	...	...	...	...	2,375	23,130
Garhwal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	16
Parai	...	...	2	...	1,716	658	...	...	1,082	4,958
Locknow	...	...	43,168	...	24	870	...	...	9,935	53,997
Unao	...	...	77,814	...	350	9,010	...	...	451	87,025
Rao Bareilly	...	235	48,349	...	...	1,189	...	...	14,463	64,236
Shapur	...	...	30,518	...	...	10,389	...	...	366	41,273
Hardoi	...	...	5,281	...	...	206	...	...	1,026	6,513
Kheri	...	...	13,856	...	...	19,256	...	...	1,377	34,489
Faizabad	...	...	323	...	677	...	...	...	420	1,420
Gonda	...	...	9,613	...	208	127	...	...	6	9,954
Bairach	...	...	35,953	...	...	1,097	...	...	7,153	44,203





Lohār<sup>1</sup> (Sanskrit *lauha-kāra*, "a worker in iron," the blacksmith caste.—As Professor Schrader<sup>2</sup> has shown, the Indo-Germanic names for the smith have a threefold origin. They are derived either from words designating metals or metal collectively, such as the Hindi Lohār and the Greek Chalkeus or Sidereus; or, secondly, from verbals which mean "hewing"; or, thirdly, substantives with the general meaning of "worker," "artificer," are specialised down to the narrower meaning of "smith." Such is the Sanskrit Karmakāra, "a blacksmith," which really means "workman" *par excellence*. It has been suggested that the Lohār is ethnically connected with the Dravidian Agariya, or iron smelter, who has been separately described; and the evidence from Bengal to some extent corroborates this view.<sup>3</sup> But the Mirzapur Agariya does no blacksmith's work; all he does is to smelt the iron and work it up into rough ingots, which are afterwards converted into axe heads and agricultural implements by the Lohār, who is admittedly a recent immigrant into the hill country, and utterly repudiates any connection with the iron-smelter of the jungles. The internal organization of the caste suggests that it is formed of many different elements, and is, in the main, of occupational origin.

2. Practically all Lohārs trace their origin to Visvakarma, who is the later representative of the Vedic  
 Legendary origin. Twashtri, the architect and handicraftsman of the gods, "the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship."<sup>4</sup> One tradition tells that Visvakarma was a Brāhman and married the daughter of an Ahīr, who was in her previous birth a dancing-girl of the gods. By her he had nine sons, who became the ancestors of various artizan castes, such as the Lohār, Barhai, Sunār, Kasera, etc. By another tradition they are the offspring of a Brāhman from a Sūdra woman. Many of the Western Lohārs fix their original home at Mithila, whence they

<sup>1</sup> Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur and notes by M. Basdeo Sahay, Head Master, High School, Farrukhābād; the Deputy Commissioner, Sultanpur; the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Dehra Dūn.

<sup>2</sup> *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 154.

<sup>3</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

say they emigrated to Mathura with Sri Krishna. At the last Census, 18,805 persons, chiefly Barhais and Lohars, recorded themselves as worshippers of Biskarma or Visvakarma.

3. Occasional camps of these most interesting people are to be met with in the districts of the Meerut Division. They wander about with small carts and pack animals, and, being more expert than the ordinary village Lohar, their services are in demand for the making of tools for carpenters, weavers, and other craftsmen. They are known in the Panjâb as Gadiya or those "who have carts" (*gādī, gāri*). Mr. Ibbetson<sup>1</sup> says that they come up from Rajputâna and the North-Western Provinces, but their real country is the Dakkhin. In the Panjâb they travel about with their families and implements in carts from village to village, doing the finer kinds of iron-work which are beyond the capacity of the village artizan. Of the same people Mr. Balfour<sup>2</sup> writes that they are called in Dakkhini Ghisâri, in Marhatti Lohâr, but call themselves Târemûk. They worship Khandoba. Their marriages are conducted in the Hindu manner, but intoxicating drinks are largely used. They have earned a great name for gallantry, and it is very usual to hear of the rough Târemûk levanting with another man's wife. On the occasion of a birth they sacrifice in the name of Satvâi. They burn the bodies of the married people and lay the ashes by a river's side; but the unmarried dead are buried, and for three days after the funeral food is carried to the grave, though they draw no anxiety of the state of the soul of the deceased from any animal eating the food. In the Dakkhin<sup>3</sup> this class of wandering black-smiths are called Saiqalgar or knife grinders or Ghisâra or grinders (Hindi *ghisâra*, "to rub"). They wander about grinding knives and tools. "They are wiry men with black skins, high cheek bones, and thick lips. Latterly they have taken to shaving the head, but some keep the Hindu top-knot. Since their conversion to Islâm most men wear the beard. The women dress their hair rather oddly, plaiting each tress in a separate band." They make nails and tongs, and the women blow the bellows, and collect scraps of iron in towns as materials for their husbands' anvils.

<sup>1</sup> *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 624.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIII, No. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 82.

Though never pressed for food, they lead a hand-to-mouth life, always ready to spend what they earn in food and drink. They say they are sprung from Visvakarma,<sup>1</sup> the framer of the universe, who brought out of fire, the anvil, the bellows, the sledge, and the small hammer. He taught them how to make Vishnu's discus, arrow, trident, horse-shoes, sword, and war chariot. When these were prepared and approved by their master, the caste came to be called Ghisâdi, and were told to make various tools and weapons of war. They are strong, dark, dirty, drunken, hot-tempered, and hardworking. In Ahmadnagar<sup>2</sup> "early marriage, polygamy, and widow marriage are allowed and practised, and polyandry is unknown. The women mark their brows with sandal paste when they bathe. On the fifth day after the birth of a child, an image of Satvâi is worshipped in Kunbi fashion, and the child is named and cradled on the seventh and ninth by female friends and relations, who are asked to dine at the house. The mother keeps her room and is held impure for forty days. On the day before the marriage the "god pleasing" (*derkârya*) is performed, when their marriage guardian (*derak*), the leaves of the mango, *ficus glomerata*, *Syzigium Jamolanum*, *Prosopis spicigera*, and *Calatropis gigantea*, are laid in a dining dish with a sword on them and taken to the temple of the village Mâruti, with music, and a band of friends, by two married pairs—one from the bride's and the other from the bridegroom's,—whose skirts are tied together. They are then again brought back and laid before the house gods until the ceremony is ended. The family gods are worshipped with the customary offerings, a goat or a sheep is slain in their name, and the caste people are feasted. All the rites connected with marriage, before and after the guardian worship, are the same as among local Kunbis, and the caste people are treated to a dinner at the house of the pair, or uncooked food is sent to their houses. When a girl comes of age, she sits apart for four days, and is bathed on the fifth, when her female friends and relations meet at the house, dress her in a new robe and bodice, and fill her lap with rice and a coconut. They mourn their dead twelve days, burying the unmarried and burning the married after the Kunbi custom. The son, or chief mourner, gets his face clean shaven, except the eye-brows, on the

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, XX, 101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, XVII, 98.

tenth or twelfth, without requiring the services of a Brāhman priest, and, on the tenth, treats the caste people to a dinner of stuffed cakes and rice with split pulse. The death day is marked by a "Mind rite" (*śrāddha*), and the dead are remembered in all Souls' fortnight in the dark half of Bhādon, on the day which corresponds with the death day. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling, and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. Breaches of rules are punished by fines, which generally take the form of caste feasts, and a free pardon is granted to those who submit."

It has seemed worth while to collect so much information about these people, because they probably represent the most primitive form of workers in iron, and are thus closely allied in function, if not in race, to the European Gipsy, whose chief occupation is that of the farrier and tinker.

4. The Lohārs of these Provinces include both a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch, of which the former is far more numerous than the latter. At the last Census the Hindu Lohārs were divided into nine main sub-castes:—Ajudhyabāsi, or "residents of Ajudhya;" Visvakarma, who take their name from their eponymous ancestor; Dhaman; Kanaujiya, from Kanauj; Lāhauri, from Lahore; Mahul; Mathuriya, "those from Mathura;" Ojha, or those professing a Brāhmanical origin, the word being probably derived from the Sanskrit *Upādhyāya*, "a teacher;" and Rāwat, which comes from the Sanskrit *Rājādāta*, "royal messenger." But this does not exhaust the catalogue of sub-castes. Thus, we find at Mirzapur, besides the Kanaujiya, the Mauliha or Mauliya, who are said to derive their name from the country of Malwa, and to be identical with the Mahauliya of Benares and the Mahul of the Census lists. Mr. Sherring names in addition the Sribāstava, who take their name from the old city of Sravasti: the Malik; the Banarasiya, "those of Benares;" the Chaurāsiya who, are perhaps called after Tappa Chaurāsi in the Mirzapur District; Purnbiya or "Eastern;" Maghaiya or Magaliya, those of Magadh; Sinar and Matnuriya who derive their name from Mathura. In the Central Duāb their divisions are Tumariya, who assert some connection with Tomar Rājputs; Jholiya or "wearers of the wallet" (*jholi*); Gurhābādi; Logvarsha or Laungbarsa; and Siyāhmaīya, or "workers in black iron." Akin to these are the

The Lohārs of the  
North Western Pro-  
vinces and Oudh.  
Internal organization.

Palanta of Bijnor and the Kachhlohiya, or "workers in unpurified iron," of Morādābād. The complete Census returns show 736 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 114 of the Musalmān branch. Of these those locally most important are the Deswālī of Sahāranpur; the Lotē of Muzaffarnagar and Meerut; the Sengar of Jhānsi; the Gotiya of Lalitpur, the Byāhut, Gorē and Uttarāha of Ballia; the Basdiha, Byāhut, Dakkhināha, Malik, Uttarāha of Gorakhpur; the Dakkhināha of Basti; and the Gamela of Sitapur.

5. One sub-caste known almost indifferently as Ojha Barhai or Lohār is almost entirely confined to the Central Duāb. They often call themselves Maithal or Mathuriya Ojha. The word Ojha, as has been already remarked, is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Upādhyāya "a teacher." They allege that they were brought to Mathura by Sri Krishna from Mithila. They claim to be of Brāhman descent and have provided themselves with a number of the ordinary Brāhmanical *gotras*:—Bharadvāja; Vasishtha; Gautam; Kasyapa; Sandilya; Vatsa, etc. These are all derived from the names of various Rishis from whom they claim descent. In Farrukhābād and its suburbs they are divided into some twenty-four groups (*thoḥ*) each of which has a headman (*chaudhari*) of its own, to whom all social questions are referred. If the matter is not very particular, he calls a meeting of his group and settles it according to the opinion of the majority. In weightier cases members of the other groups are also invited to attend. Their rule of exogamy is in an uncertain condition. Properly speaking no man should marry in his own *gotra* according to the usual Brāhmanical formula; but as a matter of fact, few of them know to which *gotra* they belong and they simply use the ordinary rule which prohibits intermarriage between blood relations on the paternal and maternal sides. Polygamy is allowed, polyandry prohibited. Girls are married between five and fourteen years of age. A man may expel his wife for proved immorality, but this is no ground for a woman leaving her husband. Divorced wives and widows may re-marry by the *dharauna* form. In widow marriage there is no regular ceremony; but the man who takes a widow to live with him has to undergo some sort of expiation, such as bathing in the Ganges, feeding the brotherhood and distributing alms to

Brāhmans. The levirate is allowed under the usual restrictions, but is not compulsory.

6. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy. On an auspicious day, generally on the third day after her confinement, the ceremony of *latadhoba* is performed when one lock of her hair is washed. This is followed by the *bāhar nikālṇa* when she leaves the confinement room for the first time. As a safeguard against demoniacal influences when she brings out the baby in her arms, an arrow is held in its hand by its maternal uncle who, as in other castes of the same social grade, bears an important part in these domestic ceremonies, probably a survival of the matriarchate. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the mother and child are bathed again. On this occasion the goddess Bihi or Bihai Māta, whose name is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *Vidhi*, "Fate," is worshipped as the protector of the child. As soon as the child is born she is installed in the house and a representation of her is made on the wall with ghi. On the sixth day she is dismissed after being duly honoured with an offering of cakes, flowers, etc. As she is regarded as influencing the destiny of the child, on the day of her worship the baby is dressed in its best clothes so as to ensure it a prosperous life. Then the whole house is purified; a fire sacrifice is made; the family gods are worshipped; the child is named and food is distributed to Brāhmans. When they adopt, a regular deed of adoption is drawn up and the fact is notified to the brethren by a distribution of cocoanuts and sweets.

7. Marriage in the regular form is solemnised according to the standard Brāhmanical form; poor people, however, marry by *dola*, when the bridegroom's father goes to the house of the girl, brings her home and goes through the ceremonies at his own house. There is in the ceremony a survival of marriage by capture. A representation of a fish is made of flour and is hung by a string which the bride holds in her hand. She will not enter the house until the boy succeeds in piercing it with an arrow, which the bride tries to prevent by moving it about as he aims at it.

8. The death ceremonies are of the normal type and the usual Śrāddha is performed. The birth pollution lasts for ten days; that of menstruation for seven days; that after a death for thirteen days. Their tribal deity is Durga. They also in the month of Māgh make pilgrimages to the shrine of Shāh Madār. The



offerings, consisting of sweetmeats (*renari*) flowers and pice are taken by the guardians (*khaddim*) of the tomb. Shaikh Saddu is the guardian of women and children. When a birth or marriage occurs in a family he is worshipped on a Saturday. The women fast and in the evening a *Mujāwar* is sent for; a sacred square (*chanka*) is made with cow-dung and offerings consisting of a he-goat, cakes, curry and rice are made. The *Mujāwar* pronounces the *Fātiha* and takes away the offerings. A local godling known as *Deota* is also worshipped. Pilgrimages to his temple are undertaken in the month of *Māgh*. The offerings to him consist of a cocoa-nut, a loin cloth and some pice. The marriage ceremonies commence with ancestor worship. Figures representing them are made on a wall with yellow clay and a lamp placed on a sieve laid on an earthen pot is kept burning near the place. Sweetmeats and other dainties prepared for the marriage feast are first offered to the sainted dead, and every important ceremony commences with an offering to them. This ancestor worship is confined to women. Snakes are also worshipped by women on the feast of the *Nāgpanchami*; if this worship be neglected, it is believed that some member of the family will be bitten. The *bargad* tree (*ficus indica*) is also worshipped on the fifteenth of the month of *Chait*. Women whose husbands are alive fast up to noon and do not eat any salt that day. When they go to a *bargad* tree they make offerings of some grain, flowers and a lighted lamp and then go round it seven times holding in their hands a thread of cotton which thus becomes wound round the trunk. The Sun is worshipped on Sunday, a fast is kept and the offerings are made at noon. On this occasion no salt is eaten. The Moon is worshipped on the festival of the *Ganesa Chaturthi* or *Ganesa's* fourth. Rice and curds are given to the family priest, offerings are made to the Moon and then the worshipper breaks his fast. Offerings are made to fire daily when the family take their meals. They believe in the Evil Eye which is obviated by burning in the presence of the person affected a strip of cloth his exact height which has been soaked in oil; or a blue thread of the same length is tied round a stone and thrown into the fire; or pepper pods, wheat bran and salt are passed round his head and burnt.

9. They eat meat, goat flesh and mutton, fowls and fish. They use all the ordinary intoxicants; but excess is reprobated. They will eat *pokki* from the hands of *Agarwāla* *Banyas*, and *kachchi* from *Kanaujiya* *Brāhmins*. They will drink water from the vessels of these two castes, but will smoke the *huqqah* of none

but a member of their own caste. Gaur Brāhmanas will eat their *pakki*; none but members of the caste and the lowest menials will eat their *kachchi*.

10. Besides these Lohārs who claim a Brāhmanical origin,

Ordinary Lohārs.

there are large bodies of them which make no such pretensions. In the Hills many of them appear to be members of the great Dom race and from Pargana Jaunsar Bāwar in Dehra Dūn it is reported that the fraternal or family form of polyandry prevails amongst them and that a woman may have as many as five so-called husbands at a time. This custom, it is hardly necessary to say, does not prevail among those residing in the plains. To the East of the Province they marry their daughters at the age of eleven or twelve; there is, however, an increasing tendency in favour of infant marriage and the richer a man is the earlier he is expected to marry his daughter. Anti-nuptial infidelity is not seriously regarded, provided that it be inter-tribal, and is punished by a fine payable to the tribal council and a certain amount of feasting of the brethren. A man can marry as many wives as he pleases, or can afford to support; but few marry more than one wife unless the first be barren or hopelessly diseased. Widows may marry in the *sagāi* or *kāji* form and the levirate, though permitted, is not compulsory on the widow and is restricted by the usual rule, that it is only the younger who can marry the widow of his elder brother. The children of such unions rank equally with the offspring of virgin brides for purposes of inheritance. Adultery is not severely dealt with, provided it be not habitual or become an open scandal: for the first offence the erring wife is admonished by the council. A repetition of the offence leads to her formal repudiation and such a divorced woman may re-marry in the tribe by the *sagāi* form, provided her paramour has not been a member of a menial caste. In Oudh there is an apparent survival of marriage by capture in the custom by which the women of the bride's household throw packets of betel and handfuls of barley at the bridegroom as he enters the house. They have also a sort of ordeal to ascertain the prospects of married life. A necklace is thrown into a bowl of water and the married pair scramble for it; whichever succeeds in holding it rules the other.

11. They profess to be Vaishnavas, but few of them are regularly initiated. To the East their

Religion.

clan deities are Mahābīr and the Pānchon Pīr, with the tribal founder Visvakarma. The Pānchon Pīr are

worshipped on a Sunday or Wednesday in the months of Sāwan, Kuār, Baisākh or Jeth, with an offering of rice milk (*khar*), cakes (*purī*) and garlands of flowers. They worship Mahābir in the same months on a Tuesday or Saturday with an offering of sweetmeats (*laddu*) and sweet bread (*rot*). They are ministered in their religious ceremonies by a low class of Sarwariya Brāhmans. They worship their implements as fetishes, the seat represents Mahādeva and the anvil Devi. At this worship of the anvil they invite the clansmen on an auspicious day and then wash the anvil and offer before it what is called *agiyāri* by burning sweet-scented wood before it. This is done only when the anvil is first made, and the ceremony ends with a distribution of sweetmeats among the guests. In Dehra Dūn they worship Kālī, Aghor Nāth, and Narasinha Deo. The worshippers of Narasinha, the man lion *avatāra* of Vishnu, numbered at the last Census 164,555 throughout the Province. They are specially worshipped when epidemic disease prevails with sacrifices of goats and pouring a little spirits near the shrine. In Farrukhābād they have a household godling named Kurehna, who is worshipped at marriages, child-birth, and death. The worship is a purely household one.

12. The occupation of the blacksmith is no doubt very ancient in India. He is mentioned in the Rig Veda,<sup>1</sup> but though Indian steel was prized even among the ancient Greeks, "in literary monuments iron can not be traced with certainty before the end of the Vedic period when the oldest names of the metal occur."<sup>2</sup> The country Lohār is a true village menial. He makes and repairs the agricultural implements of his constituents and receives contributions of grain at harvest time. Thus, in Bareilly he gets from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 *seers* of rice or *kodon* millet in the autumn and barley or oats in spring per plough. He also gets  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *seers* of new grain per plough at each harvest as *niboni* and one sheaf per plough which is known as *phiri*. He also gets two for each sugar mill, two *seers* of coarse sugar per field of sugarcane, and his share of the thirteenth jar of cane juice which is divided among the workmen. In Sultānpar he receives one and a half *panseri* or measures of five village *seers* at the autumn, and sheaves representing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *seers* of grain in the spring harvest. In the cities they have greatly improved their position and rank as *mistri*

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Rig Veda Intro.*, XL.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader, *loc cit.*, 204.

or "master" workman. They make carriages and other articles of European style, shoes for horses and keep ironmongers' shops, selling cooking utensils (*tawa*, *karāhi*), axes, knives, chains, nails, screws and the like. Such a trader is often known as Lohiya or Lobiya. In these Provinces the Lohâr appears to enjoy a social position rather superior to that of his brethren in the Panjâb. There, according to Mr. Ibbetson "his social position is low even for a menial, and he is classed as an impure caste, in so far that Jâts and others of similar standing will have no social communion with him, though not as an outcaste like the *se* venger. His impurity, like that of the barber, washerman, and *tyer*, springs solely from the nature of his employment; perhaps because it is a dirty one, but more probably, because black is a colour of evil omen, though on the other hand iron has powerful virtue as a charm against the Evil Eye. It is not improbable that the necessity under which he labours of using bellows made of cow hide may have something to do with his impurity." This feeling of contempt for the blacksmith is not modern. In the Purânas the Karmakâra or smith is classed as one of the polluted tribes, and according to Manu<sup>1</sup> iron is one of the commodities which a Brâhman or Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, must avoid. It is at least possible that some of the disrepute attaching to the smith may be connected with his association with the vagrant, gipsy tribes of which evidence has been already given. This feeling of impurity is not so much felt in the East of the Province. In Bihâr<sup>2</sup> they are said to rank with Koiris and Kurmis, and Brâhmans take water from their hands. In the Eastern Districts their women are reported to be chaste. There they drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats, sheep and deer, as well as fish. They do not eat meat of other kinds. They will take *pakki* from Brâhmans, Râjputs and members of the trading castes, except Telis and Kulwârs. They eat *kachchi* cooked by their own castemen or by their religious teachers and spiritual guides. They smoke only with their own tribe. Râjputs of the inferior septs, traders, and all menials will eat *pakki* cooked by them. Bâris, Chamârs and other low castes eat *kachchi* cooked by them. They are, on the whole, quiet, respectable, and little given to crime, except that they will occasionally make the chisel (*sabari*) used by the professional burglar.

<sup>1</sup> Institutes X, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Risley, *loc cit.* II. 24.

*Distribution of Lohars according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Ajodhya- Bisi.	Vista- karnia.	Dhaman.	Kansu- jiya.	Lahori.	Mahul.	Mathu- riya.	Ojha.	Bawat.	Others.	Muham- medans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	...	...	469	199	...	...	87	...	...	1,946	123	2,824
Saharapur	...	...	2,321	60	9	...	67	...	...	4,633	3,814	10,904
Muzaffarnagar	...	10	379	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,197	5,630	10,298
Meerut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,267	14,923	21,195
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	...	...	...	74	...	71	1,530	8,558	10,233
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	311	1,129	2,862	4,302
Mathura	2	...	32	...	...	27	380	141	10	2,402	76	3,070
Agra	21	...	...	...	...	6	380	1,687	...	945	59	3,098
Farrukhabad	114	...	...	...	...	382	11,353	978	...	368	...	13,195
Mainpuri	293	...	...	...	...	...	667	2,326	...	223	...	3,508
Etawah	504	...	...	...	...	476	3,474	1,079	...	1,897	...	7,430
Etah	15	...	...	...	...	20	687	199	...	229	2,889	3,989
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	247	...	5,491	222	...	196	4,707	10,869
Bijnor	...	...	171	...	164	...	...	...	...	77	4,353	4,763





*Distribution of Lohars according to the Census of 1891 — concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Ajodhya- bāsi.	Vijaya- karma.	Dhama.	Kanau- jiya.	Lahori.	Mahul.	Mathu- riya.	Ojha.	Rawat.	Others.	Muham- madians.	TOTAL.
Ballia	...	...	...	3,009	...	4,410	...	...	...	10,224	...	17,643
Gonakpur	29	7	...	25,587	...	1,845	698	...	...	26,617	...	54,683
Basti	...	...	...	4,365	...	14,365	...	...	...	2,717	...	21,437
Araugarb	...	879	...	25,717	...	...	...	...	...	3,628	...	30,224
Tarai	...	...	...	...	126	...	283	...	...	543	1,740	2,692
Lucknow	...	...	...	52	...	4,920	94	93	...	586	5	5,450
Unao	48	...	...	19	...	7,737	37	...	...	882	...	8,723
Bāe Bareli	...	...	...	6	...	8,772	1	...	...	1,245	...	10,024
Sitapur	31	...	...	84	...	7,368	403	...	...	2,787	...	10,673
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	...	3,996	6,872	...	...	65	...	10,933
Kheri	3	...	...	5	...	6,087	3,246	...	...	379	1	9,751
Faizābād	...	730	...	4,268	...	6,305	...	...	...	1,888	...	13,141
Gonda	...	...	...	15	...	13,031	...	...	...	11	30	13,067

Bahrâch . . .	1	4	...	23	...	7,759	...	...	...	837	26	8,650
Sutâmpur . . .	...	707	...	1,369	...	7,134	...	...	...	2,793	...	12,023
Bâra Banki . . .	...	...	...	1	...	8,429	...	...	...	305	...	8,735
TOTAL . . .	1,616	5,516	3,372	148,801	634	197,088	58,461	6,967	1,456	102,009	66,204	592,114

*Lohiya* (*loha*, "iron") a sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Eastern Districts of the province. They have a tradition that they derive their name from their place of origin—a certain Lohiya Ban or forest, but they are clearly an occupational sub-caste and take their name from dealing in iron, though they now add to this other forms of trade and even agriculture. Some are Vaishnavas and some Jains.

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

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Jains.	TOTAL.
Sabāranpur . . . . .	7	...	7
Meerut . . . . .	1,457	...	1,457
Bulandshahr . . . . .	134	...	134
Mathura . . . . .	8	...	8
Agra . . . . .	7	19	26
Etah . . . . .	4	37	41
Bareilly . . . . .	40	...	40
Bijnor . . . . .	819	49	868
Budāun . . . . .	61	...	61
Bānda . . . . .	33	...	33
Hamīrpur . . . . .	8	...	8
Jaunpur . . . . .	2	...	2
Gorakhpur . . . . .	6	...	6
Tarāi . . . . .	52	...	52
TOTAL . . . . .	2,638	105	2,743

*Lorha*, a caste of rope makers, shown only in the Sabāranpur District, where they aggregate 2,622 persons. They are probably from their occupation menials and allied either to the gipsy Kanjars or to the Doms and Dharkārs.

*Luniya, Nuniya*,<sup>1</sup> a caste believed to be in a large measure of Dravidian origin, engaged in cultivation, saltpetre making, and

<sup>1</sup> Based on notes collected at Mirzapur and reports from the Superintendents Ethnographical Enquiries, Azamgarh, Saltānpur.

various kinds of earthwork. They take their name from the Sanskrit *lavana* "the moist", which first occurs as a name for sea salt in the Atharvan Veda. In the oldest prose salt is known as Saindhava or "coming from the Indus."<sup>1</sup> The salt sold in Bâzârs is Sâmbhar which comes from the salt marshes of Râjpūtâna at Sâmbhar, Dindwâra and Panchbhadra; Panjâb rock salt is known as *Khâri non*, *Sendha*, *Lâhauri non*, or *Kâla non*; sea salt is *Samudri non*.

2. The Audhiya sub-caste has a tradition that they are descended from an ascetic named Bidur Bhagat "who broke his fast on salt earth, and being thereby disqualified for the higher life of meditation was condemned by Râmchandra to betake himself to the manufacture of saltpetre."<sup>2</sup> Who this Bidur Bhagat was, the Luniyas of these Provinces are unable to say. He may possibly be identical with Vidura, the younger brother of Dhritarâshtra and Pându, who were all three sons of Vyâsa, but only the latter two by the two widows of Vichitavîrya. When Vyâsa wanted a third son, the elder widow sent him one of her slave girls, and this girl became the mother of Vidura, who is sometimes called a Kshatriya and is one of the wisest characters in the Mahâbhârata, always ready with good advice both for his nephews, the Pândavas, and for his brother Dhritarâshtra. Another tradition common all through the Province asserts that they are Chauhân Râjputs of the Vatsya *gotra*. Their original home is said to have been Sambhalgarh, which appears to be identical with Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District. The city was besieged by a Muhammadan king who was anxious to take the lovely Princess Padmâvati to wife. On the city being captured she took refuge in the house of the family Bhât. All the women of the family were paraded before the conqueror who recognised Padmâvati, but the Bhât insisted that she was his daughter, and to prove the assertion was forced to eat with her. So she was saved from the Muhammadan, and the Râja, her father, promised that his descendants would pay forever a tithe of their substance to the family of the faithful Bhât. Their descendants are said still to give certain dues to Bhâts. Another Mirzapur tradition makes the Bind, Luniya, Kewat, and Musahar tribes the descendants of a

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 313.

<sup>2</sup> Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 135.

creature who was produced by the Rishis from the thigh of Rāja Vena; after this they produced Rāja Prithivi from his body. In Azamgarh they say that they are the descendants of a certain Rāja Sena who was a king in their original seat of power, Morādābād. The Sultānpur tradition tells that during the war of the Mahābhārata a boy was born of a Sūdra mother and a Kshatriya father, and was appointed by Yudhishthira to level his camp and gained his name because, in the course of his excavations, he came across a bed of salt. These traditions throw little light on their origin. It seems quite certain that they are connected with tribes of undoubted Dravidian affinities like the Kewat and Bind, and Mr. Risley hazards the conjecture that the Binds may be the modern representatives of an aboriginal tribe from which the Luniyas have branched off as saltpetre makers, and the Beldārs as earth workers. He adds that the hunting and fishing proclivities of the Binds seem to suggest that they are the oldest of the three, while the Bengal totemistic sections of the Luniyas stamp them as Dravidian. On the whole, perhaps the safest theory of their origin may be to define them as an occupational caste which has sprung from one or other of the local non-Aryan races.

3. The internal structure of the caste in these Provinces is far from clear. It rather looks as if they were

Internal structure.

still in a transition stage, and that the endogamous sub-castes were as yet not completely organised. The last Census classes them under the heads of Ajudhyabāsi; or "residents of Ajudhya;" Bachgoti or "descendants of the sage Vatsa;" Bhāgīrathi the descendants of the sage Bhāgīratha; Chauhān, the largest of all, who have, as we have seen, a tradition of Rājput descent; Deorāj and Golē. In Mirzapur they keep these divisions in the back ground and have a system of local sub-divisions known as *dih*, each taking its name from the parent village. Some of these are the Ninaur, Surahan, Hand, Kotakbai, and Jhusi-Arail, the last of which appear to take their name from two old towns in the Allalābād District situated on the Ganges and Jumna respectively. Those who have a common *dih* do not intermarry; and they have an additional law of exogamy which prohibits marriage in the family of the maternal uncle and aunt as long as relationship is remembered and recognised, which in their caste is within two or three generations. Another statement of the law of exogamy is that a man cannot marry in the family of his mother,

father, father's sister, in his own *gotra*, or with the elder sister of his wife. Another story again in Mirzapur is that the endogamous sub-castes are Luniya; Mallāh; Kewat; Kuchbandhiya; Bind; Pas-kewata and Musahar. Mr. Sherring<sup>1</sup> gives an additional set of sub-castes in Benares:—Chauhān; Audhiya, who come from Oudh and make saltpetre; Musahar, who are palanquin bearers; Bind, who are servants; Bhuinhār, "occupiers of land;" Lodha, field labourers; Paramtārī, none of whom are found in Benares, but reside in the country further west; Dasaundhiya, who may perhaps be connected with the tribal tradition of the union between Luniyas and Bhāts, and Bujār. Another list from Mirzapur gives the endogamous sub-castes as Bachgotra Chauhān, who wear the sacred cord (*janeū*) and trace their origin to Sambhal; inferior Bachgotra Chauhāns who do not wear the cord; Bhuinhār; Bin or Bind; Pachkanta or Pachkewata, who are allied to the Kewats; Lodha and Musahar. A list from Sultānpur gives them as Jaiswār, Chaurasiya, Chauhān, Satkaha, Rautār, and Mahto, all of which are endogamous. These are in a great measure different from the sub-castes of Bihār<sup>2</sup>:—Awadhiya or Ayodhyabāsi, who are perhaps identical with the Audhiya of these Provinces, Bhojpuriya; Kharāont; Magaiya; Orh; Pachhainya; Chauhān and Semarwār with their totemistic sections which the Luniyas of the North-Western Provinces appear quite to have shed off. In addition to all this the Luniyas of these provinces recognise two great divisions, the Pachhainya or "Western" and the Purbiya or Purabiya, the "Eastern" branch. The complete Census returns show 308 sub-divisions, of which those locally most important are the Bhagawati of Mainpuri; the Semarwār or "cotton tree people" of Ghāzipur and Ballia; the Khairpuriya; Karot, and Semarwār of Gorakhpur; the Semarwār of Azamgarh; the Khemkarani of Rāe Bareilly, the Bagulah of Hardoi; the Mahton and Sankut of Sultānpur; the Bhagotiya, Khemkarani and Mangarha of Partābgarh. According to Mr. Sherring the Bachgotra sub-caste, who do not wear the sacred cord, will in Benares give their daughters to the Bhuinhār Luniyas, but not sons to their daughters. This, if correct, goes to show, as before suggested, that the endogamous sub-castes are not only of comparatively recent formation, but are even still in process of elimination.

<sup>1</sup> *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Risley, loc. cit.* II. 135.



4. Whereas in Bihār adult marriages are considered unfashionable, if not disreputable, in the Eastern Marriage rules.

Districts of these Provinces, marriage takes place when the parties attain puberty, at the age of ten or twelve. In Sultānpur, however, they usually marry at the age of seven and, as in all the castes of a similar social grade, there seems to be an increasing tendency towards infant marriage. Infidelity prior to marriage, provided the offence be committed within the tribe, is lightly regarded. Polygamy is recognised and polyandry regarded with a feeling of horror. Marriage follows the usual form of *shādī* or *charhaua* when the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, marries her there, and brings her home in procession, the binding part of the ceremony being the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom (*pairpūja*, *pānpūja*) by the father of the bride; *dola*, where the bride is brought home quietly, and any ceremony performed is done at the house of the bridegroom; and thirdly, *sagāi* for widows. In the latter case she very often marries the younger brother of her late husband, but she is free to marry an outsider if her brother-in-law be already married, and the levirate is not enforced. A man can turn out his wife for infidelity, and she can with the permission of the tribal council leave him if he does not provide for her or is proved to be impotent. All divorces must be sanctioned by the tribal council, and a divorced woman can marry again by the *sagāi* form, provided she has not gone wrong with a man of another caste, in which case she is permanently expelled from caste.

5. Luniyas do not become initiated into any of the recognised Hindu sects. To the east of the province their deities are Mahābīr and the Pānchompīr. To the former, the offerings consist of moist gram fried in butter or oil (*ghūghuri*) and sweetmeats, and they are made on the tenth day of Jeth. To the Pānchompīr are presented fowls, goats and pigs, and pulse cakes cooked in oil or butter (*malīda*) and rice milk (*khir*). This offering is made on some Tuesday in the month of Sāwan. Some of them prescribe a special offering for each of this quintette of saints; for Subhān some sweets and a castrated goat (*khasi*); for Ghāzi Miyān sweets and a goat; for Bāba Barahna a delicacy known as *tosha* made of wheat flour, sugar and clarified butter; for Palihār liquor and a cock; for Amina Sati a cloth (*patāū*) with a red border; for Bibi Fātima sweets.<sup>1</sup> She

<sup>1</sup> For the Panchpir worship, see Mr. R. Grierson's *Heretic Five*, and Introduction to *Popular Religion and Folklore*, 129.

is particularly worshipped by women. These offerings are shared between a Faqir and the family of the worshipper. In Azamgarh they worship Mahābir with an offering of sweets on a Tuesday. Though they are Hindus, they worship Muhammad and the Imām Sāhib, who represents the martyrs Hasan and Husain; they consider Amina Sati to have been the mother of the Prophet—a curious mixture of belief in the saints of Islām among a purely Hindu tribe. In Sultānpur their deities are Agwān and Kul Deo, which is properly a term applied by Hindus to their family god. To Agwān they offer in the month of Aghān rice and *urad* pulse, and in the month of Phālgun cakes, all of which are consumed by the worshippers themselves. To Kul Deo the offering consists of parched gram flour (*satua*) and the egg plant (*bhanta*, *baingan*). These are offered in Baisākh, and in Kuār he receives cucumbers (*laroi*, *kakari*). They offer water and sacred balls (*pinda*) to the sainted dead on the Somwati Amāwas, or when the new moon falls on a Monday and at the fortnight of the dead (*pitrapaksha*) in the month of Kuār, on the last day of which they distribute uncooked food (*sidha*) to Brāhmins.

6. Prior to the Rājput immigration into Oudh, they appear to

have held considerable landed property.<sup>1</sup>  
Occupation.

Now their main occupation is making salt-petre, but they do earthwork and act as agricultural labourers and cultivate land. They drink liquor and eat goat's flesh and mutton. Those who worship the Pānchopīr also eat pork. They will not eat food cooked by an outsider. All classes of Hindus drink water touched by them; but none but Doms and Chamārs will eat food cooked by them. They will also be seen in the commencement of the cold season digging field rats out of their holes in the rice fields, and these they kill and eat with the contents of their underground granaries. In Bihār Mr. Risley notes that "they think little of Bhagats, who practise small forms of asceticism by abstaining from certain kinds of food and drink, and I am informed that very few Bhagats are found among them." Their women have a good reputation for chastity, and they are on the whole fairly industrious, respectable people, who are more adventurous in emigrating with their families than their neighbours. They will collect on a railway or other large work and take contracts for earthwork. The men dig and the women and children carry off the clay in baskets. They seldom come before the Courts except in connection with violation of the Government salt monopoly.

<sup>1</sup> Elliott, *Chronicles of Oudh*, 25.

*Distribution of Luniyas according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Ajuchya- basi.	Bachgoti.	Bhagtrathi.	Chanhan.	Deorji.	Gold.	Others.	TOTAL.
Delwa Dún .	...	...	...	140	...	6	47	183
Subarangar .	...	...	...	260	...	...	98	358
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30
Bolandshahr	...	...	...	30	...	...	164	194
Mathura .	...	...	...	28	...	402	77	507
Agra .	...	...	...	85	...	55	174	265
Mainpuri .	...	...	...	149	...	698	1,436	2,283
Etdwab .	...	...	...	566	...	518	1,356	2,440
E'ab .	...	...	...	52	...	1,335	1,303	2,590
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	36
Budhon	...	...	...	1,223	...	260	422	1,905



*Distribution of Luniyas according to the Census of 1891—concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Ajndhya- basi.	Bachgoti.	Bhagtrathi.	Chauhan.	Deeraj.	Gold.	Others.	TOTAL.
Gomkhpur . . . . .	2,117	30,150	...	11,313	30	...	26,309	69,919
Basti . . . . .	84	3,405	...	18,049	...	...	210	21,748
Azamgarh . . . . .	476	47,105	...	7,880	...	...	4,336	59,797
Lucknow . . . . .	729	385	384	1,038	21	...	765	3,415
Unao . . . . .	64	47	489	12	48	...	2,261	2,921
Rae Bareilly . . . . .	...	...	...	253	726	...	6,959	7,688
Shapur . . . . .	295	...	293	9,159	...	...	602	10,349
Hardoi . . . . .	...	15	8	...	...	...	2,564	2,587
Kheri . . . . .	623	...	...	13,750	...	...	650	14,023
Faizabad . . . . .	148	4,677	...	6,782	...	...	284	11,891
Gonda . . . . .	...	...	...	22,471	...	...	516	22,987

Babráich . . . . .	600	117	37	13,471	...	...	6,383	20,698
Sulhānpur . . . . .	...	677	...	4,047	153	...	5,758	10,635
Partālgarh . . . . .	208	...	...	1,117	1,462	...	10,017	12,592
Lāra Borki . . . . .	104	...	...	15,163	...	88	441	15,708
GRAND TOTAL								
	9,989	119,401	3,332	163,637	2,842	3,923	109,663	412,817



## M

**Madâri; Madariya**<sup>1</sup>—One of the Beshara or unorthodox orders of Muhammadan Faqirs who take their name from the famous saint Zinda Shâh Madâr of Makanpur or Makhanpur in the Cawnpur District. There are, according to the usual computation, four sacred personages—Châr Tan or Châr Pîr, *viz.*, Muhammad the Prophet; his friend Ali; Ali's eldest son Imâm Husain and Hasan Basari. Khwâja Hasan Basari had two disciples, Khwâja Habîb Ajami and Khwâja Abdul Wâhid Qâd. From these were sprung the fourteen Sûfi Khânwâdas or sections. Of these, nine groups were sprung from Khwâja Habîb Ajami, *viz.*, the Habibiya, founded by two brothers Mubârak and Muhammad; Tafûriya, founded by Tafûr bin Isa, who is better known by his other name Bayazîd Bustâmi; the Kharkhiya, founded by Shaikh Marûf Khârkhî, Khârkh being a quarter (*muhalla*) of Bâghdâd; Siqtiya, founded by Khwâja Sri Siqti; the Junediya by Juned Bâghdâdî; the Gozrâniya, by Abu Ishâq of Gozrûn; the Tusiya by Alâ-ud-dîn of Tûs; the Findosiya by Shaikh Najm-ud-dîn Kulera and the Sahrwardiya by Abu Najîb Sahrwardi. The remaining five sects of the Sûfis were founded by the disciples of Khwâja Abdul Wâhid Qâd, *viz.*, the Zadiya, founded by the five sons of Abdulla bin Ouf; the Ayâziya by Khwâja Fazl-bin Ayây; the Hubariya by Shaikh Hubara Basari; the Adhaniya by Sultân Ibrahim bin Adhan, and the Chishtiya by Abu Ishâq of Chist, a village in Khurasân.<sup>2</sup>

2. But as a matter of fact the Madâris of Northern India have no real connection with these genuine Sûfi sects, because their founder Shâh Badi-ud-dîn Madâr neither had any disciples nor was he himself a disciple of any of the genuine Sûfi sects. The fact seems to be that the Indian Madâris were established in imitation of the Hindu Jogis and Sannyâsis and their professed division of fourteen sections is based on that of these Hindu ascetics. Like Hindu Faqirs they apply ashes (*bhakhûl*) to their bodies, wear iron chains round the head and neck, and carry a black flag and turban. They seldom pray or keep fasts, and use *bhang* freely as a beverage.

<sup>1</sup> Based on notes by M. Mahadeva Prasâd, Head master, Zilla School, Pilibhit; M. Hâjî Rashid Khân, Mirzapur.

<sup>2</sup> *Lataif Ashraf*, Delhi Ed. 243: *Dabistân ul Mazahib*, Bombay. Ed 169.

3. The following account of Shāh Madār was given by the present manager of the shrine at Makanpur.—“Shāh Madār had fourteen hundred assistants (*Khalīfa*) but no daughter. He adopted Sayyid Abu Muhammad Khwāja Irghawān, Sayyid Abu Turāb Khwāja Mansūr, and Sayyid Abul Hasan Khwāja Taipur. These persons were his nephews. He brought them from the town of Junār in the Province of Halab and settled at Makanpur in the Cawnpur District where he died and was buried. The descendants of Sayyid Abu Muhammad Khwāja Irghawān were always noted for their learning and piety. Besides those whom he adopted he also brought with him Sayyid Muhammad Jamāl-ud-dīn Janman Janti, who is usually called Jamanjati and is buried at Hilsa near Azimābād. He also brought with him his younger brother Sayyid Ahmād from Bāghdād. Both these were the nephews of saint Ghaus-ul-Azam and he made them his assistants. With Jamanjati came two other brothers Mīr Shahāb-ud-dīn and Mīr Rukn-ud-dīn, who were also nephews of Ghaus-ul-Azam. Their tombs are at Shaikhpur Dharm-sāla in the Cawnpur District, about two miles north of Makhanpur. Jamanjati was also noted for his piety and learning and thousands of persons benefited by him. His followers are known as Diwāna; numbers of these are still in Hindustān and are called Mulang. Among the assistants of Shāh Madār, Qāzi Mahmūd, son of Qāzi Hamīd, whose tomb is at Kantut in Nawābganj, Bārabanki, was a great worker of miracles, and his followers are called Talibān. Bāba Kapūr's name was Abdul Ghafūr. His tomb is in Gwalior, and he was an assistant of Qāzi Hamīd and Qāzi Mazhar Qala Sher. His tomb is at Māwar in the Cawnpur District. Qāzi Shahāb-ud-dīn Shamsūmar was a famous learned man in the time of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. Another Khalifa of this family was known as Parkāl-i-ātish, and he was buried at Baragān. These four, *viz.*, Abu Muhammad, Jamanjati, Qāzi Mazhar, Qāzi Mahmūd were the most distinguished of all the Khalīfas in the time of Tāj Mahmūd. The greater part of the Dargāh at Makanpur was built in the time of Shahāb-ud-dīn Shāhjahān, Emperor of Delhi. Finally, Sayyid Tamiz-ud-dīn was a noted man in this family. The descendants of Sayyid Abu Turāb and Sayyid Abul Hasan are known as Khādīm. The family of Qāzi Mazhar are known as Ashiqān or “lovers.” Other famous tombs of members of the sect are those of Mufti Sayyid Sada Jahān at Jaunpur; Maulāna Hisāmuddin at Jaunpur; Mīr Muiz Husain at Bihār; Shams Nabi at Lucknow; Abdul

Malik at Babraich; Sayyid Ajmal at Allahâbâd; Shâikh Muhammad Jbanda at Budâun; Sayyid Ahmad at Khulnahan; Sayyid Muhammad at Kâlpî; Shâh Dâta at Bareilly; Maulâna Sayyid Râji at Delhi. The date of the death of Shâh Madâr is 17 Jamâdi-ul-awwal 838 Hijri."

4. According to the best authorities<sup>1</sup> Shâh Madâr came to Makanpur in the reign of Ibrahim Shâh Sharqi of Jaunpur. But the local legends would bring him to the time of Prithivi Râja of Delhi. Many wonderful legends are told of him. He is said to have had an interview with Shâh Muîn ud-dîn Chishti from whom he demanded a place to live in. On this the Khwâja sent to the Shâh a cup of water full to the brim, by which he meant that there was no place available for his accommodation. The Shâh in reply placed a rose in the cup, implying that he would be a rose among the general body of Faqirs. On this the Khwâja appointed as his residence the site of Makanpur which was then occupied by a demon named Makna Deo. Him the Shâh expelled and the place was called by his name.

5. Another legend tells that he used to practise the art of keeping in his breath (*habs dam*) which is still common among various classes of ascetics. At last he was supposed to be dead and his disciples carried him to his burial. But he sat up and called out that he was alive in the words *Dam dâram* and they replied *Dam madâr*, "Do not breathe." Whereupon he really died and was buried; but he has since appeared from time to time in many places. By another story it was the Prophet Muhammad himself who gave him the power of retention of breath (*habs dam*) and hence arose his longevity, as the number of his respirations was diminished at pleasure. So he is said to have reached the age of 383 years when he died, and some say that he is still alive and so he is named Zinda Shâh Madâr. His devotees are said never to be scorched by fire and to be secure against the poison of venomous snakes and scorpions, the bites of which they have power to cure. Women who enter his shrine are said to be taken with violent pains as if they were being burnt alive, some of them leap into fire and trample it down with the cry *Dam Madâr! Dam Madâr!* Mrs. Mir Hasan Ali<sup>2</sup> tells a story of a party of drunken revellers who trespassed in his tomb; one of them became

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XVII, 102, sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Observations on the Muskhana of India*, II, 321, sq.