

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

CHAP. I. C. And Qalandar Ali Khan of Panipat gave material assistance, and was rewarded by a pension. On the whole, the district suffered very little. The Government treasury and records escaped unharmed ; and of a total land revenue demand of Rs. 4,70,238 for 1857-58, only Rs. 9,464 was not collected, while the canal irrigation for the autumn crops of 1857 was only three per cent. less than the corresponding irrigation of 1856. In 1858 the numerous village forts which had been built in the times of the Sikhs were dismantled.

Population.
The Mutiny.

The history of the district since 1857 has been uneventful. The economical development of the population, almost entirely agricultural, is dealt with in Chapter II, and the changes in administrative divisions in Chapter III.

C.—Population.

Development of the district.

The population of the district at the last four enumerations is shown below :—

Year.	Total population.	Increase or decrease on previous census.	Density per square mile of cultivation.
1881	820,041	...	561
1891	861,160	+ 5	525
1901	883,225	+ 25	492
1911	799,787	— 94	452

The density of the rural population per square mile of cultivation averaged 409 in 1911. The pressure on the soil is lightest in the Kaithal tahsil, and highest in Panipat.

Successive enumerations.

The decrease in the total population revealed by the enumeration of 1911 amounts to nearly 10 per cent. when compared with the figures of 1901, and the district now contains fewer inhabitants than at any time during the last 30 or 40 years. Table 11, Part B., in the volume of statistical tables traces the steps in this highly unsatisfactory retrogression. It will be seen that in the 10 years 1891—1900 the birth rate exceeded the death rate, while in every year since 1900, with the exception of 1904 and 1911, the number of births fell far below the number of deaths. The disparity reached its height in 1907 when the birth rate per 1,000 was only 37.8, while the death rate rose as high as 61.3. The number of deaths from fever always ranges high in a district

Decrease of population, 1911.

where large tracts are annually flooded by hill streams, and are chronically subject to the effects of excessive percolation from the canals. And in addition during the last decade plague has exacted a heavy toll. It is also clear (see table 8, Part B., statistical tables) that the stream of immigrants from Ambala, Patiala and Jind, which was a feature of the years preceding 1900, has either slackened or reversed its course. The extension of canal irrigation in the Punjab and in Native States has offered more attractions to the inhabitants of tracts neighbouring on Karnal than the deserted jungles of Thanesar or Kaithal where the soil is difficult to work, and conditions of life are far from agreeable. It is unlikely that the next enumeration will show a continued decline. The district is not unhealthy as a whole, and the condition of the tracts now suffering from excessive canal percolation is engaging the attention of Government.

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Population.

Decrease of
population,
1911.

The urban population which had remained stationary for more than twenty years, in 1911 showed a considerable decline, especially in Karnal and Kaithal. The cotton-ginning factories at Panipat and a revival of energy among the Muhammadans have maintained the population of that town at its former level in spite of the ravages caused by fever and plague. A general increase in the proportion of Muhammadans among the urban population and a corresponding decrease of Hindus is a noticeable feature of the recent census returns.

Urban po-
pulation.

Nine-tenths of the population are classed as rural. Customs in such a community vary but little and no apology is needed for reproducing in this volume the inimitable account of village manners and customs written by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson in 1880 after his settlement of the district.

Rural po-
pulation.

It should, however, be borne in mind that this well-known description applies more especially to the Panipat and Karnal tahsils and to the southern half of the Kaithal tahsil. In the rest of the district language, dress and customs approximate more closely to the adjoining Punjab districts and Native States.

When a new village is founded, the first thing done is to dig out tanks to hold rain water for the cattle, washing, &c. The village is then built on the spoil; and as in course of time old houses fall down and new ones are built, the village is raised high above the surrounding plain; in some of the old Nardak villages as much as 150 or 200 feet. The space immediately around the village is called *goira*; and here the cattle stand to be milked, weavers train their warp, fuel is stacked, dung-hills made, ropes

Social life—
The home-
stead and the
homes.

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Population.

Social life
The homestead
and the homes

twisted, sugar-presses erected, and all the operations conducted for which free space is necessary. The village is generally surrounded by a mud wall and ditch as a protection against thieves, and is entered by gates, often brick, and containing side-rooms in which the gossips sit when it grows hot under the huge *bor* tree or *pipal* which generally stands just outside. Main streets (*galis*) run right through from one gate to another; and in Rajput and others villages, where the women are strictly secluded, numerous blind alleys (*bagar*) lead from them, each being occupied by the houses of near relations. In other villages the alleys run right through. The proprietors, Banias, and Brahmans, live in the centre; the menials on the outskirts of the village. The houses are usually of adobe, except in the Nardak and the older villages, where brick is common; the change bearing patent evidence to the tranquillity which we have substituted for anarchy. At two or three commanding positions are common houses (*paras*, *chopal*, and in Kaithal, *chopar*, *hethai*) belonging to the wards of the village. In Kaithal these buildings are often imposing structures. There will also be a few *baitmaks* or sheds for gossiping in, and many cattle pens scattered about the village.

Entering the street door of a private house you pass into the outer room or *dahliz*, beyond which you must not go without permission, and where your friend will come and talk. It is often partly occupied by some calves. Beyond this is the yard (*chauk*), separated from the streets by a wall, and in which the cattle are tied up in cattle sheds (*bara*), and the women sit and spin. Round this are the houses occupied by the various households of the family. In front of each is a room with the side towards the yard open (*dalan* or *tamsal*) which is the family living-room. On either side of this will be a *sidari* or store-room and a *chatra* or cook-room with its *chhula* or hearth; and there is often an inner room beyond called *obri* or *dobari* if with two doors, and *kota* or *kotri* if with one only. Upstairs is the *chaubara*, where the husband and wife sleep; while the girls and children sleep downstairs, and the boys in the *chopal* or the *dahliz*.

There will be some receptacles for grain (*kothi*) made of rings of adobe built up into a cylinder. This has a small hole in the bottom, out of which the grain runs, and keeps always full a small receptacle open in front, from which it is taken as wanted. There will be some ovens (*bharala*, *hara*) for warming milk; there will be recesses in the wall to act as shelves (*pendi*); one or two swinging trays or rope rings for water vessels; a few

bedstead (*manja*, *khat*) made of wooden frames covered with netted string; a few small stools (*pira*, *pida*, *khatola*) of identical construction; a few small low wooden tables (*patra*); and some large baskets to store clothes in (*pitar*). There will be some small shallow baskets (*dalri*) for bread and grain; and some narrow-mouthed ones (*bijri*) to keep small articles in.

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Population.

Social life—
The homestead
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Domestic
utensils.

The metal vessels will consist of large narrow-mouth cauldrons (*tokna*, *tokni*), for storing water in and cooking at feasts; smaller vessels of similar shape (*batloi*) for ordinary cooking and carrying water to the fields; still smaller ones (*lota*, *gadwa*, *banta*) for dipping into water and drinking from; some cups (*sarda*) without handles, some tumbler-shaped drinking vessels (*gilas*, corrupted from English glass), a broad shallow bowl or saucer (*katora bela*) for drinking hot liquid from; a large tray (*thali*); a larger tray for kneading dough in (*parant*); a brass ladle (*karchi*); a spatula for turning bread (*koncha palta khurchna*); a thin iron plate (*tava*) for baking cakes, and some pairs of iron tongs (*chimta*); a fry-pan (*karai*) and a sieve (*chhalni*), both of iron; and an iron bucket (*dol*) for drawing water from the well. The poorer people will not have all of these, and poor Musalmans very few of them; but most of them are necessary to a Hindu, who may cook in, but may not eat out of an earthen vessel if already used. The Hindu's utensils are made of brass, and perhaps a few of bell-metal (*kansi*); the Muhammadan substitutes copper for brass, which he does not use.

The vessels of pottery will be some huge narrow-mouthed vessels for storing water (*mat dagga*); similar ones, but flatter and smaller (*jhakra*, *kachhali*, *jhaola*); if mouth very big, *thal*) with mouths broad enough to admit the hand, for grain or flour; similar but smaller vessels for carrying water and milk (*matka* if striped, *ghara* if plain); still smaller ones for dipping water (*thilia*, *gharia*, *duna*); milk pots with round brims (*jab mangi*); and bowls for cooking vegetables and boiling and setting milk in (*handi*, *baroli*); smaller vessels with spouts to carry milk to the fields in (*karua* if striped, *lota* if plain; if without a spout, *lotki*); large flat saucers for cooking in and eating from (*kunda*, *kanali*); bowls for keeping sugar, &c. (*taula*); small cups (*matkana*) and platters (*kasora*, *kasori*, *sarai*, and *saranu*) used once at feasts and thrown away; small earthen lamps (*diwa*) with a notch for the wick; and various sorts of covers (*kappan*, *kapni*, *dhakni*, *chakni*); also some large broad bowls for feeding cattle from (*nand*, *hund*, *nandola*). Besides, there are tiny pots for offerings and play (*kulia*); small saucers (*kaziri*, *khwajiri*) in which lamps are floated in honour of

CHAP. I. C. Khawjah Khizr, and which are also used for eating from and as covers; and tiny lamps (*chugro chigsa*) for the *Diwali* festival. The earthen vessels used by Hindus are usually ornamented with black stripes (*chitan*); but Musalmans will not eat from vessels so marked, because the *ghara* full of water given to a Brahman (*mansna*) on *Ekadshi* after religious ceremonies by Hindus must be striped, and therefore the markings are supposed to be specially Hindu. Of course the metal vessels are expensive; but the remaining furniture of an ordinary village house costs very little. The string of the bedstead is made at home; while the carpenter makes the furniture, and the potter supplies the earthen vessels as part of their service.

Daily life.

The day of twenty-four hours is divided into eight *pahrs* or watches, four of day counting from dawn, and four of night. Each *pahr* is divided into eight *gharis*. The dawn is called *pili-phati*, the early morning *tarka*, the evening *sanj*. The daily life of the ordinary able-bodied villager is one of almost unremitting toil. He rises before dawn, eats a little stale bread, gets out his bullocks, goes to the fields, and begins work at once. About 8 o'clock his wife or a child will bring him a damper,* often stale, and a bowl of butter-milk or milk and water (*lasi pakki* or *kachchi*). At noon he has a hearty meal of fresh damper and a little pulse boiled with spices (*dal*), or some boiled vegetable (*sag*); in the cold weather this is brought to him in the field; in the hot weather he goes home for it, and does not begin work again till 2 P. M. In the evening he comes home, and after feeding his cattle eats his dinner, the grand meal of the day. His wife will have pearled some *jwar* and soaked it in the sun till it has swelled (*khata ana*) and then boiled it in milk (*rabri*); or she will have dry-boiled some whole grain and pulse mixed (*khichri*), or made a porridge of coarsely ground grain (*dalia*); or boiled up gultinous rice into a pink mass (*chawal*), or made a rice-milk of it (*khir*). There will be a little pease pudding (*dal*), or the pulse will be boiled with butter-milk and spices (*jholi, kadhi*) and some pickles (*achar*) or rough *chatni*, or some vegetable boiled with salt and *ghi* as a relish. After his meal he goes out for a smoke and a chat to the *chopal*, or under the *bor* tree outside the village.

The grain generally used in the hot weather is a mixture of wheat, barley, and gram, or any two of them, generally grown ready mixed: in the cold weather, *jwar* and maize. Unmixed wheat is seldom eaten, as it is too valuable. The vegetables used are the green pods of the *lobia* (*Dolichos sinensis*), the fruit of the

* This is perhaps the best word for the bread cake of the country, though it is far inferior to a well-made damper.

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eggplant or *bangan* (*Solanum melongena*) and of the *bh ndi* (CHAP. I. C. *Abelmoschus esculentus*), and of many pumpkins (*kaddu*), gourds (*kakri*), watermelons (*tārbuz*) and sweetmelons (*kharbuzah*), and the leaves of all the Brassicas of the cockscumb or *chautai* (Amaranthus polygonus); *methi* (*Trigonella fenugrecum*), of the small pulses, and the roots of carrots (*gajar*). The spices and pickles are too numerous and unimportant to detail. A hearty young man in full work will eat daily from 1 to 1½ seers of grain, one-eighth of a seer of pulse, and two seers or more of butter-milk besides vegetables, &c. The richer Muhammadans occasionally eat goat's flesh, but this is exceptional; but the Hindu does not touch meat, while to the ordinary peasant of either religion, animal food other than milk and *ghi* is quite beyond his means. Population Daily life

The women of the family have all the grinding, cooking, cleaning the house, and spinning to do; among the Brahmans and Rajputs they are strictly confined to the walls of the court-yard, where they cook, spin, clean cotton of its seed, grind flour, husk rice, and so on. Among the Tagas and Gujars they go to the well for water and take the dinner to the field, and often pick cotton and safflower. Among the Jats they also weed, and do other hard fieldwork. They all sit much about in the alleys spinning and gossiping, often very much undressed: and though their life is a hard one, it is, to judge from appearances, by no means an unhappy one. The boys, as soon as old enough, are taken from the gutter and sent to tend the cattle; and from that time they are gradually initiated into the labour of their lot. At evening they play noisily about; a sort of rounders, tipcat, hide and seek and prisoner's base, being favourite games. The life is a terribly dull one. The periodical fair or *mela* and the occasional wedding form its chief relief, together with the months of sugar-pressing, when everybody goes about with a yard of cane in his mouth, and a deal of gossiping (as well as a deal of hard work) is done at the press. But the toil is unremitting; and when we think what a mud hovel in a crowded village innocent of sanitation must be in July and August, we can only wonder at the marvellous patience and contentment of the villager.

The men wear a made turban (*pagri*) or a strip of cloth (Clothes. *dopatta*) wound round the head; a short under-coat buttoning up the front (*kurta*); or else an overcoat (*angarkha* if long *mirzai* or *kamri* if short) fastening with a flap at the side; and a loin-cloth (*dhoti* if broad and full, *arband* if scanty, *langar* if still more scanty), or a waist-thing (*tagai*, or if of silk *pat*) with a

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Clothes.

small cloth (*langoti*) between the legs. The *kurta* is new fashioned and is not graceful. A single warp (*chadar*) in the hot weather and a double warp (*dohar*) or a quilt (*rizan*) in cold, and a pair of shoes (*patan*) complete the toilet. Trousers (*suthun*) are only worn on occasions of ceremony; a handkerchief (*agoncha*) is occasionally used. Hindus and Musalmans are distinguished by the *angarkha* of the former opening to the right and of the latter to the left. Musalmans sometimes wear their loin-cloth not passed between their legs (*tehmud*); but they usually adopt the Hindu fashion, though they preserve their own name for the garment. In the north the coats are worn much shorter than in the south: and the Jats of the south and west on occasions of state often wear turbans of portentous size, especially the Dohia and Dalal Jats. In the north of the tract the turban is always white, lower down often coloured; Ghatwal Jats and Banyas generally wear them red; and religious devotees of a yellow ochre colour. The other clothes are either white or made of prints; never whole coloured.

The married women wear a boddice to support the breasts (*angi* or *angia*); married or single they wear a small coat down to the hips (*kurti*) buttoning to the right; a petticoat (*ghagri*, *lenga*) or drawers (*paijamah*), and a wrap (*orhna*). *Teli* and *kumhar* women wear the coat and petticoat in one piece like a gown (*tilak*). The coat is often not worn; but a Rajput woman always wears it, though she sometimes omits the boddice. Musalman women generally wear drawers, and Hindu women petticoats. So again Musalman women wear blue (indigo) coats and wraps without admixture of red or yellow; while Hindu woman wears red clothes as a rule, and will not wear a blue coat or wrap at all; while her petticoat, if blue, must be spotted or embroidered with red or yellow. But all Rajput women, unless very old, wear drawers, red or blue according to religion: on the other hand, Musalman Gujar women wear petticoats after consummation of marriage and till they grow old, and Hindu Gujar women wear the petticoat spotted white or red, never whole red. The whole red petticoat is called *daman*; and the Gujar blue petticoat, with or without spots, *tukri*: a petticoat or wrap spotted with red spots is called *thekma*, from *thekna* to spot. Only prostitutes wear wholly white clothing. Children go naked till 4 or 5 years old; sometimes boys wear a *langoti* and girls a triangular piece of cloth called *fania*. A girl then wears a petticoat or drawers, and a boy a *langoti* and *tagri*, and sometimes a *jhuga* or shirt. A girl cannot wear an *angi* until she is married and

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lives with her husband. The everyday clothes are always made from the village-made cloth, which, though rougher, is much stronger than English. Prints are largely brought into holiday use. The ordinary dyes are indigo for blue and safflower for red and yellow. A complete suit of female clothes is called *til* or *tial*; of male clothes, *jora*.

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The jewels (*gena*) worn by men are as follows.—Ear-rings (*gokru*), bracelets made of a cylindrical bar of metal (*kangan*, *todar*); a single necklace or rosary always containing beads (*mala*); a broad necklace made of chains (*kantla*); a locket (*kanthi*); rings (*angunthi*). Boys often wear waistbands of silver chain (*tagri*). The most usually worn of the above are the ear-rings, single necklace with a small locket (often sacred to Shiv); and if a headman, a ring with a seal in it. It is not good taste for any members of the village proprietary community, except the headman, to wear seal rings. Women wear a band of silver cowries going up the parting of the hair, and fastening to pins on the back (*kauri*); a frontlet on the forehead (*bindi*); plain ear-rings (*bujni*); ear-rings on the top of the ear with loops of chain (*bali*); nose-rings (*nat nath*); necklaces of 14 coins (if all rupees *jhalra*, if one a gold *mohur*, *tikawal*); bossed armlets (*tad*, *tadia*); bracelets in the following order from the elbow to the wrists, *pachheli*, *chhan*, *kangni*, *chura*; a breastplate of silver chain (*dharu*); chains and bells fastened to the right-hand corner of the *orhna* (*palli*), bosses and chains fastened to the front of the *orhna* so as to fall over the face (*ghungat*); a silver tassel on the petticoat over the right hip (*nara*), a bunch of chains and tassels on the ankle (*pazeb*); solid anklets (*bank*). Of course the varieties have innumerable names. A woman's social standing is greatly determined by her jewels; and the women, when talking to an English lady, will often condole with her on her husband's stinginess in not supplying her better. The nose-ring, the plain armlet, and the *chura* or wristlet have a social signification. The armlets and bracelets and anklets, being solid and not easy to get off, are always worn; the rest only on state occasions, such as fairs and the like. The ordinary investment for spare capital is to buy jewels for one's wife, as the money can always be realized on occasion. The custom of tattooing (*khinna*, *godna*) is common, except among the Rajputs and Brahmans. Only women do it; and they tattoo the chin, the inside of the forearm, the outside of the upper arms, the side of the waist, the calf of the leg. The Gujars do not tattoo the arm. Men and prostitutes have small holes drilled in their front teeth, and gold let in (*chaunp*).

Jewels and
personal
adornment.

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Population.

Birth.

When a woman is about to be delivered she is taken off the bed and put on the ground. If a boy is born, a brass tray is beaten to spread the news. A net is hung up in the doorway, and a garland (*bandarwal*) of mango leaves ; and a branch of *nim* is stuck into the wall by the doorway, and a fire lighted in the threshold, which is kept up night and day. Thus no evil spirits can pass. The swaddling clothes should be got from another person's house. They are called *potra* ; thus "*potron ka amir*" is equivalent to "a gentleman from his cradle." For three days the child is not suckled. For five days no one from outside, except the midwife, goes into the house. On the night of the sixth day (natives always count the night *preceding* the day as belonging to it) the whole household sits and watches over the child ; for on the sixth day (*chhata*) the child's destiny (*lekh*) is written down, especially as to his immunity from small-pox. If the child goes hungry on this, he will be stingy all his life ; and a miser is accordingly called "*chhate ko bhukha*", so a prosperous man is called "*chhate ha Raja*." On the sixth day the female relations come on visits of congratulation, but they must not go into the room where the woman is lying in. The father's sister, too, comes and washes the mother's nipple and puts it into the child's mouth, and the mother takes off her necklace and gives it to her sister-in-law ; *gur* is divided to the brotherhood. On the seventh day the female *Dum* or bard comes and sings. Till the tenth day the house is impure (*sutak*) and no one can eat or drink from it, and no man can go into it unless belonging to the household. On the tenth day (*dusuthun*) the net is taken down, the fire let out, all the clothes washed, all the earthen vessels renewed and the house new plastered ; the Brahmans come and do *Hom* to purify the house, and tie a *tagari* of yellow string round the boy's waist ; and the Brahmans and assembled brotherhood are feasted. The child is often named on this day ; the Brahman casting the horoscope and fixing the name. But the parents sometimes change the name if they do not approve of the Brahman's selection. At the birth of a girl the tray is not beaten, no feasting takes place, and no net is hung up or fire lighted. The mother remains impure for five weeks ; no one can eat or drink from her hands ; and she takes her food separately. As soon as there is hair enough, the boy's head is shaved and his *choti* (scalplock) made ; but there are no further ceremonies till his betrothal.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is called *nata* ; the ceremony *sagai*. It generally takes place in infancy. When the father of a girl wishes to betroth her, he makes inquiry for a marriageable boy of good

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Betrothal.

family, the village barber acting the part of go-between. If matters are satisfactory, he sends the barber to the boy's village, who puts either a ring or one rupee into the boy's hand. This is called *rokna* (from *rokna* to restrain); and if the boy's father returns Re. 1-4-0, called *bidagi*, to the barber to take to the girl's father, he thereby accepts the offer and clenches the engagement. This engagement is not a necessary preliminary of betrothal; and is most customary among castes, such as the Rajputs, who marry at a comparatively late age, and who do not wish to go to the expense of a formal betrothal so long beforehand, for fear one of the children should die and the money be wasted. Among the Gujars, on the other hand, the above ceremony constitutes betrothal; but the *tika* is affixed at the time by the Brahman as described below. It is possible for the proposal to come from the boy's side, in which case he sends his sister's necklace; and if the girl keeps it, his proposal is accepted. But this is only done when the families are already acquainted.

When it is decided to proceed to the betrothal (*sagai*), the barber and Brahman are sent with the *pich-narial*, or one rupee which has been all night in the milk which is set for butter, a loin-cloth (*pich*) and a cocoanut (*narial*). The boy is seated in a chair before the brotherhood, the Brahman puts the *tika* or mark on the boy's forehead and the other things into his lap, and *gur* is divided by the boy's father, who takes hold of the hand of each near relation in turn and puts some *gur* into it. The boy's father then gives Re. 1-4-0* to the Brahman, and double that to the barber. This is called *neg* or *lag*, and must be brought back to the girl's father; and when so brought back completes the betrothal. Ordinarily no relation of the girl may take any part in the embassy (*lagi*) of betrothal; but Brahmans send the girl's brother-in-law or relation by marriage. Exchange of betrothals between two families (*nata sania*) is considered very disgraceful; and if done at all, is done by a tripartite betrothal, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. Among the Jats, if the boy dies, his father has a right to claim the girl for his other son; or, in default of another, any male relation in that degree. If the girl dies her family has no claim.

Jats marry at about 5 or 7 years old; Rors and Gujars at 12 to 14; Rajputs at 15, 16 or even older. Foster relationship is equivalent to blood relationship as a bar to marriage. Any number of wives may be married, but a second wife

Marriage preliminaries.

* Wherever other people give Re. 1-4-0, the Jats pay Re. 1 and 4 *taka*, that is, 8 country pice at 5 to the *anna*.

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is seldom taken unless the first is childless. A sister of a first wife may be married, or any relation in the same degree ; but not one above or below. The boy's Brahman fixes an auspicious day, and decides how many ceremonial oilings (*ban*) the boy is to undergo. It must be 5, 7, 9, or 11 ; and the girl will undergo *two* fewer than the boy. The boy's father then sends a *lagan* or *tewa* generally 9, 11, or 15 days before the wedding, which is a letter communicating the number of *ban* and the number of guests to be expected, and is accompanied by a loin-cloth or a complete suit of female clothes (*tial*) and a pair of shoes. In all these communications the Brahman who takes the letter always gets Re. 1-4-0.

The boy and girl then undergo their *bans* in their respective homes. The women collect and bathe them while singing, and rub them from head to foot with oil and turmeric and peameal. The *bans* are given one each night, and are so arranged that the boy's will end the night before the procession starts, and the girl's the night before the wedding. After each *ban* the mother performs the ceremonies of *arata* and *sewal* described below to the boy. The girl has only *sewal* performed, as *arata* can under no circumstances be performed over a female. The day of the first *ban* is called *haldhath*, or "red hand." Seven women with living husbands husk $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice and make sweets with it. The Brahman comes and sticks up two small round saucers, bottom outwards, against the wall with flour, and in front of them a flour lamp is kept alight in honour of ancestors. On either side he makes five marks of a bloody hand on the wall. This is done in each house. In the girl's village the street turnings all the way from the village gate to the bride's house, and the house itself, are also marked with red or red and white marks. After the first *ban* the boy has the *rakri* or black woollen thread, with a small iron ring (*chhalla*) and some yellow cloth and betel-nut, tied round his left ankle. The girl has her small gold nose-ring put on ; for up to that time she can only wear a silver one ; and she must not wear a large one till she goes to live with her husband. She also takes off her silver wristlets (*chura*) which no married woman may wear ; and substitutes for them at least five of glass on each arm. These glass wristlets and her nose-ring form her *sohag*, and a woman who has a husband living (*sohagan*) must always wear them. When her husband dies, she breaks the wristlets off her arm, and throws the pieces and nose-ring on to the corpse, and they are wrapped up within the shroud. After that she may

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wear silver wristlets again. And occasionally, if a widow has plenty of grown-up sons, she will continue to wear the *sohag*.

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Marriage preliminaries.

The day before the procession is to start or arrive, as the case may be, the *manda* or *mandab* is erected. At the boy's house they take five seed-stems of the long *sarkana* grass and tie them over the lintel. They dig a hole in front and to the right of the threshold, put money in it, and stand a plough beam straight up in it. To this they hang two small cakes fried in *ghi*, with three little saucers under and two above this, and two pice, all tied on a thread. Finally, some five *beran* culms, and a *dogar*, or two vessels of water one on top of the other, are brought by the mother, attended by singing women, and, after worship of the potter's wheel (*chak*), are put by the door as a good omen. At the girl's house the same is done; but instead of burying the plough beam they erect a sort of tent with one central pole, and four cross sticks, or a stool with its four legs upwards, at the top, and on each is hung a brass water-pot upside down surrounding a full one in the middle; or a curtained enclosure is formed, open to the sky, with at each corner a *lichhi* or "nest" of five earthen vessels, one on top of the other, with a tripod of bamboos over each.

On the same day the mother's brother of the boy or girl brings the *bhat*. This is provided by the mother's father, and consists of a present of clothes; and necessarily includes the wedding suit for the bride or bridegroom, and in the case of the boy, the loin-cloth and head-dress he is to wear at the marriage; for all that either party then wears must always be provided by his or her mother's brother. The boy's maternal uncle also brings a girl's suit of clothes and a wedding ring; and the girl wears *both* suits of clothes at the wedding. When the *bhat* is given, the boy's or girl's mother performs the ceremony of *arata* or *minna*. She takes a five-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot. She also performs *sewal*, which consists in picking up her petticoat and touching his body all over with it. They then take the brother in-doors and feed him on *laddus* or sweetmeat balls. The people then at the boy's village collect in the village common room and the *neota* (see below) is collected, the *bhati* (giver of the *bhat*) putting in his money first, which is a free gift and not entered in the account.

On the day when the marriage procession (*janet*, *barat*) is to start, the boy receives his last *ban* and is dressed in his wedding suit, the *kangna* or seven-knotted sacred thread is tied on his

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wrist, and his head-dress is tied on, consisting of a crown (called *mor*) of mica and tinsel, a *pechi* or band of silver tinsel over the turban, and a *sehra* or fringed vizor of gold tinsel. He then performs the ceremony of *ghurchari*. The barber leads him, while singing women follow and the mother with a vessel of water; and his sister puts her wrap over her right hand, and on it places rice which she flings at his crown as the boy goes along. He then gives her Re. 1, worships the gods of the homestead, and gives Re. 1 to the *Bairagi*. He is then put into a palanquin, and the procession, to which every house nearly related must contribute a representative, and which consists of males only, starts, as much as possible on horseback, with music of sorts. At each village they pass through they are met by the barber, *Dum*, and the Brahmins, whom they pay money to, and who put *dubh* grass on the father's head, and pray that he may flourish like it. The procession must reach the girl's village after the mid-day meal.

A place, rigorously outside the village, has been appointed for them called *bag* or *goira*. The girl's relations come to meet them, bringing a loin-cloth and 11 *taka* and a little rice and sweetmeats in a tray. The two parties sit down, the Brahmins read sacred texts, the girl's Brahmin affixes the *tika* on the boy's forehead and gives a loin-cloth and 11 *taka*, taking a loin-cloth and 21 *taka* in exchange. The two fathers then embrace, and the girl's father takes Re. 1 from his turban and gives it to the boy's father, who gives him in exchange the cloth which is to form the *patka* at the wedding. The girl's father then asks the boy's father for either 11 or 14 pice, the *goira ka kharch*, or expenses of the *goira*; and these he distributes to the menial bystanders, and makes the boy's father pay something to the barber and Brahmin. The procession then proceeds to the girl's house, the boy being put on a horse and pice being thrown over his head as a scramble (*bahker*) for the menials. They do not go into the house; but at the door stand women singing and holding flour lamps. The boy is stood on a stool, and the girl's elder married sister, or if she has no married sister her brother's married daughter, performs to him the ceremonies of *arata* and *sewal* already described, and the boy's father gives her Re. 1-4-0. She also performs the ceremony of *warpher* by waving a pot of water over the boy's head and then drinking a little of it, and waving a rupee round his head. The girl's and boy's relations then fight for the stool on which the boy stood, and boy's relations win, and carry it off in triumph to the *jandalwasa* or *dandalwasa*,

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which is the place fixed for the residence of the guests. This *should*, in theory, be outside the village ; but for convenience sake it is generally in the *chopal*. Presently the guests are bidden to the girl's house, where they eat ; but the boy stays in the *jandalwasa*, as he must not enter the girl's house till the wedding itself. So, too, the girl's relations do not eat, for they cannot eat that day till the wedding ceremony is over. This ends the first day, called *dhakao*.

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That night, at some time after sunset, the wedding ceremony (*phera*) takes place. Shortly before it the girl's barber goes to the *jandalwasa*, where the boy's father gives him a complete suit of clothes for the girl, some jewels, sacred coloured strings to tie her hair up (*nala*), some henna for her hands, and a ring called the yoke-ring (*juaki anguthi*). The girl wears nothing at all of her own, unless it be pair of scanty drawers (*dhola*) ; and she is dressed up in the above things, and also in the clothes brought in the *bhat* by her maternal uncle, one on top of the other. The ring she wears on the first finger ; and on her head she wears the *cholasop*, or an unsewn and unhemmed reddish yellow cloth provided by her maternal grandfather used only at weddings, but worn after the ceremony till it wears out. Meanwhile her relations sit down with their Brahman under the *manda*.

There a place on the ground (*chauri, bedi*) has been fresh plastered, and the Brahman makes a square enclosure (*mandal or purat*) of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire (*hawan*) of *dhak* wood and *ghi*, and sugar and sesame. Meanwhile the other party has been sent for ; and the boy, dressed in the clothes brought by his maternal uncle, comes attended by his father and nearest relations only. They sit down to the north, the girl's people to the south, and two stools are placed facing the east, on which the boy and girl, who are fetched after all have sat down by her mother's brother, are seated each next his or her people, so that she is on his right hand. When the ceremony commences, the girl's people hold up a cloth for a minute so as to hide the boy and girl from the boy's people, " just as a matter of form." The Brahman puts five little earthen pots (*ulia*) in the sacred enclosure, and makes the boy and girl dip their third fingers into turmeric and touch pice, which he then puts into the pots, the boy offering twice as many as the girl. Sacred texts are then recited. The girl then turns her hand palm upwards, her father puts one rupee and a little water into it, and takes the hand and the rupee and solemnly places them in the boy's

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hand, saying "I give you my daughter; I give her virgin" (*main apni larki dun, kanya dun*). This is called *kanya dan*. Then the sacred fire is stirred up, the Brahman ties the hem (*palla*) of the girl's wrap to a piece of cloth called the *patka*, and the boy takes the latter over his shoulder and leads her round the fire counter-clockwise four times, and then she goes in front and leads him round three times. Meanwhile the family priests recite the tribe and clan of each, and the names of their ancestors for four generations. This is the *phera*, and constitutes the real marriage. After this the Brahmans formally ask each whether he or she accepts the other, and is ready to perform duties which are set forth in time-honoured and very impressive and beautiful language. The boy and girl then sit down, each where the other sat before; and this completes the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the girl's house, where the girl's mother unties the boy's head-dress and gives him a little *ghi* and *gur* mixed up. There two small earthen saucers have been fixed with flour against the wall, bottom outwards, and a lamp lighted in front of them. This they worship; the boy returns to the *jandalwasa* after redeeming his shoes, which the women have stolen, by paying Re. 1-4-0; while the girl stays with her people.

After ceremonies.

On the second day (*badhar*) the boy's people must not eat food of the girl's people; and they get it from their relations and friends in the village. Various ceremonies involving payment to Brahmans and barbers are performed. At night the girl's father and friends go to the *jandalwasa*; the two fathers, who are now each other's *samdhis*, embrace; the girl's father gives his *samdhi* one rupee and invites the whole *barat*, including the boy, to eat at the girl's house. But when, after eating, they have returned to the *jandalwasa*, the girl's friends follow them, and make them give a nominal payment for it, called *roti ka kharch*, which is given to the menials. On the third day, called *bida*, the *neota* is collected in the girl's house, just as it was in the boy's house before the *barat* started. The boy's people then eat at the girl's house, and return to the *jandalwasa*, whence they are presently summoned to take leave (*bida hona*). The boy's father then presents a *bari*, which is a gift of sugar, almonds, sacred threads, fruits, &c., to the girl's people. The ceremony of *patta* is then performed. The girl's relations form a *panchait* or council, and demand a certain sum from the boy's father, from which the village menials then and there receive their fixed dues. The money is called *patta*. The girl's *panch* having ascertained that all

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have been paid, formally asks the boy's father whether any one in the village has taken or demanded ought of him save this money ; and he replies in the negative. During this ceremony the girl's father sits quite apart, as he must have nothing whatever to do with taking money from the boy's people, and in fact often insists upon paying the *patta* himself. While the *patta* is being distributed, the girl's mother makes the boy perform the ceremony of *band khulari*, which consists in untying one knot of the *manda*. She then puts the *tika* on his forehead and gives one rupee and two *ladus* (a sweetmeat made into a ball), and the other women also feed him. This is called *johari*. Then the girl's father presents the *dan* or dower, which includes money, clothes, vessels, &c., but no female jewels ; and the *barat* returns to the *jandal-wasa*. The boy's father then visits all the women (*gotan*) of his own clan who live in the village, and gives each one rupee. The horses and bullocks are then got out, and should assemble at the outer gate of the village though they sometimes go to the door of the house for convenience. Her maternal uncle takes the girl, and followed by women singing, places her in the ox-cart in which she is to travel. She is accompanied by a female barber, called the *larumbi*, and the boy is kept apart. When they are just starting, the two fathers embrace, and the girl's father gives the other one rupee and his blessing ; but the girl's mother comes up, and having dipped her hand in henna, claps the boy's father on the back so as to leave a bloody mark of a hand (*thapa*) on his clothes. A few pice are scrambled over the heads of the happy pair ; and the procession starts for home, the girl screaming and crying as a most essential form.

When the *barat* reaches the boy's village the friends are collected at the boy's door, which has five red marks of a hand on the wall on either side. The boy and girl are stood on the stool which the *barat* have brought from the other village, and the boy's mother measures them both with a *sela* or string made of the hair of a bullock's tail, which is then thrown away. She also performs the ceremony of *sewal*, and waves a vessel of water over their heads and drinks a little of it. The boy's sister stands in the doorway and will not admit them till the boy pays her one rupee. That night the boy and girl sleep on the floor, and above where they sleep are two mud saucers stuck, bottom outwards, against the wall, and a lighted lamp before them.

On the next auspicious day the girl puts on the wrap with the *patka* still knotted to it ; the boy takes it over his shoulder

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and leads her off, attended by women only and music, to worship the god of the homestead, the sacred *tulsi* tree, the small-pox goddess, and all the village deities, and the wheel of the potter, who gives them a nest of vessels for good luck. They go outside the village and perform *kesora*, which consists in the boy and girl taking each a stick and fighting together by striking seven blows or more. Then comes the ceremony of *kangna khelna*. The girl unties the *kangna* or 7-knotted sacred thread which the Brahman tied round the boy's wrist before he started, and he undoes hers. The *kangnas* are then tied to the girl's yoke-ring; and it is flung by the boy's brother's wife into a vessel of milk and water with *dubh* grass in it. The two then dip for it several times with their hands, the finder being rewarded with cheers.* Till this ceremony is performed, the boy and girl must sleep on the ground, and not on bedsteads. Then the boy's elder brother's wife (his *bhabhi*) sits down, opens her legs, and takes the boy between her thighs. The girl sits similarly between the boy's thighs, and takes a little boy into her lap. The girl or his mother gives him two *laddus*; and he says, "a son for my sister-in-law, and two *laddus* for me." Some few days after a barber comes from the girl's village, and takes her back to her home.

Consummation of the marriage.

So far the bride and bridegroom are infants, and of course the marriage has not been consummated; in fact, a child conceived at this stage would be illegitimate. The consummation takes place after the return of the girl to her husband's house, called *challa* or *muklawā*. This takes place when the girl is pubert; but must be in either the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, or 11th year after the wedding. The girl's people fix the day; and the boy with some male friends, but without his father, goes to fetch her. The girl then for the first time wears a large nose-ring, an armlet (*tadia*), and a bodice or *angi*. The girl's father gives her some clothes and jewels, and they go off home. As they start, the girl must scream and cry bitterly, and bewail some near male relation who has lately died, saying, "oh! my father is dead," or "oh! my brother is dead." After reaching home they live together as man and wife. The girl stays with her husband a few weeks only; and must then return to her father's home and stay there some six months or a year. She is then brought back for good by her husband, her father presenting her with her trousseau (*pitar*) of clothes and jewels. This she

* Among the Rajputs there are two *kangnas*, one with a rupee and the other with betel-nut tied to it. This ceremony is performed with the former *kangna* at the girl's village the day after the *pāra*, and with the latter as described above.

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retains ; but all clothes given by her father to the boy's father previous to this, at marriage or *cholla*, must be divided among the female relations of the boy's father and not retained by him.

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tion of the
marriage.

This is the course of affairs when the parties marry in infancy. But among Rajputs who always marry late, and generally when the marriage has from any cause been delayed till puberty, there is no *mukluwa*, but on the third day, before the *barat* starts the ceremony of *patra pherna* or changing the stools is performed. The girl changes all her clothes, putting on clothes provided by her father, and also a large nose-ring, armlet, and boddice. The boy and girl are then seated on stools, and exchange places, each sitting where the other was, and the *patka* is tied up. The girl's father presents both the dower and the trousseau at the same time; and the pair, on reaching home, live as man and wife.

Among Musalmans there is no *phera*; the *nikah* or Musalman marriage ceremony being substituted for it, which the *qazi* reads in presence of witnesses. Envoys (*vakils*) go into the girl's house to take her consent and come out and announce it, the boy consents himself three times, and the ceremony is complete. But among converts to Islam, at any rate, the other customs and ceremonies are almost *exactly* the same. Of late years the Musalmans have begun to leave off the *sewal* and *arata*, and they often use no *pechi*, though they retain the *sehra*. Local and tribal variations are numerous, but quite unimportant. There are innumerable minutiae which vary greatly, though quite constant for each tribe or locality. The Rajputs never use a *mor*, nor have the custom of *thapa*; and the tent is often omitted from the *manda* in the Khadar.

Musalman
and other
variations

The wife has to hide her face before all the elder brothers and other elder relations of her husband; not so before the younger ones—elder and younger, being, of course, a matter of genealogical degree, and not of age. Nor may she ever mention the name of any of the elder ones, or even of her husband himself.* When once the ceremonial goings and comings are over—among Rajputs, for instance, where there is no *mukluwa*, directly the wedding is over—she may never return to her father's house except with his special leave; and if he sends for her, he has to give her a fresh dower. The village into which his daughter

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following
upon mar-
riage.

* In one village there is a shrine to an ancestor who had died childless. It is known by his nick name, and not by his proper name, because the women of the family do not like to pronounce the latter.

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is married is utterly tabooed for the father, and her elder brother, and all near elder relations. They may not go to it, even drink water from a well in that village; for it is shameful to take anything from one's daughter or her belongings. On the other hand, the father is continually giving things to his daughter and her husband as long as he lives. Even the more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the girl's village by leave of her father, but not without.

The custom
of *neota*.

There is a curious custom called *neota* by which all the branches of a family contribute towards the expenses of a marriage in any of its component households. If *A* and *B* are relations and *A* first marries his daughter, *B* will contribute, say Rs. 10. If *B* then marries his daughter, *A* must contribute more than this, or say Rs. 12. At further marriages, so long as the *neota* consists between them, the contribution will always be Rs. 10, so that *B* will always owe *A* Rs. 2; but if either wishes to put an end to the *neota*, he will contribute if *A*, only Rs. 8, if *B* Rs. 12. This clears the account, and *ipso facto*, closes the *neota*. The *neota* is always headed by the *bhati* or mother's brother; but his contribution is a free gift, and does not enter into the account, which is confined to the relations of the male line. These contribute even when the relationship is very distant indeed. This is the real *neota*; and is only called into play on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter or son of the house. But in a somewhat similar manner, when the *bhat* is to be provided by the mother's father, he sends a little *gur* to each *neotara* or person between whom and himself *neota* exists; and they make small contributions, generally Re. 1 each. So, too, when the boy's father gives *gur* to his relations at his son's betrothal they each return him Re. 1. The Rajputs call the custom *bel* instead of *neota*, and take it, in the case of the *bhat*, only from descendants of a common great-grandfather.

Remarriage of
widows.

A man may marry as often as he pleases. If he marries again on the death of his wife, he is called *daheju*. The ceremonies are exactly the same for a man's different marriages. But under no circumstances can a woman perform the *phera* twice in her life. Thus, among the Rajputs, Brahman and Tagas, who do not allow *karewa* or *karao*, a widow cannot, under any circumstances, remarry. But among other castes a remarriage is allowed under the above name. It is, in its essence, the Jewish Levirate; that is to say, on the death of a man his younger

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brother has first claim to the widow, then his elder brother, and after them other relations in the same degree; though *karewa* cannot be performed while the girl is a minor, and her consent is necessary. But it has been extended so that a man may marry a widow whom he could not have married as a virgin, the only restriction being that she is not of his own clan. Thus, a Gujar may marry a Jat or Ror widow of any clan but his own. Neither marriage nor adoption, nor any other ceremony, can change the clan of a man or woman, that being, under all circumstances, the clan of the original father. Even women of menial castes can be so married; but the woman is then called *heri hui* though it is still a real marriage. At the same time any marriage out of one's own caste, even if with a higher one, is thought disgraceful. The marriage must not take place within a year of the husband's death. It is effected by the man throwing a red wrap over the woman's head and putting wristlets (*chura*) on her arm in presence of male and female members of the brotherhood. There is no *neota* in *karewa*, because there are no expenses.

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When a Hindu is on the point of death, he is taken off the bed and put with his feet to the east on the ground, on a fresh plastered spot strewn with the sacred *dubh* grass and sesame. Ganges water and milk, and a tiny pearl (they can be bought for a few pice), and gold, are put into his mouth. The friends are called in, and the son or nearest heir shaves completely in public, draws water with his right hand alone, bathes, and puts on a clean loin-cloth, turban and handkerchief, and no other clothes. Meanwhile the widow has broken her *sohag* and throws it on the corpse, while the men or women of the family, according to its sex, bathe it with the water the son has drawn, put on it a loin-cloth, and sew it up in a shroud (*guji* or *ghug*). They then place it on the bier (*arthi* or *pinjri*) and bear it out head foremost. At the door a Brahman meets it with *pinds* (balls of dough) and water, which the son places on the bier by the head of the corpse. On the road they stop by a tank or some water, and *pinds* are again put on the bier. Then all the *pinds* are flung into the water, and the bier is taken up the reverse way, with the feet foremost. When they reach the burning place (*chhalla*) the corpse is placed on the pyre (*chita*), and the son, taking sacred fire lit by the Brahman, lights the wood (*dag dena*) and fans it. This is the *kiri karm* so often mentioned. When the bone of the skull is exposed, the son takes one of the sticks, of which the bier was made, drives it through the skull (*kapal kiria*) and throws it over the corpse beyond the feet. When the corpse is completely

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 Population. to their homes. The burning should be on the day of death, if
 Death. possible ; but it should always be before sunset.

If the burning was performed on the bank of the Jumna, water is thrown on the ashes ; if in the Kurukshetr, the bones are thrown into one of the sacred tanks, and all is over. Otherwise on the third day the knuckle-bones and other small fragments of bones (*phul*) are collected. If they can be taken to the Ganges at once, well and good ; if not they are buried in the jungle. But they must not be brought into the village in any case ; and when once ready to be taken to the Ganges, they must not be put down anywhere, but must always be hung up till finally thrown by a Brahman into the stream. Their bearer, who must be either a relation, or a Brahman, or *Jhinwar*, must sleep on the ground, and not on a bed, on his way to the Ganges. After the death a *ghara* of water with a hole in the bottom, stuffed with *dubh* grass, so that water will drip from it, is hung in a *pipal* tree ; and the water is filled, and a lamp lighted daily for 11 days.

The house is impure (*patak*) till the thirteenth day after death. On the tenth day the *Maha* Brahman or *Acharj* comes. The household perform *dasahi* ; that is, they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer 10 *pinds*, and give the *Acharj* grain enough for 10 meals. On the eleventh or day of *sapinda*, a bull calf is let loose, with a trident (*tarsul*) branded on his shoulder or quarter, to become a pest. The *Acharj* is seated on the dead man's bedstead, and they make obeisance to him and lift him up, bedstead and all. He then takes the bedstead and all the wearing apparel of the dead man, and goes off on his donkey. But he is held to be so utterly impure that in many villages they will not allow him to come inside, but take the things out to him. On the twelfth day the Gujrati Brahman is fed, being given *sidha* or the uncooked materials for dinner only, as he will not eat food cooked even by Gaur Brahmans. On the thirteenth day the Gaur Brahmans are fed, and then the whole brotherhood ; the walls are plastered, the earthen vessels changed, all clothes washed, and the house becomes pure. If the man died on his bed instead of on the ground, the house is impure for 45 days ; and after the eleventh day special ceremonies called *jap* have to be performed to purify it. Again, if he has died on certain inauspicious days of the month, called *panchak*, five or seven Brahmans have to perform *barni* in order to ease his spirit. The same ceremonies are observed on the death of a woman.

Children under 8 years of age are buried without ceremony. There are no particular ceremonies observed at the death of a Musalman, who is, of course, buried with his feet to the south. *Gosains* and *Jogis* are buried sitting up in salt; and used to be so buried alive before our rule. Their graves are called *samad*. *Bairagis* are burnt, and in the case of an abbot a *samad* erected over some of the bones. *Chamars* are burnt; while sweepers are buried upside down (*mundha*).

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The disembodied spirit while on its travels is called *paret*; and remains in this state for one year making twelve monthly stages. For the first twelve days after death a lamp is kept lit, and a bowl of water with a hole in the bottom for it to drip from kept full in a *pipal* tree for the use of the spirit. At the end of each month the son gives his family priest the "monthly *ghara*," which consists of a *sidha* or uncooked food for two meals, a *ghara* of water, a towel, an umbrella, and a pair of the wooden shoes (*kharaun*) used where the impure leather is objectionable. At the first anniversary of the death (*barsaudi*) he gives the Brahman a bedstead and bedding, a complete suit of clothes, some vessels, and such other parts of a complete outfit as he can afford. This is called *sajja*. He also gives him a cow with a calf at foot, and some rupees in water.

Ceremonies for the repose of the spirit.

The character and disposition of the people are thus described by Mr. Ibbetson :—

Character and disposition of the people.

"I have a great liking for the ordinary villager. His life is one of monotonous toil under very depressing circumstances. He grumbles much, but only as a farmer is bound to do; and he is marvellously patient, cheery and contented on the whole. He is often exceedingly intelligent considering his opportunities, he is hospitable in the extreme, and he loves a joke when the point is broad enough for him to see. His wants are easily satisfied; he has formulated them thus :—

"*Das change bail dekh, wa das man berri*;

"*Haqq hisabi nya, wa sak sir jori*;

"*Bhuri bharns ka dudh, wa rabai gholna*;

"*Itna de kartar; to bohr na bolna*.

"Let me see ten good oxen and ten maunds of mixed grain, the milk of a grey buffalo and some sugar to stir into it, a fair assessment demanded after the harvest. God give me so much, and I won't say another word.

"I will even say that according to his standard he is moral, though his standard is not ours. The villager looks at the end, and not at the means. If he honestly thinks that his friend is in the right in his claim, a respectable man will tell any number of circumstantial lies to produce the same impres-

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sion on the mind of the Judge. But if he thinks him in the wrong, he will not bear evidence either for or against him; he will say that he knows nothing about the matter. And when formally confronted by the whole brotherhood, a villager will rarely persist in a claim which he knows to be false. Of the good faith that governs the mass of the people in their dealings with one another, it would, I believe, be difficult to speak too highly, especially between members of the same community. Of their sexual morality, I can say nothing. If scandals are common, we hear but little of them, for they are carefully hushed up. My impression is that the village life is infinitely more pure in this respect than that of an English agricultural village; partly, no doubt, because of the early marriages which are customary.

"The loyalty of the people in the tract is, I think, beyond suspicion. They remember the horrors of the days of anarchy which preceded our rule too vividly to be anything else. Two points in our administration, however, are especially complained of by them. They complain bitterly of Native Judges; and say that since their authority has been extended, *andher hone laga*, it has begun to grow dark. And they object to our disregard of persons, and to our practical denial of all authority to the village elders. They say that a headman now-a-days cannot box the ears of an impertinent village menial without running the risk of being fined by the Magistrate; and I think it can hardly be denied that, in many respects, our refusal to recognise the village as a responsible unit is a mistake; while where we do partly enforce the system of joint responsibility, we wholly deny to the people the privilege of joint government."

Musalmans.

The Musalmans of the district must be divided into two very distinct classes. The original Musalmans, such as Saiyids, Pathans, Qoreshis, Sheikhs, and Mughals, are strict followers of Islam. In the villages a few laxities have crept in; but in the main their religion and its customs are those of all Musalmans, and we need say no more about them. But the case is very different with the Musalman Rajputs, Gujars, and similar converts from Hinduism. Their conversion dates, for the most part, from the close of the Pathan, and the early days of the Mughal dynasty. Many of them are said to have been converted by Aurangzeb; and these were probably the last made, for the change of faith always dates from at least eight generations, or 200 years back, and proselytism was, of course, unknown under the Sikhs and Mahrattas. In some cases the whole community of a village is Musalman; but quite as often one branch has abandoned, and the other retained their original faith, and in no case has any considerable group of villages embraced Islam as a whole.

Religious life.

Living thus side by side with their Hindu brethren in the same or the next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming a part of the same family with them, it is impossible that the Musalman converts should not have largely retained

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

their old religious customs and ideas. In fact, till some 25 years ago, they were Musalman in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *kalma*, and worshipped the village deities. But after the mutiny a great revival took place. Muhammadan priests travelled about preaching and teaching the true faith. Now almost every village in which Musalmans own any considerable portion has its mosque, often of adobe only; and all the grosser and open idolatries have been discontinued. But the local deities and saints still have their shrines, even in villages held only by Musalmans; and are still worshipped by the majority, though the practice is gradually declining. The women, especially, are offenders in this way. A Musalman woman who had not offered to the small-pox god would feel that she had deliberately risked her child's life. Family priests are still kept up as of old; and Brahmans are still fed on the usual occasions. As for superstitions, as distinct from actual worship, they are untouched by the change of faith, and are common to Hindu and Musalman.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Religious life.

The student who, intimately acquainted with the Hindu Pantheon as displayed in the sacred texts, should study the religion of the Hindus of the district, would find himself in strangely unfamiliar company. It is true that all men know of Shiv and of Vishnu*; that the peasant, when he has nothing else to do to that degree that he yawns perforce, takes the name of Narain; and that Bhagwan is made responsible for many things not always to his credit. But these are the lords of creation, and too high company for the villager. He recognises their supremacy; but his daily concerns in his work-a-day-world are with the host of deities whose special business it is to regulate the matters by which he is most nearly affected.

Hindus.

These minor deities, whose cult comprises the greater part of the peasant's religious ideas and acts, may be broadly divided into four classes. First come the benevolent deities, such as the Sun, the Jumna, Bhumia, Khwaja Khizr, and the like. Then the malevolent deities, mostly females, such as the Small-pox Sisters, Snakes, the Fairies, &c. Then the sainted dead, such as Guga, Lakhdatta, and Bawa Farid; and finally, the malevolent dead, such as Saiyads (Shahids). It is a curious fact that most of the malevolent deities are worshipped chiefly by women, and by children while at their mother's apron. Moreover, the offerings made to them are taken not by Brahmans, but by impure and probably

Minor deities

*Brahma is never mentioned save by a Brahman; and many of the villagers hardly know his name.

CHAP. I. C. aboriginal castes* and are of an impure nature, such as *churmas*, fowls, and the like. And they are seldom or never worshipped on Sunday, which is the proper day for the benevolent Hindu deities. **Population.** The primæval Aryan invaders must have inter-married, probably largely, with the aboriginal women ; and it is a question to which inquiry might profitably be directed, whether these deities are not in many cases aboriginal deities. Even setting aside the theory of inter-marriage, it would be natural that the new comers while not caring to invoke the aid of the beneficent *genii loci*, might think it well worth while to propitiate the local powers of evil upon whose territory they had trespassed. In this very spirit the Hindus have adopted the worship of the Muhammadan saints, and especially of the more malevolent ones. It can do no harm to worship them, while they may be troublesome if not propitiated ; and all these saints are commonly worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. **Minor deities.**

**Effect of
Islam upon
Hinduism.**

There can be no doubt that the presence of Islam by the side of Hinduism has had considerable effect upon the latter. The Hindu villager, when asked about his gods, will generally wind up by saying "after all there is but one great one (*sahib*)," and they generally give the information asked for with a half smile, and will often shake their finger and say it is a *kachcha* religion. Of course the existence of such a feeling is exceedingly compatible with the most scrupulous care not to neglect any of the usual observances ; and whatever might be his private convictions or absence of conviction, a man would feel that it would be pre-eminently unsafe to omit the customary precautions, and would be thought ill of if he did so.

**The sect of
Sadh.**

There is a new sect called *Sadh*, confined to the Jats, which has made some little progress in the district, two whole villages having entered it. It was founded by one Ude Das, and its headquarters are at Farrukhabad. The sectarians are free-thinkers, and as they can see no gods, worship none. Their only ceremonial consists in large public dinners, especially on the *Puran Mashi* festival. They abjure tobacco and affect special personal cleanliness. They only marry and eat with one another, but they give their daughters to other Jats.

Shrines.

Temples proper are built only to Vishnu and Shiy, and hardly ever by the villagers, who content themselves with making small shrines to the local deities. The ordinary Hindu

*In some cases the Brahmans will consent to be fed in the name of a deity, when they will not take offerings made at his shrine. And they will in some villages allow their *girls* to take the offerings, for if they die in consequence it does not matter much. Boys are more valuable, and must not run the risk.

shrine must face the east. It is ordinarily built in the shape either of a rectangular prism capped by a pyramid, or of a cylinder with a bulbous head and pointed finial, and is often only some 12 inches square. It is often surmounted by an iron spike (*sink*). It is generally hollow, with a small door-way in front and at the bottom. The Muhammadan shrine faces the south, and is in the form of a grave with niches for lamps, and often has flags (*dhaja*) over it. If the shrine of a dead Musalman is large enough to go into, you must be careful to clap your hands (*tali bajana*) before opening the door, as these gentry sometimes sit on their tombs in their bones to take the air, and have been discovered in that condition,—an occurrence which they resent violently. Not unfrequently a tree, generally a *pipal* or *jand*, takes the place of a building; or even merely a fixed spot called *thapwa*. In two villages the distinction between the two classes of shrines has given rise to delicate questions. In one a branch of the family had been converted to Islam after the settling of the village; and when it was proposed to erect a shrine to the common ancestor, who was of course a Hindu, there was much dispute about the form to be adopted. The difficulty was overcome by building a Muhammadan grave facing the south, and the Hindu shrine over it with the door to the east. In another village an Imperial trooper was once burnt alive by the shed in which he was sleeping catching fire. He was originally a Musalman; but he had been burnt and not buried, which seemed to make him a Hindu. After much discussion the latter opinion prevailed; and a Hindu shrine, with an eastern aspect, now stands to his memory.

The most ordinary form of worship is a salutation made by joining the hands palm to palm, and raising them to the forehead (*dhok marna*). A villager does this whenever he passes the shrine of a village deity. In one village the mason who built the new common room, threw in, as a thank-offering for the completion of the work, a wooden Englishman who still sits on the top of the house; and though the rain has affected his complexion much for the worse, the people always salute him on coming out of their houses in the morning. There is also *chich-karna*, which consists in touching first the object to be worshipped, and then the forehead, with right hand. Another form of worship is to scoop out a little hollow in the earth by the shrine and fling the soil on to a heap.* This is called *matti kadna*, and

*In the Punjab these heaps of mud flung up in memory of deceased ancestors are called *jethera*, from *jeth*, a husband's elder relative.

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Population.

Modes of worship.

seems very much analogous with the common custom of flinging stones on to a cairn. It is practised chiefly in honour of ancestors and fairies, and heaps of mud raised in this way by a shrine sometimes reach a height of 8 feet. The person doing this will often say to the god "I will dig you a tank"; and perhaps the custom has its origin in the honour attachable to the maker of a tank in this thirsty land; but it is equally possible that this is only a local explanation of a custom brought from a more stony country, and the origin of which has been forgotten, for hundreds of our villagers have never seen a stone in their lives.

Offerings.

Offerings (*charhawa*) generally take the form of a little gram, or milk, or cooked food, or a few sweetmeats offered in front of the shrine in small saucers or jars, the remainder of the offering being given to the appropriate receiver. Libations are not uncommon; and a white cock is sometimes killed. And in many cases Brahmans are simply fed in the name of the god. Offerings of cooked food may be divided into two classes. To the benevolent gods or to ancestors, only *pakki roti*, that is cakes or sweets fried in *ghi*, may be offered; while to the malevolent and impure gods, *kachchi roti*, generally consisting of *churma*, or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with *gur* and *ghi*, is offered. Brahmans will not take the latter class of offerings. Vows (*kabul*) are common, the maker promising to build a shrine or feed so many Brahmans in the event of his having a son, or recovering from illness, or the like.

Possession divination, and exorcism.

When a villager is ill, the disease is generally attributed to the influence (*opri jhapet*) of a malevolent deity, or of a ghost (*bhut*) who has possessed him (*lipat* or *chipat* or *pitach jana*). Recourse is then had to divination to decide who is to be appeased, and in what manner. There is a class of men called *bhagats* or *syana* (literally, knowing ones) who exercise the gift of divination under the inspiration of some deity or other, generally a snake-god or Saiyad. The power is apparently confined to the menial (aboriginal?) castes, is often hereditary, and is rarely possessed by women; it is shown by the man wagging his head and dancing; and he generally builds a shrine to his familiar spirit, before which he dances. When he is to be consulted, which should be at night, the inquirer provides tobacco and music. The former is waved over the body of the invalid, and given to the *bhagat* to smoke, and the music plays, and a *ghi* lamp is lighted, and the *bhagat* sometimes lashes himself with a whip; under which influences the soothsayer is seized by the afflatus, and in a paroxysm of dancing and head wagging,

states the name of the malignant influence, the manner in which he is to be propitiated, and the time when the disease may be expected to abate. Another mode of divination is practised thus. The *syana* will wave wheat or *jawar* over the patient's body, by preference on Saturday or Sunday; he then counts out the grains one by one into heaps, one heap for each god who is likely to be at the bottom of the mischief, and the deity on whose heap the last grain comes is the one to be appeased. The waving of the grain or tobacco over the patient's body is called *chunna*; the counting the grains, *kewali*.

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Popul. Jon.

Possession, divination, and exorcism.

The malignant deity is appeased by building him a new shrine or by offerings at the old one. Very often the grain to be offered is put by the head of the sufferer during the night and offered next day; this is called *orra*. Or the patient will eat some and bury the rest at the sacred spot, or the offerings will be waved over the patient's head (*warna*) before being offered; or on some moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax, he will place his offering with a lighted lamp on it at a place where four roads meet; this is called *langri* or *nagdi*. Sometimes it is enough to tie a flag on the sacred tree or to roll on the ground in the front of the shrine, or to rub one's neck with the dust of it. Boils can often be cured by stroking them with a piece of iron and repeating the name of the deity concerned. Witchcraft proper (*jadu*) is principally practised by the lowest castes, and you hear very little of it among the villagers.

The Hindus of the district are Vaishnavas, though Vishnu is hardly recognized by them under that name. But under the name of Ram and Narain he is the great god of the country. Temples to him (*thakurdwara*) exist in several of the larger villages, generally built by Brahmans or *Bairagis*, and almost always insignificant. He is worshipped under the name of Ram by Rajputs only; under the name of Narain by other castes. On the 11th of Katik or *devuthni gyaras*, when the gods wake up from their four months' sleep, Brahmans are fed in his name; and on the 8th of Bhadon (*Janamashtmi*), such villagers as have fasted, which no man working in the fields will have done, will generally go to the *thakurdwara* and make an offering. And on some Sunday in Bhadon they will feed a few Brahmans in his name. Brahmans and *Bairagis* take the offerings.

Vishnu, Ram,
Narain.

Shivalas are not at all uncommon in the villages, built almost without exception by *Banias*. The priests are *Gosains* or *Jogis*, generally of the *kanphate* or ear-pierced class, and they

Shiv,
Mahadev.

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Population.

Shiv,
Mahadev.

take the offerings. No Brahmans can partake of the offerings to Shiv, or be priest in his temple, though they will worship him and sometimes assist in the ceremonies, thus deviating from the strict rule of the original cult. On the *Sheoratri*, on the 13th of Sawan and Phagan such people as have fasted will go to the *shiwala*; but it is seldom entered on any other days.

Suraj Devata,
or the Sun-
god.

This is the god whom the people chiefly delight to honour. Any villager if asked whom he worships most will mention him. No shrine is ever built to this god. Sunday is of course the day sacred to him. On Sunday the people do not eat salt; nor do they set milk for *ghi*, but make it into rice-milk, of which a part is given to the Brahman in honour of the Sun; and a lamp is always burnt to him on Sunday. Brahmans are fed every now and then on Sunday in his name, and especially on the first Sunday after the 15th of Sarh, when the harvest has been got in, and the agricultural year is over. Before the daily bath water is always thrown towards the Sun (*argh*)*; and every good man, when he first steps out of doors in the morning, salutes the Sun, and says *dharm ko sahai rakhye suraj maharaj*, or "keep me in the faith, oh Lord the Sun!" Brahmans take the offerings.

The Jumna.

After the Sun comes the River Jumna always spoken of as *Jumna Ji*; and so honoured that even when they complain of the terrible evils brought by the canal, which is fed from the river, they say they spring *Jumna Ji ke dosti se*, "from Lady Jumna's friendship." There are no shrines to the Jumna; but the people go and bathe in the river, or if unable to go so far, in the canal on the *mekhs* or *sakrants* in Chet and Katik, on the Dusahra of Jeth, and on the 15th of Katik, or every day in that month if near enough. And Brahmans are constantly fed on Sunday in honour of *Jumna Ji*, and take all offerings.

Dharti Mata
or Mother
Earth.

Every morning, when a man first gets off his bed, he does obeisance to the earth, and says *sukh rakhio Dharti Mata*, "preserve me Mother Earth." When a cow or buffalo is first bought, or when she first gives milk after calving, the first five streams (*dhar*) of milk are allowed to fall on the ground in her honour, and at every time of milking the first stream is so treated. So when medicine is taken, a little is sprinkled in her honour. So at the beginning of ploughing and sowing obeisance is made to her and she is invoked.

*This is done to the new moon too on the evening of her appearance, if one thinks of it.

The *Bhumia* should, from his name, be the god of the land, and not of the homestead. But he is, in these parts, emphatically the god of the homestead or village itself, and is indeed often called *Khera* (a village) and *Bhumia* indifferently. In one or two villages a god called *Bhairon* or *Khetrpal* (field-nourisher) is worshipped; but, as a rule, he is unknown. When a new village is founded, the first thing of all is to build a shrine to *Bhumia* on the site selected. Five bricks are brought from the *Bhumia* of the village whence the emigrants have come; three are arranged on edge like the three sides of a house, the other two are put over them like a gable roof, an iron spike is driven in, five lamps are lighted, five *laddus* are offered, Brahmans are fed, and the shrine built over the whole. In many cases, where two villages had combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the one which moved still worships at the *Bhumia* of the old deserted village site. *Bhumia* is worshipped on Sunday. They burn a lamp and offer a cake of bread at the shrine, and feed Brahmans. This is always done twice a year, after the harvests are gathered in; and also on other occasions. *Bhumia* is also worshipped at marriages; and when a woman has had a son, she lights lamps and affixes with cowdung five culms of the *panni* grass, called *beran*, to the shrine. So too the first milk of a cow or buffalo is always offered to *Bhumia*. Women commonly take their children to worship *Bhumia* on Sunday. The shrine is very usually built close to the common room; and the only villages in which there is not one are held wholly by Saiyads. Brahmans take the offerings.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Bhumia or
the God of the
Homestead.

Khwaja Khizr is the local god of water; though the name really belongs to one of the Muhammadan prophets, whose special duty it is to take care of travellers. He is worshipped more in the Khadar than in the Bangar, and especially on Sunday. Twice a year after the harvests he is worshipped at the well, lamps being lighted and Brahmans fed. And on the festivals of Holi and Dewali, a raft called *langri* is made of the *beran* just mentioned, and a lighted lamp put on it and set afloat on the tank in his honour. Brahmans take the offerings to Khwaja Khizr, though they are occasionally given to the water-carrier or *Jhinwar*.

Khwaja
Khizr, the
Water-God.

Among the Gujars especially, tiny shrines to the ancestors are common all over the fields; and among other castes they will be found in every village. Occasionally the shrine is to the gentile ancestor, and built upon a brick brought from his shrine

Pir or an-
cestors.

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.]

AP. I. C. at the place of origin, as with the Jaglan and Sandu Jats. Mud
Population. is always flung up to these shrines. And all the people feed
Pitr or Brahmans in honour of their ancestors on the 15th of the month
ancestors. (*mawas*), and especially in the *kanagat* or the 16 days previous to
 and including the *mawas* of Asauj, which are specially sacred to
 the *pitr*. Cattle are never worked on *mawas*.

Sattis. There are a great number of *sattis* or places where widows
 have been burnt on their husbands' pyres all over the country.
 They are generally marked by shrines much larger than any other
 kind, being 3 or 4 feet square. Lamps are lit and Brahmans fed
 at them on the 11th or 15th Katik. In one case Tagas, who had
 emigrated from their old village, used yearly to come more than
 40 miles to offer at their old *satti* till quite lately, when they took
 away a brick from the *satti* and used it as the foundation of a
 new *satti* at their present village, which answered all purposes.
 This is always done in the event of emigration. Brahmans take
 the offerings.

The gyals or When a man has died without a son (*ut naput jana*) he
sonless dead. becomes a *gyal* or *ut*, and is particularly spiteful, especially seek-
 ing the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village
 small low platforms (*bhorka, bauka*), with saucer-like depressions
 in them, are made to the *gyals*; and on the *mawas*, and especially
 on Diwali or the *mawas* of Katik (but *not* in the *kanagat*, which
 is sacred to the *pitr*), the people pour Ganges water and cow's
 milk into these saucers, and light lamps and feed Brahmans, and
 dig mud by them. It is more than probable that *bhorkas* are
 identical in origin and signification with the "cup-mark" which
 have so puzzled antiquaries. Brahmans take the offerings.
 Young children often have a rupee hung round their necks by
 their mothers in the name of the *gyals*.

The Sitala or The pustular group of diseases is supposed to be caused by a
small-pox band of seven sisters, of whom Sitala or Mata, the goddess of
group. small-pox, is the greatest and most virulent. Others of the group
 are Masani, Basanti, Maha Mai,* Polamde, Lamkaria, and
 Agwani or the little one who goes in front of all. But the general
 form the shrine takes in a village is that of a large one for
 Sitala, and a number of others for the sisters, of whom the people
 will know the name of only one or two. Basanti is a new addi-

*This is properly a name of *devi* who drives people mad; and is worshipped by some, but not very generally, on the 8th of Chet and Asauj.

tion to the group, the disease having quite lately come from the hills. They are sometimes called Sri Sitala, Mai Masani, Bari Basanti, and so forth. The people profess to distinguish the disease due to each; but it is impossible to find out what they are, except small-pox, which is undoubtedly due to Sitala.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

The Sitala or small-pox group.

There are seven principal shrines to these deities at Patri, Kabri, Beholi, and Siwa of this district, Bidhlun near Bhatganw, Birdhana near Jhajjar, and at Gurgaon itself. They are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children of both sexes up to the age of 10 or 12. Enormous crowds collect at these shrines on the 7th of Chet which is called *sil* or *sili saten*, or Sitala's 7th. Besides this, *Phag* or *Dolendhi*, the day after the *Holi* festival, is a favourable day, and any Monday, especially in Chet or Sarh. Sitala rides upon a donkey; and gram is given to the donkey and to his master the potter at the shrine, after having been waved over the head of the child. Fowls, pigs, goats, cocoanuts, and *churma* are offered, and eaten by sweepers and Hindu *Jogis*, and white cocks are waved and let loose. An adult who has recovered from small-pox should let a pig loose to Sitala, or he will be again attacked. During an attack no offerings are made; and if the epidemic has once seized upon a village all offerings are discontinued till the disease has disappeared, otherwise the evil influence (*chhot*) will spread. But so long as she keeps her hands off, nothing is too good for the goddess, for she is the one great dread of Indian mothers. She is, however, easily frightened or deceived; and if a mother has lost one son by small-pox, she will call the next *Kurria*,* he of the dunghill; or *Baharu*, an outcast; or *Mara*, the worthless one; or *Bhagwana*, given by the great god. So, too, many women dress children in old rags begged of their neighbours, and not of their own house, till they have passed the dangerous age.

The country is covered with small shrines to Musalman martyrs; properly *Shahids*, but called Saiyads by the villagers. There was a Raja Tharu in the Nardak, after whom several villages are still called Tharwa, and who dwelt in Habri. He used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. One night the daughter of a Brahman suffered thus. Her father appealed for help to Miran Sahib, a Saiyad, who collected an immense army of Saiyads, Mughals and Pathans, and vanquished the Raja. The fight extended over the whole country to Delhi; and the Saiyad shrines are the graves of the Muslamans who fell. But a favour-

The Saiyads (*Shahids*) or martyrs.

*Compare Two penny, Huitdeniers, &c.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

The Saiyads
(*Shahids*) or
mar'ys.

ite prescription in sickness is to build a shrine to a Saiyad, whose name is often not even given, and when given, is almost always purely imaginary ; so that the Saiyad shrines are always being added to, and most of them are not connected with any actual person. Lamps are commonly lit at the shrines on Thursdays ; but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfilment of a vow ; they often take the form of a fowl or a goat or especially a goat's head (*siri*), and they are taken by Muslaman *faqirs*. Saiyads are very fond of blue flags. One of the Imperial *kos minars* or milestones has been transformed into a Saiyad's shrine by the people of Karnal City and every Thursday evening there are worshippers, and *faqirs* to profit by them. The Saiyads are very malevolent, and often cause illness and death. One Saiyad Bhura, who has his shrine at Bari in Kaithal, shares with Mansa Devi of Mani Majra the honour of being the great patron of the thieves in this part of the Punjab ; and a share of the booty is commonly given to the shrine. Boils, especially, are due to them and they make cattle miscarry.

The *Singhs* or
snake-gods.

There is a group of *Nagans*, or female Snake-deities, known as *Singhs* by the people, and especially called *Devata* or godling. They are almost always distinguished by some colours ; and the most commonly worshipped are *Kali*, *Hari*, and *Bhuri Singh*, or black, green, and brown. But here again the *Bhagat* will often direct a shrine to be built to some *Singh* whom no one has even heard of before ; and so they multiply in a most confusing way. They are servants of Raja Basak Nag, King of Patal or Tartarus. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes—a fact which is revealed in a dream, when a shrine must be built. Their worship extends all over the district, and is practised by all castes ; but most of all by Gujars and in the Khadar. If a man sees a snake he will salute it, and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. But independently of this, most villages have shrines to them. Sunday is their day ; and also the 9th of Bhadon in particular, when most people worship them. Brahmans do not mind being fed at their shrines, but will not take the offerings, which go to Hindu *Jogis*. Both men and women worship them, especially at weddings and births, and offer *churma* and flags (*dhoja*). They cause fever ; but are not on the whole very malevolent, and often take away pains. They have great power over milch cattle ; the milk of the 11th day after calving is offered to them ; and libations of milk are very acceptable to them. They are certainly connected in the minds of the

people with the *pirs* or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Wherever the worship of the *pirs* is most prevalent, there the Snake-gods also are especially cultivated. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

CHAP. I. C.
Population.

The *Singhs*
or Snake-gods.

Guga or *Jahir Pir* or *Bagarwala*, though a Musalman, is supposed to be the greatest of the snake-kings. He is buried near Hissar, but is worshipped throughout the district. The 9th and 15th of Bhadon, especially the former, are his days; and generally the 9th of any month; and also Mondays. His shrine is usually a cubical building with a minaret on each corner, and a grave inside. It is called a *mari*, and is marked by a long bamboo with peacock plumes, a cocoanut, some coloured thread, and some hand-*pankhas* (*bijna*) and a blue flag on the top. This is called his *chhari* or fly flap; and on the 9th of Bhadon the *Jogis* take it round the village to the sound of drums, and people salute it and offer *churmas*. He is not malevolent; and the loss of respect which his good nature causes him is epitomised in the saying—*Guga beta na dega tau kuchh na chhin lega* :—"If *Guga* doesn't give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me." He is associated by the people with the five *Pirs*, who occasionally have shrines in the villages.

Guga Pir.

The *Nuris* are a somewhat vaguely defined class of malevolent spirits, who attack women only, especially on moon-light nights, giving them a choking sensation in the throat and knocking them down (hysteria). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They seldom have shrines built to them; but a tree or a corner by a tank is generally sacred to them, and here mud is flung to them. They are Musalman, and are apparently the same as the *Prind* or *Peri*, being also known as *Shahpuris*; but they resent being called so, and no woman would mention the word. *Churmas* are offered to them on Thursday evening by women and children, and taken by Musalman *faqirs*, or sometimes by *Jogis* or sweepers, and they are worshipped at weddings. The middle of Chet, too, is a common time for offerings to them.

The *Nuris*
or fairies.

The local saints are innumerable, many villages having shrines to names never heard of elsewhere; often those of people killed in the village. A few of the most celebrated saints worshipped in the district are mentioned below :—

Minor saints.

Miran sahib was a Saiyad of Baghdad, of whom many wonderful stories are told. He is often said to be the same as *Hazrat Piran Pir* of the Punjab; but this seems very doubtful. He once led a mighty army to battle, and had his head carried

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Population.

Minor saints.

off by a cannon-ball during the fight. But he did not mind a bit and went on fighting. Then a woman in one of Raja Tharwa's villages said "who is this fighting without his head?" Upon which the body said—"Haqq, haqq," and fell down dead, but as he was going to fall he said—"What! Aren't these villages upside down yet?" Upon which every village belonging to and called after Raja Tharwa throughout the country was turned upside down, and all their inhabitants buried except the Brahman's daughter. The walls are still standing upside down to convince you. Miran Sahib was buried in Habri, and is commonly invoked and worshipped by the Nardak people; as also his sister's son Saiyad Qabir. They have a joint shrine called *Mamu-bhanja* (uncle and nephew) in Sunpat.

Lakhdata or *Sakhi Sarwar* is a Punjab saint chiefly worshipped by Gujars and Rajputs. On *Saluno*, the last day of Sawan, the women paint his picture on the wall, and the Brahmans bind a sacred thread on the wrist. He is also called *Rohianwala*, or *Sakhi Sultan* or *Salanwala*.

Bawa Farid Shakarganj of Pakpattan, in Montgomery, is also honoured by the people, and has a shrine at Ghogripur, where crowds of people offer to him after the spring harvest.

Boali Qalandar, a contemporary of *Bawa Farid*, is a very celebrated local saint. He used to ride about on a wall at Burha Khera, but eventually settled at Panipat. He prayed so constantly that it became laborious to get water to wash his hands with each time; so he stood in the Jumna, which then flowed under the town. After standing there seven years the fishes had gnawed his legs, and he was so stiff that he could hardly move. So he asked the Jumna to step back seven paces. She, in her hurry to oblige the saint, went back seven *kos*, and there she is now. He gave the Panipat people a charm which dispelled all the flies from the city. But they grumbled and said they rather liked flies; so he brought them back a thousandfold. The people have since repented. He died at Burha Khera, and there was a good deal of trouble about burying him. He was buried first at Karnal; but the Panipat people claimed his body and opened the grave, upon which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took away some bricks from the grave for the foundation of a shrine; but when they got to Panipat and opened the box, they found his body in it: so he now lies buried both at Panipat and at Karnal. There is also a shrine to him at Burha Khera built over the wall on which he used to ride. His history is given in the *Ain Akbari*. He died in 724 Hijra.

Naugazahs, or graves of saints said to be nine yards long, are not uncommon. They are certainly of great length. CHAP. I. C.

Kalu Saiyad, the family saint of the Kaliar Rajputs at Panipat, is a great worker of wonders ; and if one sleeps near his shrine, he must lie on the ground and not on a bedstead, or a snake will surely bite him. If a snake should, under any other circumstances, bite a man in the Kaliar's ground, no harm will ensue to him. Population.
Minor saints.

It has already been explained that the spirit after death undertakes a year's travels as a *paret*. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down and enter upon a respectable second life, he becomes a *bhu'* or if a female, a *churel* ; and as such is an object of terror to the whole country. His principal object then is to give as much trouble as may be to his old friends, possessing them, and producing fever and other malignant diseases. People who have died violent deaths (called *Ghazimurd* or *apgat*) are especially likely to become *bhuts* ; hence the precautions taken to appease the Saiyads and others in like case with them. In many villages there are shrines to people who have been killed there. Sweepers, if carelessly buried mouth upwards, are sure to become *bhuts* ; so the villagers always insist upon their being buried face downwards (*mundha*), and riots have occurred about the matter, and petitions have been presented to the Magistrate. The small whirlwinds that raise pillars of dust in the hot weather are supposed to be *bhuts* going to bathe in the Ganges. *Bhuts* are most to be feared by women and children, and especially immediately after eating sweets ; so that if you treat a school to sweets, the sweet-seller will also bring salt, of which he will give a pinch to each boy to take the sweet taste out of his mouth. They also have a way of going down your throat when you yawn, so that you should always put your hand to your mouth, and had also better say *Narain* afterwards. Ghosts or
bhuts.

The people are very observant of omens (*saguns*). The following verse gives some of the principal ones :— Omens and
charms.

Kaga, mirga, dahine, bain bisyar ho ;

Gaiyi sampat baore jo garur dahine ho.

"Let the crow and the black buck pass to the right ; the snake to the left. If a mantis is to the right, you will recoup your losses."

A mantis is called the horse or cow of Ram ; is always auspicious, especially on *dusahra* ; and the villager will salute

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Population.

Omens and charms.

one when he sees it. Owls portend desolate homes. Black things in general are bad omens (*kasaun*); and if a man wishes to build a house and the first stroke of the spade turns up charcoal, he will change the site. On the other hand, iron is a sovereign safeguard against the evil eye. While a house is being built there is always an iron pot (or a *ghara* painted black is near enough to deceive the evil eye) kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel of the door a *kangna*, consisting of an iron ring (*chhalla*) with other charms, and her father gives her Re. 1-4 for doing it. Till then the house is not inhabited. The same *kangna* is used at weddings and on other occasions. A *koil* is especially unlucky. Chief among good omens (*saod saon*) is the *dogar*, or two water pots, one on top of the other. It should always be left to the right.

Charms are in common use. The leaves of the *siras* are especially powerful; and after them, those of the mango. They are hung up in garlands with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle; and the whole is called a *totka*. The *jand* is another very sacred tree. In illness it is a good thing to have an inscription made on an earthen vessel by a *faqir*, and to wash it off and drink the water. So in protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort *Chakabu* of Amin near Pehoa are potent: or if any body knows how to draw a ground plan of the fort, the water into which the picture is washed off will be equally effective as a potion.

Superstitions.

Of course the superstitions of the people are innumerable. Odd numbers are lucky. *Numero Deus imparis gaudet*. But three and thirteen are unlucky, because they are the bad days after death: so that *teratin* is equivalent to "all anyhow." And if a man, not content with two wives, wish to marry again, he will first marry a tree, so that the new wife may be the fourth, and not the third. So if you tread on a three-year old pat of cowdung you lose your way to a certainty. The preference for the number 5, and, less markedly for 7, will have been apparent throughout the foregoing pages. An offering to a Brahman is always $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and so on, whether rupees or seers of grain. The dimensions of wells and parts of wells and their gear, on the other hand, are always fixed in so many and three-quarter hands; not in round numbers. The tribal traditions of the people and those concerned with numbers and areas, with chief's wives and sons, and with villages, swarm with the numbers 12, 24, $16\frac{1}{2}$, 52, 84 and 360. Hindus count the south a quarter to be especially

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[PART A.]

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Superstitions.

avoided, for the spirits of the dead live there. Therefore your cooking hearth must not face the south ; nor must you sleep or lie with your feet towards the south except when you are about to die. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after ; so when a man sneezes, his friends grow enthusiastic, and congratulate him saying *satan jiv* "live a hundred years ;" or *Chakpadi*, a name of *devi* who was sneezed out by Brahma in the form of a fly.

It is well not to have your name made too free use of, especially for children. They are often not named at all for some little time, and when named, are often addressed as *buja* or *buji*, according to sex. If a man is wealthy enough to have his son's horoscope drawn, the name then fixed will be carefully concealed till the boy is 8 or 10 years old, and past danger. And even then it will not be used commonly, the every-day name of a Hindu being quite distinct from his real name given in his *janampatri* or horoscope. At his marriage, however, the real name must be used.

A Hindu will not eat, and often will not grow, onions or turnips ; nor indigo, for simple blue is an abomination to him. Nor will a villager eat oil or the black sesame seed, if formally offered him by another ; for if he do he will serve the other in the next life. Thus if one ask another to do something for him, the latter will reply :—" *kya, main ne tere kale til chabe hain.*" "What ? Have I eaten your black sesame ?" Sacred groves (*talak*) are not uncommon ; and any one who cuts even a twig from them is sure to suffer for it. They exist in some of the villages where wood is most scarce, but are religiously respected by the people. The Banias of the tract have a curious superstition which forbids the first transaction of the day to be a purchase on credit. It must be paid for in cash and is called *bohni*. The age of miracles is by no means past. In 1865 a miraculous bridge of sand was built over the Jumna in this district at the prayer of a *faqir*, of such rare virtue that lepers passing over it and bathing at both ends were cured. A good many lepers went from Karnal to be cured ; but the people say that the bridge had "got lost" when they got there.

Of course the greater number of the village festivals and the observances appropriate to them are common to all Hindus. But some of them are peculiar to the villages, and a description of them will not be out of place here. The ordinary *Diwali* is on the 14th of Katik, and is called by the villagers the little *Diwali*. On this day the *pitr*s or ancestors visit the house. But the day after, they celebrate the great or *Gobardhan Diwali*, in

Fasts and festivals.

CHAP. I. C.

Population

Fast: and
festivals.

which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of cowherd, and which all owners of cattle should observe. On the day of the little *Diwali* the whole house fresh is plastered. At night lamps are burnt as usual, and the people sit up all night. Next morning the house-wife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in a dust pan, and turns them on to the dunghill, saying "*daladr dur ho*," *daladr* meaning thriftless, lazy, and therefore poor. Meanwhile the women have made a *Gobardhan* of cowdung, which consists of Krishna lying on his back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains, bristling with grass stems with tufts of cotton or rag on the top for trees; and little dung balls for cattle, watched by dung men dressed in bits of rag. Another opinion is that the cottage loaves are cattle, and the little balls calves. On this is put the churn-staff and five whole sugarcane, and some parched rice and a lighted lamp in the middle. The cowherds are then called in, and they salute the whole and are fed with parched rice sweets. The Brahman then takes the sugarcane and eats a bit; and till that time nobody must cut, or press, or eat cane. Parched rice is given to the Brahman; and the bullocks have their horns dyed, and get extra well fed.

Four days before the *Diwali*, or on the 11th of Katik, is the *Devuthni Gyaras*, on which the gods wake up from their four months' sleep, beginning with the 11th of Sarh, and during which it is forbidden to marry, to cut sugarcane, or to put new string on to bedsteads on pain of a snake biting the sleeper. On the night of this day the children run about the village with lighted sticks and torches. On the 15th and 11th of Phagan the villagers worship the *aonla* tree or *phyllanthus emblica*, mentioned by Huen Tsang as being so abundant beyond Delhi. This tree is the emblic myrobolus, a representation of the fruit of which is used for the finial of Buddhist temples. Its worship is now connected with that of Shiv; Brahmans will not take the offerings. The people circumambulate the tree from left to right (*drikamma*), pour libations, eat the leaves, and make offerings, which are taken by the *Kanphate Jogis*. Fasts are not much observed by the ordinary villager, except the great annual fasts; and not even those by the young man who works in the fields, and who cannot afford to fast. *Gur*, flour made from *singhara* or water calthrop, from the *sanwak* grain, wild swamp rice, the seeds of cockscomb (*chaulari*) and milk, in fact almost anything that is not included under the term *naj* or grain, may be eaten on fast; so that the abstinence is not very severe.

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Tribal distribution.

The chief agricultural tribes of the district are Jats, Rajputs, Gujars, Rors, Kambohs, Syeds and Pathans, the two first being by far the most important. Jats are found in all parts of the district and are particularly numerous in the Kaithal tahsil. They are good cultivators, hard-working and thrifty and receive great assistance from their women. The Jats of Panipat and Kaithal tahsils are physically strong, and generally prosperous. Those of the Indri *pargana* and Thanesar tahsil, owing chiefly to climatic influences, are somewhat degenerate. Rajputs predominate in the Nardak of Karnal and Kaithal, and in the Bet Markanda circle of the Thanesar tahsil. The extension of canal irrigation in Karnal and Kaithal has converted them from a semi-pastoral to an agricultural life, and throughout the district they may be said to have made a marked advance in industry, thrift and prosperity. Gujars are numerous in the Khadar circle of Panipat and the Nardak and Bangar circles of the Kaithal tahsil. With few exceptions, their social position is somewhat inferior and depressed. They still pay but little attention to cultivation, and are addicted to cattle-lifting. The Rors are chiefly to be found in the Indri Nardak and the adjoining tract of Kaithal. Like the Jats, they obtain great assistance from their womenfolk in field work. They are energetic and hardworking, but rank below the Jats in the social scale. Of the minor tribes, Kambohs are the most important, and their remarkable industry does not seem to be affected by the enfeebling climate of the Khadar tracts, where their villages are situated. The Syeds, who have important settlements in various parts of the district, notably at Barsat and Pundri, are for the most part rent-receivers and are not usually successful cultivators. The Pathan Nawab of Kunjpura and the Mandal family of Karnal are the principal landowners of the Karnal tahsil, and have also acquired interests in other parts of the district. Arains and Malis are not numerous, but the cultivation of the Panipat Arains, and of the Malis in the Thanesar tahsil, is unequalled. Of the non-agricultural tribes, Brahmans and Banias are the chief landowners. The former are generally genuine agriculturists, but seldom lose their character as *parohats*, or family priests, to the village community. Bania landowners are of all grades, from the important families of Panipat, Karnal and Ladwa to the ordinary village shop-keeper who has foreclosed his mortgage on a few acres.

The Tagas are probably the oldest of the existing inhabitants of the tract: they originally held a great part of the Khadar, and now hold most of *parganah* Ganaur; and as,

Former inhabitants.

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[PART A.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Former inha-
bitants.

wherever the river has not passed over the land within recent times, Tagas are still in possession, it is not improbable that they were driven from much of their old territory by changes in the Jumna. The Rajput bards and the traditions of the people tell us that in old days Chandel Rajputs held Kaithal and Samana, and had local head-quarters at Kohand, whence they ruled the neighbouring portion of the tract. The Brah Rajputs held the country round Asandh, Safidon, and Salwan; while the Pandirs held Thanesar and the Nardak, with capitals at Pundri near Fattehpur, Ramba, Habri and Pundrak close to Karnal. The Mandhar Rajputs came from Ajudhia, and, settling in Jind, expelled the Chandel and Brah Rajputs and took possession of their country, the former going towards the Siwaliks, and the latter beyond the Ghaggar. The Mandhars fixed their capital at Kalayat in Patiala, whence they settled the local centres of Asandh, Safidon and Gharaunda.

The Mandhars were unable to make any impression upon the Pandirs, who were presently expelled by the Chauhan Rajputs from Sambhal in Moradabad under the leadership of Rana Har Rai, and fled beyond the Jumna. The Chauhans made Jundla their head-quarters, and held a great part of the Nardak, and also large possessions in the Doab. The Tunwar Rajputs originally held Panipat and the country round, but would seem to have been dispossessed by Afghans in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest. They now hold the country beyond Thanesar, and still own a section of the city of Panipat. The old boundary of the Tunwars, Chauhans and Mandhars in Kaithal used to meet in Pai (now a wealthy village). Pai belonged to the Mandhars. Habri to the east was and is a Chauhan village, and Mundri, which is now a Ror village, was Tunwar. The Tunwars also held Khurana, Phural and Rasulpur, in which last they had a large fort. Pharal is the only village they now hold. Probably they once held the whole Naili tract and were turned out by Mandhars. The Chauhans either alone or in conjunction with their former dependents hold six or seven villages round about Habri.

The Rajput chiefs (Ranas and Rais) would seem, subject to the payment of tribute to Delhi, to have enjoyed almost independent authority up to the time of the consolidation of the Mughal Empire under Akbar, or even later; and squeezing the Ranas was a favourite occupation of the old Afghan Emperors. Their degradation to the position of mere village chiefs is attributed to Aurangzeb, who forcibly converted many of them to the Muhammadan faith.

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

In the Ain Akbari the principal castes of Pargana Karnal are stated to be Ranghars and Chauhans; the word *Rangar*, now used for any Musalman Rajput, being probably applied to the Mandhars, who had adopted Islam. Those of Pargana Panipat are given as Afghans, Gujars and Ranghars. The surrounding castes were Tagas in Ganaur; Afghan and Jats in Sunpat; Jats in Gohana; Rajputs, Ranghars and Jats, in Safidon; Ranghars, in Pundri; Ranghars and Jats in Habri; and Ranghars and Tagas in Indri. The Pandirs held Bhatinda, and the Brahs the country about Samana. Mr. Ibbetson writes in his Settlement Report on Tahsil Panipat and Pargana Karnal:—

CHAP. I C.

Population:

Former inhabitants.

“Local tradition has enabled me to make a rough approximation to the tribal distribution at the time of the Ain Akbari (1590 A. D.), and I give it in Map No. V. I think some reliance may be placed upon the *general* features of the map. In some cases the descendants of the former inhabitants still periodically visit the shrines existing on the old ancestral site; and in particular, tombs in the unmistakeable architecture of the Afghans tell every here and there of people who have now disappeared. It will be observed that Afghans then held a large part of the lower Khadar. They had also formerly held a good deal of the Bangar, which was occupied at the time we speak of by Gujars. At present there is only one Afghan village, besides part of the city of Panipat, in the whole tract; and I think the total disappearance of this caste must be accounted for by changes in the river. It is to be noticed that they have been replaced very largely by Gujars; and I do not think Gujars were ever in a position, as Jats most undoubtedly were, to acquire territory by conquest in this part of the country, especially from Afghans. I cannot help thinking it probable that the Afghans left their Bangar villages for the more productive Khadar soil as it was left available by changes in the river; and that they were again, after the time of Akbar, driven out by the branch of the Jumna already mentioned as sweeping over the parts held by them. The parts near Rakasahra and Barana have, as I have already pointed out, escaped river action altogether in recent times, and are still largely occupied by the original Taga inhabitants. But in the intermediate parts of the Khadar the people have only been settled for some eight generations, which, at the usual Indian estimate of 25 years for a generation, would bring their first arrival well this side of the date of the Ain Akbari.”

The Gujars were, as usual, intimately connected with the Rajputs, and were for the most part settled by them in portions of their territory. The Gujars who originally held the country about Naraina were Chokar Gujars; those about Sutana and Nain were Chamains; while those of Kohand and Bapauli were Rawals. The two first clans have been largely replaced by Jats and Rors; while the last has spread over the parts of the Khadar formerly occupied by Afghans.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Local organization of tribes.

The primary sub-division of the tribes is into *thapas* or *thambas*. A tribal community having obtained possession of a tract, in course of time it would be inconvenient for them all to live together, and a part of the community would found a new village, always on the edge of a drainage line from which their tanks would be filled. This process would be repeated, till the tract became dotted over with villages all springing originally from one parent village. The people describe the facts by saying that, of several brothers, one settled in the village and one in another; but this no doubt means that the parts of the community that migrated consisted of integral families or groups of families descended in one common branch from the ancestor. In this way were divided the many villages known by the same name, with the addition of the words *kalan* and *khurd*, big and little. This by no means implies that *kalan* is larger than *khurd*, but only that the elder branch settled in *kalan*. The group of villages so bound together by common descent form a *thapa*, and are connected by sub-feudal ties which are still recognized, the village occupied by the descendants of the common ancestor in the eldest line being, however small or reduced in circumstances, still acknowledged as the head. To this day, when a headman dies the other villages of the *thapa* assemble to instal his heirs, and the turban of the parent village is first tied on his head. When Brahmans and the brotherhood are fed on the occasion of deaths, &c. (*meljor*), it is from the *thapa* villages that they are collected; and the Brahmans of the head village are fed first, and receive double fees. So among the menial castes, who still retain an internal organization of far greater vitality than the higher castes now possess, the representative of the head village is always the foreman of the caste jury which is assembled from the *thapa* villages to hear and decide disputes. In old days the subordinate village used to pay some small *chaudrayat* to the head village on the day of the great *Diwali*. The head village is still called "great village," the "turban village," "the village of origin," or "the *thika* village," *thika* being the sign of authority formally impressed in old days on the forehead of the heir of a deceased leader in the presence of the assembled *thapa*. Mr. Ibbetson says:—"In one case a village told me that it had changed its *thapa*, because there were so many Brahmans in its original *thapa* that it found it expensive to feed them. I spoke to the original *thika* village about it, and they said that no village could change its *thapa*. '*Put kuput hosakta; magr ma kuma nahin hosakti*'. 'A son may forget his sonship; but not a mother her motherhood.'"

But the *thapa* is not wholly confined to the original tribe which founded it. A man without sons will often settle his son-in-law in the village as his heir; and as the clans are exogamous, the son-in-law must necessarily be of a different family. So, too, a man will settle a friend by giving him a share of his land. The strangers so admitted have in many cases separated their land off into separate villages; but just as often they still live in the old village, and in some cases have just overshadowed the original family. It is curious to note how the fiction of common descent is, even in these cases, preserved, as has been so well insisted upon by Maine. The man who thus takes a share of another's land is called *bhunbhai*, or "earth-brother;" and if a landowner of a clan other than that of the original owners is asked how he acquired property in the village, his invariable answer is "*bhai karke basaya*," "they settled me as a "brother."

But it is not only by fictitious relationship that strangers have obtained admission into *thapas*. In some cases the pressure of the troublous times which were so frequent in former days has induced two weak groups of adjoining villages to unite for common defence. And still more frequently, people settled originally as cultivators have, by the lapse of time or by the dying out of the original owners, acquired proprietary rights. Village boundaries were before our times by no means so well defined as they are now, as is shown by the boundaries often zig-zagging in and out of adjoining fields held by different villages, and by contiguous villages sometimes having their lands intermixed. Boundaries, where they lay in uncultivated land held by villages of the same tribe, were probably almost unknown; for even now the cattle graze in such cases almost independent of them.

It was, and is still, a common custom to settle cultivators in a small outlying hamlet (*garhi* or *majra* or *kheri*) in the village area to cultivate the surrounding land; and the old maps and papers show that it was very much a matter of chance whether, when we made a survey and record of rights in land these were marked out off as separate villages or not. It will be shown in the succeeding section of this chapter that we confused cultivating possession and consequent liability for revenue with proprietary right; and when these small hamlets were held by cultivators of a different caste from those of the parent village, they were generally marked off and declared to be their property. This is particularly the case with Rors, many small villages of

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Admission of
strangers into
the tribal or-
ganization.

which caste are dotted about among the Rajputs of the Nardak. These were originally small communities settled by the Rajputs as cultivators in their land to assist them to bear the burden of the Government demand; and even in Panipat where the Rors are far stronger than in Karnal, they have, almost in every instance, been similarly settled by former Gujar inhabitants, of whom a few families still remain in many villages as the sole representatives of the old owners. Brahmans too have acquired land in many villages by gifts made in the name of religion.

Imperial
thapas.

The *thapas* above described are those based upon tribal organization, and are still recognized fully by the Rajputs, especially in Kaithal, and more or less by the people generally. But the Imperial revenue system, in adopting the tribal *thapa* as one of its units, somewhat modified its constitution. The revenue was primarily assessed and collected by the local *amil*, an Imperial authority. But he worked principally through the *chaudhris* or local heads of the people, who represented large sub-divisions of the country, based, as far possible, upon tribal distribution. Thus *chaudhris* existed in old days at Jundla, Panipat, Bala and other places, and received an allowance called *nankar* in consideration of the duties they performed. They again worked almost entirely by *thapas*, the assessment being fixed for a whole *thapa*, and being distributed over the constituent villages by the headmen of the villages, presided over by those of the *thika* or chief village. These revenue *thapas* coincided generally with the tribal *thapas*; but they occasionally varied from them from considerations of convenience. Old Parganah Panipat contained 16½ *thapas*, half Jaurasi having been separated by Farrukhsir.

Division of
tribes into
clans; exo-
gamy and
endogamy.

The above remarks apply to the territorial organization of the tribes. But the internal organization of the tribe is still more important as bearing upon its social relations. The tribe as a whole is strictly endogamous; that is to say, no Jat can, in the first instance, marry a Gujar or Ror, or any one but a Jat and so on. But every tribe is divided into clans or *got*; and these clans are strictly exogamous. The clan is supposed to include all descendants of some common ancestor, wherever they live. Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"I have had some doubts whether many of the clans do not take their present names from the places from which they have spread. But I think the reasons against this theory are, on the whole, conclusive; and that the similarity of name, which not very unfrequently occurs, is owing to the village being called after the clan, and not the clan after the

village. Of course local nick-names (*al*, *beong*) are often given, and these may in some cases have eventually obscured the original clan name." Traces of phratries, as Mr. Morgan calls them, are not uncommon. Thus the Mandhar, Kandhar, Bargujar, Sankarwal and Panihar clans of Rajputs sprang originally from a common ancestor Lao and cannot intermarry. So the Deswal, Man, Dalal and Siwal clans of Jats, and again the Mual, Sual and Rekwat clans of Rajputs, are of common descent, and cannot intermarry.

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Population.

Division of
tribes into
clans: exo-
gamy and
endogamy.

The fact that many of the clans bear the same name in different tribes is explained by the people on the ground that a Bachhas Rajput, for instance, married a Gujar woman, and her offspring were called Gujars, but their descendants formed the Bachhas clans of Gujars. A Rajput marrying out of his tribe becomes a *ghulam*. This sort of tradition is found over and over again all over the country; and in view of the almost conclusive proof we possess that descent through females was once the rule in India as it has been probably all over the world it seems rash to attribute all such traditions merely to a desire to claim descent from a Rajput ancestor. It would appear that there are actually Rajput clans existing, sprung from Bhat, Brahman and Carpenter fathers and Rajput women. At present the offspring of a mixed connection (marriage proper is impossible) take the caste of the father; but those of the pure blood will not intermarry or associate with them. Some traces of totemism are still to be found; and as gentile organizations have almost always been closely connected with totems, it is probable that further inquiry, and especially an etymological examination of the names of the clans, would greatly extend their numbers. This also would account in many instances for clans in different tribes bearing the same name. Thus, the Jaglan Jats worship their ancestor at a shrine called *Dek*, which is always surrounded by *kaim* trees; and if a woman married in a Jaglan family passes a *kaim* tree, she will cover her face before it as before an elder relation of her husband. Again, the Mor Jats will not burn the wood of the cotton plant.

Every clan is exogamous; that is, that while every man must marry into his own tribe, no man can marry into his own clan. But this is by no means the only limitation imposed upon inter-marriage. In the first place, no man usually marries into a family, of whatever clan it may be, that is settled in his own village or in any village immediately adjoining his own. The prohibition is based upon "*simjor ki biradari*," or

Exogamy
among the
clans.

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Population.

Exogamy
among the
clans.

the relationship founded upon a common boundary; and is clearly a survival from marriage by capture. The old rule is becoming less rigid, especially amongst Musalmans, but two social reasons combine to strengthen its vitality. (1) There is the importance of marrying your daughter where you can get grazing for your cattle in seasons of dearth. For instance Jats of Kaithal Bangar and Jats of Pehowa Naili intermarry with advantage to both sides. (2) There is the important object of getting rid of your father-in-law. If you live near him your wife always wants to visit her parents, and her filial promptings lead to expense and inconvenience. This limitation on inter-marriage with neighbours is further extended by the Rajputs, so that no man of them can marry into any family living in the *thapa*, into any family of which his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather married. Thus, if a Mandhar Rajput married a Chauhan Rajput of *thapa* Jundla, his son, grandson, and great-grandson would not be able to marry any Chauhan of any village in the Jundla *thapa*. But beyond this, and the prohibition against marrying within the clan, the Rajputs have no further limitations on inter-marriage. Among the other castes the *thapa* is not excluded; but no man can marry into any family of the clan to which his mother or his father's mother belongs, wherever these clans may be found. The Gujars, however, who are generally lax in their rules, often only exclude such persons of these clans as live in the individual village from which the relation in question came. In some parts of Ambala the people are beginning to add the mother's mother's clan, or even to *substitute* it for the father's mother's clan; and this may perhaps be a last stage of the change from relationship through women to relationship through men.

Social inter-
course among
tribes.

Broadly speaking no superior tribe will eat or drink from the hands or vessels of an inferior one, or smoke its pipes. But the reputed purifying influences of fire, especially as exercised upon *ghi* and sugar, and the superior cleanliness of metal over earthen vessels, are the foundation of a broad distinction. All food is divided into *pakki roti*, or fried dry with *ghi*, and *kachchi roti* or not so treated. Thus, among the Hindus a Gujrati Brahman will eat *pakki* but not *kachchi roti* from a Gaur, or Gaur from a Taga, any Brahman or Taga from Rajput, any Brahman, Taga or Rajput from a Jat, Gujar or Ror. Excepting Brahmans and Tagas each caste will drink water from a metal vessel, if previously scoured with earth (*manjna*), and will smoke from a pipe with a brass bowl, taking out the stem and using the

hand with the fingers closed instead, from the same people with whom they will eat *pakki* bread ; but they will not drink or smoke from earthen vessels, or use the same pipe-stem, except with those whose *kachchi* bread they can eat. Jats, Gujars, Rors, Rahbaris (a camel-grazing caste) and Ahirs (a shepherd caste) eat and drink in common without any scruples. These, again, will eat a goldsmith's *pakki* bread, but not in his house ; and they used to smoke with carpenters, but are ceasing to do so. Musalmans have lately become much less strict about these rules as governing their intercourse among themselves, and many of them now eat from any respectable Musalman's hand, especially in the cities. And, subject strictly to the above rules, any Musalman will eat and drink without scruple from a Hindu ; but no Hindu will touch either *pakki* or *kachchi* roti from any Musalman, and will often throw it away if only a Musalman's shadow falls upon it, partly perhaps because Musalmans eat from earthen vessels, which no Hindu can do unless the vessel has never been used before. This affords an easy mode of telling whether a deserted site has been held by Musalmans or Hindus. If the latter there will be numbers of little earthen saucers (*rikalis*) found on the spot. Brahmans and Rajputs will not eat from any one below a Jat, Gujar, or Ror ; while these three tribes themselves do not, as a rule, eat or drink with any of the menial castes ; and the following castes are absolutely impure owing to their occupation and habits, and their mere touch defiles food :—Leather-maker, washerman, barber, blacksmith, dyer (*chhimpi*), sweeper, *dum*, and *dhanak*. The potter is also looked upon as of doubtful purity. The pipes of a village, being often left about in the common rooms and fields, are generally distinguished by a piece of something tied round the stem—blue rag for a Musalman, red for a Hindu, leather for a *chamar*, string for a sweeper, and so on, so that a friend wishing for a smoke may not defile himself by mistake. *Gur* and most sweetmeats can be eaten from almost any body's hand even from that of a leather-worker or sweeper, but in this case they must be whole, not broken.

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Population.

Social inter-
course among
tribes.

There is a very extraordinary division of almost the whole countryside south of the Rajput territory into the two factions (*khap*) of Dehia and Haulania, respecting the origin of which no very satisfactory information is forthcoming. The Dehias are called after a Jat clan of that name, with its headquarters about Bhatganw in Sunpat, having originally come from Bawana near Delhi. The Haulania faction is headed by

The Dehia
and Haulania
factions.

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The Dehia and
 Haulania
 factions.

the Ghatwal or Malak Jats whose head-quarters are Dher-ka-Ahulana in Gohana, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rajputs, the accepted heads of the Jats in these parts. Some one of the Emperors called them in to assist him in coercing the Mandhar Rajputs, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehia Jats, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwals, and joined the Mandhars against them. Thus the countryside was divided into two factions; the Gujars and Tagas of south Karnal, the Jaglan Jats of *thapa* Naultha, and the Latmar Jats of Rohtak joining the Dehias*; the Huda Jats of Rohtak, and most of the Jats of the southern half of the district except the Jaglans, joining the Haulanias. In the mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak district between these two factions, and the Mandhars of the Nardak ravaged the Haulanias in the south of the tract. And in framing his *zails* the Settlement Officer had to alter his proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village, which he had included with Haulanias, and which objected in consequence. The Dehia is also called the Jat, and occasionally the Mandhar faction. The Jats and Rajputs seem, independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies; and one is often assured by Jats that they would not dare to go into a Rajput village at night.

The Rajputs.

In briefly describing the principal tribes of the district, we will begin, as in duty bound, with the Rajputs. It is hardly necessary to say much about their well-known tribal characteristics. They are fine, brave men, and retain the feudal instinct more strongly developed than any other non-menial caste, the heads of the people wielding extraordinary authority. They are very tenacious of the integrity of their communal property in the village land, and seldom admit strangers to share in it. The Nardak contributes many soldiers to our army. They are lazy and proud, and look upon manual labour as derogatory, much preferring the care of cattle, whether their own or other people's. In the canal and Khadar parts they have abandoned pastoral for agricultural pursuits; but even here they will seldom, if ever, do the actual work of ploughing with their own hands; while the fact that their women are kept strictly secluded deprives them of an invaluable aid to agriculture. In the Nardak a great part of the actual work of cultivation is done by other castes.

*It is said that the Balian and Sakilan Jats of the Doab joined the Dehias; and that the Tagas of the Doab joined the Haulanias.

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They are, of course, cattle-stealers by ancestral profession ; but they exercise their calling in a gentlemanly way, and there is certainly honour among Rajput thieves. Musalman Rajputs are called *Ranghars* by other castes and *Chotikats* by their Hindu brethren, from *choti*, the Hindu scalp-lock, which the Musalman does not preserve. But both terms are considered abusive, especially the latter. The principal clans are the Chauhans and the Mandhars.

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Population.

The Rajputs.

The Mandhars were settled in very early days in the country about Samana ; for Firoz Shah chastised them, carried off their Ranas to Delhi, and made many of them Musalmans. The Safidon branch obtained the villages now held by them in the Nardak in comparatively late times by inter-marriage with the Chauhans. And though they expelled the Chandel Rajputs from Kohand and Gharaunda when they first came into these parts, yet the Chandels re-conquered them ; and the final occupation by Mandhars coming direct from Kalayat in Patiala is probably of comparatively recent date. They, with the other four clans already mentioned as connected with them by blood, are descended from Lao, a son of Ramchandrar and grandson of Raja Dasarar, and said to be the founder of Lahore. Their phratry is called Lachman, after a childless son of Raja Dasarar ; Ramchandrar having another son Kuskumar who ruled Kashmir and founded the Kachwaha and Narban gentes. They are of Suraj Bansi clan. Their place of origin is Ajodhia ; and Kalayat in Patiala, their head-quarters in these parts.

The Chauhans are all sprung from the original people who settled at Jundla. They all claim descent from Rana Har Rai ; but as it is improbable that he conquered the country single-handed, and as his followers probably included Rajputs whose descendants are still in possession, this cannot be true. At the same time it is probable that the eldest line, in which authority descended from Rana Har Rai, has been preserved in its integrity. According to this, 19 generations, equivalent to 475 years, have intervened since the Chauhan conquest, which would fix it at about the time of Bahlol Lodhi, when the Chauhans of Moradabad took a new departure. They are of the Agnikula clan. Their origin is from Sambhar in Ajmir ; but Rana Har Rai came from Sambhal in Moradabad, where the family bards still live. Many of them are now Musalmans, and the change of religion dates from some generations back. They are the highest of the Rajput clans about here, and some of the Muhammadan members will even marry with their own clans in the neighbourhood. The

CHAP. I. C. *Khuhī* Chauhans on the Ganges will do this even when Hindus ;
 Population. but they practise second marriage and other abominations. They
 The Rajputs. intermarry freely, however, with all the Rajputs in these parts,
 subject to the limitations already stated.

The Tunwars have almost wholly disappeared from the district, being now chiefly represented by the Rajputs of the town of Panipat. They are of the Lunar race. Pharal in Kaithal is a large Tunwar village, and the neighbourhood is called Tunwaron. If a man is asked whether Pharal is in the Nardak or Bangar, he says it is in neither but *Tunwaron men*. The Nardak in Kaithal is to a considerable extent used to designate the country occupied by Madhras and Chauhans ; that is, the tribal limit to a certain extent fixes the limit of territory known as Nardak.

The Jats.

The Jats are pre-eminently the agricultural caste of the tract, and, with the exception of the Rors, and of the Rains, Malis, and Kambohs, who are practically market gardeners, are best cultivators we have. A Jat, when asked his caste, will as often answer "*samindar*" as "Jat." They are a fine stalwart race. Mr. Ibbetson measured one at Didwari 6 feet 7 inches high and 42½ inches round the chest. He complained that a pair of shoes cost him Re. 1-8. They are notorious for their independence, acknowledging to a less degree than any other caste the authority of their headmen. They hold several tribal groups of villages ; but they also own parts of villages almost all over the tract save in the Gujar and Rajput portions. They seem to have held parts of the country about Samana in very early days, and, as already noted, that part certainly formed a part of an early Indo-Scythian kingdom. The Jats of the district seem to have come partly from the Bagar, where they were in force 700 years ago. In no case have Jats settled from across the Jumna. The Jats are not mentioned as a prominent caste of the tract in Akbar's time, and probably gained a footing during the breaking up of the Mughal dynasty, when they became an important element in the politics of the time. Elliott and Cunningham divide the Delhi Jats into Dese and Pachade ; but no trace of this division at present exists save that there is a powerful clan called Deswal in Rohtak, and that the Jats hold a *des* of 84 villages in the Doab. The Jats of the tract are almost without exception Hindus. Those who have become Musalmans are called *Mule Jats*, and are only found in two or three villages ; and there even are only individual families,

generally said to be descended from hostages taken in infancy by the Musalman rulers and circumcised by them. The principal clans are as follows :—

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Population.

The Jats.

Jaglan, sprung from Jagla, a Jat of Jaipur, to whom there is a shrine in Israna at which the whole *thapa* worships. They hold the 12 villages (*barah*) of *thapa* Naultha, and come from Ludas, in Sirsa or Hissar.

Ghanghas, sprung from an ancestor called Badkal, whom they still worship, and who has a shrine in Puthar. They hold the *thapa* of Mandi, and come from Dhanana near Bhiwani, in the Bagar.

→ *Gutwal* or *Malak*, dating their origin from Garh Ghazni, and holding Bawana, whither they came from Ahulana in Gohana. They hold Ugra Kheri and the villages settled from it, and are scantily represented in this district. In the old days of Rajput ascendancy the Rajputs would not allow Jats to cover their heads with a turban, nor to wear any red clothes, nor to put a crown (*mor*) on the heads of their bride-grooms, or a jewel (*nath*) in their women's noses. They also used to levy seigniorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rajputs will not allow inferior castes to wear red clothes or ample loin clothes in their villages. The Ghatwals obtained some successes over the Rajputs, especially over the Mandhars of the Doab, near Deoban and Manglaur, and over those of the Bagar near Kalanaur and Dadri, and removed the obnoxious prohibitions. They then acquired the title of *malak* (master) and a red turban as their distinguishing mark; and to this day a Jat with a red *pagri* is most probably a Ghatwal.

Deswal, who hold Korar, Madlauda, Atacla, Mahaoti, and other villages, and came from Rohtak, where they have their head-quarters in the village of Mandauthi.

Katkhar or *Gahlaur*, perhaps the most powerful Jat clans in the tract, holding the 12 villages (*bara*) of Jaurasi. They came from Mot Pali in Hissar.

Sandhu worship Kala Mehar or Kala Pir, their ancestor, whose chief shrine is at Thana Satra in Sialkot, the head-quarters of the Sandhus. They hold Gagsina, Khotpura, and other villages; and have come here *viâ* Phul Maharaj in Patiala.

Halawat, who hold Babil and other villages, and came from Dighal in Rohtak. They worship a common ancestor called Sadu Deb.

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The chief remaining clans are shown below :—

Population.

The Jats.

No.	Clan.	Head-quarters.	Place of origin.
1	Jun ...	Kurlan and Dimana ...	Delhi.
2	Rathi ...	Manana and Bal Jatan ...	Bahadurgarh in Rohtak.
3	Sabrawat ...	Karhas, Palri ...	Delhi or its neighbourhood, <i>vid</i> Rohtak.
4	Kharab ...	Nara ...	Delhi, <i>vid</i> Khani Kheri in Hansi.
5	Narwal ...	Waisar and Kheri Naru ...	Kathura in Rohtak.
6	Nandal ...	Dahar, &c. ...	Bohar in Rohtak.
7	Dehia ...	Idiana ...	Rohna in Rohtak.
8	Kundu ...	Shahpur Kayath (Rohtak) ...	Tatanli in Rohtak.
9	Ka'i Ramni ...	Padla, Bazida and Balana ...	Garh Ghazni, <i>vid</i> Sirsa: Patan (Pak Patan?); Garhwal; Rawar, in Rohtak; and Kont, near Bhiwani.
10	Phor or Dhaliwal	Dhansauli ...	Garh Ghazni, <i>vid</i> Dhola <i>thapa</i> near Lahore.
11	Man ...	Bala and Ghogripur ...	Batinda in Malwa, <i>vid</i> Ganurkhera beyond Hissar.
12	Bainiwal ...	Qavi, Bhabpura ...	Bhadra Churi, near Bikanir, <i>vid</i> Rattak in Kaithal.
13	Ruhai ...	Beholi, &c. ...	Bhiwani.
14	Nain ...	Bhalsi, Bal Jatan ...	Bighar in Bikanir. Marry in Kasendhu (Rohtak) and Jind.
15	Lather ...	Phusgarh ...	Karsaula in Jind.
16	Kadian ...	Siwa ...	Chimni, near Beri in Rohtak, <i>vid</i> Bajana in Sunpat.
17	Dahan ...	Shahrmalpur ...	Salwan in Kaithal.
18	Dhaunchak ...	Binjhaul ...	Belon ka Bihana in Kaithal. Marry in Lat in Changanw of Rohtak.

Less locally important, but still holding considerable areas, are the Huda, Mityan, Mandhar, and Gotia clans from Rohtak; the Goit, Nohra, Kahrail, Sumra (or Gurelia), and Dhandu clans from Jind; the Panu, Kajal, Bhakar, Gauria, Matian, Chahil, Kohar, Lochab, and Punia clans from the Bagar of Hissar and Bikanir; the Phandan and Bangar clans from Kaithal; the Laur

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from Sirsa; the Kor from Delhi; the Dhul from Ludas in Bikanir, *via* Bopla in Rohtak; and the Naru and Bhaja from Bhera in district Shahpur.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

The Jats.

The Gujars.

The Gujars are a notorious thieving tribe; and, as a rule, their cultivation is of the most slovenly description, though in many of the Khadar and canal villages they have really applied themselves in earnest to agriculture. They have a habit of breaking up far more land than their numbers and appliances can properly cultivate; and though their women will go to the well, bring food to the workers in the field, pick cotton, and do other light work, yet they will not weed or do any really hard labour in the fields like the Jat women. The difference between a Gujar and a Rajput thief was well put by a villager as follows:—"A Rajput will steal your buffalo; but he won't send his father to say he knows where it is and will get it back for Rs. 20, and then keep both the Rs. 20, and the buffalo. The Gujar will." The local opinion of the Gujar is embodied in the proverb—

<i>Kutta, billi do,</i>		<i>Yih char na ho,</i>
<i>Ranghar, Gujar do;</i>		<i>To khule kiware so.</i>

"The dog and the cat, two; the Ranghar and Gujar, two. Were it not for these four you might sleep with your door open." Again, "*Jitte dekhien Gujar, itte deyie mar*"; or "wherever you see a Gujar, hit him." This character has been enjoyed by them from of old. The Gujars are, like the Rajputs, singularly unwilling to admit strangers to property in their villages. They are closely allied with the Rajputs; and their possession of parts of the Bangar was probably contemporaneous with that of the Mandhars, parts of whose conquests, such as Kohand, were given them. But in the Khadar they have succeeded Afghans in comparatively recent times save in a very few old villages. The principal clans are:—

Rawal.—This clan claims descent from a Rajput called Dhundpal from beyond Lahore, who married a daughter of a Gujar called Ghokar. It is part of the Ghokarbansi clan, and takes its specific name from Rua Sarsa near Lahore. In one village they say that the ancestor was a Khokhar Rajput, and this is probably the better form of the tradition. They settled in Rana Khera (now Rajapur), but moved thence to Kabri and Kohand, where they held a *bara* of 12 villages; and they also held Bapauli,

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

The Gujars.

whence they eventually settled the 27 villages (*sataisi*) of the Khojgipur *thapa* in the Khadar. They still hold the Khadar villages ; but have lost most of those near Kohand.

Chokar.—This clan comes from Jewar *thapa*, beyond Mathra, *viâ* Bali Qutbpur, in Sunpat. They used to hold a *chaubisi* (24 villages) with Namaunda their head-quarters, and are probably very old inhabitants. They have been to a great degree displaced by Jats.

Chamain.—This clan claims descent from a Tunwar Rajput by a Gujar mother ; and the real gentile name is said to be Tunwar, Chamain being only a local appellation. They came from Delhi and settled in Nain and Sutana and the neighbouring villages ; and are certainly very old inhabitants, very possibly having emigrated when expelled from neighbourhood of Delhi by Sher Shah a few years after the Chauhan settlement. They have been largely dispossessed by Rors.

Kalsan.—This clan claims descent from Rana Har Rai, the Chauhan of Jundla by a Gujar wife. They had given them a part of his conquests in the Doab, where they are still in great force, and they hold a little land in the Chauhan Nardak.

Other clans are Cheharwal or Daharwal, and Puswal from the neighbourhood of Delhi ; Bhodwal from Meerut ; Karhawat from Jhajjar ; Bang and Katane from Kaithal ; Bhonkal from Bagpat ; Khari from Sirsa Patan, *viâ* Delhi ; Chauri from Chitran in Hansi, and Gersi from Pehoa. They are none of them of any local importance.

The Rors.

No satisfactory information whatever is forthcoming as to the origin of the Rors. Most of them date their origin from the neighbourhood of Badli, near Jhajjar in Rohtak ; and there are traditions of a Tunwar Rajput as ancestor. They hold a *chaurasi* of 84 villages about Pehoa, and a *bara* of 12 villages beyond the Ganges. They occupy many villages in the Mori Nardak, some in the east of *parganah* Kaithal, and a few in the south of Kaithal tahsil near the Jind border ; but they have obtained their property in the district almost exclusively by being settled as cultivators by the original owners, generally Rajputs and Gujars, who have since abandoned their villages, or died out wholly or died in part. The Rajputs say that the Rors were originally Ods who used to dig the tanks at Thanesar. They themselves claim Rajput origin, and Rajputs have been heard to admit the origin of the Doplâ *got* of Rors in Amin, &c., from Rana Har Rai by a Rorni wife. Socially they rank below Jats.

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The Rors, while almost as good cultivators as the Jats, and assisted by their women in the same way, are much more peaceful and less grasping in their habits; and are consequently readily admitted as cultivators where the Jats would be kept at arm's length. They are fine stalwart men, of much the same stamp as the Jats. The number of clans represented in the district is very great, almost every Ror village including several; and there are no large groups of villages held by a predominant clan, as is the case with the tribes already described. They are strongest in Indri Nardak and along the Rohtak canal, where they hold many villages originally possessed by Gujars. The principal clans are :—

Population.
The Rors.

Jogran, descended from a Chauhan Rajput called Joga by a Ror woman. They hold the large village of Korana, and came from Kalayat in Patiala, *via* Pundri in Kaithal.

Ghanter, from Gurawar in Rohtak, and *Kandol* from Anwali in Rohtak. These two clans hold Alupur and neighbouring villages.

Khechi came from Narar Jajru, in Jaipur, where they are still numerous. They hold Ahar, &c.

Besides these there are the Kulania, Gurak, Maipia, Dumian, Rojra and Kainwal from Delhi; the Kharangar, Lathar, Jarautia, Dhankar, Khaskar and Chopre, from Rohtak; the Tharrak, Kokra, Talso Dodan, Turan and Lamra, from Kaithal and Jind; the Kultagria from Thanesar; and the Mual from Bikanir; all of which hold considerable areas in the district.

The Tagas, who must be carefully distinguished from the criminal Tagus of these parts, also of Brahminical origin, are a Brahman caste which has abandoned (*tagan karan*) the priestly profession and adopted agriculture. They have Brahmans as their family priests. They are all Gaurs; and according to tradition their origin dates from the celebrated sacrifice of snakes by Janamejaya (vulg. Jalmeja Rishi, also called Raja Agrand), which is said to have taken place at Safidon in Jind. At that time there were no Gaurs in this country, and he summoned many from beyond the sea (*sic*). Half of them would take no money reward for their services; upon which he gave them 184 villages in these parts, when they decided to take no further offering in future, and became Tagas. The others took the ordinary offerings, and their descendants are the Gaur Brahmans of these parts. Both retained their division in ten clans, and are hence called *dasnam* Brahmans.

The Tagas.

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Population.

The Tagas.

The Hindu Tagas still wear the sacred thread, but Brahmins do not intermarry with them, and will not even eat ordinary bread from their hands. Many of them are now Musalmans. It must not be supposed that a Brahmin now relinquishing the priestly craft and taking to agriculture will become a Taga; the Tagas were made once for all, and the limits of the tribe cannot now be extended. They are, as already stated, the oldest inhabitants of the tract; but are now confined to the parts about Hatwala and Barana. The Barana and Sanauli Tagas are of clan Bachhas from Kalwa Jamni in Jind; those of Pundri and Harsinghpur of clans Parasir, from the neighbourhood of Pehoa; those about Hatwala are of the Bharadwaj, Gautam and Saroha clans, and come from Sirsa Patan, *via* the Khadar, to the south of the tract. They are, as cultivators, superior to the Rajput, Gujar and Brahmin; but fall very far short of Jat and Ror. Their women are strictly secluded.

The Brahmins.

Brahmins hold only a small area in the tract, there being but few villages in which they have acquired any considerable share. But they own small plots in very many villages, being, for the most part, land given to family priests (*parohits*) by their clients (*jijmans*) as religious offerings (*pun dan*). They are vile cultivators, being lazy to a degree, and they carry the grasping and overbearing habits of their caste into their relation as land-owners, so that wherever Brahmins hold land, disputes may be expected. The local proverb goes *Brahman se bura, Bāgar se kal*. "As famine from the desert, so comes evil from a Brahmin." The great mass of the Brahmins of the tract are Gaur. Some of them belong to the Chaurasia sub-division who assisted at Janamejaya's holocaust of snakes (see Tagas *supra*), and received a gift of a *chaurasi* of 84 villages. They are considered inferior to the Gaurs. There are also a few Sarsut Brahmins, who are said to be far less grasping and quarrelsome than the Gaurs, and are certainly less strict in their caste habits, so that Gaurs will not eat ordinary bread from their hands. The most common *gots* are the Bharadwaj, Bashista, Gautam, Bachhas, Parasir and Sandlas. The Brahmins have, in almost all cases, followed their clients from their original abodes to the villages in which they are now settled. They hold little land. But there are two tribes of Brahmins which, though they own no land at all, are of special interest; they are Gujrati and the Dakaut.

The Gujrati and Dakaut Brahmins.

Offerings to Brahmins are divided into *bar* or *graha* for the days of the week, and the two *grahin* for Rahu and Ket, the two demons who cause eclipses by attacking the sun and moon.

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

The Gujrati
and Dakaut
Brahmans.

These two are parts of a *jin* (Rakshas), who, when sitting at dinner with the gods and *jins*, drank of the nectar of the gods instead of the wine of the *jins*. The sun and moon told of him, and Bhagwan cut him into two parts of which Rahu, including the stomach and therefore the nectar, is the more worthy. When any body wishes to offer to Brahmans from illness or other cause, he consults a Brahman, who casts his horoscope and directs which offering of the seven *grahas* should be made. The *grahins* are more commonly offered during an eclipse, that to Rahu being given at the beginning, and that to Ket at the end of the transit. The Gaur Brahmans will not take any black offerings, such as a buffalo or goat, iron, sesame (*til*) or *urd*, black blankets or clothes, salt, &c., nor oil, second-hand clothes, green clothes, nor *satnaja*, which is seven grains mixed, with a piece of iron in them; these belonging to the *grahe* whose offerings are forbidden to them. An exception, however, is made in favour of a black cow.

The Gujrati or Bias Brahmans who came from Gujrat in Sindh, are in some respects the highest class of all Brahmans; they are always fed first; and they bless a Gaur when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary bread from his hands. They are fed on the 12th day after death, and the Gaurs will not eat on the 13th day if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious offerings. To them appertain especially the Rahu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil, sesame, goats, or green or dirty clothes; but will take old clothes if washed, buffaloes, and *satnaja*. They also take a special offering to Rahu made by a sick person, who puts gold in *ghi*, looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gujrati, or who weighs himself against *satnaja* and makes an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on to the top of a house (often no difficult feat in a village), or a foal dropped in the month of Sawan or buffalo calf in Mag, are given to the Gujrati as being unlucky. No Gaur would take them. Every harvest the Gujrati takes a small allowance (*seori*) of grain from the threshing floor, just as does the Gaur.

The Dakauts came from Agroha in the Dakhan. Raja Jasrat, father of Ramchandar, had excited the anger of Saturday by worshipping all the other *graha* but him. Saturday accordingly rained fire on Jasrat's city of Ajodhia. Jasrat wished to propitiate him, but the Brahmans feared to take the offering for dread of the consequences; so Jasrat made from the dirt of his body one Daka Rishi who took the offerings, and was the ancestor of the Dakauts by a Sudra woman. The other Brahmans, how-

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Population.

The Gujrati
and Dakaut
Brahmans.

ever, disowned him ; so Jasrat consoled him by promising that all Brahmans should in future consult his children. The promise has been fulfilled. The Dakauts are pre-eminent as astrologers and soothsayers, and are consulted by every class on all subjects but the dates of weddings and the names of children, on which the Gaurs advise. They are the scape-goats of the Hindu religion ; and their fate is to receive all the unlucky offerings which no other Brahman will take, such as black things and dirty clothes. Especially they take the offerings of Wednesday, Saturday, and Ket. They are so unlucky that no Brahman will accept their offerings ; and if they wish to make them, they have to give them to their own sister's sons. No Hindu of any caste will eat any sort of food at their hands, and at weddings they sit with the lower castes ; though of course they only eat food cooked by a Brahman. In old days they possessed the power of prophecy up to 10-30 A. M. ; but this has now failed them. They and the Gujratis are always at enmity, because as they take many of the same offerings, their interests clash.

The Saiyads.

The principal Saiyads are those of Barsat, of the Zedi branch, and descended from Abul Farah of Wasat in Arabia, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi, and, settling first at Chhat Banur in Patiala and then at Sambhal Heri in Muzaffarnagar, was the ancestor of the Chatrauli Saiyads. The Saiyads of Saiyadpur and Jal Pahar are Huseni Saiyads, the former from Mushad in Arabia, the latter from Khojand, near Khorasan. The Faridpur Saiyads are Musavi from Qazwin in Persia. All belong to the Bara Saadat, who played such an important part in the latter days of the Mughal Empire. There is also a large community of Saiyads at Baras, descended from Shah Abdal from Chist, who assisted Sikandar Lodi at the siege of Narwar and obtained a grant of part of the village. They have an old MS. family history of some interest. Mr. Ibbetson writes :—

“The Saiyad is emphatically the worst cultivator I know. Lazy, thriftless, and intensely ignorant and conceited, he will not dig till driven to it by the fear of starvation, and thinks that his holy descent should save his brow from the need of sweating. At the best he has no cattle, he has no capital, and he grinds down his tenants to the utmost. At the worst he is equally poor, dirty, and holy. He is the worst revenue-payer in the district ; for light assessment means to him only greater sloth. I have known a Saiyad give one-third of the yield of the grain-field to a man for watching it while it ripened : and if his tenants' rent is Rs. 10, he is always glad to accept Rs. 5 at the beginning of the season in full payment.”

Gadis.—The chief land-owning tribe left undescribed is the Gadis, almost always Musalmans, who eat from the hands of almost the lowest castes. They are mostly of the Sarohe clan, and come from the Bagar or from the Ambala district, where they are very numerous.

Kambohs, Rains and Malis.—The Kambohs, who are the very best cultivators possible, also come from the Ambala district, where they have flocked in from Patiala and settled in great numbers. The Rains and Malis, who practise market gardening, are chiefly settled in the towns, where they cultivate as tenants.

Bairagis.—The Nimawat Bairagis of Goli, Waisri, and Harsinghpur, the Rama Nandi Bairagi of Sita Mai and Bhandari, and the Radha Balbhi Bairagis of Barana and Matnauli own a good deal of land. Besides the monks (*sadhu*) of the monasteries (*asthal*) whose property descends to their disciples (*chela*), who are called their *nadi* children, many of the Bairagis have married and become *Ghirist* and have descendants by procreation, or *bindi* children, thus forming a new caste. This latter class is drawn very largely from Jats. The monastic communities are powerful, are exceedingly well conducted, often very wealthy, and exercise a great deal of hospitality.

Shekhs.—Of Shekhs proper (Arabs), the only representatives in the tract are the Qoreshis, Ansaris, and Mahajarin (Makhdumzadah) of Panipat. But every low caste convert to Islam calls himself a Shekh, and such Shekhs are known in the district as *Sidqi*. There is even a Mandhar Rajput Musalman family in the town of Karnal, which has taken to weaving as an occupation, and is called Shekh instead of Rajput. The Mandhars visit them, but will not intermarry. But the most remarkable Shekhs are a menial caste of that name, which is represented in almost every village by one or two small families, and from which the village watchmen have been almost exclusively drawn from time immemorial. The people say that it was the policy of the old Emperors to have some Muhammadans in every village, and that they therefore appointed and settled these people, and the story is not improbable.

Jogis.—There is a caste called Jogi, generally Hindu, which is one of the lowest of all castes, and receives the offerings made to the impure gods. They are musicians, and practise witchcraft and divination. They must be carefully distinguished from the *Kanphate Jogis*, or monks of Shiv, who are a sect of religious devotees and not a caste at all, and in fact do not marry.

CHAP. I. C.

Population.

Miscellaneous
and menial
tribes.

Menial Castes.—The menial castes (*kamins*) only hold land in the rarest possible instances. Their place in the village community is fully described in the next section. They are principally distinguished by their elaborate caste organization, which is so complete that their disputes seldom come into our courts. The heads of most of the communities live at Panipat, except that of the washermen, who lives at Barsat. They are called *khalifa* for the tailor, *raj* for the mason, *mistri* for the carpenter and blacksmith, *mahtar* for the sweeper. And if you wish to be polite to any of the members, you address him by the corresponding term, just as you call a landowner *chaudhr*, after the *chaudhri* or headmen of village groups, as a London street-boy will call a subaltern Captain or a Scotchman Laird, and as Artemus Ward called a London policeman Sir Richard. The sweepers worship a god called Lal Beg, a small shrine being erected in the yard, with a *gha* sunk in the ground for him to drink out of. They give him sweetened rice on *Holi*, and at *Diwali* sacrifice a white cock to him : and they burn lamps to him on Thursday night. They do not worship any of the other gods except at weddings, and then only after Lal Beg. They also hold a festival in honour of Balashah on the 10th of Jeth, at which they balance on their fingers long poles with bundles of feathers at the top.

Language.

The composite character of the district is exemplified by the various dialects spoken within its boundaries. In the Panipat tahsil the Jats speak a variety of Hindi closely resembling that used by the Jats of the Rohtak district. In the south of Kaithal the dialect is much the same. The domination of the Sikhs in the Thanesar tahsil and the Indri Pargana caused an infusion of Punjabi words, so that the language of those tracts displays a curious mixture of dialects. In the north of the Kaithal tahsil the proximity of the Phulkian States introduces an even larger Punjabi element, until in the Powadh circle nothing but pure Punjabi is met with. Some specimens of the dialect spoken by cultivators in the Nardak—on the whole the most characteristic of the Karnal dialects—were recorded by Mr. Douie when Settlement Officer and are reproduced below :—

CHANNA.

GRAM.

Jis kasan ka lama sama thada
Which farmer of men and material plenty
howe o to bhadve menh channa ka
are, he Bhadon in gram of

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[PART A.

badwar par ya **CHAP. I. C.**
 field ploughed in Bhadon for gram, etc., first ploughing or **Population.**
 dosari. **Language.**
 second ploughing
 karde he. Asaj ka mahine manh jad
 does. Asauj of month in when
 mih bars je he tapar ka bij
 rain falls seed sown in level field
 bokarke tor dosari karde he,
 after sowing then second ploughing does
 sohaga karara marde hain.
 clod-crusher stronger works on
 Aur jis ka sama thora hoi
 And who of means slender is
 o mih barse par sur katke bij
 he rain falling on bushes clearing seed
 bokarke dosari karde hai.
 sowing second ploughing does
 Yih mari howe. Bade loganka masla hai.
 This inferior is. Some people's proverb is
 Channa ne nahin mangi bah
 gram the does not want ploughing
 Channa ne mangi sah.
 gram the wants favourable conditions.
 Ath din pichhe channa sirsaun upar
 eight days after gram mustard germi-
 aje he. Channa man sirsaun la lar
 nates. gram in mustard putting seeds in a wooden tube
 aur khari khari mahra
 and spreading seeds by hand mixed
 bode hain.
 they sow