

GENERAL CODE OF TRIBAL CUSTOM.

SECTION I.

FAMILY AND TRIBAL CONNECTION.

Question 1.—Are any persons considered to be relations (*wárisán*) besides those who are descended from a common ancestor? Are all or any of the kindred considered to be the relations of—

- (1) the husband;
- (2) the husband's relatives or children?

If so, state the persons who are relatives, with the names of the relationships.

Answer 1.—No relations except those descended from a common male ancestor through males are considered to be heirs (*wárisán*).

None of the kindred of the wife are considered to be the heirs of the husband, or of the husband's relatives or children. (All tribes.)

Note.—The names for relationships are as follows: Broadly speaking, there are two dialects spoken in the District,—(1) the Hindí or Bágri spoken by the Hindú Játs and Banyas in the south and east of the district, and by those members of the inferior tribes who immigrated with them and live among them; and (2) the Panjábí spoken by the Sikh Jats along the north-east border, and by the Musalmán tribes of the Ghaggar and Satlaj, as well as by the inferior tribes living among them. I give separately the names used in both dialects.

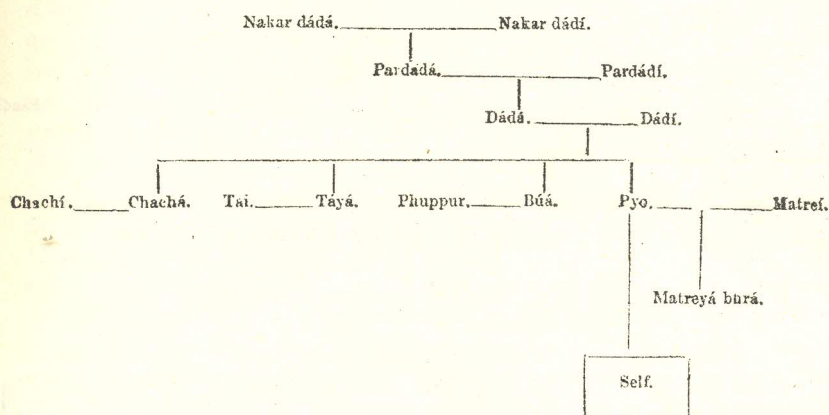
Hindí.	Panjábí.	Meaning.
Báp.	Pyo.	Father.
Dádá or bábá.	Dádá or bábá.	Father's father.
Dádi.	Dádi.	Father's mother.
Pardádá.	Pardádá.	Father's father's father.
Pardádi.	Pardádi.	Father's father's mother.
Shakar dádá.	Nakardádá.	Pardádá's father.
Táo or táyá or badá.	Táyá.	Father's elder brother.
Tái or badiyá.	Tái.	Father's elder brother's wife.
Káká.	Cháchá or pitriyá.	Father's younger brother.
Káki.	Cháchí or pitráni.	Father's younger brother's wife.
Bhúá.	Búá or phupphí or bhúá.	Father's sister.

Hindí.	Panjábí.	Meaning.
Phupphá. Mausí or máusi. Dumát bhái. Má.	Phupphar or phupphur. Matréí or mási. Matreyá bhái or bhrá. Má or máu or máí or amámá.	Father's sister's husband. Father's wife=stepmother. Father's son=stepbrother. Mother.
Mausí or máusi. Mausá. Mámá. Mámi. Náná. Náni. Parnáú. Parnáni. Bháí. Bháwaj or bhaujáí or bhábhí. Bahu. Bhatíjá. Bhatíjí. Bahin or bhain. Bahnoiýá or bahnei. Bhánjá. Bhánjí. Lugái or bahú. Súsra. Sású. Sálá. Sálelí. Sáli. Sádhú. Motýár or dhaní or málik.	Mási. Másar or másar. Mámá or máolá. Mámi. Náná. Náni. Parnáú. Parnáni. Bhrá or bhái. Bharjáí. Bharjáí. Bhatariya or bhatíja. Bhatari or bhatíjí. Bebe or bahin or bhain. Bhanwaiyá or bhanoiýá. Bhanewán or bhánjá. Bhanewín or bhánjí. Trínwín or tímín or bahu. Saurhá. Sass. Sálá or sárá. Sáleháj or sáli or sálehá. Sáli or sári. Sádhú or sándhú. Gharánwálá or kháwind or khasam.	Mother's sister. Mother's sister's husband. Mother's brother. Mother's brother's wife. Mother's father. Mother's mother. Mother's father's father. Mother's father's mother. Brother. Elder brother's wife. Younger brother's wife. Brother's son. Brother's daughter Sister. Sister's husband. Sister's son. Sister's daughter. Wife. Wife's father. Wife's mother. Wife's brother. Wife's brother's wife. Wife's sister. Wife's sister's husband. Husband.
Saukan. Sákútau.	Saukan. Sukut or matreyá betá or saukelá.	Husband's other wife. Husband's other wife's son.
Súsra. Sású. Jeth. Jitháni.	Saurhá. Sass. Jeth. Jitháuí or barí siyáh.	Husband's father. Husband's mother. Husband's elder brother. Husband's elder brother's wife.
Jethútá.	Juthut.	Husband's elder brother's son.
Dewar.	Dewar.	Husband's younger brother.
Deorání.	Darání or landhí siyáh.	Husband's younger brother's wife.
	Durut.	Husband's younger brother's son.
Nanad. Nandoí or nandoiyá.	Ninán. Ninánwaiyá or nandoiyá.	Husband's sister. Husband's sister's husband.
Betá. Bahú. Sagá. Sagí. Potá. Potí.	Putr or putt or betá. Nogh or nunh. Kuram. Kurmaní. Potra or potá. Potrí or potí.	Son. Son's wife. Son's wife's father. Son's wife's mother. Son's son. Son's daughter.

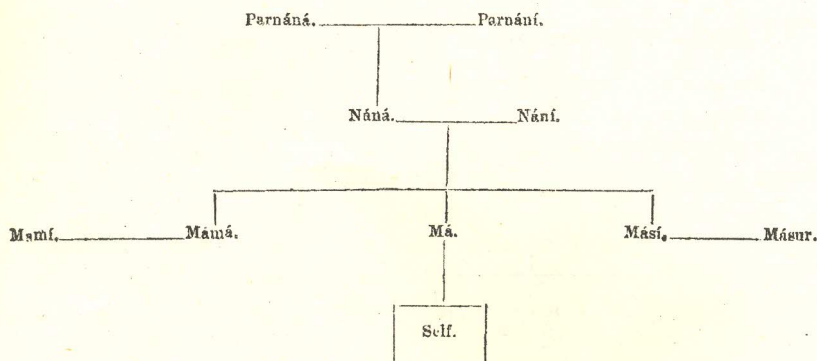
Hindí	Panjábí.	Meaning.
Potbahú.	Potron nonh or potnugh.	Son's son's wife.
Parotá.	Parotra.	Son's son's son.
Betí.	Dhí.	Daughter.
Jowái.	Jawái or jamái.	Daughter's husband.
Sagá.	Kuram.	Daughter's husband's father.
Sagí.	Kurmaní.	Daughter's husband's mother.
Dohťá.	Dohtrá or dohitá.	Daughter's son.
Dohťí.	Dohtrí or dohití.	Daughter's daughter.
	Dohtron nonh.	Daughter's son's wife.

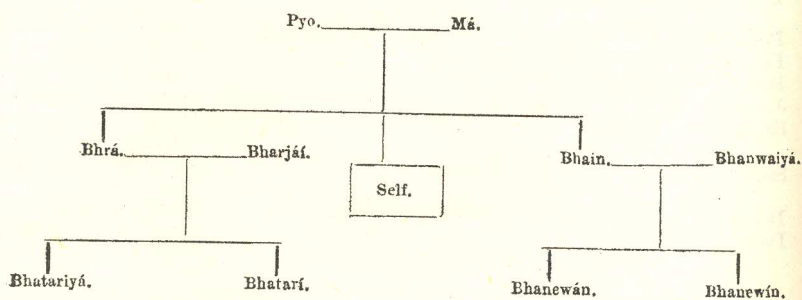
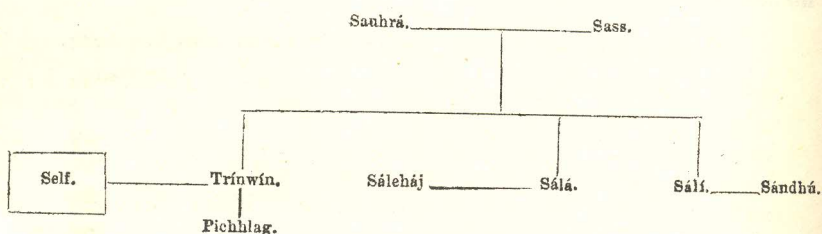
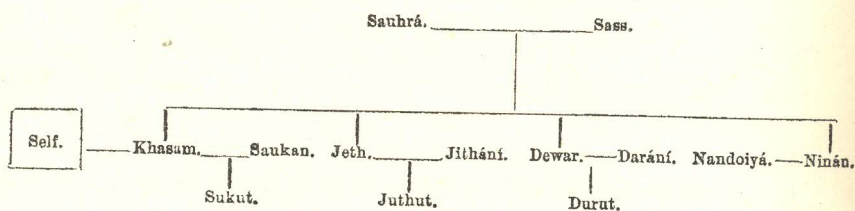
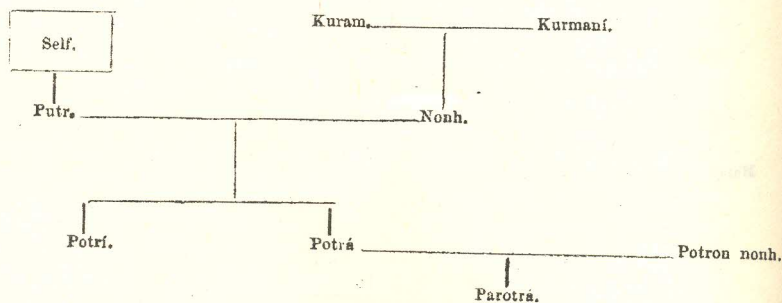
These relationships may be tabulated as follows (I give the Panjábí names) :—

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

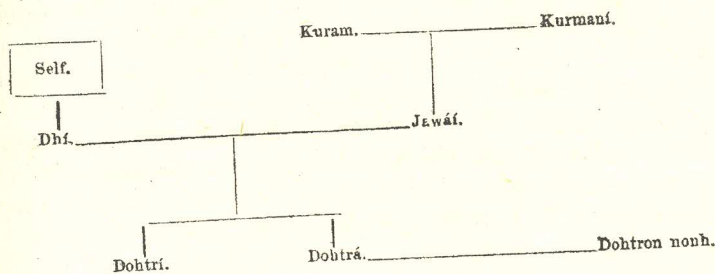


B.—Relations through the mother, whether of man or woman.



C.—Relations through the brother and sister, whether of man or woman.*D (1).—Relations through the wife, of a man.**D (2).—Relations through the husband, of a woman.**E (1).—Relations through the son, whether of man or woman.*

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



So far as I can learn, these are the only distinctive names used for relationships by the people. They are common to all tribes and, with some dialectical differences, to all dialects. Many of them are derived from others. Thus *potrí* is the feminine form of *potrá*, *bhanewín* of *bhanewan*, *nání* of *náná*, *dádi* of *dádá*, *cháchí* of *cháchá*: again, in *pardádá*, *parnáná*, and *parotrá* for *parpotrá*, the *par* is simply the root meaning "beyond," as in *parán*, *parson*, *parlá*, *parár*, and the name denotes the generation *beyond* the *dádá* or *náná* or *potrá*; again, where a person is related *through* another, the name of the distant relationship is derived more or less irregularly from that of the nearer relationship, as *phupphur* from *phupphi*, *másur* from *mási*, *bhatariya* from *bhra*, *bhanewán* and *bahnói* from *bahin*, *sáleháj* from *sálá*, *potrá* from *putr*, *dohtrá* from *dhí*, *mámá* and *mási* from *má*, and *sauhrá*, *sass*, *sálá*, and *sándhu* are evidently connected with each other. Leaving out compound words and those taken from other languages, the only words which do not seem closely interconnected in derivation are *báp* (or *pyo*), *dádá* (or *bábá*), *táyá*, *cháchá*, *bhuá* (or *phupphi*), *má*, *náná*, *bhrá* (or *bhái*), *bahin*, *bahu* (or *lugái* or *trínwín*), *susrá* (or *saukrá*), *motyár* (or *dhaní*), *jeth*, *dewar*, *nínán* (or *nanad*), *putr* (or *beta*), *nonh*, *sagá* (or *kuram*), *dhí*, *jawái*. It is worthy of notice that the language of all these tribes is much richer in names for relationships than at all events the English language, that in two cases, *táyá-cháchá* and *jeth-dewar*, there are different names for the elder and younger brother, and that there is generally a different name for a relationship according as it is through a male or through a female. It is remarkable that there is no word for "cousin," the word *bhrá* or *bahin* being applied indiscriminately to all of one's own generation,—i.e., to first and second cousins as well as to brothers and sisters. Indeed, it is necessary, when

a man speaks of his *bhrá*, to ask him if he speaks of his real brother, *sakká bhrá*, and one often finds that he means a cousin, *cháchá ká beṭá bhrá* or *mámá ká beṭá bhrá*. Similarly the word *tayá* or *cháchá* is extended to all one's father's agnatic cousins, and *dádá* to all agnates of the grandfather's generation. Except in the cases of *bhrá bahin* and their derivatives, the word used shows whether the relation spoken of is an agnate or is related through a female. Other expressions connected with relationship are as follows :—

Hindí.	Panjábí.	Meaning.
Ságí bhái.	Sakká bhrá.	One's father's son.
Májayá bhái.	Mánjáís bhrá.	One's mother's son.
Mábáp.	Alápe.	Parents.
Píhar.	Peke.	One's father's house (used chiefly by women).
Dádke.	Dádke.	The family of one's father and grandfather.
Nánke.	Nánke.	One's mother's family.
Sásre.	Sáhware or sauhre.	One's wife's family.
Sage or ságí.	Sákhwále.	Relations generally (<i>rishtadár</i>).
Sákh.	Sákh or náta.	Relationship (<i>rishtadári</i>).
Gáilar.	Pichhlag.	Stepson (of a man).

Among all these tribes the system of relationship is strictly agnatic. The words *wáris*, *málik*, *haqdár*, *jaddí* or *ekjaddí*, *dádke* or *dádá kí aulád*, *bhái*, *bhrá*, *birádari* or *bhaiyáchára*, are generally used for one's agnates,—i. e., males related through males only—in short, all of one's own *got*; while *sákh*, *náta*, and *sagá*, though in a general way applied to all relationships, in a restricted sense apply to relationships through females or by marriage only,—e. g., a connection by marriage is *sákh* or *náta*, and a son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father is called *sagá*. Only the agnates are considered heirs.

In describing a relationship beyond those for which there are special names, the name of a similar nearer relationship is used, but always a name which shows that neither the generation nor the fact that the relationship is through a female (if it be through any female except the wife) is lost sight of; thus a grandfather's brother is *dádá* or *náná*, as the case may be; a father's cousin, *cháchá* or *mámá*.

A man addressing his father respectfully calls him *bábbá*, his mother he calls *ammá* or *má*; he will not mention his wife's name, but calls her *bíví* or so-and-so's mother, or so-and-so's daughter, or *bandí rabdí* (God's servant), or mentions her *got* name,—e. g., *Godári*. Similarly a woman will not mention her husband's name, unless she knew him before marriage,—e. g., among Musalmáns, if he was her cousin; nor

will she mention the name of her husband's father or elder brother. No reason is given for this reluctance, except that it is a sign of respect. Some Musalmáns have an idea that the rule is imposed by Muhammadan law; while some Sikh women seem to think their husbands will die if their names are mentioned by their wives. A man will not speak of his father- and mother-in-law as *sauhrá* and *sass*, but calls them *táyá* and *tál*, or *cháchá* or *mámá*. In some tribes the relation between an elder brother and his younger brother's wife is similar to that between a father and his son's wife: thus in Hindí *bahu* means both son's wife and younger brother's wife, and among some tribes a widow is allowed to marry her husband's younger brother, but not his elder brother.

Question 2.—Explain your system of reckoning generations; and give a table of kindred with the local names of the relations up to the third degree, in both the ascending and descending line.

By how many generations are the following persons said to be related to the person whose relatives are to be reckoned?—

- (1) Brother;
- (2) Father;
- (3) Uncle;
- (4) Cousin-german, *i.e.* uncle's son;
- (5) Brother's grandson;
- (6) Great-grandson;
- (7) Great-grandfather.

Answer 2.—All persons of the same generation are reckoned as equally distant with regard to generation. There is no custom of reckoning by degrees.

- (a) Brother and uncle's son are in one's own generation.
- (b) Father and uncle are in the second generation upwards.
- (c) Brother's grandson in the third generation downwards.
- (d) Great-grandson in the fourth generation downwards.
- (e) Great-grandfather in the fourth generation upwards.

(All tribes.)

Note.—In calculating generations, as in calculating days, they count the man's own generation as the first, his father's or son's as the second, and so on. While they never lose sight of the generation in which one person stands with regard to another, they are not accustomed to think of a man as being

so many generations (*pidi*) distant from another, nor are they accustomed to reckon by degrees (*darja*). They sometimes calculate in what generation the common ancestor is (*kaunsi pidi men raljande*), *e. g.*, my uncle's grandson joins me in my grandfather, *i. e.*, in the third generation from me and the fourth from him. They do not reckon by degrees up to the common ancestor and down again, but both branches are calculated upwards to the common ancestor. All descendants of the common ancestor are nearer relations than any one beyond him, *e. g.*, all descendants of one's grandfather are nearer relations than the grandfather's brother or his descendants. The system of agnatic relationship is clearly classificatory, a general term being used for all agnatic relations of each generation, and a periphrasis being required to explain how near the relationship in that generation is. Thus *bhrá* means either a brother, or an agnate cousin however distant in one's own generation; and if a man speaks of his *cháchá*, it requires a question to find out whether he means his father's brother or his father's agnate cousin. Thus—

Párdádá	=	any agnate of the fourth generation upwards.
Dádá	=	third " "
Táyá or cháchá	=	second " "
Bhrá	=	one's own generation.
Bhataríya	=	the second generation downwards.
Potrá	=	third " "
Parotrá	=	fourth " "

Only one's father and son have distinctive names denoting their relationship, *viz.*, *pyo* and *putr*; the other words denote all agnates, however distant, in the generation referred to. It is also worthy of note that these few are the only words that express agnatic relationships; the other words given either denote female relations or relations through females. The same remark applies to those terms; thus *mámá* means any agnate of one's mother in her generation, and *bhánjá* would apply to the son of one's female cousin as well as to one's sister's son.

Question 3.—Into what classes are relations distributed? Specify each such class and the relations included in it. Give the distinctions, if any,

- (i) between *sapindas*, *sakulyas*, *samanodakas*, *bandhus*, *gotrajas*;
- (ii) between personal, paternal, and maternal kindred;
- (iii) between legal sharers and residuaries, near and distant kindred (*karibi* and *baidi*), lineal and collateral relations.

What relations are included in the terms *shurkaián jaddí*, *hissadrán karíbi*, and *karábatíán karíbi*?

Answer 3.—Relations are distributed into three classes (*pakkh*);

- (1) *Dádke*—all relations through the father.
- (2) *Nánke*—all relations through the mother.
- (3) *Sauhre*—all relations through the wife.

The *dádke* include all the *bháí* or *birádari* or *bhaiyáchara*, i.e., agnates, males related through males, all of one's *got*. A clear distinction is drawn between the agnates, who are known also as *jaddí* or *ekjaddí*, descendants of a male ancestor through males on the one side, and persons related through females on the other. The latter, who are ordinarily of a different *got*, are called *sage* or *sági* or *sákh* or *natedár*. In a wider sense, however, *sági* is used to denote all relations, whether by blood or marriage, and *bháí* or *játbháí* or *játbirádari* to denote the whole tribe, whether of the same *got* or not. Agnates are also described as *wáris*, *málik*, or *haqdár*, and defined as persons entitled to rights of inheritance, &c. (*jis ko haq pahunchtá hai*). Near kindred are those first entitled to succeed, as sons and brothers; others are considered more distant; but there is no clear distinction of relatives into "near" and "distant." Although most Hindús practise the *sapindikarm*, or oblation to ancestors, no classification of relatives is founded on it, except perhaps among the Bráhmans, Banyas, and Roras, among whom descendants of one's agnate great-grandfather are called *sapinda*, and agnates having a common ancestor within seven generations are known as *sákull*, while more distant agnates are *ságotar*. The *sapinda* are also called *nazdíki bháiband*, or near agnates; the *sákull* are called *parwár* or *kutambh*; the "family" and the *ságotar* are called *gotíbhái*, while non-agnate relatives through a female are called *sambandhi*, *sák*, or *natedár*.

(All tribes.)

Question 4.—Is your tribe divided into sections? If so, by what names are the sections known?

Does each section depute one or more representatives to the *jirga*? If so, what are such representatives called?

Has any particular person or family the right to be so deputed?

Answer 4.—In all tribes, without exception, the system of relationship is strictly agnatic. Ordinarily the members of a tribe are classed into groups called *got*, founded upon agnatic relationship. All the members of a *got* are agnates, i.e., related to each other through males only, and all agnates are

members of the same *got*. The *got* resembles in many of its features the Roman *gens*; and although the name of the *got* does not form part of the ordinary name of the individual, it is always known and remembered to which *got* each man belongs. The *got* name is, like our family names in Europe, applied to all agnates, and to no others. A woman until marriage belongs to her father's *got*, just as in Europe she is called by her father's family name; after marriage she belongs in a sense to both *gots*, just as in Europe a married woman is called "Mrs. Smithnée Jones," or described in Scottish legal phrase as "Mrs. Duncan or Anderson." Her children belong not to her *got*, but to their father's *got*, just as in Europe the children take the father's family name, and not the mother's. The distinction into *gots* is of great importance in matters of marriage and inheritance, and in domestic life generally. Ordinarily among Hindús a man must not marry a woman of his own *got*, and among all tribes great restrictions are imposed on the alienation of immoveable property out of the *got*. The following tribes have this marked sub-division into groups of agnates known by the name of *got*: Ját, Kumbár, Khátí, Lohár, Chamár, Chúhra, Báwariya, Herí, Banya, Rora, Bráhma. Among the Musalmán Rájputs and Jats there is the same sub-division into groups of agnates, but they are more generally known by the name of *ját* or *qaum* than *got*; for example, Joiya, Wattu, Bhatti are generally called *játs*, not *gots*. The *got* is known among the Ráíns, but is not so important as among the Hindús, and among the Bodlas and Chishtís there is practically no division into *gots*.

It is somewhat difficult to find appropriate terms to apply to allied groups of the inhabitants of the district. The Bráhmans may fitly be called a "caste," as they all partake of a semi-sacred character, and are divided into distinct "tribes" (*ját*), such as the Gaur and the Sársut, each of which is again divided into clans (*got*);—indeed, the sub-divisions among Bráhmans are still more complicated than this. The Banyas may properly be called a "class," consisting of distinct "tribes" (*ját*), such as the Aggarwál, Oswál, and Mahesrí, each of which is again divided into *gots* or clans. The Játs or Jats may be called a "race," with, in this district, two marked sub-divisions—the Bagrí or Hindí-speaking Játs, and the Panjábí-speaking Jats, the latter of whom again are markedly divided by religion into Sikh and Musalmán Jats; all these being sub-divided into *gots* or "clans." Among the Musalmáns of the district generally there is no clear division into Rájputs and Jats;

the really important divisions are those into "tribes" (*ját* or *qaum*), such as Joiya, Tunr, Wattu, Mahár, corresponding to a certain extent with the "clans" (*got*) among the Hindú and Sikh Jats. Some of these tribes call themselves Rájput, some Jat, but this is a matter of family pride. The exclusive tribes which have occupied or wish to occupy a place of importance and honour call themselves Rájput, *e. g.*, the Joiya, Bhatti, and Wattu; and the inferior tribes call themselves Jat, although they too have almost all a tradition of Rájput origin, *e. g.*, the Jhorar and Sohu. Some of these latter tribes have become Musalmán within the last few generations, and Hindú tribes of the same *gots* live side by side with them and are acknowledged to be related to them: in such cases perhaps the Musalmán *ját* should be translated "clan," like the Hindú *got*. The Bodlas and Chishtís, although they claim an Arab origin, are probably offshoots from the ordinary Jat or Rájput Musalmáns among whom they live, and might from their semi-sacred character almost be called Musalmán "castes." The Kumhár, Khátí, Chamár, Chúhra, Bawariya, Herí, Rora, and Ráín may be called "tribes." The Lohárs and Náís seem to consist of groups connected by occupation only, not by descent, and may be called "classes" like the Banyas.

Many of these tribes are divided into distinctly marked sections, each consisting of numerous *gots* or clans, and each sometimes refusing to intermarry or have much intercourse with the others. Thus the Kumhárs are sub-divided into (1) the Jodhpuriya Kumhárs, who make bricks and earthen vessels and rarely cultivate land; and (2) the Deswálí Kumhárs, who are engaged chiefly in agriculture, and rarely do potter's work or keep donkeys. The Khátís are similarly sub-divided into (1) the Dhamán section of 120 *gots*, and (2) the ordinary Khátí section of 1,444 *gots*. Among the Chamárs there are several sections, such as the Márwáí Chamárs, who will not eat the flesh of animals that have died a natural death; the Chándor Chamárs, who will not work in leather made from the skins of horses or camels; and the Jatiya Chamárs, who are not so particular. The Bawariyas are sub-divided into four sections,—(1) the Bídáwatí from Bikaner, (2) the Deswálí of the country about Sirsa, (3) the Kápriya of the country towards Delhi, (4) the Kálkamaliya or black-blanket men of the Málwa. The Roras are sub-divided into (1) the northern or red-bracelet Roras, and (2) the southern or white-bracelet Roras; and each section is again sub-divided into two. The Gaur and Sársut Bráhmans have many sub-divisions. These

distinctions seem to be generally due to residence in different tracts of country; sections of the tribe which lived for generations some distance apart, when travelling was probably more difficult than it now is, being found on closer contact to have developed distinguishing customs which make it difficult for them to amalgamate again; or they are due to one section of the tribe having become more exclusive and holding aloof from the other section by way of claiming a higher social rank—a development of social relations of which there are many instances among widely different tribes.

Among many tribes, again, the *got* is sub-divided into “branches” called *al*, each consisting of agnates descended from a common ancestor a few generations back, sometimes ten or twelve, sometimes only three or four generations distant, the name of the *al* being derived from the name of the common ancestor. Thus among the Wattus there are the Ládho ke, Muhammadke, Saidu ke (in all these three cases the name of the *al* has also given its name to the village which is their headquarters). Among the Ráíns the *al* seems to be named from the place from which the branch of the tribe originally came, as Sháhpuriya, Kanganpuriya, Bhonpuriya, from the villages of Sháhpur, Kanganpur, Bhonpur; or in some cases probably from the name of the ancestor, as the Básan and Lakha *als* in Sikandarpur. Among the Ráíns this distinction into *als* is more important than that into *gots*. It is perhaps most important among the Musalmán Rájputs, who have no sub-division of the tribe (taking “tribe” to apply to such divisions as the Joiya, Wattu, Bhatti, Khokhar) into *gots*, but only into *als*, such as the Kallo ke and Sukhere (descendants of Kallo and Sukhá) among the Tunrs. The Bodlas have similar branches, such as the Wale Sháh ke, Núr Sháh ke; and although at present these do not seem to be ordinarily given the name of *al*, no doubt it will soon come to be applied to them. The Bágrí Játs have also this division of the *got* into *als*. Among the Sikh Játs the *al* or branch of a *got* is called *munhín*, such as the Dádú ke and Jagá ke in the Siddhu Barár *got*. Among the Gaur Bráhmans there is, besides the *got*, a similar division into branches called *Sásan*, seemingly named from the original place of residence of the branch. This is similar to the custom in England of describing different branches of a family by their place of residence,—*e. g.*, we might talk of the Devonshire Fortescues as distinguished from the Cornwall Fortescues. The *nak* among

Hindú Rájputs and the Bawariyas seems to correspond with the *got* of other tribes. Among the Bágrí Játs the *al* is further sub-divided into sections known as *thámbá*, consisting of all agnates related within ten generations or so; and this again into houses or families known as *kul*, *kutamb*, *kabíla* or *parwár* consisting of all near agnates. These distinctions are of little importance as compared with the *got*, but within the *got* they are used for the sake of convenience, such as Gogiya for a member of the family or section descended from Gog. The Sikh Jats have also this classification of near agnates into *kabílas*, and most of the Hindí-speaking tribes have the similar classification into *parwárs* or *kutambs*.

All these classes are founded on agnatic relationship, and include only agnates, *i.e.*, persons related to each other through males. They may be graded as follows:—

- (1) *kul* = *kutamb* = *kabíla* = *parwár*;
- (2) *thámbá*;
- (3) *al* = *sásan* = *munhín*;
- (4) *got* = *nak*;
- (5) *ját* = *qaum*.

There is no clear distinction between these classes. For instance, the *thámbá* of the Bágrí Játs resembles the *al* of the Wattus; and again, the *al* of the Musalmán Rájputs resembles the *got* of the Hindú tribes, and the *ját* of the Musalmán Rájputs is also difficult to distinguish from the *got* of most other tribes. The term *ját* is sometimes applied to the whole Bráhma caste or Banya class; sometimes only to a sub-division of it, such as the Gaur Bráhmans or the Aggarwál Banyas. The development of these different classes may be seen by comparison of different tribes. For instance, among the Bodlas we have a clear and well-known distinction into families known by the name of the common ancestor of a few generations back, but not yet ordinarily termed *al*: among the Wattus, Tunrs, Bágrí and Sikh Jats we have similar groups of families, generally known as separate "branches" of the *got* (*al* or *munhín*); and similarly among the Ráíns and Bráhmans we have groups of families (*al* or *sásan*) known by the name of the original place of residence. The *al* of the Musalmán Rájputs seems developing into a *got*, and their *got* into a *ját* or *qaum*. The different sections of Roras, Kumhárs, Bawariyas, and Chamárs are so distinct from each other as to be almost separate "tribes" (*ját* or *qaum*); and the sub-divisions of the Banyas and Bráh-

mans are even more distinct. There can be little doubt that many, if not all, of these distinctions within the "tribe" sprang up in this way, groups of agnates separating off more and more from each other as in process of time their common ancestor became more distant, or as in course of emigration their habitat, language, and customs became more and more different from those of their distant relatives. An instance of the effect of religion in dividing a tribe may be seen among the Aggarwál Banyas, who are sharply divided into Bishni or orthodox Hindús and Saráogís or Jains. Another is found among the Játs and Khátís, among whom the Bishnoís hold themselves quite aloof from their fellows, and almost consider themselves a separate caste. I am also inclined to think that the Bodlas and Chishtís are simply an offshoot from the Wattus or some other indigenous tribe, separated off in the course of a few generations by an assumption of peculiar sanctity and exclusiveness. A fresh instance of this may be found in the Kharal family, which owns Abdulkhálík near Fázilka, and which within the last few generations has, on the reputation of a saintly ancestor, held itself aloof from and above its fellow-Kharals of the Ráví, from whom it has come. The Lakheke Bhattis of the Bahak Pargana are an instance of a holy family in a still more advanced stage of development. Family pride often causes marked divisions. Thus both among the northern and southern Roras there are groups of *gots* which refuse to give their daughters in marriage except among themselves, though they take the daughters of other *gots* in marriage. A similar division prevails among the Khátís—only the restriction seems more marked, for a Suthár or high-class Khátí rarely marries the daughter of a Desí or ordinary Khátí, except when there is no other Suthár near him. Among the Musalmán Rájputs this distinction is even more decided; each tribe has its special customs about intermarriage with other tribes. Some marry only among themselves, some take the daughters of other tribes in marriage, but refuse to give them their daughters; and some are not particular, but give their daughters in marriage to almost any other tribe. Indeed, there is every indication that distinctions have extended in this manner much more widely than is generally supposed. A group of agnates which separates itself off in this way from its relatives begins by refusing to give them daughters in marriage; it then refuses to take their daughters in marriage; then to eat and drink and

smoke with them; then denies its relationship with them altogether, and admits only a distant and vague connection; or a tribe refuses to allow a widow to remarry in her husband's family; then prevents widows from marrying altogether; then makes its women *pardahnashín*. Indeed, it seems very probable that, instead of the Játs being, as they ordinarily say, Rájputs who fell from their high estate by permitting the remarriage of widows, the Rájputs themselves are simply the aristocracy or nobility of the Játs, descendants of families who attained power and gradually separated themselves off from their fellows, as we see groups of important families doing in other tribes now, literally "sons of the kings" of the Játs, of the same race and blood as the Játs themselves. The theory is of much wider application, and many illustrations might be given in support of it.

It is worthy of remark that many tribes, especially those which have associated much with the Rájputs, have for their *got* names terms the same as those applied to *gots* among the Rájputs. This is the case with the Lohárs, Báwariyas, Herís, Náís, Mahesrí Banyas, Ráíns, and other tribes. No doubt in many cases this is due to inferior tribes having adopted the *got* name of their masters, but there are some instances to show how castes or so-called tribes may have been derived from others. Thus many of the Lohárs who call themselves Bhatti or Joiya are admitted by their Rájput neighbours to be descended from Rájput, Bhatti, or Joiya ancestors who a few generations ago took to the blacksmith's trade, and yet they now, for all practical purposes, form a separate caste, intermarrying only with Lohárs. Other Lohárs, again, are admitted to be descendants of Khátís. Some Náís, too, intermarrying only with barbers like themselves, are admitted to be descended from Musalmán Bhatti Rájputs. Going further afield, the Bháneke Musalmáns, who call themselves Chauhán Rájputs, are admitted to be descended from the same ancestors, within some twelve generations, as their neighbours the Dandíwál Sikh Jats; and further still, the Musalmán Wattu and Bhatti Rájputs and the Siddhu Barár Sikh Jats all admit their relation to each other, and claim to have the same ancestors as the Hindú Bháti Rájputs of Jaysalmer. Possibly the formation of the Bishnoi, Bodla, and Chishtí castes, founded on religious differences or an assumption of sanctity, may be illustrations of the way in which the Bráhmans divided themselves off so markedly from their fellow-Aryans, and instances of change

of caste-occupation may be seen in the adoption of barbers' work by the descendants of agriculturist Rájputs, in the change from Khátís or carpenters to Lohárs or blacksmiths, and in this district more especially, in the numerous cases in which men of all castes and tribes—Bráhmans, Banyas, Kumhárs, Khátís, Chamárs, &c.—have given up their hereditary occupations and taken to agriculture. Where such men belonged to what are called inferior tribes, it is curious to note how in such cases they despise the original occupation of their tribe and deny strenuously that they engage in it: instances of this may be seen among the Ráíns, Khátís, Kumhárs and Báwariyas.

Except in social matters, the tribal organisation is not very strong. Often when any caste question, especially some question connected with marriage, requires to be decided, a *pancháyat* of the tribe is summoned, which is attended by tribesmen from the neighbouring villages, but no particular person or family has a special right to be present. There are no definite rules as to the persons who are to attend the *pancháyat*, or as to the mode in which the business before it is to be discussed and disposed of. Everything is vague and indefinite; but the *pancháyat*, guided generally by the opinions of the older and more respectable tribesmen present, usually comes to a decision which is acquiesced in by all. The only way in which a *pancháyat* can enforce its decision is to excommunicate a disobedient tribesman (*huqqa pání band karná*), refusing to eat, drink, or smoke with him, or to intermarry with his family, until he obeys the order of the *pancháyat* and pays the penalty they impose. The power of the *pancháyat* does not seem so strong here as it is further east; it is perhaps strongest among the inferior tribes, or those just above the lowest grade. It is a common saying that, now that such disputes can be taken into court, few think of obeying the orders of a *pancháyat*, and no doubt our law courts have much weakened the power and importance of the institution. In Panjábí a *pancháyat* is called *parah*, and the word is applied not only to an assembly of leading men of the same tribe, but also to a gathering of men of different tribes to discuss some question of common local interest. Among the holy tribes of the Satlaj, the Bodlas, Chishtís, and Lakheke Bhattis, there is another kind of gathering called *melá*, a sort of "cursing committee," employed when any outsider has injured a member of the tribe. Two or three of the holy tribe go to the offender, and, if he

refuses redress, invoke curses on him (*khudá uská burá kare*). As they still have a reputation for sanctity, this weapon often stands them in good stead. Few of the tribes have any ruling family to which they pay especial regard. The Wattus and Joiyas tell of old Nawábs belonging to their clans, and the Bhattis have a more recent recollection of the Nawáb of Ránia, and showed it by voting for his representative as their Zaildár. The Siddhu Barárs, too, especially the Maharájke branch, are proud of their connection with the Maharája of Pattiala and other ruling chiefs, but here, as in other new countries, each colonist came depending chiefly on his own exertions to make his way and earn his livelihood; and there is consequently more independence and less inequality of rank and position than in most older-settled countries. In short, though the family system of agnatic relationship is very strong, the tribal organisation is weak.