



सत्यमेव जयते

# Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency (Facsimile Reproduction)

## **POONA DISTRICT** **VOLUME XVIII** **PART - I**

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## **PREFACE**

*I am happy to bring out this Facsimile Reproduction of Poona District Gazetteer, which was first published in three Volumes in 1885 by the British Government in the Series of Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency. These Volumes were edited by Mr. James Campbell, I.C.S. These encyclopaedic volumes completed 104 years ago have now become scarce and have gone out of print. The second revised edition of the Poona District Gazetteer was published in a single Volume by this department in 1954. However, the utility of the Gazetteers in the Old Series is still undiminished because they contain authentic and very useful information on several aspects of life, and have the impress of profound scholarship and learning. They have not lost their utility due to the mere passage of time. It was, therefore, felt necessary to preserve this treasure of knowledge for posterity. There is also a good demand from scholars that all the Old Gazetteers should be reprinted even though a revised edition is available. With these considerations in view, it was thought that the Gazetteer Volumes in Old Series should be reprinted. I am sure, scholars and studious persons will find them very useful.*

*It may be pertinent to state that a totally rewritten Marathi edition of the Pune District Gazetteer is being brought out by us.*

*I am thankful to the Director, Government Printing and Stationery, Shri P. S. More and the Manager, Government Photozinco Press, Pune, Shri P. L. Purkar and other staff in the Press for expeditiously completing the work of reprinting.*

**BOMBAY,**

**14th November,  
1989**

**K. K. CHAUDHARI**

**Executive Editor and  
Secretary.**

## PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of the Poona District Gazetteer. This CD version is a part of a scheme of preparing compact discs of earlier published District Gazetteers.

The Poona District Gazetteer was first published in three volumes in 1885 by the British Government in the series of Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency. These volumes were edited by Mr. James M. Campbell, I.C.S. These volumes provide authentic and useful information on several aspects of the district and are considered to be of great value to administrators, scholars and general readers. The revised edition of it was compiled and published in single volume in 1954. But the old gazetteer published during the British regime contained much valuable information, which was not reproduced in the revised edition. Therefore, the department decided to reprint these volumes. Accordingly the first volume of Poona District Gazetteer (1885) was reprinted in 1989 and second and third volumes were reprinted in 1992. Considering its utility need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of this edition that comprises of all the three volumes. It is also made available on the website of the State Government [www.maharashtra.gov.in](http://www.maharashtra.gov.in). I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the World will find this CD immensely beneficial.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri. Bhushan Gagrani (Secretary, Cultural Affairs), Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

**Place: Mumbai**

**DR. ARUNCHANDRA S. PATHAK**

**Date :26th January, 2007 Executive Editor and Secretary**

## **PREFACE**

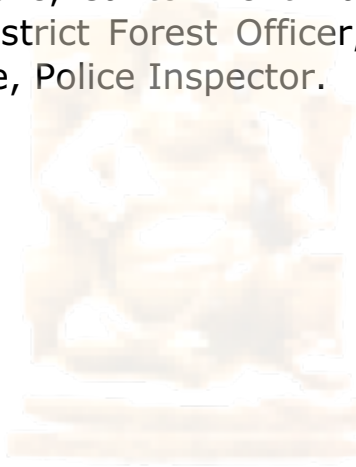
### **PREFACE (OCTOBER 1884)**

THE names of contributors are given in the body of the book. Special acknowledgments are due to Messrs. J. G. Moore, C. S., A. Keyser, C. S., John McLeod Campbell, C. S., W. M. Fletcher, Superintendent Revenue Survey, and to Rav Saheb Narso Ramchandra, Secretary Poona City Municipality. The papers written by the late Mr. G. H. Johns, C. S. on the Places of Interest were of the greatest value.

Much help was also received from Mr. H. E. Winter, C. S., Colonel C. D'U. LaTouche, Cantonment Magistrate, and Messrs. W. H. A. Wallinger, District Forest Officer, A. H. Plunkett, City Magistrate, and S. Kyte, Police Inspector.

***OCTOBER 1884***

**JAMES M.  
CAMPBELL.**



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

# MAP

## MAP OF THE DISTRICT



## DESCRIPTION

[From materials supplied by Mr. J. McL. Campbell, C. S., and Mr. W. Fletcher, Superintendent of Survey.]

### Position and Area

**Poona**, lying between 17° 54' and 19° 22' north latitude and 73° 24' and 75° 14' east longitude, has an area of about 5350 square miles, a population according to the 1881 census of 900,621 or about 168.40 to the square mile, and a realizable land revenue of about £115,350 (Rs. 11,53,500).

### Boundaries

In the west, along the Sahyadris, Poona has a breadth of seventy or eighty miles. From this it stretches about 130 miles south-east, sloping gradually from about 2000 to 1000 feet above the sea, and narrowing in an irregular wedge-shape to about twenty miles in the east. It is bounded on the north by the sub-divisions of Akola, Sangamner, and Parner in Ahmadnagar; on the east by Parner, Shrigonda, and Karjat also in Ahmadnagar, and Karmala in Sholapur; on the south by Malsiras in Sholapur, and Phaltan, Wai, and Bhore in Satara; and on the west by Roha in Kolaba, Bhore in Satara, Pen in Kolaba, and Karjat and Murbad in Thana. Except two isolated blocks of the Bhore state, a block in the west and a smaller in the; south, the whole area within these limits belongs to Poona.

### Sub-Divisions

For administrative purposes, exclusive of the city of Poona which forms a separate sub-division, the district is distributed over eight sub-divisions. These, beginning from the north-west and working east, are, Junnar, Khed including Ambegaon, Maval, Haveli including Mulshi, Sirur, Purandhar, Bhimthadi including Baramati, and Indapur. These eight sub-divisions have on an average an area of about 670 square miles, 150 villages, and 112,600 people.

*POONA ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS, 1881-82.*

SUB-DIVISION.	SQUARE MILES.	VILLAGES.					
		GOVERNMENT.			ALIENATED.		
		Villages.		Hamlets.	Villages.		Hamlets.
		Peopled.	Unpeopled.	Peopled.	Peopled.	Unpeopled.	Peopled.
Junnar	611	153	3	124	7	--	16
Khed	888	193	--	282	51	--	58
Maval	385	137	5	59	26	--	12
Haveli	813	179	4	155	58	1	32
Sirur	578	60	--	48	16	--	16
Purandhar	470	67	--	66	25	--	15
Bhimthadi	1036	114¾	--	76	15¼	--	4
Indapur	566	80	--	63	6	--	--
Total	5347	983¾	12	873	204¼	1	153

*continued..*

SUB-DIVISION.	SQUARE MILES.	VILLAGES.			POPULATION, 1881	TO THE SQUARE MILE.	LAND REVENUE, 188-82
		TOTAL.					
		Government.	Alienated.	Total.			
							£
Junnar	611	156	7	163	102,273	167	14,714
Khed	888	193	51	244	141,890	160	15,887
Maval	385	142	26	168	62,383	162	7586
Haveli	813	183	59	242	287,062	353	20,494
Sirur	578	60	16	76	72,793	126	13,759
Purandhar	470	67	25	92	75,678	161	9776
Bhimthadi	1036	114¾	15¼	130	110,428	107	22,935
Indapur	566	80	6	86	48,114	85	10,200
Total	5347	995¾	205¼	1201	900,621	168	115,351

**Aspect**

In the gradual change from the rough hilly west to the bare open east, the



130 miles of the Poona district form in the west two more or less hilly belts ten to twenty miles broad and seventy to eighty miles long. Beyond the second belt, whose eastern limit is roughly marked by a line passing through Poona north to Pabal and south to Purandhar, the plain narrows to fifty and then to about twenty miles, and stretches east for about ninety miles.

### *Western Belt.*

The Western Belt, stretching ten to twenty miles east of the Sahyadris, is locally known as Maval or the sunset land. It is extremely rugged, a series of steppes or tablelands cut on every side by deep winding valleys and divided and crossed by mountains and hills. [These valleys are locally known as *ners*, *mavals*, and *khores*, and are called either after the stream or after some leading village. In Junnar all the valleys are *ners*, Madh-ner, Kokad-ner, Bhima-ner, and Min-ner, called after the country-town of Madh and the Kukdi, Bhima, and Mina rivers. In Khed there is Bhamner the valley of the Bhama. The Maval sub-division consists of Andhar-maval, Nane-maval, and Paun-maval, called after the river Andhra, the country-town of Nana, and the river Pauna. Further south there is Paud-khore the valley of the country-town of Paud, and Musa-khore the valley of the Musa a tributary of the Mutha.] From the valleys of the numerous streams whose waters feed the Ghod the Bhima and the Mula-Mutha, hills of various heights and forms rise terrace above terrace, with steep sides often strewn with black basalt boulders. During the greater part of the year most of the deep ravines and rugged mountain sides which have been stripped bare for wood-ash manure have no vegetation but stunted underwood and dried grass. Where the trees have been spared they clothe the hill sides with a dense growth seldom more than twenty feet high, mixed with almost impassable brushwood, chiefly composed of the rough russet-leaved *karvi* *Strobilanthus grahamianus*, the bright green *karvand* *Carissa carandas*, and the dark-leaved *anjani* or iron-wood *Memecylon edule*. Here and there, sometimes as at Lonavali in the plain, but oftener on hill-side ledges or in deep dells, are patches of ancient evergreen forest whose holiness or whose remoteness has saved them from destruction. During the rainy months from June to October, the extreme west is very chill and damp. The people in the northern valleys are Kolis and in the southern valleys Marathas. They have a strong strain of hill blood, and are dark, wiry, and sallow. They live in slightly built houses roofed with thatch or tile, grouped in small hamlets generally on some terrace or mound, and with the help of wood-ash manure grow rice in the hollows, and hill grains on terraces, slopes, and plateaus.

### *Central Belt.*

The Central Belt stretches ten to twenty miles east of the western belt across a tract whose eastern boundary is roughly marked by a line drawn from Pabal, about twelve miles east of Khed, south through Poona to



Purandhar. In this central belt, as the smaller chains of hills sink into the plain, the valleys become straighter and wider and the larger spurs spread into plateaus in places broader than the valleys. With a moderate, certain, and seasonable rainfall, a rich soil, and a fair supply of water both from wells and from river-beds, the valleys yield luxuriant crops. Except towards the west where in places is an extensive and valuable growth of small teak, the plateaus and hill slopes are bare and treeless. But the lowlands, studded with mango, banian, and tamarind groves, enriched with patches of garden tillage, and relieved by small picturesque hills, make this central belt one of the most pleasing parts of the Deccan. Near Poona the country has been enriched by the Mutha canal, along which, the Mutha valley, from Khadakvasala to about twenty miles east of Poona, is green with sugarcane and other garden crops.

### *Eastern Belt.*

East of Poona the district gradually narrows from about fifty to twenty miles and stretches nearly ninety miles east, changing gradually from valleys and broken uplands to a bare open plain. During these ninety miles the land falls steadily about 800 feet. The hills sink slowly into the plain, the tablelands become lower and more broken often little more than rolling uplands, and the broader and more level valleys are stripped of most of their beauty by the dryness of the air. The bare soilless plateaus, yellow with stunted spear-grass and black with boulders and sheets of basalt, except in the rainy months, have an air of utter barrenness. The lower lands, though somewhat less bleak, are also bare. Only in favoured spots are mango, tamarind, banian, and other shade trees, and except on river banks the *babhul* is too stunted and scattered to relieve the general dreariness. The garden area is small, and as little of the water lasts throughout the year, during the hot months most gardens are bare and dry. Though it is very gradual the change from the west to the east is most complete. Bugged wooded hills and deep valleys give place to a flat bare plain; months of mist and rain to scanty uncertain showers; rice and *nagli* to millet and pulse; and thatched hamlets to walled flat-roofed villages.

## DESCRIPTION

### Hills

#### *Sahyadris.*

The hills of the district belong to two distinct systems. One running, on the whole, north and south, forms the main range of the Sahyadris, about seventy-three miles in a straight line and about ninety following the course of the hills. The other system of hills includes the narrow broken-crested ridges and the bluff flat-topped masses that stretch eastwards and gradually sink into the plain. The crest of the Sahyadris falls in places to about 2000 feet, the level of the western limit of the Deccan plateau. In other places it rises in rounded bluffs and clear-cut ridges 3000 or 4000 feet high. The leading peaks are: In the extreme north, Harishchandragad whose mighty scarps, nearly 4000 feet high, support a plateau crowned by two low conical peaks. About ten miles to the south-west, at the head of the Kukdi valley and commanding the Nana pass, the massive rock of Jivdhan, its fortifications surmounted by a rounded grass-covered top, rises about 1000 feet above the Deccan plateau. About three miles south of Jivdhan, the next very prominent hill is Dhak. From the east Dhak shows only as a square flat tableland, but from the west it is one of the highest and strongest points among the battlements of the Sahyadris. Ten miles south-west of Dhak, where the direction of the Sahyadris changes from about west to about south, is the outstanding bluff of Ahupe. This rises from the Deccan plateau in gentle slopes, but falls west into the Konkan, a sheer cliff between 3000 and 4000 feet high. Eight miles south of Ahupe, and, like it, a gentle slope to the east and a precipice to the west, stands Bhimashankar, the sacred source of the river Bhima. About fourteen miles south comes a second Dhak, high, massive, and with clear-cut picturesque outline. Though its base is in Thana it forms a noticeable feature among the peaks of the Poona Sahyadris. Five miles further south, at the end of an outlying plateau, almost cut off from the Deccan, rises the famous double-peaked fort of Rajmachi. Ten miles south, a steep slope ends westwards in a sheer cliff known to the people as the Cobra's Hood or *Nag-phani*, and to Europeans as the Duke's Nose. About six miles south of the Duke's Nose and a

mile inland from the line of the Sahyadris, rises the lofty picturesque range known as the Jambulni hills. Further south the isolated rocks of Koiri and Majgaon command the Ambauni and Amboli passes. Six miles further is the prominent bluff of Saltar, and twenty miles beyond is Tamhini, the south-west corner of Poona.

### *Minor Ranges.*

From the main line of the Sahyadris four belts of hills run eastwards. Of these, beginning from the north, the first and third consist of parallel ridges that fall eastwards till their line is marked only by isolated rocky hills. The second and fourth belts are full of deep narrow ravines and gorges cut through confused masses of hills with terraced sides and broad flat tops. The north belt, which is about sixteen miles broad, corresponds closely with the Junnar sub-division. It has three well-marked narrow ridges, the crests occasionally broken into fantastic peaks, and the sides sheer rock or steep slopes, bare of trees, partly under tillage and partly under grass. The north most ridge stretches from Harishchandragad along the Poona boundary and on to Ahmadnagar. South of this ridge two short ranges of about twenty miles fall into the plain near Junnar. The chief peaks in the northern spur are: Hatkeshvar, about five miles north of Junnar and more than 2000 feet above the Junnar plain, a lofty flat-topped hill, which falls east in a series of jagged pinnacles. It forms the eastern end of the spur that divides the Madhner and Kokadner valleys. About half way between Hatkeshvar and the Sahyadris, on a half-detached ridge at right angles to the main spur, is Hadsar, a great fortified mass, which with rounded top rises about 1200 feet from the plain, and ends westwards in a rocky fortified point cut off by a chasm from the body of the hill. About four miles to the south-west, guarding the right bank of the Kukdi, Chavand rises about 700 feet from the plain. It is a steep slope crested with a scarp sixty to a hundred feet high, whose fortifications enclose a rounded grassy head. Fourteen miles further east, Shivner, part of the broken ridge which separates the Kukdi and the Mina, rises from a three-cornered base about 800 feet from the plain and commands the town of Junnar. Its long waving ridge is marked for miles round by a flying arch, which stands out against the sky between the minarets of a mosque. Sixteen miles south-east, isolated, but like Chavand and Shivner marking the line of water-parting between the Kukdi and the

Mina, is the ruined hill-fort of Narayangad. It has a clear-cut doable-pecked outline, the western and higher peak being crowned by a shrine. South of these, a spur, thirty-five miles long, forms the south wall of the Mina valley. South of the crest of this spur, for about fifteen miles, the second belt of eastern hills stretches a confused mass of uplands separated by abrupt gorges, their steep slopes covered in the west with evergreen woods, and in the east, with valuable teak coppice. The slopes are broken by terraces with good soil which are cultivated in places, and their tops stretch in broad tilled plateaus which often contain the lands of entire villages. In this belt of hill-land the highest peak rises into a cone from the centre of 8 large plateau, in the Village of Nayphad, about ten miles west of Ghode. At the southern limit of this hill region, on the north of the Bhama valley, two conical hills, Shinga and Khondeshvar, rise about 4000 feet high.

The third belt like the first belt includes several spurs or ridges. Of those the five chief spurs are: the Tasobai ridge, between the Bhama and the Andhra, passing east to within a few miles of Talegaon-Dabhade; Shridepathar, twenty miles long, dividing the valleys of the Andhra and the Kundali; the Vehergaon spur; the Sakhupathar plateau, from which an offshoot with the four peaks of Lohgad, Visapur, Batrasi, and Kudva, separating the valleys of the Indrayani and the Pauna, stretches east as far as the boundary of the Haveli sub-division; and further south, within Bhore limits in the Pauna valley, the spur from which rise the two peaks of Tung and Tikona. The fourth belt of east-stretching hills is further to the south, in the Mulshi petty division, where the Mula and its seven tributaries cut the country into a mass of hills and gorges. This is almost as confused as the second belt of hills, but has fewer trees and more tillage, the hill-sides being less terraced and the hill tops narrower. South of Mulshi, a belt of the Bhore state, about twenty miles broad, runs off Poona from the main line of the Sahyadris. Though separated from the main line of the Sahyadris the south-west of the district is not without hills. Starting 2000 feet from the plain in the scarped flat-topped fort of Sinhgad, a range of hills stretches east for seven miles, and near the Katraj pass, divides in two, one branch keeping east the other turning south-east. The eastern branch, with well-marked waving outline, stretches about fifteen miles to the fortified peak of Malhargad. From Malhargad it passes nine miles to Dhavleshvar, and from Dhavleshvar about six miles to

the famous temple of Bholeshvar. Beyond Bholeshvar, for about fifty miles to near Indapur, the line is still marked by low hills, rolling downs, and barren uplands. The second branch, after leaving the main range close to the Katraj pass, turns south-east for twelve miles, and with several bold spurs, centres in the fortified mass of Purandhar. Out of the same mountain mass rises, from the level of the lower Purandhar fort, the fortified peak of Vajragad which commands the lower and main fort of Purandhar. Beyond Purandhar the range forms the water-parting between the Karha and the Nira rivers, and, after stretching ten miles further east, is prolonged in low bare hills and stony ridges to near Baramati. About fourteen miles east of Purandhar, above the village of Jejuri, at the end of the last ridge, of any noticeable height, is the small plateau of Kharepathar which is occupied by an ancient much venerated temple of Khandoba.



## Rivers

Poona is crossed by many rivers and streams, which take their rise in and near the Sahyadris, and, bounded by the east-stretching spurs, flow east and south across the district. The chief river is the Bhima, which crosses part of the district and for more than a hundred miles forms its eastern boundary. The main tributaries of the Bhima are the Vel and the Ghod on the left, and the Bhama, the Indrayani, the Mula or Mula-Mutha and the Nira on the right. Besides the Bhima and its feeders there are seven rivers, the Kukdi and the Mina tributaries of the Ghod, the Andhra a tributary of the Indrayani, and the Shivganga and Karha tributaries of the Nira. The Pushpavati with its feeder the Mandvi is a minor stream which flows into the Kukdi, and the Pauna is a feeder of the Mula. During the rainy season all of these rivers flow with a magnificent volume of water and during the hot season shrink to a narrow thread in broad stretches of gravel. At intervals barriers of rock cross the beds damming the stream into long pools.

### *Bhima.*

The famous temple of Bhimashankar on the crest of the Sahyadris twenty-five miles north of Khandala, marks the source of the BHIMA. From a height of about 3000 feet above the sea, the river falls over terraces of rock some 600 feet in

the first five miles. Further east, with a general course to the south-east, it flows thirty-six miles through the very narrow, and rugged valley of Bhimner. On its way it passes the large villages of Vada, Chas, and Khed, and near the village of Pimpalgaon from the right receives the waters of the Bhama, and at Tulapur the waters of the Indrayani. From Tulapur it bends to the south, skirting the Haveli sub-division, and after receiving from the left the waters of the Vel about five miles below Talegaon-Dhamdhere, it turns again north-east to Mahalungi, a point sixteen miles east of Tulapur. Then running south for about nine miles, at the village of Ranjangaon it is joined from the right by the Mula-Mutha. This point is 1591 feet above the sea level or 475 feet below the village of Vada. From Ranjangaon the Bhima runs south-east with a winding course of about fourteen miles, till, on the eastern border of the district, it receives from the left the waters of the Ghod. After meeting the Ghod, the Bhima's course is very winding, the stream at Diksal flowing north-west for some miles. Finally at the extreme south-east corner of the district, after a deep southward bend round the east of Indapur, it is joined from the right by the Nira. The banks of the Bhima are generally low and after its meeting with the Indrayani are entirely alluvial. Here and there, where the winding stream has cut deep into the soft mould, are steep banks of great height, but in such places the opposite bank is correspondingly low. In places where a ridge of basalt throws a barrier across the stream, the banks are wild and rocky, and the water, dammed into a long deep pool, forces its way over the rocks in sounding rapids. Except in such places the bed of the Bhima is gravelly and in the fair season has but a slender stream. Here and there muddy deposits yield crops of wheat or vegetables and even the sand is planted with melons.

#### *Vel.*

The VEL rises at Dhakle in a spur of the Sahyadris near the centre of Khed. It flows south-east nearly parallel with the Bhima, and, about five miles below Talegaon-Dhamdhere, falls into the Bhima after a course of nearly forty miles.

#### *Ghod.*

The GHOD rises near Ahupe on the crest of the Sahyadris, nine miles north of the source of the Bhima, at a height of about



2700 feet above the sea. A steep winding course, with a fall of about 800 feet, brings it sixteen miles east to Ambegaon. From Ambegaon it runs east-south-east, and passing the large villages of Ghoda and Vadgaon on the north border of Khed, is joined from the left by the Mina. From here for about twenty-five miles till it receives the Kukdi, about six miles above the camp of Sirur, and for about twenty miles further till it falls into the Bhima, the Ghod with a very winding course keeps, on the whole, south-east along the Poona-Ahmadnagar boundary. Near the Sahyadris the course of the Ghod is varied and picturesque, the stream dashing over rocky ledges or lying in long still pools between woody banks. At Pargaon where it is joined by the Mina about forty-five miles from its source, the valley changes into the level plain of Kavtha, about ten miles wide, through which the Ghod flows over a rocky bed between bare banks. The water of the Ghod is famed for its wholesomeness, a character which analysis bears out.

### *Bhama.*

The BHAMA rises in the Sahyadris about six miles south of Bhimashankar. It winds between banks 150 feet high down the valley to which it gives the name of Bhamner, and after a south-easterly course of about twenty-four miles, falls from the right into the Bhima near the village of Pimpalgaon. The Bhama valley from its beginning about seven miles east of the Sahyadris, continues level, and gradually widens eastward for fourteen miles. The stream flows 150 feet below the cultivated lands, which are on a higher terrace.

### *Indrayani.*

The INDRAYANI rises near Kurvande village at the head of the Kurvande pass on the crest of the Sahyadris about three miles south-west of Lonavli, and flows on the whole east through the Nane-maval and past the village of Nana till after sixteen miles it is joined on the left by the Andhra. It then enters the open country and passes twelve miles east to Dehu, a place of pilgrimage sacred to the Vani saint Tukaram. From Dehu it flows twelve miles south-east by the village of Alandi, a place of pilgrimage sacred to Dnyaneshvar, and keeping south-east for about twenty miles, turns north and meets the Bhima near Tulapur after a course of about sixty miles.

### *Mula-Mutha.*

The MULA or MULA-MUTHA is formed of seven streams which rise at various points along the crest of the Sahyadris between eight and twenty-two miles south of the Bor pass. The united stream keeps nearly east to Lavla about five miles east of the village of Paud which gives the valley the name of Paud-khore. From Lavla, with many windings, it passes east to Poona, receiving on the way the Pauna on the left, and at Poona the Mutha on the right; and then under the name of Mula-Mutha winds east till at Ranjangaon Sandas it reaches the Bhima after a total course of about seventy miles.

### *Nira.*

The NIRA has its source in the Bhore state in the spur of the Sahyadris which is crowned by the fort of Torna. It flows north-east till it reaches the southern border of Poona where it is joined from the north by the Shivganga. From this it turns east and forms the southern boundary of the district, separating it from Satara, the Phaltan state, and Sholapur. It finally falls into the Bhima at the south-east corner of the district near Narsingpur after a course of about a hundred miles.

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

### *Kukdi.*

The KUKDI rises at Pur, two miles west of Chavand near the Nana pass in the north-east corner of the district, and runs south-east by the town and fort of Junnar twenty-four miles to Pimpalvandi. From Pimpalvandi it flows south-east for thirty miles, passes into the Parner sub-division of Ahmadnagar, and falls into the Ghod six miles north-west of the Sirur camp on the eastern border of the Sirur sub-division. The valley of this river occupies greater part of Junnar.

### *Mina.*

The MINA rises on the eastern slope of Dhak in the west of Junnar and flows east through the rich vale known as Minner. In the rainy season, during the first two miles of its course, the river overflows its banks and causes much damage. In the lands

of the Kusr village, about fifteen miles from its source, the river is crossed by a dam known as the Tambnala dam from which a canal formerly carried water to Vaglohore where there is at present a grove of mango trees. From this the Mina flows to Narayangaon on the Poona and Nasik road, where there is another useful dam for irrigation. There is also a dam at Vaduj two miles south-east of Kusr. Past Narayangaon, where it is crossed by a good modern bridge, the Mina joins the Ghod at Pargaon, leaving the fort of Narayangad to its left.

### *Andhra.*

The ANDHRA rises in the Sahyadris near the Savle pass, about 2250 feet above the sea. Its source is at the head of a broad valley which runs west to the crest of a scarp whose base is in the Konkan. It flows south-east along a bed 100 to 150 feet below the cultivated land, through one of the openest valleys in the district, for eighteen miles, and joins the Indrayani on its north bank near the village of Rajpuri.

### *Mutha.*

The MUTHA, which gives its name to glen Mutha or Mutha-khore, rises in a mass of hills on the edge of the Sahyadris nearly 3000 feet above the sea. From the hill-side it enters a gorge or valley so narrow that the bases of the hills stretch to within forty or fifth yards of the river-bank. During the first twenty miles of its count the Mutha flows through the territory of the Pant Sachiv. Immediately after entering the Poona district the current of the river is checked by the great Khadakvasla dam about ten miles further down. This dam has turned the valleys of the Mutha and of its feeders the two Musas into a lake about fifteen miles long and half a mile to a mile and a half broad. Below the dam the Mutha flows north-east past Parvati hill by the north-west limit of the city of Poona, till it joins the Mula at a point known as the meeting or *sangam*.

### *Karha.*

The KARHA rises a few miles east of Sinhgad and with a south easterly course of less than sixty miles through the Purandhar and Bhimthadi sub-divisions, falls into the Nira near Songaon in

the south-eastern corner of the Baramati petty division of Bhimthadi.

#### *Shivganga.*

The SHIVGANGA rises on the south slopes of Sinhgad and flows east for about six miles to Shivapur and then south for about ten miles to the Pant Sachiv's village of Nasrapur, where it is joined by the Khanind. From Nasrapur, under the name of Gunjavni, it passes south-east for about six miles and falls into the Nira near Kenjal in Purandhar.

#### *Pushpavati.*

The PUSHPAVATI rises near the Malsej pass at the north-west corner of the Junnar sub-division. It flows down Madhner by the villages of Pimpalgaon-joga and Udapur, nearly parallel to the Mina river, and joins the Kukdi at the village of Yedgaon, about eight miles east of Junnar. Near Udapur the river is known by the name of Ad.

#### *Pauna.*

The PAUNA rises on the crest of the Sahyadris south of the range of hills which forms the southern border of the Indrayani valley and includes the fortified summits of Lohogad and Visapur. It flows at first nearly east along the winding vale of Pauna or Pauna-maval, till, leaving the rugged westlands, it turns south-east, and, after a very winding course, joins the Mula from the north near Dapudi. At the village of Ambegaon, about six miles east of its source, the bed of the Pauna is about 1820 feet, above the sea.

### **Lakes**

The district has no natural lakes, but six artificial lakes provide a considerable supply of water. Of the six artificial lakes two are in Haveli, at Khadakvasla and Katraj; three are in Bhimthadi, at Kasurdi, Matoba, and Shirsuphal; and one is at Bhadalvadi in Indapur, Details of these lakes are given in Chapter IV. under Irrigation.

Besides these six main lakes there are considerable reservoirs at Baur, Kambra, Khandala, Karanjgaon, Karla, Mundharva, Talegaon-Dabhade, Uksan, and Valvhan, in the Maval subdivision; at Jejuri in Purandhar; at Pashan in Haveli; at Patas in Bhimthadi; and at Indapur.



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## DESCRIPTION

### GEOLOGY

[Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, Geological Papers on Western India, 89.115.]

Almost the whole rock of Poona is stratified trap. Beds of basalt and amygdaloid alternate, whose upper and lower planes are strikingly parallel with each other, and, as far as the eye can judge, with the horizon. Barometrical measurements and the course of the rivers show a fall in level to the east-south-east and south-east.

#### *Terraces.*

Like the rise from, the Konkan the fall eastwards from the crest of the Sahyadris is by strata or terraces. These terraces occur at much longer intervals towards the east than towards the west, and are so much lower that, particularly in the east, they escape the eye of the casual observer. In the neighbourhood of Manchar on the Ghod river, about fifteen miles north of *Khed*. five terraces rise above each other from east to west so distinctly marked that the parallelism of their planes to each other and to the horizon seems artificial. Many insulated tablelands have also an artificial character, looking like truncated cones when seen endways. Other insulated hills such as Tikona or the three-cornered in the Pauna valley, Shivner near Junnar, and Lohogad near Lonavla are triangular in their superficial planes.

#### *Escarpments.*

Mighty scarps occasionally occur in the Sahyadris, the numerous strata instead of being arranged in steps forming an unbroken wall. At the Ahupe pass, at the source of the Ghod



river, the wall or scarp is fully 1500 feet high. On the other hand, the strata or steps are sometimes worn into a sharp slope. This is due to a succession of beds of Soft amygdaloid without any intervening layers of basalt whose edges weather away and leave an unbroken slope. But as a rule three or four beds of the soft amygdaloid occur between two strata of compact basalt. The soft-amygdaloid wears into a slope well suited for the growth of trees, while the hard black basalt, though its base may be buried in earth and stones from the amygdaloid above, rises from the wooded belt with majestic effect, its black front shining from the fringe of green. It is these girdles of smooth lofty basalt walls rising one within the other that make so many of the Deccan hills natural forts of amazing strength.

In the alternation of strata there is no uniformity, but as in sedimentary rocks the general level, thickness, and extent of a stratum are preserved on both sides of a valley. The basalt and hardest amygdaloids are traceable for miles in the parallel spurs or ranges, but the imbedded minerals and even the texture vary in very short distances.

### *Columnar Basalts.*

A great geological feature of the Deccan is its columnar basalts. The basalts and hardest amygdaloids run so much into each other that except the lines of horizontal stratification, the separation is not always distinct. Prismatic disposition is more marked and perfect in the basalts than in the amygdaloids, and the more or less perfect development of determinate forms depends on the compactness and constituents of the rock. Basalts and amygdaloids, however compact, rarely form columns if they have much imbedded matter. Perfect columns are generally small, of four five or six sides, but prismatic structure sometimes shows itself in basaltic and amygdaloidal columns many feet in diameter. On the low tableland of Karde near Sirur, between sixty and seventy miles east of the Sahyadris, columnar basalt occupies an area of many square miles. Small columns occur in most of the slopes of the narrow winding valleys and on the flanks of the platforms. On many tablelands, tops or terminal planes of columns form a pavement. The perfect columns in the flanks are generally small with four five or six sides, resting on a layer of basalt or

amygdaloid. In some spots the columns are separate, in others they are joined together. In a mass of columns in the face of the tableland towards Sirur the columns are of different lengths, but spring from the same level. As the wash of monsoon torrents has swept away more Columnar Basalts. sections or articulations of the outer columns than of the inner columns, their tops form a natural flight of steps. The columns of this tableland are for the most part upright, but some of them stand at various angles, usually at  $45^{\circ}$ . Near the village of Karde they lean from the east and west towards a central upright mass. These are about fourteen feet in length and are not jointed. In a mass of columns facing the west, two miles south of the cavalry lines at Sirur, some are bent and not jointed. At Khadkala, thirty miles north-west of Poona, between Talegaon and Lohogad, a cutting for the Bor pass road shows a pile of numerous small horizontal columns. Imperfect columns occur in the rocky banks of a stream two or three hundred yards west of the village of Yevat. On the right bank they are so marked and so strange that the people worship them and paint them with red lead. Columns also occur in the watercourses near Kadus, about ten miles west of Khed. The basalt is bluish grey and compact, vitrious in hue, and sharp in fracture. The rocky banks of the Kukdi at Jam but in Sirur about twenty-six miles south-east of Junnar, show a strong tendency to form large columns. At the west end of Sinhgad top, about 4000 feet above the sea, is a sheet of rock paved with five-cornered slabs, no doubt the ends of basalt columns. A pavement of basalt columns occurs also in the hill-fort of Harishchandragad about seventy miles north of Sinhgad; in the bed of the Mula river at Gorgaon; and in a scarp which runs into the Konkan about three miles from the Nana pass.

### *Basalt Balls.*

Another characteristic feature of the Poona rocks is the general diffusion of basalt balls, rounded or oval masses of compact basalt with concentric layers like the coats of an onion. These concretions are usually found at the base of hills, buried in the rubbish of decomposing strata. But on the hill behind the rifle range at Poona they are scattered over a considerable area of tableland. They are abundant along the edge of the plateau near Pabal in the west of Sirur, and fine specimens occur near the village of Khadkala, thirty miles north-west of Poona, along with the level basaltic columns which have been already

noticed. [In making the cutting, the, balls were either left projecting or altogether removed. The vertical sections of the nuclei in which these balls were embedded show ten to fifteen concentric layers of friable grey stone which in some instances is found to affect the needle. Specimens of the nuclei were compared with a mass brought from the Solfatara at Naples and quite similar in aspect, colour, hardness and weight. Geological Papers on Western India, 98.]

### *Basalt Dikes.*

The basaltic dikes of the district are all upright, and do not seem to have caused any disturbance or dislocation in the strata of basalt and amygdaloid through which they have passed. Two dikes run obliquely across the Indrayani valley, thirty-five miles north-west of Poona, and intersect each other. They are about four feet thick and cut through amygdaloidal strata. A prismatic disposition is generally observable in the fracture, and from one of them was obtained a square prism which lay at right angles to the dike. The Bor pass road, which runs through this valley to Panvel, is frequently crossed by ridges which are presumed to be the outcrops of dikes. A dike may be seen from the Poona cantonments on the southern slope of an insulated hill near the villages of Bosri and Dighi, seven and a half miles north of Poona. It is about four feet thick, has a transverse prismatic fracture, is compact, and runs from the bottom to the top of the south face of the hill, but does not show on the north slope. A similar dike occurs in a hill at Mubre, twenty miles north-west of Poona, The finest specimen is the dike which runs vertically from east to west through the hill-fort of Harishchandragad. It is first seen about 4000 feet below the crest of the scarp of six or seven feet thick on the way up the hill from Kirishvar on the south-east. It crosses the path and its prismatic fractures at right angles to its planes form a few natural steps. It can be traced for about 300 feet of perpendicular height. On the top of the hill, within the fort, about a mile to the westward, it appears at intervals cutting through basaltic and amygdaloidal strata. It passes west, but whether it appears on the western scarp is not known.

### *Iron-Clay.*

The next distinctive feature is the occurrence of layers of red

iron-clay which underlie thick strata of basalt or amygdaloid. The rock makes a red streak on paper, and does not affect the needle. It is found crumbled to dust near the basaltic columns at Sirur. In the scarps of the hill-fort of Harishchandragad and in Shivner near Junnar, famous for its rock-cut caves, red clay is found compact and homogeneous, and is, in fact, an earthy jasper. In these localities it lies under 300 to 600 feet of basalt. In Harishchandragad it is about three feet thick; in Shivner one foot.

Singular heaps of rocks and stones, twenty to seventy feet in diameter and about the same in height, occur at Patas in Bhimthadi. These are found only in the open Deccan, never in the western hilly tracts. Especially in the western hilly tracts large areas of bare sheet-rock occur. Perhaps the most remarkable examples are at Lakangaon about twenty miles from Junnar, in the Ghod valley, and in Harishchandragad. This sheet-rock abounds with narrow vertical veins of quartz and chalcedony. When of sufficient thickness, the vein splits in the centre, parallel to the surface of its walls, the interior being drusy with quartz crystals. The walls consist of layers of chalcedony, cachalong, hornstone, and semi-opal. These veins supply the majority of the siliceous minerals which are so abundantly strewn over the Deccan.

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The structure and mineral composition of the Poona trap vary exceedingly within short distances, even in the same stratum. Still the predominant character does not disappear, although the basalt in a continuous bed may pass from close-grained compact and almost black to gray amygdaloidal and externally decomposing. The same observation applies to the amygdaloids. A variety of compact basalt of an intense dark colour is susceptible of a brilliant polish. It is of great weight and remarkable hardness. The natives use it to work into idols, for pedestals to the wooden columns in their mansions, and for inscription slabs. The bulls of the size of life, always placed before Shiv's temples, are cut out of this variety at the renowned Bholeshvar. Some of the pedestals in the gateway of the Mankeshvar palace at Tembhurni in the adjoining Karmala subdivision of Sholapur shine like mirrors.

In Harishchandragad quartz amygdaloid prevails. A small cellular and pisiform variety is found in the cave temples of Karla, Junnar, and the Nanaghat, all of which are excavated in basaltic or amygdaloidal strata, and some of the sculptured figures appear as if marked by small-pox. The stilbite or heulandite amygdaloid is of very common occurrence. The stone usually selected for building is of various shades of gray or bluish grey, as hornblende disseminated in very small crystals works much easier than some of the compactor basalts and takes a good polish. The temple of Bholeshvar, with its innumerable figures and laboured ornaments in deep relief, is built of this variety of trap, which is, in fact, a green-stone although less crystalline than the European greenstone. One variety which is sometimes carelessly used for building has the structure and much of the external character of the last, but in weathering peels off and the buildings fall to ruin. Such is the case with the great temple in Harishchandragad.

Two other remarkable rocks have not been noticed by authors on European geology. The first is an amygdaloid in which compact stilbite is imbedded in a vermicular form. One of its localities is the insulated hill on which stands the temple of Parvati about a mile to the south of the city of Poona. The other rock occurs as a thick stratum of amygdaloid at the height of 4000 feet in the hill-forts of Harishchandragad and Purandhar, and at the height of 1800 feet in the bed of the Ghod river near Sirur. The matrix resembles that of other amygdaloids, but the mineral imbedded is a glassy felspar in tables resembling cleavelandite crossing each other at various angles and so abundant as to form one-half of the mass.

#### Minerals. *Natural Salts.*

In digging wells in the Poona cantonment, splendid specimens of ichthyophthalmite have been found and in and near the Mula-Mutha fine specimens of heliotrope and coloured quartz occur. Common salt and carbonate of soda are also recorded from several parts of the district. Some account of the deposits is given under minerals in the Production Chapter.

## DESCRIPTION

### CLIMATE

Its height above the sea, its freedom from alluvial deposits, and the prevalence of westerly breezes, make the climate of Poona dry and invigorating and better suited to European constitutions than most Indian climates. The air is lighter, the cold more bracing, and the heat less oppressive than in most parts of Western or Southern India.

The Poona year may be divided into three seasons: the cold season from November to February, the hot season from March to June, and the wet season from June to October. The cold season begins in November and ends in February. The coldest month is January which in 1872 showed a mean temperature of 70°. Cold land winds prevail with sea breezes mostly after sun-down.

### Seasons

The hot season may be said to begin in the middle of March and end in June, though the hot winds and the chief characteristics of the hot weather are over by the middle of May. At the beginning of the hot weather the wind blows from the east in the morning and from the west in the afternoon. In the latter part of the hot weather, except during thunderstorms, there is no easterly or land wind. The sea breeze sets in about three in the afternoon and somewhat earlier in the extreme west. At the beginning of the hot weather the temperature rises suddenly with scorching variable winds from the north-west and west in the centre of the district, and from the east in the east of the district. Towards the end of April the temperature at Poona sometimes rises over 100°, the sun's rays being then nearly vertical for weeks. Thunderstorms occasionally break the heat but they are generally accompanied by cloudy and sultry weather. [The following account of a storm which broke over Poona on the 22nd of May 1847 is taken from the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, IX. 191, 192: There had been a thunderstorm the evening before, but on the 22nd the sky was clear though the air was hot and heavy. At three in the afternoon a dense mass of clouds rose in the south-east and passed to the north-west bearing about north-east from the cantonment. At half-past four the sky was still clear in the west, but in the east an arch of cumulus clouds had gathered, and, though the air was deadly still, the clouds moved rapidly west shrouding the country in gloom with unceasing lightning and thunder. Suddenly the stillness of the air was broken by a violent gust from the south-west as if the air was sucked in by the coming tempest whose front was now high overhead hurrying in a rapid scud to the west. With the first movement of the air came a heavy fall of rain and hailstones. This lasted for ten minutes. Then followed a short calm during which heavy masses of wild and broken clouds kept rolling from the north-east and drifting westward overhead. Ten or twelve minutes after the gust from the south-west had passed, the wind began anew with great force veering from the north to the north-east, then to the south-east, and finally in about twenty minutes turning back to the south-west. During these changes of wind the rain fell in torrents with very large hailstones so close that six or eight could be counted on a square foot. By a quarter to six the storm seemed nearly spent, and the sky to the east was clearing. In one hour an inch and a half of rain had fallen. Many of the hailstones were of the size of a musket-ball or a pigeon's egg, the largest falling about



the middle of the storm when the wind was blowing from the north and north east. The shape of almost all was oblong and their structure concentric layers of frozen water. One was found an inch in diameter, and it must have lost some bulk in passing through the hot air near the surface of the earth. At the beginning of the storm the thermometer was at 90° in the house, in half an hour it went down to 78°, and when the storm was over it stood at 72°. The dew point had been 74° in the morning, it rose to 78° by four, and again fell to 68°. By six the tempestuous clouds had passed, but still hung across the western half of the heavens with unceasing lightning and thunder.] During the hot season the air is darkened by a dry haze. April and May, though the hottest, are not the driest months. The sun beating on the ocean in the middle of March raises large masses of vapour which continue to increase as the sun passes north. The westerly winds carry this vapour across the Konkan and over the west Deccan. In the western hills, from about the tenth of May, the vapour begins to condense in the cool of the evening in heavy dews and refreshing mists, and over the centre and east it gathers in great thunderclouds. In the east and centre of the district, sometimes early in May, but as a rule not till towards the close of the month, after three or four oppressive days, in the afternoon clouds gather in the east in great masses, and with a strong blast from the north-east drive west with thunder and heavy rain.



## Rainfall

Over the whole district the chief supply of rain is from the south-west monsoon which begins about the middle of June and lasts till the end of September. The returns show such marked variations from year to year at the different rain stations and such great differences in the average fall at stations at no great distance apart, that it is difficult to divide the district according to its rainfall. [The rain returns must be received with caution. In some stations little more than a beginning of accurate registration has been made.] During the five years ending 1881 the average rainfall at Baramati and at Indapur in the extreme east has been as high as the fall in most parts of the district except close to the Sahyadris. But the returns for a long series of years show that, though in some seasons it is sufficient and occasionally abundant, the fall in the east of the district is uncertain. This supports the usual local division of the district into three belts, a western belt varying from about twelve miles in breadth in the north to about twenty-four in the south, whose eastern limit passes through Junnar, Ghode, Khed, Talegaon-Dabhade, and Singhad, with a heavy and certain rainfall; a central belt, with an average breadth of about twenty miles, the eastern limit passing through Ana, Bela, Pabal, Loni, Sasvad, Jejuri, and Valhi, with a moderate but regular rainfall; and the long tongue of land that stretches east from this line to Indapur with an uncertain and irregular rainfall.

For the twenty-one years ending 1881 returns are available for Khadkala and Paud in the western belt; for Junnar, Ghoda, Khed, Poona, and Sasvad in the central belt; and for Sirur, Supa, Baramati, and Indapur in the eastern belt. In the western belt, at Khadkala, which is about eleven miles east of the Sahyadris and twenty-five miles north-west of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 the fall varied from 95 inches in 1863 to 12 inches in 1861 and averaged about 60 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 it varied from 116 inches in 1875 to 36 inches in 1880 and averaged 60 inches; and Paud, which is about fifteen miles east of the Sahyadris and fifteen miles west of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 77 inches in 1861 to 36 inches in 1867 and averaged 52 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 88 inches in 1875 to 37 in 1877 and averaged 54 inches. In the central belt, Junnar, which

is about twelve miles east of the Sahyadris and forty-five north of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 10 inches in 1862 to 35 inches in 1861 and averaged 22 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 13 inches in 1873 to 39 in 1878 and averaged 22 inches; Ghoda, which is eighteen miles from the Sahyadris and thirty-five north of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 13 inches in 1862 to 39 in 1861 and averaged 23 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 12 inches in 1872 to 36 in 1878 and averaged 23 inches; Khed, which is about twenty-five miles east of the Sahyadris and twenty-five north of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 13 inches in 1864 to 33 in 1870 and averaged 22 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 15 inches in 1872 to 32 in 1878 and averaged 23 inches; Poona, which is about thirty-two miles east of the Sahyadris, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 17 inches in 1864 to 47 in 1861 and averaged 29 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 15 inches in 1876 to 38 in 1875 and averaged 27 inches; and Sasvad, which is about thirty miles east of the Sahyadris and fifteen south-east of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 2 inches in 1863 to 34 in 1869 and averaged 14 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 15 inches in 1880 to 38 in 1878 and averaged 21 inches. In the eastern belt, Sirur, which is about sixty-two miles east of the Sahyadris and thirty-six miles north-east of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 10 inches in 1862 to 31 in 1861 and averaged 19 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 11 inches in 1876 to 24 in 1878 and averaged 17 inches; Supa, which is about fifty-five miles east of the Sahyadris and about thirty-five miles south-east of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 5 inches in 1863 and 1865 to 30 in 1861 and averaged 10 inches, and during the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 6 inches in 1876 to 26 in 1878 and averaged 17 inches; Baramati, which is about sixty miles east of the Sahyadris and fifty south-east of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 2 inches in 1861 to 27 in 1869 and averaged 16 inches, and in the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 8 inches in 1876 to 29 in 1878 and averaged 19 inches; and Indapur, which is about ninety miles east of the Sahyadris and twenty-five south-east of Poona, during the ten years ending 1870 varied from 3 inches in 1863 to 26 inches in 1869 and averaged 13 inches, and in the eleven years ending 1881 varied from 5 inches in 1876 to 29 inches in 1878 and averaged 21 inches. The following are the details:

*POONA RAIN RETURNS, 1861 - 1881.*

STATION.	FROM THE SAHYADRIS.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	TEN YEARS.
	Miles.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.
Khadkala	11	12	63	95	50	65	66	50	77	57	66	60
Junnar	12	35	10	17	15	20	24	26	25	25	30	22
Paud	15	77	53	56	44	46	59	36	51	39	61	52
ghoda	18	39	13	15	14	21	24	26	23	27	29	23
Khed	24	28	21	15	13	17	20	21	26	29	33	22
Sasvad	30	4	3	2	2	4	25	21	17	34	30	14
Poona	32	47	27	23	17	31	19	27	51	29	41	29
Supa	52	30	14	5	8	5	6	21	10	23	26	10
Baramati	62	2	--	--	--	--	--	21	14	27	21	16
Sirur	66	31	10	17	15	21	18	20	14	18	26	19
Indapur	90	23	12	3	10	6	5	20	8	26	24	13

STATION.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	ELEVEN YEARS.
	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.
Khandkala	66	79	68	92	116	77	51	73	57	36	58	60
Junnar	27	15	13	25	84	17	17	39	36	18	22	22
Paud	46	51	50	57	88	51	37	66	65	46	47	54
Ghoda	22	12	13	28	36	17	21	36	35	16	24	23
Khed	24	15	22	29	31	18	17	32	39	22	22	23
Sasvad	21	15	18	31	22	18	19	38	24	15	19	21
Poona	27	22	32	38	38	15	20	33	34	20	25	27
Supa	22	19	14	26	15	6	15	26	20	16	12	17
Baramati	17	21	10	26	10	8	27	29	26	19	19	19
Sirur	17	22	18	15	16	11	15	24	17	19	19	17
Indapur	15	26	14	27	21	5	28	29	21	18	25	21

*Source of Rain Supply.*

Special returns compiled by Mr. Moore, the Collector of Poona, for the five years ending 1882, separate the three sources of rain supply, the easterly thunderstorms in May, the south-west rain between June and the end of September, and rain from the north-east in October at the beginning of the north-east monsoon. The average supply from the easterly thunderstorms in May varied from 2.79 in Poona to 1.06 at Khadkala and to 0.50 at Lonavla on the crest of the Sahyadris; the south-west supply varied from 138.80 at Lonavla and 49.91 at Khadkala to 9.83 at Kedgaon about thirty miles east of Poona; and the October north-east supply varied from 5.96 inches at Baramati about fifty miles south-east of Poona, to 2.82 inches at Kasurdi about twenty-four miles east of Poona. These returns, which are from twenty stations, seem to show that local causes, probably the neighbourhood of hills and rivers, greatly modify the general influences which would make the supply of south-west rain decline with the increasing distance from the western limit of the district and would make the east and north-east supplies

decline with increasing distance from the east of the district. As regards the early or eastern rainfall in May, of the western stations Lonavla is 20 or last in the list, Khadkala is 19, and Paud 16; of the central stations Junnar is 14, Khadakvasla 12, Khed 10, Jejuri 9, Sasvad 4, Talegaon-Dabhade 2, and Poona 1; and of the eastern stations Kasurdi is 18, Talegaon-Dhamdhere 17, Sirur 15, Indapur 13, Supa 11, Patas 8, Kedgaon 7, Baramati 6, Sirsuphal 5, and Uruli 3. As regards the south-west rainfall, of the western stations, Lonavla is 1, Khadkala 2, and Paud 3; of the central stations, Talegaon-Dabhade is 4, Khadakvasla 5, Junnar 6, Poona 7, Khed 8, Jejuri 10, and Sasvad 12; and of the eastern stations, Indapur is 9, Baramati 11, Patas 13, Sirur 14, Sirsuphal 15, Talegaon-Dhamdhere 16, Supa 17, Uruli 18, Kasurdi 19; and Kedgaon 20. As regards the northeast October rain, of the western stations, Lonavla is 3, Khadkala 7, and Paud 17; of the central stations, Poona is 5, Khadakvasla 6, Jejuri 10, Khed 12, Sasvad 13, Talegaon-Dabhade 16, and Junnar 19; and of the eastern stations, Baramati is 1, Indapur 2, Sirur 4, Kedgaon 8, Supa 9, Patas 11, Sirsuphal 14, Talegaon-Dhamdhere 15, Uruli 18, and Kasurdi 20. The details are:

*POONA RAIN RETURNS.*

STATION.	EAST RAIN.		SOUTH-WEST RAIN.		NORTH-EAST RAIN.		TOTAL.	
	MAY.		JUNE TO SEPTEMBER.		OCTOBER TO NOVEMBER.			
	In.	Ct.	In.	Ct.	In.	Ct.	In.	Ct.
Lonavla	0	50	138	80	5	64	144	94
Khadkala	1	6	49	91	4	20	55	17
Paud	1	25	48	2	3	9	52	36
Talegaon-Dabhade	2	66	31	25	3	27	37	18
Khadakvasla	1	54	22	87	4	23	28	64
Poona	2	79	19	20	4	29	26	28
Junnar	1	35	21	60	2	97	25	92
Baramati	2	15	16	64	5	96	24	75
Indapur	1	50	17	21	5	77	24	48
Khed	1	59	18	81	3	96	24	36
Jejuri	2	5	17	20	4	1	23	26
Sasvad	2	34	16	41	3	87	22	62
Patas	2	6	16	1	3	97	22	4
Sirur	1	26	14	24	4	47	19	97
Sirsuphal	2	33	13	70	3	61	19	64
Supa	1	58	12	49	4	9	18	16
Uruli	2	47	11	58	3	3	17	8
Talegaon-Dhamdhere	1	10	13	30	3	28	17	68
Kedgaon	2	11	9	83	4	19	16	13
Kasurdi	1	9	11	20	2	82	15	11

In the city of Poona during the twenty-six years ending 1881 the yearly rainfall has varied from 20 to 57 and averaged 29 inches. The details are:

*POONA CITY YEARLY RAINFALL, 1856-1881*

YEAR.	Inches.	YEAR.	Inches.	YEAR.	Inches.	YEAR.	Inches.
1856	21	1863	26	1870	37	1877	20
1857	28	1864	22	1871	28	1878	33
1858	--	1865	34	1872	22	1879	34
1859	41	1866	23	1873	26	1880	20
1860	39	1867	30	1874	39	1881	25
1861	57	1868	38	1875	--		
1862	33	1869	27	1876	--		

Information [These details of rainfall and temperature (18.28) are taken from Chambers' Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency, 131-167.] compiled by Mr. Chambers shows that in Poona city, during the seventeen years ending 1872, the average monthly fall of rain varied from 0.29 in December to 6.89 in July. The details are:

*POONA CITY MONTHLY RAINFALL, 1856-1872.*

Month	Inches.	MONTH.	Inches.	MONTH.	Inches.	MONTH.	Inches.
January	.43	April	.56	July	6.80	October	5.54
February	.06	May	1.56	August	5.09	November	.52
March	.31	June	6.19	September.	4.65	December	.29

During the same period the average number of rain days varied from 0.2 in February to 20.1 in July. The details are:

*POONA CITY RAIN DAYS, 1856-1872.*

MONTH.	Days.	MONTH.	Days.	MONTH.	Days.	MONTH.	Days.
January	0.5	April	1.5	July	20.1	October	7.4
February	0.2	May	3.5	August	19.8	November	1.7
March	1.0	June	14.2	September.	10.4	December	0.9

The greatest fall recorded in any one day in each month varied from 7.90 inches in October to 0.66 inches in February. The details are:

*POONA CITY GREATEST RAIN DAYS, 1886-1872.*

MONTH.	Inches.	MONTH	Inches.	MONTH.	Inches.	Month.	Inches.
January	4.68	April	2.10	July	3.56	October	7.90
February	.66	May	3.15	August	2.80	November	1.60
March	.90	June	5.00	September.	3.32	December	1.08

**Temperature**

The two daily observations taken at the Poona observatory at 9-30 A.M. and 3-30 P.M. show for the nineteen years ending 1874 a mean temperature of 79.5°. The greatest excess of temperature was 1.0° in 1869 and the greatest decrease was 1.0° in 1861. The details are:

*POONA CITY MEAN TEMPERATURE, 1856-1874.*

Year.	Mean.	Above General Mean.	Year.	Mean.	Above General Mean.	Year.	Mean.	Above General Mean.
1856	80.1	+0.6	1863	78.7	—0.8	1870	79.2	—0.3
1857	79.1	—0.4	1864	78.7	—0.8	1871	79.9	+0.4
1858	--	--	1865	79.8	+0.3	1872	80.2	+0.7
1859	80.3	+0.8	1866	80.0	+0.5	1873	79.7	+0.2
1860	79.6	+0.1	1867	79.6	+0.1	1874	78.8	—0.7
1861	78.5	—1.0	1868	80.3	+0.8			
1862	79.0	—0.5	1869	80.5	+1.0			

At the Poona observatory, which is in the hospital building to the south of the Vanavdi barracks, besides rainfall, thermometer and barometer readings have been recorded since 1851. The observations are under the charge of the senior medical officer. The record comprises two sets of observations made every day at 9.30 A.M. and at 3.80 P.M., and a complete set of twenty-four hourly observations for one day in every month. The instruments and phenomena noted at each observation include the barometer, dry and wet bulb thermometers, the direction of the wind, the cloudiness, and the rainfall. Once a day the maximum and minimum thermometer readings in the shade, the maximum thermometer readings exposed to the sun's rays at day time, and the minimum thermometer readings laid upon grass exposed to the sky at night are recorded. The observations are registered on printed forms which when filled are forwarded by the head of the medical department to the Superintendent of the Colaba Observatory in Bombay where the calculations are checked and the results compiled. Once a year the registers and compilation are sent by the Superintendent to Government to be forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. The Poona observatory has latticed doors at the north and south ends to admit the air. The thermometers are fixed on horizontal blocks of wood projecting from the wall with their bulbs about 1½ inches off the wall and about five feet from the ground.



The adopted monthly and annual mean temperatures of the three stations of Poona, Kirkee, and Purandhar, and the ranges between the greatest and least monthly means, are shown in the following table:

*POONA TEMPERATURE.*

STATION.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual Mean	Range.
Poona	71.4	75.0	80.5	84.6	83.7	78.9	75.5	74.4	75.0	76.6	74.6	71.7	76.8	13.2
Kirkee	71.0	75.0	81.0	81.5	82.5	78.5	77.0	75.0	75.0	80.0	77.0	71.0	77.0	11.5
Purandhar	67.1	71.7	75.1	77.0	72.8	70.3	67.3	65.9	67.2	69.6	67.7	64.2	69.7	12.6

An examination of the temperature returns in the city of Poona for the nineteen years ending 1874 shows that during four months in the year, March April May and June, the temperature was above, and that during the eight rainy months the temperature was below the mean.

Adopting the return corrected for the daily inequality, January was the coldest month with an average of 5.4° below the mean, December came next with 5.0°, August third with 2.4°, November fourth with 2.2°, September and February fifth and sixth with 1.8° each, July seventh with 1.3°, and October eighth with 0.2°. Of the four hot months June is the coolest with 2.1° in excess of the mean; March comes next with 3.7°, May next with 6.9°, and April is the hottest, being 7.8° above the mean. The details are:

*POONA CITY MONTHLY TEMPERATURE, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	9-30 A.M. and 3-30 P.M.	Corrected.	MONTH.	9-30 A.M. and 3-30 P.M.	Corrected.
January	—5.0	—5.4	July	—2.5	—1.3
February	—1.3	—1.8	August	—3.7	—2.4
March	+4.1	+3.4	September	—2.6	—1.8
April	+9.1	+7.8	October	—0.3	—0.2
May	+8.1	+6.9	November	—2.4	—2.2
June	+1.6	+2.1	December	—5.1	—5.1

The corrections are found from the daily inequalities at the several hours in each month. They are the means of these inequality for the hours 9 A.M. and 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. and 4 P.M. and are applied subtractively.

The following table shows for the city of Poona, for each month, for the monsoon quarter June to August, and for the whole year, the excesses of the mean temperature at the several hours of the day above the mean temperature of the twenty-four hours; also the number of complete days observations which are generally not more than one in

each month of the year from which the means are derived:

*POONA TEMPERATURE, IN LOCAL CIVIL HOURS, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
January	−7.6	−7.1	−6.1	−3.0	−1.0	+ 2.1	+4.7	+6.9	+8.1	+8.7	+8.3	+7.0
February	−8.7	−8.3	−7.3	−4.1	−0.7	+ 2.5	+ 4.6	+6.5	+8.2	+8.6	+8.6	+8.3
March	−8.2	−7.7	−6.2	−3.5	−0.2	+ 2.8	+ 5.1	+7.3	+8.9	+8.8	+8.5	+7.5
April	−7.7	−6.5	−4.3	−1.9	+ 1.1	+3.8	+ 6.2	+ 7.9	+8.7	+8.9	+8.0	+6.5
May	−6.6	−5.6	−3.9	−1.6	+ 1.7	+3.7	+5.7	+ 7.3	+7.8	+ 7.9	+ 7.3	+6.1
June	−2.3	−1.6	−0.8	+0.4	+ 1.8	+2.7	+3.5	+3.8	+4.1	+3.6	+2.8	+2.1
July	−1.6	−1.4	−0.5	+0.2	+ 1.2	+ 2.0	+ 2.7	+2.7	+ 2.7	+2.6	+2.0	+1.1
August	−2.1	−1.7	−1.1	−0.3	+0.6	+ 1.4	+2.2	+ 2.7	+3.1	+3.0	+2.3	+1.7
September	−3.2	−2.5	−1.7	−0.4	+ 1.1	+ 2.2	+3.2	+ 4.1	+ 4.0	+ 3.6	+ 3.2	+2.3
October	−5.7	−5.3	−4.0	− 1.6	+0.7	+2.6	+4.2	+ 5.5	+6.0	+ 6.0	+5.5	+4.4
November	−7.2	−7.1	−5.4	−2.8	−0.0	+2.8	+5.0	+5.9	+6.9	+6.7	+6.3	+ 5.5
December	−7.8	−7.4	−6.2	−3.3	−0.6	+2.6	+ 4.9	+ 6.4	+ 7.1	+ 7.5	+ 7.4	+6.7
June to August	−2.0	−1.6	−0.8	+0.1	+ 1.2	+2.0	+ 2.8	+ 3.1	+ 3.3	+3.1	+ 2.4	+1.6
Year	−5.8	−5.2	−4.0	−2.0	+0.1	+ 2.5	+4.3	+5.5	+6.2	+6.3	+5.8	+ 4.9

MONTH.	18	10	30	21	22	23	0	1	2	S	4	5	Complete Days.
January	+5.6	+3.9	+2.8	+1.6	+0.2	−0.7	−2.0	−3.0	−4.8	−6.7	−8.0	−8.1	20
February	+6.4	+4.3	+2.5	+1.3	+0.2	−0.8	−2.0	−3.6	−4.9	−6.4	−7.3	−7.8	20
March	+6.0	+4.1	+2.3	+0.5	−0.6	−1.9	−3.1	−3.9	−4.7	−5.9	−7.1	−7.7	21
April	+4.5	+2.1	+0.4	−0.5	−1.3	−2.3	−3.3	−4.4	−5.1	−6.0	−7.2	−7.5	21
May	+3.6	+1.5	+0.7	−1.0	−1.6	−2.4	−3.3	−4.2	−4.8	−5.7	−6.5	−6.7	21
June	+0.8	+0.1	−0.7	−1.2	−1.3	−1.6	−1.9	−2.0	−2.6	−2.8	−2.9	−3.2	20
July	+0.5	0.0	−0.5	−0.8	−0.9	−1.2	−1.3	−1.4	−1.6	−1.7	−1.9	−1.8	21
August	+0.7	+0.3	−0.1	−0.3	−0.5	−0.7	−1.0	−1.3	−1.6	−2.1	−2.2	−2.1	21
September.	+1.3	+0.4	−0.2	−0.6	−0.9	−1.3	−1.7	−2.2	−2.5	−2.9	−2.9	−2.8	20
October	+3.0	+2.0	+1.1	+0.3	−0.5	−1.3	−2.0	−2.8	−3.7	−4.4	−4.7	−4.8	20
November	+4.3	+3.3	+2.0	+0.8	+0.1	−0.7	−1.4	−2.5	−3.9	−5.1	−6.1	−6.5	18
December	+5.3	+4.3	+2.9	+1.8	+0.8	−0.2	−1.8	−3.2	−4.9	−6.6	−7.4	−7.9	20
June to Aug	+0.7	+0.1	−0.4	−0.8	−0.9	−1.2	−1.4	−1.6	−1.9	−2.2	−2.3	−2.4	
Year	+3.4	+2.1	+1.0	+0.1	−0.6	−1.3	−2.1	−2.0	−3.8	−4.7	−5.4	−5.6	

The average daily range of temperature for the year is about double the range for the wet months from June to August. The range during the cold half-year is generally large

compared with the range of the hot and the wet half. The daily range for Poona is for the year 12.1° and for the wet months June to August 5.7°.

A comparison of the range of the mean temperatures of the different months for the same series of years, shows that the variation is least 8.5° in July and August, September comes third with a range of 10.6°, June fourth with 12°, October fifth with 15.1°, November sixth with 18.4°, May seventh with 18.7°, December eighth with 19.3°, January ninth with 20.6°, April tenth with 20.7°, and February and March eleventh and twelfth with 21.2° each. The details are:

*POONA CITY DAILY RANGE, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	Mean Maximum.	Mean Minimum.	Range.	Annual Variation of Range.	MONTH.	Mean Minimum.	Mean Minimum.	Range.	Annual Variation of Range.
January	81.8	61.2	20.6	+4.4	August	79.1	70.6	8.5	—7.7
February	85.7	64.5	21.2	+5.0	September	80.7	70.1	10.6	—5.6
March	90.9	69.7	21.2	+5.0	October	84.8	69.5	15.1	—1.1
April	95.6	74.9	20.7	+4.5	November	82.9	64.6	18.4	+2.2
May	94.3	75.6	18.7	+2.5	December	81.1	61.8	19.3	+3.1
June	85.7	73.7	12.0	—4.2					
July	80.3	71.8	8.5	—7.7	Year	85.2	69.9	16.2	--

During the same period the highest recorded monthly mean temperature varied from 86.7 in September to 104.6 in May, and the lowest from 47.3 in December to 66.4 in June. The details are:

*POONA CITY HIGHEST AND LOWEST MONTHLY TEMPERATURE, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Range.	MONTH.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Range.
January	88.7	49.4	39.3	July	92.4	65.8	26.6
February	96.3	53.0	43.3	August	87.6	64.2	23.4
March	100.6	55.0	45.6	September	86.7	62.1	24.6
April	105.5	60.0	43.5	October	92.3	57.4	34.9
May	104.6	66.0	38.6	November	92.6	48.2	43.8
June	99.5	66.4	33.1	December	87.6	47.3	40.3

For the five years ending 1881, the mean monthly thermometer readings at Poona

show a mean maximum of 92 in May and June 1880 and a mean minimum of 61 in December 1878, January 1879, and December 1880; at Baramati a mean maximum of 100 in April 1881 and a mean minimum of 60 in November and December 1879 and in December 1881; at Talegaon-Dabhade a mean maximum of 99 in April 1879 and a mean minimum of 59 in December 1878; at Sasvad a mean maximum of 94 in March 1880 and in April 1879, 1880, and 1881, and a mean minimum of 50 in November 1879; at Indapur a mean maximum of 110 in May 1877 and a mean minimum of 61 in January 1880 and in November 1879; at Jejuri a mean maximum of 99 in May 1877 and April 1880 and a mean minimum of 62 in November and December 1879 and in January 1880; and at Talegaon-Dhamdhere a mean maximum of 98 in May 1879 and a mean minimum of 52 in December 1881. The details are;

*POONA DISTRICT THERMOMETER READINGS, 1877-1881.*

STATION.	January.		February.		March.		April.		May.		June.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
<i>Poona.</i>												
1877	76	64	78	63	90	74	86	74	91	78	86	72
1878	77	68	83	68	90	75	89	78	91	76	91	73
1879	69	61	70	63	83	67	90	77	90	74	81	73
1880	69	59	69	67	90	62	91	78	92	74	92	74
1881	66	58	68	54	72	62	88	66	88	68	--	--
<i>Baramati.</i>												
1877	84	61	86	62	93	72	96	78	97	80	92	79
1878	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1879	82	64	83	68	95	74	96	82	98	80	88	78
1880	80	62	85	64	96	74	98	83	98	84	89	78
1881	81	61	85	64	91	71	100	80	99	82	94	77
<i>Talegaon-Dabhade.</i>												
1877	75	61	86	65	--	--	92	80	98	78	90	73
1878	83	55	88	66	88	73	96	80	94	79	97	78
1879	83	59	84	65	97	65	99	78	98	76	97	74
1880	79	61	86	59	96	70	96	75	96	75	90	74
1881	84	61	90	62	98	68	98	72	98	79	96	75
<i>Sasvad.</i>												
1877	80	70	82	64	32	68	88	72	90	80	86	76
1878	82	56	82	64	92	70	92	74	90	74	86	70
1879	79	68	80	62	88	66	94	72	92	76	82	70
1880	83	52	84	56	94	70	94	74	92	74	86	78
1881	76	58	82	60	88	66	94	74	98	76	87	72

<i>Indapur.</i>												
1877	93	64	98	65	101	71	104	74	110	78	104	79
1878	94	64	100	68	106	72	107	78	106	80	106	81
1879	81	67	84	70	94	73	97	81	99	80	89	77
1880	79	61	89	64	95	76	97	83	97	81	94	76
1881	76	64	86	67	91	72	99	81	98	83	93	76
<i>Jejuri.</i>												
1877	83	67	87	66	91	76	95	80	99	80	94	78
1878	82	65	90	72	98	75	98	82	97	80	94	76
1879	84	64	86	76	95	73	97	80	98	75	84	75
1880	83	62	87	69	98	73	99	80	95	78	91	73
1881	79	67	89	67	90	74	97	79	99	81	92	72
<i>Talegaon-Dhamdhere.</i>												
1877	78	53	88	62	90	63	91	73	94	80	90	79
1878	80	57	86	65	97	63	97	75	97	82	96	82
1879	82	56	87	62	92	66	97	78	98	77	87	76
1880	79	56	84	56	95	72	93	82	92	80	91	75
1881	81	51	87	59	89	60	92	73	95	81	87	73

STATION.	July.		August.		September.		October.		November.		December.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
<i>Poona.</i>												
1877	82	74	81	72	86	72	83	72	82	69	76	69
1878	83	71	84	71	86	71	86	72	84	68	79	61
1879	77	71	76	68	78	70	80	68	76	64	68	56
1880	77	63	76	62	75	63	77	67	77	66	69	61
1881	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Baramati.</i>												
1877	88	80	86	79	87	80	88	74	86	70	86	58
1878	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1879	86	80	84	75	86	78	88	72	88	60	78	60
1880	87	78	84	80	84	78	89	76	86	68	81	63
1881	89	78	88	78	86	77	88	72	82	61	82	60
<i>Talegaon-Dabhade.</i>												
1877	80	75	80	73	83	74	84	68	84	67	89	60
1878	86	73	82	74	82	75	88	70	88	68	84	59
1879	79	74	77	72	78	72	81	72	84	60	78	60
1880	82	72	81	72	82	74	86	70	84	69	82	63
1881	80	73	78	73	82	70	83	70	82	62	82	64

*POONA DISTRICT THERMOMETER READINGS, 1877-1881-continued.*

Station	July.		August.		September.		October.		November.		December.	
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
<i>Sasvad.</i>												
1877	84	74	86	76	79	74	82	67	82	62	84	60
1878	76	70	76	70	78	70	82	70	76	64	74	61
1879	78	74	74	63	78	68	82	62	84	50	72	52
1880	76	72	76	71	78	70	82	70	77	62	75	61
1881	78	72	76	70	80	70	82	68	80	56	74	60
<i>Indapur.</i>												
1877	97	78	99	78	93	76	89	73	96	72	95	70
1878	91	76	84	76	87	76	85	70	83	69	72	63
1879	85	78	83	76	85	76	86	71	82	61	76	67
1880	84	78	85	77	85	75	86	75	82	71	77	66
1881	87	74	86	78	85	75	84	73	83	64	78	64
<i>Jejuri.</i>												
1877	86	76	81	75	85	74	82	72	84	72	83	66
1878	88	72	81	74	81	77	85	75	83	75	84	65
1879	82	74	81	73	84	73	85	73	84	62	79	62
1880	80	74	81	73	80	74	86	70	81	70	79	68
1881	85	74	79	73	79	73	86	73	80	67	79	67
<i>Talegaon-Dhamdhere.</i>												
1877	91	79	90	77	86	77	82	75	81	68	81	61
1878	86	78	84	78	84	78	84	74	82	62	76	56
1879	92	77	79	74	80	74	82	68	81	56	75	55
1880	72	70	82	70	80	70	85	78	85	64	85	62
1881	82	76	--	--	--	--	80	69	82	58	83	52

*Yaravda*

Thermometer readings at Yaravda Jail near Poona show that in 1881 the yearly mean temperature was 72.7. May was the hottest month with an average temperature of 80.2; April was second with 78.5; June was third with 77.3; March, February, and October came close together with a fraction over 74°; then came September, August, and July, all with a fraction over 72° or very near the annual mean. Below the annual mean were November with 68.1, January with 66.6, and December with 66.2. The highest point registered was 101.5 in April and

the lowest 53.4 in December. The daily range varied from 34.4 in March to 11 in July. The details are:



*YARAVDA THERMOMETER READINGS, 1881.*

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual Means
Extreme Maximum	85.5	90.7	96.4	101.5	101.3	90.5	80.9	81.3	84.1	89.6	84.6	85.7	89.3
Extreme Minimum	55.1	57.2	62.1	69.2	71.3	72.4	69.9	69.8	68.6	65.7	58.1	53.4	84.4
Mean Daily Maxima	83.9	88.1	93.3	96.8	96.5	85.5	76.9	76.9	78.7	85.8	81.9	84.1	85.7
Mean Daily Minima	49.3	51.5	55.3	60.2	63.9	68.2	67.8	68.8	66.5	63.2	54.4	48.3	59.7
Mean Daily Range.	30.4	33.4	34.4	32.3	30.0	18.1	10.9	11.5	15.5	23.8	26.5	32.3	24.9
Average Means	66.6	74.8	74.3	78.5	80.2	77.3	72.3	72.5	72.0	74.4	68.1	66.2	72.7

**Barometric Pressure**

The mean barometric pressure for each year of complete observations is shown for the city of Poona in the following table, the means being derived from two daily observations made at 9-30 A.M. and 3-30 P.M:

*POONA CITY BAROMETRIC PRESSURE, 1866-1874.*

YEAR.	Mean.	Excess.	YEAR.	Mean.	Excess.	YEAR.	Mean.	Excess.
1856	27.802	+ .036	1863	27.850	.000	1870	27.837	— .019
1857	27.873	+ .017	1864	27.882	+ .020	1871	27.855	— .001
1858	--	--	1865	27.874	+ .018	1872	27.834	— .022
1859	27.848	— .008	1866	27.857	+ .001	1873	27.844	— .012
1860	27.856	.000	1867	27.846	— .010	1874	27.841	— .015
1861	27.847	— .009	1868	27.852	— .004	--	--	--
1862	27.845	— .011	1869	27.842	— .014	--	--	--

The observations during the same series of years (1856-1874) show that in the six months between October and April the barometric pressure is over the mean and in the six months between April and October the pressure is below the mean. The month of least pressure is June with 0.145 below the mean July is next with 0.142, August third with 0.096, May fourth with 0.003, September fifth with 0.043, and April sixth with 0.013. Of the six months of excessive pressure October is lowest with 0.029, March next with 0.043, February third with 0.085, November fourth with 0.102, January fifth with 0.118, and December highest with 0.128. The details are:

*POONA CITY MONTHLY BAROMETRIC VARIATIONS, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	9.30 A.M. and 3.30 P.M.	Corrected.	MONTH.	9.30 A.M. and 3.30 P.M.	Corrected.	MONTH.	9.30 A.M. and 3.30 P.M.	Corrected.
January	+ .120	+ .118	May	- .065	- .063	September	- .044	- .043
February	+ .086	+ .085	June	- .146	- .145	October	+ .029	+ .029
March	+ .039	+ .043	July	- .141	- .142	November	+ .104	+ .102
April	- .015	- .013	August	- .092	- .090	December	+ .129	+ .128

In the following table is shown for Poona, for each month and for the whole year, the excesses of the mean barometric pressures at the several hours of the day above the mean barometric pressure for the twenty-four hours:

*POONA BAROMETRIC PRESSURE IN LOCAL CIVIL HOURS, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
January	+ .008	+ .027	+ .049	+ .068	+ .068	+ .039	+ .007	- .025
February	+ .009	+ .028	+ .048	+ .066	+ .067	+ .040	+ .011	- .017
March	+ .011	+ .033	+ .050	+ .064	+ .062	+ .034	+ .008	- .024
April	+ .018	+ .037	+ .054	+ .066	+ .060	+ .032	+ .004	- .024
May	+ .015	+ .030	+ .045	+ .065	+ .053	+ .028	+ .002	- .022
June	- .004	+ .012	+ .024	+ .036	+ .035	+ .016	.000	- .014
July	- .006	+ .006	+ .021	+ .037	+ .036	+ .021	+ .005	- .012
August	- .003	+ .013	+ .025	+ .043	+ .044	+ .024	+ .008	- .008
September	+ .005	+ .020	+ .035	+ .050	+ .045	+ .029	+ .007	- .016
October	+ .008	+ .026	+ .043	+ .058	+ .058	+ .031	+ .004	- .022
November	+ .008	+ .027	+ .047	+ .055	+ .063	+ .036	+ .006	- .021
December	+ .004	+ .024	+ .045	+ .062	+ .063	+ .036	+ .007	- .020
Year	+ .007	+ .024	+ .041	+ .056	+ .055	+ .031	+ .006	- .018
June to August	- .004	+ .019	+ .023	+ .039	+ .038	+ .020	+ .004	- .011

*POONA BAROMETRIC PRESSURE LOCAL CIVIL HOURS, 1856-1874—continued.*

MONTH.	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
January	— .051	— .071	— .070	— .049	— .027	— .006	+ .016	+ .036
February	— .048	— .070	— .072	— .055	— .034	— .011	+ .013	+ .036
March	— .053	— .075	— .081	— .059	— .035	— .009	+ .015	+ .037
April	— .050	— .073	— .076	— .052	— .031	— .007	+ .015	+ .034
May	— .043	— .060	— .067	— .045	— .027	— .007	+ .017	+ .035
June	— .030	— .043	— .043	— .029	— .013	+ .004	+ .020	+ .033
July	— .026	— .040	— .039	— .026	— .009	+ .005	+ .018	+ .031
August	— .026	— .040	— .041	— .028	— .011	+ .004	+ .019	+ .033
September	— .037	— .056	— .056	— .038	— .020	— .001	+ .016	+ .036
October	— .045	— .063	— .064	— .045	— .024	— .004	+ .017	+ .038
November	— .044	— .066	— .065	— .047	— .028	— .006	+ .016	+ .038
December	— .043	— .065	— .068	— .049	— .028	— .008	+ .008	+ .035
Year	— .041	— .060	— .061	— .043	— .023	— .003	+ .016	+ .036
June to August	— .027	— .041	— .041	— .028	— .011	+ .004	+ .019	+ .032

MONTH.	22	23	0	1	2	3	4	5	Complete Days.
January	+ .042	+ .026	+ .010	— .006	— .021	— .033	— .037	— .011	20
February	+ .042	+ .028	+ .015	.000	— .019	— .033	— .031	— .013	20
March	+ .045	+ .033	+ .019	+ .001	— .016	— .030	— .029	— .005	21
April	+ .042	+ .029	+ .012	— .003	— .019	— .034	— .030	— .011	21
May	+ .040	+ .026	+ .012	— .002	— .016	— .030	— .026	— .006	21
June	+ .035	+ .025	+ .011	.000	— .013	— .026	— .026	— .008	22
July	+ .031	+ .019	+ .009	— .003	— .015	— .027	— .025	— .012	21
August	+ .034	+ .020	+ .005	— .008	— .022	— .035	— .035	— .022	21
September	+ .038	+ .024	+ .012	— .002	— .015	— .029	— .027	— .013	20
October	+ .041	+ .028	+ .012	— .003	— .016	— .030	— .029	— .011	20
November	+ .040	+ .023	+ .008	— .008	— .022	— .035	— .030	— .014	18
December	+ .043	+ .028	+ .013	— .002	— .015	— .027	— .026	— .018	20
Year	+ .040	+ .026	+ .012	— .002	— .017	— .030	— .029	— .011	
June to Aug.	+ .033	+ .021	+ .008	— .004	— .017	— .029	— .029	— .014	

The following table shows for each month of the year the greatest and least values of barometric pressure observed at 9-30 A.M. or 3-30 P.M.:

*POONA CITY MONTHLY BANGS OF BAROMETRIC PRESSURE, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	Max.	Min.	Range.	MONTH	Max.	Min.	Range.
January	28.263	27.769	.494	July	27.916	27.491	.424
February	28.229	27.756	.473	August	27.957	27.578	.879
March	28.096	27.695	.401	September	28.039	27.617	.422
April	28.062	27.630	.432	October	28.086	27.614	.472
May	28.005	27.492	.518	November	28.161	27.729	.432
June	27.953	27.352	.601	December	28.180	27.749	.431

### Vapour

The values of the pressure of vapour have been calculated by Glaisher's Hygrometrical Tables from the observed temperatures of the dry and wet bulb thermometers. The annual variations give high values of the vapour pressure in the hot and wet months, that is from May to September, and low values in the cold months. The month of maximum vapour pressure is June. The mean daily variation for the year shows a minimum towards the end of the night hours and a maximum near the beginning of the night hours with a fairly regular progress during the intervals. The variation during the wet months has high values during the day and low values during the night. The daily range of the wet months is very small compared with the daily range of the cold months.

The following table shows for the nineteen years ending 1874 the mean pressure of vapour from observations taken at 9.30 A.M. and at 3-30 P.M.

*POONA CITY PRESSURE OF VAPOUR 1856-1874*

Year	Mean	Excess.	Year	Mean	Excess	Year	Mean	Excess
	In.	In.		In.	In.		In.	In.
1856	.574	-.067	1863	.550	-.031	1870	.591	+.010
1857	.552	-.029	1864	.549	-.032	1871	.615	+.034
1858	--	--	1865	.602	+.021	1872	.592	+.010
1859	.612	+.031	1866	.591	+.010	1873	.538	+.007
1860	.570	-.011	1867	.600	+.019	1874	.591	+0.079
1861	.550	-.031	1868	.584	+.003			
1862	.562	-.019	1869	.617	.030			

### Cloudiness

The cloudiness of the sky is estimated in tenths of the celestial hemisphere, the unit being one-tenth of the whole sky. The following table shows the average cloudiness of the sky in each month of the year, from observations taken at 9-30 A.M. and. 3-30 P.M. during the nineteen years ending 1874:

*POONA CITY CLOUDINESS, 1856-1874.*

MONTH.	Tenths.	MONTH	Tenths.
January	2.3	October	4.6
February	1.3	November	2.8
March	2.4	December	2.1
April	2.9		
May	4.0	May to October	6.3
June	7.9	November to April	2.3
July	8.8	Year	4.6
August	8.6		
September	7.2		

Cloudiness is great during the with mouths and small during the cold months. There is a slight excess in January above the cloudiness of the preceding and following months.

### Fogs

Dews appear in the latter part of October and last till the *end* of February. Fogs are rare in the open east. They have been seen in the early mornings in October, November, December, January, and February, but disappear by half-past nine. In the western hills mists are common from May to', September. In May the cool night air condenses the watery vapour. Sometimes mists rise from the Konkan and fly east with great swiftness. At other times when the air is still the mist stretches over the Konkan like a sea of milk, the tops of the hills standing cut like islands. After the monsoon seta in early in June, except during occasional breaks, the western hills are shrouded in drenching mists and rain clouds.

Colonel Sykes has recorded the following observations on the vapour in the Deccan air. The yearly mean dew point was higher at 9.30 A.M. than at sunrise or at 4 P.M. From June to December 1826, both inclusive, the mean dew point was  $66^{\circ} 75'$ , and the mean temperature  $77^{\circ} 23'$ , a cubic foot of air containing 7.455 grains of water. The lowest dew point was  $44^{\circ}$  at sunrise on the 4th of December, a cubic foot of air containing 3.673 grains of water at a temperature of  $56^{\circ}$ . The moistest month was July, when the mean weight of water in a cubic foot of air was 8.775 grains. This was exceeded on the 13th of June 1827 when at 4 P.M. the highest dew point was  $76^{\circ}$ , the temperature of the air  $72^{\circ}$ , and a cubic foot of air contained 10.049 grains of water. On the 4th of January 1827 the air was remarkably dry, the dew point at sunrise being obtained three degrees below the congelation of water that is at  $29^{\circ}$ , the temperature of the air was  $62^{\circ}$ , and a cubic foot of air contained 2.146 grains of water. It might be supposed that the hottest months in the year, March April and May, would also be the driest. This is not the case. Observations taken on consecutive days in March 1828 establish the following comparisons between Bombay Khandala, and Poona. At 4 P.M. in Bombay on the 10th of March cubic foot of air held 11.205 grains of water, while at Poona at the same hour on the 14th of March a cubic foot of air contained only 2.273 grains of water; on the 11th at Khandala, 1744 feet above the sea, at 9-30 A.M. the dew point was  $40^{\circ}$  equivalent to 3.004 grains of water in a cubic foot of air. The occasional

extreme dryness of the air in December, January, February, and part of March causes much inconvenience. Furniture cracks, doors shrink so that locks will not catch, tables and book-covers warp and curl, the contents of the inkstand disappear, and quill-pens are useless unless kept constantly moist.

### Winds

The chief feature in regard to the direction of the Poona winds is the commonness of easterly and westerly winds and the rareness of winds from the north and south. The period of strongest wind is during April and in May till the easterly thunderstorms begin. The easterly winds are extremely dry and dangerous to sleep in. Hot winds are rare as far west as Poona; in the centre of the district they blow chiefly from the north-west and west in the months of March and April, and in the east of the district from the north-east and east.

The observations of direction of wind taken at Poona at 9-30 A.M. and 3-30 P.M. have been grouped together in months. Each group includes for each month the observations of the nineteen years ending 1874. The following are the results:

*POONA CITY MONTHLY TABLE OF WINDS, 1856-1874.*

DIRECTION.	9-30 A.M.											
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
N.	54	57	96	100	70	10	3	9	37	56	14	29
N.N.E.	8	7	8	4	5	--	--	--	3	14	16	6
N.E.	25	38	29	31	18	4	2	2	7	46	61	29
E.N.E.	20	22	7	3	1	1	--	1	--	22	51	38
E.	91	40	80	17	3	2	--	--	3	70	168	136
E.S.R.	28	13	5	5	1	1	--	--	1	21	47	58
S.E.	84	31	26	22	2	7	--	1	4	56	100	107
S.S.E.	28	9	7	8	4	2	--	--	1	16	15	20
S.	38	15	10	14	12	6	11	8	5	21	13	12
S.S.W.	13	4	4	2	4	10	--	1	6	7	2	2
S.W.	30	39	30	32	36	116	112	96	74	26	9	17
W.S.W.	17	14	12	8	28	86	112	98	51	21	3	--
W.	45	65	99	76	135	165	316	233	159	54	5	10
W.N.W.	4	25	35	49	53	24	27	27	55	23	--	16
N.W.	31	77	104	109	138	43	85	42	93	60	4	16
N.N.W.	11	18	25	36	17	3	4	9	11	14	2	--
Sums	527	474	527	510	527	480	522	527	510	527	510	496



*POONA CITY MONTHLY TABLE OF WINDS, 1856-1874-continued.*

DIRECTION	3-30 P.M.											
	Jan	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec
N	56	66	107	140	116	26	1	10	36	75	19	26
N.N.E.	11	13	11	10	3	4	1	1	6	9	16	3
N.E.	31	39	50	36	16	3	1	4	11	65	61	36
EN.E.	18	21	5	11	2	2	--	--	5	25	54	31
E	88	33	21	15	9	1	--	--	2	72	171	141
E.S.E.	27	16	5	3	1	1	--	--	--	17	34	52
S.E.	93	41	25	25	4	10	--	4	--	61	100	109
S.S.E.	30	16	7	3	--	--	--	--	1	18	18	22
S	40	25	19	13	8	8	16	10	5	17	19	14
S.S.W.	14	5	4	3	2	7	--	--	3	7	3	2
S.W.	32	26	33	24	31	156	123	100	76	26	8	18
W.S.W.	21	15	20	17	19	60	93	94	44	14	--	1
W.	32	60	84	53	96	116	204	193	149	34	4	10
W.N.W.	5	12	81	26	48	36	26	48	71	15	1	14
N.W.	26	72	82	92	130	46	56	55	94	49	--	15
N.N.W.	8	21	23	39	44	15	1	6	7	23	2	1
Sums	527	481	527	510	527	480	522	527	510	527	510	495

The coefficients and angles of formula representing the daily variation in the duration of different winds are:

*POONA CITY DURATION OF WINDS, 1856-1874.*

HOURS	November to January.						February to April,.					
	c1	a1		c2	a2		c1	a1		c2	a2	
		o	'		o	'		o	'		o	'
6	.98	102	20	.70	184	54	.77	303	17	.47	302	0
7	.98	90	56	.67	178	17	.78	310	50	.46	307	7
8	1.03	101	12	.72	188	48	.77	311	20	.40	290	14
9	1.08	97	59	.72	184	46	.66	322	26	.47	277	16
10	1.09	103	16	.84	193	42	.81	342	41	.51	277	49
11	1.12	105	2	.78	202	37	.85	344	59	.35	274	54
12	1.15	110	19	.74	214	33	.80	357	8	.18	276	20
13	1.11	106	48	.78	213	29	.71	1	37	.25	274	34
14	1.16	111	43	.75	218	32	.59	4	51	.33	328	44
15	1.12	113	8	.66	229	18	.52	357	48	.29	319	11
16	1.06	108	47	.66	210	4	.58	4	56	.35	348	22
17	.92	114	54	.67	200	51	.56	353	53	.33	313	47
18	.94	115	12	.65	197	53	.65	347	28	.19	325	29
19	.91	114	2	.68	209	13	.64	340	43	.25	338	38
20	.92	108	26	.64	208	11	.66	328	44	.17	239	2
21	.91	107	3	.65	205	23	.62	328	53	.24	209	45
22	.87	107	6	.75	203	30	.60	326	35	.28	247	4
23	.91	108	1	.73	195	11	.54	327	12	.30	235	47
0	.95	105	2	.66	192	20	.49	310	51	.34	233	28
1	.90	106	13	.63	191	51	.56	211	23	.33	226	13
2	.87	111	33	.66	202	17	.52	309	31	.35	222	43
3	.94	111	55	.69	202	7	.48	318	22	.35	222	43
4	.92	109	37	.75	201	48	.45	326	40	.30	216	52
5	.91	112	37	.69	203	58	.51	325	23	.25	226	38
Means	.99	107	42	.69	201	20	.59	333	52	.25	274	34
Complete Days.	57						59					

*continued..*

HOURS	June to September.						Year.					
	c1	a1		c2	a2		c1	a1		c2	a2	
		o	'		o	'		o	'		o	'
6	1.64	260	83	1.23	160	6	.58	270	59	.63	186	26
7	1.65	259	31	1.26	157	31	.56	278	4	.62	180	0
8	1.68	260	29	1.25	156	55	.55	272	5	.65	184	24
9	1.67	261	23	1.25	159	49	.50	274	34	.65	188	0
10	1.64	264	3	1.28	159	52	.41	287	6	.67	193	51
11	1.59	263	9	1.02	159	58	.39	284	45	.60	195	25
12	1.62	267	53	1.01	166	14	.34	292	45	.54	196	5
13	1.56	268	32	1.03	160	41	.34	295	49	.52	193	14
14	1.57	269	38	.89	165	2	.32	288	26	.43	198	51
15	1.54	265	33	.85	157	4	.32	278	53	.37	203	48
16	1.61	266	59	.95	157	23	.37	287	27	.37	189	13
17	1.68	271	22	1.06	175	41	.44	283	6	.46	195	15
18	1.70	271	1	1.02	175	31	.47	283	27	.45	189	2
19	1.92	270	0	1.08	176	49	.50	283	46	.48	195	47
20	1.72	267	0	1.13	171	52	.56	279	18	.60	194	30
21	1.72	267	0	1.13	171	52	.56	278	17	.66	193	11
22	1.67	266	34	1.06	173	29	.58	276	28	.64	196	26
23	1.66	266	54	1.06	171	20	.53	274	19	.64	190	47
0	1.67	264	30	1.04	166	38	.54	271	4	.61	138	32
1	1.68	266	56	1.10	167	59	.56	274	5	.63	186	20
2	1.69	264	13	1.15	162	21	.58	268	2	.67	185	58
3	1.67	264	30	1.11	164	50	.54	267	53	.68	187	39
4	1.70	264	56	1.17	165	8	.53	268	55	.69	184	58
5	1.68	263	51	1.13	164	7	.54	267	53	.63	184	32
Means	1.65	265	50	1.08	165	35	.47	277	17	.58	189	57
Complete Days.	82						238					

## PRODUCTION

### MINERALS

[This chapter owes much to additions and revision by Mr. J. G. Moore, C. S., Collector of Poona.]

EXCEPT iron, [The mineral section is contributed by Major A. R. Seton, R. E., Executive Engineer.] which occurs in various places as haematite associated with laterite or iron-clay, the district produces no metallic ores. Grains of magnetic iron derived from the traps are frequently found in the beds of streams.

#### Stone.

The trap rock almost everywhere yields good building stone and road-metal. Specially good quarries are worked at Bhamburda, about a mile to the north-west of Poona; on the north-side of Yaravda hill, about three miles north-east of Poona; at Lonikand on the Ahmadnagar road, about fifteen miles beyond Yaravda; at Hadapsar five miles east of Poona; at Lonikalbhar, Uruli, Yevat, and Patas, between ten and thirty miles east of Poona on the Sholapur branch of the Peninsula railway; at Katraj, Kamthuri, Kapurhol, and Kikvi, within twelve miles south of Poona on the new Satara road near Purandhar hill; and at Sasvad, nineteen miles south of Poona. There are also good stone-quarries along the Bombay mail road, near the villages of Pimpri, Shelarvadi, Kala, Lonavla, and Khandala and in the neighbourhood of Poona. The best quarry in the district is on the southern outskirts of the city of Poona. The stone of this quarry has been used in building Government House at Ganeshkhind and other large modern buildings in Poona. Where there are no good quarries trap boulders are used. The people of the district prefer trap boulders to any quarried stone and the wisdom of their choice is admitted by European, builders as is shown by the boulderless hill-sides near the great dam of Khadakvasla or Fife Lake.

### *Basalt.*

A variety of compact dark blue basalt, which is common in many places all through the trap districts, is susceptible of high polish and is worked into idols, pedestals for wooden pillars, and inscription-slabs. [Dr. T. Cooke, Principal, Science College, Poona.] It is obtained from quarries worked at Muhammadvadi five miles south-east of Poona and at Uruli eighteen miles east of Poona on the Sholapur branch of the Peninsula railway.

### *Quartz.*

Quartz occurs throughout the trap in various forms either crystalline or amorphous. The most common form assumed by the crystalline quartz is the trihedral. Crystalline quartz of various colours is recorded from the hill-fort of Harishchandragad and amethystine quartz is occasionally found in the interior of nodules. Amorphous quartz occurs in the form of agate, jasper, and heliotrope. Agates are generally found in large and small nodules and some finely banded agates are sent to Cambay to be coloured by firing. The jasper and heliotrope bloodstone occurs chiefly in flat plates which appear to have been formed in the cracks of crevices in the trap. Specimens of heliotrope and coloured quartz are common in the bed of the Mula-Mutha. [Madras Journal of Science and Literature, VI. 363. The *Gar-Pir* or Quartz-Saint whose tomb is about 200 yards to the south-east of the Collector's office in Poona, takes its name from the large crystals which are heaped over the grave.]

### *Stilbite.*

Stilbite, though less common than quartz, is by no means rare. One magnificent variety consists of large orange or salmon coloured crystals two or three inches long. Three miles south-west of Chas at Brahmanvadi great masses of radiating foliate stilbite occur imbedded in hard amygdaloid.

### *Apophyllite.*

The apophyllite, which is commonly associated with stilbite, is the finest of all Deccan trap minerals. It generally occurs in

four-sided prisms with terminal planes. The colour is white and more rarely pink or green. Some of the crystals are perfectly transparent.

### *Road Metal.*

Road-metal is generally prepared from quarried stone. At the road-side it costs about 75. (Rs. 3½) the hundred cubic feet. Partially decomposed trap is known through the district, as *murum*.

### **Natural Salts.**

Common salt is found in the bed of a rivulet at Kund Mavli near the falls on the Kukdi river, between Sirur and Kavtha. A little common salt with a trace of carbonate of soda encrusts the rocky bed for a few feet near the water line.

### **Carbonate of Soda.**

Carbonate of soda occurs in a few places occasionally forming an efflorescence on the surface. Washermen use earth impregnated with this salt for washing clothes. Soda is also found mixed with earth near Sirur where it is dug out and sold for washing.

Colonel Sykes' attention was directed to the presence of carbonate of soda at Sirur by observing washermen digging for earth in the banks of the rivulet. Finding that they used it to wash their clothes, he obtained a quantity, lixiviated the earth, boiled down the lixivium, and when it cooled obtained a large crop of crystals which the usual tests showed to be carbonate of soda. At Lonikalbhar twelve miles east of Poona and two miles south of the Mula-Mutha river, within an area of 200 yards, a constant moisture and partial absence of vegetation is observed. An efflorescent matter appears on the surface every morning which is carefully swept up and sold to washermen. [Geological Papers on Western India, 107.]



Good sand for mortar is found in the beds of almost all rivers and streams.

### **Limestone.**

Limestone yielding useful lime occurs in several places, There are good quarries near the villages of Phursangi and Vadki at the foot of the Diva pass, about ten miles south-east of Poona; also near Uruli, Yevat, Kedgaon, and Dhond in the Bhimthadi sub-division. The lime produced from the stone of these quarries is of excellent quality. Except at the above places the lime in general use is made of the lime-gravel or *kankar* which occurs on and below the surface over almost the whole district. The nodules when carefully burnt make excellent cement.

### **Bricks and Tiles**

Near many of the district streams earth is found suitable for making bricks and tiles. Burnt country bricks cost about 7s. (Rs. 3½) the thousand, and English pattern bricks of a larger size 12s. (Rs. 6). Tiles cost from 8s. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5) the thousand, and the flat in general use 7s. (Rs. 3½).

## PRODUCTION

### FORESTS

The area under forests in Poona is smaller than in most parts of the Presidency. Arrangements are still in progress for adding to the forest land which at present (October 1883) is estimated at about 660 square miles of 12.14 per cent of the district. Of the area classed as forest land only a small fraction at present yields timber.

#### *History.*

For many years after the beginning of British rule, the comparatively small population and the limited area under tillage made any special measures for preserving forests unnecessary. In the rainy west, as late as 1836, the two pressing evils were malarious fevers and the ravages of wild beasts [In 1855 General Davison shot bears and panthers within a few miles of Poona, In 1840 the boldness of the wild beasts made the road from Poona to Junnar dangerous to travel by night. The Peshwa hunted panthers on the hills thirty miles east of Poona. Mr. W. H. A. Wallinger, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Poona,]. How to clear for tillage the large area under trees and brushwood was one of the most pressing administrative questions of the time. It was mainly with this object that when (1836-37) the revenue survey was introduced into the west of the district, almost all hill-sides were divided into plots and offered at little more than nominal rents. About twenty years later, when population had greatly increased and after the railway was opened through the Bor pass the great demand for wood and the ease with which it could be sent to market were rapidly stripping the country of trees. To check this evil certain lands were set apart by Government as forest reserves. IN 1849 a beginning of demarcation was made by Dr. Gibson, the father of Bombay forestry. He chose plots of tree-covered land which the people still call *Daktari Ran* or the Doctor's Forest. In 1854 at the survey settlement of the western sub-divisions some lands were set apart for forest conservancy or *ran rakshan*.

In 1887 further measures were taken to add to the area of Government forests. In each sub-division the assistant collector examined all waste and unarable lands and marked off such plots as seemed likely to prove useful reserves. The work of demarcation was steadily tarried on, and by 1876 the whole of the district had been examined and tracts set aside as forest reserves.

The failure of rain in 1876 and 1877 drew special attention to the want of trees in Poona and other parts of the Deccan. At the same time the throwing up of arable land in Bhimthadi and Indapur, which accompanied and followed the famine, gave a special opportunity for adding to the forest area. To increase the area as much as possible it was determined to notify waste lands as forest, under Chapter X. of the Forest Act (X. of 1878). With this object lists of all available lands were prepared and gazetted as forest land, a measure which raised the area of forest land from about 242,000 to about 400,000 acres. [Mr. G. W. Vidal, C. S.] As these additions of waste lands to forest area were made without selection, both in the interests of the people and of the forest department, a thorough redistribution has since become necessary. A large area of arable waste scattered over the plains, which was abandoned during or since the famine, had been needlessly included in the forest reserves. On the other hand the extent of hill or mountain land, which former demarcations had included under forest, was insufficient for protective purposes, especially in the west near the sources and head-waters of the leading rivers. To decide which of the existing forest lands should be kept and what additional waste and occupied lands should be added required a fresh and comprehensive demarcation of the entire tract. Early in 1881 an officer was appointed to carry out this duty. [In 1867, Mr. C. w. Bell, First Assistant Collector, began the work in the Mulshi petty division. His labours extended over the Haveli, Maval, Junnar, and Sirur sub-divisions. The Indapur and Bhimthadi forest lands were demarcated in 1875 by Mr. C. G. W. Macpherson, Assistant Collector, and Mr. W. H. A. Wallinger, Deputy Conservator. Purandhar was demarcated by the same officers in 1877, and the demarcation of the important forest sub-division of Khed occupied Mr. Johns, Assistant Collector, and Mr. Wallinger during the hot weathers of 1875 and 1876. In 1879, Mr. J. McL. Campbell, Forest Settlement Officer, submitted his report regarding the settlement of all the district forests. His successors, Mr. G. W. Vidal demarcated the forest lands of Bhimthadi, Maval, and part of Haveli; and Mr. A. B. Steward those of Indapur and Mulshi Petha in Haveli in 1880 and 1881. Mr. Vidal, a second time appointed Forest Settlement Officer, has since demarcated the forest lands of Baramati in Bhimthadi, Sirur, part of Khed including some, villages of the Ambegaon Peta, Junnar, and Purandhar. Parts of Haveli, Khed, and Ambegaon have still to be demarcated.] He was entrusted with large discretion in acquiring occupied lands either by purchase or by exchange. Since 1881 final forest boundaries have been fixed in Bhimthadi, Indapur, Sirur, and Maval and in the portions of Khed and Haveli which fall within the charges of the mamlatdar of Khed and the mahalkari of Mulshi. In the sub-divisions of Junnar and Purandhar and in the petty divisions of Ambegaon in Khed and of Mulshi in Haveli the work is still in progress.

### *Demarcation.*

The net results of the new demarcation are:

*POONA FOREST DEMARCATION DETAILS, 1881-82.*

SUB-DIVISION.	TOTAL AREA ALIENATED VILLAGES.	AREA OF EXISTING RESERVES TO BE FINALLY RETAINED.	ADDITIONAL AREA INCLUDED IN THE NEW DEMARCATION.			TOTAL AREA OF PROPOSED FOREST RESERVES.	PER CENT OF FOREST TO TOTAL AREA.
			Waste.	Occupied.	Total.		
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Maval	212,188	51,230	608	25,172	25,840	77,070	36
Sirur	303,210	11,914	22,12	11,112	13,324	25,239	8
Indapur	345,571	20,456	25,575	21,801	47,376	67,132	19
Bhimthadi:	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
(1)Mamlatdar's Charge.	351,236	31,930	11,073	17,244	28,317	60,247	17
(2)Mahalkari's Charge.	245,650	10,656	1437	9465	10,902	21,558	8
Khed:							
Malatdar's Charge	295,436	54,804	1267	19,292	20,559	75,363	25
Haveli							
Mahalkari's Charge	118,367	24,895	214	27,505	27,719	52,614	44

In the east the greater part of the occupied land marked for forest has been secured by purchase or by exchange. In the west or Sahyadri sub-divisions, where the area of waste land available for exchange is more limited, progress must necessarily be slower. Many years must elapse before the whole area of mountain land included in this demarcation can be brought under forest rules.

*Establishment.*

In 1863, the forests of Poona, Satara, and Ahmadnagar were the joint charge of one European officer whose office and executive establishment for Poona consisted of two clerks, six inspectors, thirty-five foresters, and four messengers, representing a total monthly cost of £57 (Rs. 570). In 1870 Poona was formed into a separate forest charge and the establishment considerably increased.

In 1881-82 the district forest establishment included the settlement officer; the deputy conservator of forests; twelve range executives, five of them rangers on £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100) a month and seven foresters on £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40); thirty-six round-guards, six on £1 10s. (Rs. 15), fifteen on £1 4s. (Rs. 12), fifteen on £1 (Rs. 10); and 194 beat-guards, twenty of them on 18s. (Rs. 9), twenty-eight on 16s. (Rs. 8), and 146 on 14s. (Rs. 7). Besides these establishment charges, £110 (Rs. 1100) were in 1881-82 paid as shares to *rakhvaldars* who are bound under written agreements to protect the forests of certain villages.

### *Description.*

[Contributed by Mr. J. Mel. Campbell, C. s.] The Poona forest lands may be roughly grouped into three classes, hill, river bank, and upland reserves. Except in the Sinhgad range the hill reserves are chiefly found in the west. They are of two kinds, mixed evergreen woods and teak coppice. The mixed evergreen woods are found chiefly on the sides and plateaus of the main Sahyadri range, on the minor lines and offshoots which run parallel to the main range, and on the western ends of the spurs that stretch east at right angles to the main range. In these woods the chief trees are, the mango *amba* *Mangifera indica*, the *ain* *Terminalia tomentosa*, the *nana* and the *bondara* *Lagerstrœmia lanceolata* and *parvifolia*, which are so closely alike that they are generally grouped as *nana-bondara*, the *hedu* *Nauclea cordifolia*, the *kalamb* *Nauclea parvifolia*, the *asan* *Bridelia retusa*, the *sair* *Bombax malabaricum*, the *dhavda* *Conocarpus latifolia*, the teak *sag* *Tectona grandis*, the *jimbhul* *Eugenia jambolana*, the *yela* *Terminalia bellerica*, the *dhaman* *Grewia tiliaefolia*, the myrobalan *harda* *Terminalia chebula*, and the bamboo. These evergreen woods yield little timber. The second kind of hill forests are the teak coppices. They are found chiefly on the slopes and terraces of the spurs that run east from the main range of the Sahyadris. The teak does not occur throughout the whole length of these eastern hills; it is found chiefly in a belt which begins about ten and continues to about twenty-five miles from the main range of the Sahyadris. In the important Sinhgad and Purandhar ranges in the south of the district, the teak passes further east than in the smaller spurs in the centre and north, valuable teak rafters being cut on the slopes of Sinhgad and as far east as Purandhar about forty-five miles from the line of the Sahyadris.

The second class of forest reserves are the river-side groves. These are found along the banks of almost all the larger rivers wherever there is land suited to the growth of trees. In almost all of these reserves the soil is a deep alluvial deposit, and most of the plantations are of well grown trees, chiefly *babhuls* *Acacia arabica*.

The third class of forest reserves, the upland or *mal* reserves are found in every sub-division, but chiefly in the Sirur, Bhimthadi, and Indapur sub-divisions. These uplands at present yield only grass, but they are being gradually covered with a growth of brushwood and saplings.

The different reserves may be most conveniently arranged in the following order: Junnar, Khed, Maval, Haveli, Sirur, Purandhar, Bhimthadi, and Indapur.

### *Junnar.*

The Junnar forest reserves extend over about 112 square miles. Beginning from the north, the hill reserves are Chilhevadi with 491 acres and Ambegavan with 1442 acres, on the slopes of a range which runs east from Harishchandragad. These reserves contain valuable teak. Khiresvar with 4228 acres is in the north-west on the southern slope of Harishchandragad. It forms with Khubi the head of the valley of Madhkhore, and from its lands the Malsej pass leads into the Konkan. It is a mixed evergreen forest. The trees are of many varieties, but none are particularly large or of much market value. To the east of Khiresvar are the reserves of Kolvadi 1593 acres, Sangnore 1964 acres, and Pimpalgaon-Joga 1268 acres, and to the south are Khubi 355 acres, Karanjale 182 acres, and Pargaon 273 acres. These lead to the next important group of Sahyadri reserves, Taleran 1510 acres, and Nimgir 1072 acres, between the Malsej and Nana passes. Following the line of the Sahyadris and crossing the Kukdi valley, at the top of which there are the evergreen reserves of Ghatghar 1405 acres and Phangulgavan 785 acres, there is an important forest group at the head of the Mina valley comprising the reserves of Dhak 2103 acres and Amboli 694 acres. Of river-bank *babhul* groves, which do not include more than 500 acres, the chief are along the Kukdi and the Mina. At Hivre-Budrukh, seven or eight miles east of Junnar, is the botanical garden of eighteen acres which was started by Dr. Gibson, the first Conservator. It is now treated as an ordinary forest reserve. The upland or *mal* reserves, which include about 3400 acres of inferior soil, yield nothing but spear-grass. This is now being covered with nutritious pasture and saplings. The chief steps taken to grow nutritious grass on tracts which formerly yielded nothing but spear-grass are the broadcast sowing of seeds of the hardier trees and brushwood with the object of giving shade and of increasing moisture, and the shutting of the land against grazing during the rainy season and thus allowing new grasses to seed.

### *Khed.*

Khed, with about 164 square miles of reserves, is the chief forest tract in



Poona. Except the alienated village of Virham the whole crest of the Sahyadris is one stretch of reserved forest comprising the reserves of Don 512 acres, Pimpargane 1009 acres, Ahupe 4754 acres, Kondhavale 6493 acres, Terungan 641 acres, Nigdale 2578 acres, Bhivegaon 1392 acres, Bhovargiri 2604 acres, Velhavli 2990 acres, Bhomale 1188 acres, Kharpud 2735 acres, Vandre 1799 acres, and Torne-Khurd 859 acres. Except occasionally in sacred groves which have been untouched for generations, the trees in these forests, though green and fresh, are of moderate size. *Harda* Terminalia chebula, which produces the valuable myrobalan of commerce, is abundant throughout the Khed forests, and there is an extensive and valuable growth of bamboo in the Velhavli and Bhomale reserves. Besides the reserves along the edge of the Sahyadris Khed possesses large and most valuable teak coppice in a belt which begins ten miles east of the Sahyadris and stretches about fifteen miles further inland. The most important teak forests are in the Ghod valley, Gangapur 1440 acres, Giravli 921 acres, Amondi 1193 acres, Ghode 2442 acres, and Sal 44 acres. Besides these, there are Dhakale 909 acres on a tableland between the Ghod and Bhima valleys, and Chas 2100 acres and Kaman 782 acres adjoining each other in the Bhima valley. The hill reserves to the east of this belt of teak are bare or have only a sprinkling of thorn-bushes. They are being sown broadcast with seeds of the following trees: *bor* Zizyphus jujuba, *hingan* Balanites egyptiaca, *sarphali* Boswellia thurifera, *khair* Acacia catechu, *hivar* Acacia leucophloea, *kinai* Albizia procera, *maruk* Ailanthus excelsa, *sitaphal* Anona squamosa, *bel* AEgle marmelos, tamarind, *apta* Bauhinia racemosa, *shami* Prosopis spicegera, and *avla* Phyllanthus emblica. The river-side *babhul* groves, which include about 3000 acres along the Bhima and its tributaries, are fairly stocked with trees. The upland or *mal* reserves, which have an area of about 4000 acres, are bare and dry. They are being sown with the seed of such hardy plants as *tarvad* Cassia auriculata and *shami* Prosopis spicegera.

### *Maval.*

The Maval forest reserves extend over about eighty-one square miles. Except a few small *babhul* groves along the Pauna, and some waste lands near the railway between Lonavla and Talegaon, the Maval reserves are all hill reserves on the main line of the Sahyadris and on the chain of hills which stretches east from Sakhupathar near Lonavla. The Maval forests are like the Junnar forests and are less extensive and vigorous than those of Khed. The best are Malegaon-Khurd with 569 acres, Malegaon-Budrukh with 2943 acres, Pimpri with 530 acres, Kune-Khurd with 405 acres, and Kune-Budrukh with 678 acres. These are on the main range of the Sahyadris a continuation of the Khed forests. South of the alienated village of Savle, which breaks the line of the Sahyadri reserves, come Khand with 551 acres, Kusur with 2328 acres, Jamboli with 1542 acres, Thoran with 2017 acres, Valvande with 1788 acres, Undhevadi with 1887 acres, Kere with 1181 acres, and Khandala with 1215 acres. South of Khandala comes Kurvande with 3077 acres, which, beginning with the slopes of the well known Duke's Nose or Cobra's Hood, stretches

south along the face of the Sahyadris, and with portions of Bhushi 316 acres, Kusgaon-Budrukh 557 acres, Gevdhe 1543 acres, and Atvan 774 acres, forms the plateau of Sakhupathar. The chief trees are the same as those mentioned as forming the mixed evergreen woods of the Sahyadris. A growth of bamboo is also springing up on the Sakhupathar plateau. The forest lands on the other eastern spurs are exceedingly bare, as the prices which firewood and charcoal fetch along the railway line have tempted the holders of hill-land to strip them of timber.

#### *Haveli.*

The Haveli forest lands occupy about 100 square miles. The Mulshi hills have been brought more under tillage than any other part of the Poona Sahyadris. The only forest reserves are Tamheni-Budrukh with 5042 acres, Saltar with 1053 acres, Yekole with 996 acres, Pimpri with 2534 acres, Nive with 1789 acres, and Ambavne with 1057 acres. The hills round Sinhgad yield teak, the best areas being Sinhgad with 4519 acres, and Donje with 1011 acres. The trees are most healthy and the nearness of the Sinhgad reserve to the Poona market greatly adds to its value. In the Katraj reserve of 1900 acres, fifteen years of careful protection have clothed the hill-sides with a young growth of many varieties of timber. But the other hill reserves which are mostly east of Sinhgad towards Dhavleshvar are either bare or have only a sprinkling of thorn bushes. The chief river-side reserves are along the Mula-Mutha from Manjri six miles, to Koregaon-Mul sixteen miles east of Poona.

#### *Sirur.*

Sirur has little forest land. There are no hill reserves, and the whole forest area does not cover more than twenty-five square miles. Before 1879, the Sirur forest area amounted to 3470 acres out of a total area of 303,210 acres. Additions in 1879 raised the forest area to 19,234 acres. As in the rest of the district, a thorough redistribution of the waste lands notified in 1879 was necessary both in the interests of the people and of the forest department. The settlement and demarcation officers for various reasons have found it necessary to disforest 7320 acres, reducing the forest area to 11,914 acres or eight per cent of the sub-division. Sirur is much more fertile than the other eastern sub-divisions and has a much smaller area of unproductive land. The chief forest reserves are, Alegaon 1869 acres, Pabal 1288 acres, Kavidhe 629 acres, Kanur 504 acres, Karandi 712 acres, and Sirur 500 acres.

#### *Purandhar.*

The Purandhar forest reserves include about thirty-seven square miles. The chief forest areas, 18,996 acres, are on the range of hills which stretches southeast from Sinhgad to Purandhar and twenty miles further east. The

largest forest areas are, Jejuri with 692 acres, Kamra with 759 acres, Mandhar with 1205 acres, Sakurde with 1223 acres, Parinche with 1292 acres, Bhongavli with 1593 acres, Kikvi with 1793 acres, Valhe with 2223 acres, and Ghera Purandhar with 3597 acres. Except small teak, chiefly in Shivra, Kamra, Kikvi, and Bhongavli, these forest lands contain nothing but scrub. The forest area of 2202 acres on the range separating the Karha valley in Purandhar from the Mula-Mutha valley in Haveli, includes 366 acres in Bhivdi, 376 in Bopgaon, 800 in Gurholi, 214 in Tekavdi, and 446 in Pande. These lands contain little but poor scrub. There is a small area of river-side groves at Kenjal and elsewhere on the Nira. The remaining 4000 acres is poor upland or *mal*. The villages with the largest areas of upland are Rajevadi with 246 acres, Hivre with 280, Pargaon with 286, and Rajuri with 319.

### *Bhimthadi.*

Bhimthadi has a forest area of about sixty-nine square miles. About 4402 acres are commanded by the Mutha canal and will probably be given back for tillage, and 1499 acres have been declared unfit for forest. On the other hand a considerable area of arable waste will probably be taken for forest land. Of the demarcated area of 18,585 acres, the most valuable parts are the river groves on the Bhima, Nira, and Karha, the best being near Rahu and Pimpalgaon on the Bhima. The details are, Rahu 1610 acres, Pimpalgaon 685 acres, Dahitne 684 acres, Miravde 468 acres, Valki 457 acres, and Delavdi 214 acres. The rest of the forest land is poor upland, bare or with a sprinkling of stunted scrub. The details are, Yevat 448 acres, Undavdi-Karepathar 1043 acres, Varvand 1575 acres, Supa 2838 acres, Vadhane 1084 acres, Pandare 889 acres, Karange 1281 acres, and Patas 2143 acres.

### *Indapur.*

The Indapur forests include about seventy-two square miles. Before the 1st of March 1879, when all the waste assessed or unassessed lands were declared forest reserves, the entire forest area was 10,804 acres out of 345,571 acres, the total area of Indapur. Subsequent additions during 1879 raised the total area to 13,649 acres. Since 1879 a large portion of the arable area which had passed out of tillage during and after the famine of 1876 and 1877 has been taken for forest. During the famine and succeeding bad years, except the rich banks of the Nira in the south, the sub-division lost a large number of its people. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to increase the forest area after making provision for such of the husbandmen as might return and apply for land. The result of the settlement officer's enquiries has been to raise the Indapur forest area to 65,300 acres or about eighteen per cent of the entire sub-division. The villages which have now the largest forest area are Bhelgaon with 6684 acres, Palasdev with 5513 acres, and Kalas with 5574 acres. The Indapur forest lands, though most of them are at present bare, are well suited for *babhul* plantations.

In 1,81-82 £92 (Rs. 920) were spent in ploughing land and dibbling in seed in more than 250 reserves. Besides thirty tons (40 *khandis*) of mixed seeds

collected by forest guards, ninety-six tons (129 *khandis*) of seeds of many kinds were collected in the western sub-divisions at a cost of £81 (Rs. 810). The system of sowing seed broadcast continues to yield good result in certain localities. The forest reserves are protected by a system of fire lines and by close supervision. Still in 1881-82 about ten square miles of forest were burnt. £173 (Rs. 1730) were spent on planting.

### *Forest Tribes.*

Except Katkaris, who come from the Konkan into the west of the district when forest work is to be had and when the wild fruits are ripe, there are no forest tribes. The Kunbis and Marathas who form the bulk of the people near the Sahyadris, in Junnar, Maval, and Haveli, and the Kolis who are numerous in Khed and round Sinhgad and Purandhar, are husbandmen rather than woodsmen. Nor can the Ramoshis be called a forest tribe. They are chiefly found in the open country to the east and south, though a few are settled as hereditary guards of the hill-forts of Sinhgad and Purandhar. The classes most employed in forest-work are the ordinary field-labourers, Kunbis, Marathas, and Mhars, and to a less extent, Kolis, Katkaris, Thakurs, Dhangars, and Ramoshis. The daily wage of the unskilled labourers employed in forest-work is 4½ *d.* (3 *as.*) for a man, 3*d.* (2 *as.*) for a woman, and 2¼*d.* (1 ½ *as.*) for a boy. During the season (September-November) of wood-felling about 140 men with carts are employed for about three months, and during the season (December-February) of seed-gathering, sowing, and planting, about 200 men are employed for three months. The bidders at the auctions of timber and minor forest produce are chiefly husbandmen and Maratha timber-dealers. Grass is cut and carried by purchasers who employ hundreds of labourers and carts.

### *Offences.*

In 1881-82 there were 306 forest prosecutions against 327 in 1880. Of the whole number 199 were cases of theft, thirty-five of mischief, and seventy-two other cases. Of the prosecutions 57 or 18.6 per cent failed. About £75 (Rs. 750) were recovered as fines and £5 (Rs. 50) were realized by the confiscation of property.

### *Receipts.*

As the chief object of forest conservancy in Poona is to increase the forest area, and as a few of the reserves have any considerable supply of timber fit for the market, the forest receipts are small. In 1870-71 they amounted to £7633 (Rs. 76,330). During the four years ending 1874-75 they ranged between £5718 (Rs. 57,180) in 1874-75 and £3827 (Rs. 38,270) in 1871-72 and averaged £4714 (Rs. 47,140). In 1875-76 they fell from £5718 to £4318

(Rs. 57,180-43,180), and during the five years ending 1879-80 continued to fall to £2290 (Rs. 22,900), and averaged £3381 (Rs. 33,810). In 1880-81 they rose to £3397 (Rs. 33,970), in 1881-82 to £5912 (Rs. 59,120), and in 1882-83 to £8935 (Rs. 89,350).

In consequence of the additional establishment required to protect the increased forest area, the charges rose from £3745 (Rs. 37,450) in 1870-71 to £6446 (Rs. 64,460) in 1881-81 and 1882-83 and averaged £4430 (Rs. 44,300). These charges include, besides the allowances of forest officers on leave in Poona, a sum of from £1000 to £1800 (Rs. 10,000 -18,000) on account of the pay and allowances of the Conservator of Forests Northern Division and his establishment. The following are the details:

*POONA FOREST REVENUE, 1870-1882.*

Year.	Rec-eipts.	Charges.			Year.	Rec-eipts.	Charges.		
		Conserv- ancy and Works.	Establish- ments.	Total.			Conserv- ancy and Works.	Establish- ments.	Total.
	£	£	£	£		£	£	£	£
1870-71	7633	1261	2484	8745	1876-77	4084	1150	1732	2882
1871-72	8827	1818	2805	4618	1877-78	3623	1310	2025	3335
1872-73	4815	1394	2643	4037	1878-79	2591	1531	2913	4444
1873-74	4498	1841	1549	3390	1879-80	2290	2373	4812	7185
1874-75	5718	1350	1679	3029	1880-81	3397	3001	3485	6486
1875-76	4318	1256	1797	3053	1881-82	5912	2871	3575	6446

*Timber Trade.*

As much timber and firewood as the impoverished reserves can supply and as will command a sale is brought into the market by the forest department and is sold to the highest bidder. There is little if any export of timber; all of the produce is used in the district. Throughout the district there is a good demand for *babhul* timber, teakwood rafters, and firewood. The best markets are, Poona, Khed, Sasvad, and Junnar. Teak timber is brought up the for pass



in carts from Thana and by rail from Bombay. Hitherto the Sant Savh's state in North Satara has met most of the Poona demand for timber. But its stores of firewood and timber have been lavishly spent, and the supply is so much reduced that to a considerable extent the Bhor people now depend on the Poona forests. In 1881-82 departmental cuttings were confined to 62,817 teak trees from the forests chiefly of Khed, Haveli, Junnar, and Purandhar, producing about 664 tons (897 *khandis*) or equal to about 12½ cubic feet each and yielding a revenue of £1852 (Rs. 18,520) at a cost of £142 (Rs. 1420); about 1217 tons (1643 *khandis*) from Junnar, Indapur, Sirur, Bhimthadi, Haveli, and Maval, yielding a revenue of £472 (Rs. 4720) at a cost of £31 (Rs. 310); and 59,500 bamboos from Khed and Haveli, yielding a revenue of £54 (Rs. 540) at a cost of £13 (Rs. 130).

### *Minor Produce.*

Myrobalans or *hardas*, of which about thirty-nine tons (53 *khandis*) worth about £157 (Rs. 1570) were collected in 1881 at a cost of about £46 (Rs. 460) are the fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*. They are collected departmentally and sold at temporary stores outside the forests by auction or by tender. Central stores for groups of villages are established at Bhushi, Uksan, Kusur, and Kurvandi in Maval; at Ambegaon, Rajpur, Kushere, Vandre, Tokavde, Amboli, and Bhavargiri in Khed; and at Pimpalgaon, Rajur, and Inglun in Junnar. The people are invited to gather the fruit and bring it to the stores. The price varies from £6 to £8 (Rs. 60-80) a ton. It increases as the season advances because as less fruit is left on the trees the work of collection grows heavier. The longer the fruit is allowed to remain on the tree the heavier and the more valuable it becomes. *Shikekai* are the pods of the *Acacia concinna*. The tree flowers in October and November, the pods appear in December, and are ready for picking in February and March. They are much used by the people as a hair-wash and have also healing properties. Other minor produce are, the bark of the *chillari* *Caesalpinia sepiaria* and *shemb* *Caesalpinia diggna*; the pods of the *bahva* *Cassia fistula*, the leaves of the *apta* and *timru* used for making cigarettes; palm-leaves and teak-leaves used in thatching; *moha* flowers used in distilling; gum; and honey, all of which are brought into the Poona, Khed, Junnar, and Talegaon markets and produce a yearly revenue of about £50 (Rs. 500). There has been a great increase in the quantity of grass in the forest reserves. Fifteen years ago nearly the whole of the important river-side grazing reserves were choked, with prickly pear, the whole of which has been removed. Grass and grazing are becoming a considerable source of revenue. Exclusive of the grass supplied to the Commissariat at Poona of the value of £1100 (Rs. 11,000), and the grazing free of charge from the reserved forests of the value of £927 (Rs. 9270) to the Government cattle farm at Aligaon, the grass and grazing revenue was £141 (Rs. 14,170) in 1877-78, £525 (Rs. 5250) in 1878-79, £727 (Rs. 7270) in 1879-80, £1570 (Rs. 15,700) in 1880-81, £3198 (Rs. 31,980) in 1881-82, and £3941 (Rs. 39,410) in 1882-83.

## Roadside Trees.

[Contributed by Mr. J. G. Moore, C. S.] The commonest roadside trees are, the *babhul*, *pimpal*, *vad*, *nandruk*, *pimpri*, *karanj*, tamarind, *limb*, mango, *jambhul*, and *umbar*. The *vad*, *nandruk*, *pimpal*, *pimpri*, and *umbar*, all belong to the fig tribe, and as with the exception of the *pimpal* they can be propagated by cuttings they are the commonest of Poona roadside trees. In growing roadside trees the planting of cuttings is the system which has been most generally adopted. Young branches full of sap and with air-roots are chosen. They have generally been about five feet in length, but during the last three years very much longer cuttings varying from twelve to sixteen feet long have been planted. The interval between each cutting is about twenty feet. The cuttings do not require hedges as a protection and so far they are more economical than seedlings. A bundle of thorns is tied round the pole about four feet from the ground to prevent horned cattle rubbing against them. The cuttings are planted with about three feet in the ground. In the western and central belts they are watered once a week from January till the monsoon breaks early in June, and in the east for about nine months. After easterly storms, and so long as their moisture lasts, watering is discontinued. Cuttings can be planted at any time of the year. If they are planted in the interval between two south-west monsoons (October-June) they must be regularly watered, while if they are planted at the beginning of the south-west monsoon (June 1st-25th) they can do without water for six months. Latterly the seedling system has been tried but with very doubtful success, except where recourse has been had to artificial watering. The plan is to procure a large number of pots, to fill them with earth, and as soon as the first rain falls to plant them with seeds of mango, *jambhul*, *limb*, *karanj*, *pimpal*, and tamarind. The pots are placed in nurseries at carefully chosen sites where there is a fair shade with water close at hand. The seedlings remain in the nursery for twelve months, care being taken to shift the pots from time to time so that the roots may not strike into the ground. Meanwhile pits are dug at intervals of twenty feet on either side of the roads, and living hedges of milk-bush or of the *kanda nivdung* *Condalchra* cactus are planted round the pits. After exposure for ten or eleven months the pits are filled with good earth and are ready to receive the seedlings. At the beginning of the south-west monsoon the seedlings are planted pot and all, the pot being first broken. They thus get four or five months' rain and they are then supposed to thrive without any artificial moisture. In the western and central belts about forty per cent thrive, but in the eastern belt the plan is an utter failure, owing to the uncertain and scanty rainfall, and resort must be had to artificial watering. The watering of young trees requires constant care. It is essential that the soil round the roots should be constantly loosened so as to allow the water to pass to the root; otherwise after one or two waterings the soil becomes as baked as a sun-dried brick. No moisture can pass, and the cutting or sapling either withers or its roots instead of going into the soil come to the surface and having no hold the plants are blown over. To bury a porous



earthen vessel close to the tree so that its throat is on a level with the surface is an economical way of watering. If filled weekly the water gradually soaks into the soil and keeps it moist. The top of the vessel must be covered to prevent evaporation and the vessel must be buried deep or the roots will come too near the surface.

## Trees

### *Ain or Sadada.*

The following is a list of the chief Poona trees. [Contributed by Mr. W. H. A. Wallinger, District Forest Officer.] *Ain* or *sadada*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, is a straight and high growing forest tree. It yields good timber and fuel. The bark is astringent, yields a black dye, and is used in tanning. The bark ashes produce a kind of cement which is eaten with betel-leaf in the Madras Presidency. It is one of the commonest trees on the Sahyadris, and on the wooded hills and uplands in the west of the district. *Boma*, also called *ain*, *Terminalia glabra*, is equally plentiful with the *ain*, and differs from it only in having a smoother bark. *T. bellerica* is one of the largest and finest looking trees in the Poona forests.

### *Allu.*

*Allu*, *Vanqueria spinosa*, a wild fruit tree, is found on the western hills. Its fruit is often brought to the Poona market. The stem is covered with large thorns and the wood has no special value.

### *Amba.*

*Amba*, *Mangifera indica* the Mango, is found in gardens and fields both in the hilly west and in the level east. The mango grows sixty or seventy feet high, has a straight trunk and a dark rough bark, and gives excellent shade. [In 1837 Colonel Sykes noticed a mango tree at Bhimashanker called the Raja, which was fully eighty feet high and from which boards could be cut thirty feet long and three or four feet wide. Report of the British Association for 1837, 255.] It flowers at the end of January or the beginning of February and fruits in May and June. The wood, which is coarse-grained and suffers from the attacks of white-ants and other insects, is much used for planks and building and as firewood. The flowers are held sacred and are offered to Shiv. Especially in years of scarcity the mango is a valuable addition to the food supply of the district. Besides when it is ripe, the fruit is used unripe in pickles and relishes and the kernel is boiled and eaten. Poona mangoes go in large quantities to Bombay and other places from the gardens at Shivapur near Poona where the *shekda* or hundred contains three hundred and twelve mangoes. The fruit can be greatly improved by grafting. *Ambguli*, *Elaeagnus*,

a wild tree, which grows largely on the western hills, yields a palatable fruit, in taste like a gooseberry. The fruit is cooked and used in curries and relishes and also as a vegetable.

#### *Ambada.*

*Ambada*, *Spondias mangifera*, is a cultivated fruit tree found chiefly in the west of the district and on the Sahyadri slopes. The wood which is soft is burnt as fuel. The fruit is eaten when ripe and is used in curries and pickles. It also yields a saleable gum.

#### *Anjir.*

*Anjir*, *Ficus carica*, the Fig, is largely grown, especially in the Haveli, Purandhar, Junnar, and Khed sub-divisions. It is raised almost always from cuttings which when four or five feet high are planted in garden land. It requires a richly manured and freely watered soil. The crop is apt to suffer from blight and other diseases. There are no grafted figs in the district, and an attempt to introduce graft figs failed. November and December and April and May are the bearing seasons and it is only during these months that the fig requires frequent watering. It begins to bear in its fourth year, is in its prime from its sixth to its tenth year, and continues bearing until it is fifteen years old. The ripe fruit is used locally and is sent to Bombay. Poona figs are never dried.

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

#### *Avla.*

*Avla*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, is a wild tree which is found throughout the district, growing thirty or forty feet high. It is useful in planting bare hill-sides. It is also raised in the east of the district in gardens and round temples. Its healing qualities have made it sacred. Krishna wears a necklace of *avla* berries and with tamarind and sugarcane *avla* is offered to Krishna in October-November when he marries the *tulsi* plant. The sacredness of the fruit is probably the reason why stones deep grooved like a dry *avla* berry are so favourite an ornament in Hindu temples. As the wood is hard and somewhat brittle it is little used. The fruit which ripens in the cold weather is in size and appearance much like a gooseberry. It is ribbed like a melon and is of a semi-transparent yellow. It is very sour and astringent. It is cooked or preserved and used in pickles. In a dried state it is called *avalkathi* and is considered an excellent cure in bilious complaints. It is also used in making ink. The bark which is used in tanning, is very astringent.

### *Vilayati Avla.*

The *vilayati* or foreign *avla*; *Caretonia siliqua*, is a low spreading tree, bearing large fruit which contains much sugar and is valued as cattle fodder. The tree thrives in irrigated land. It begins to fruit when five years old.

### *Asan.*

*Asan*, *Briedelia retusa*, is a forest tree common in the hilly west. *B. spinosa*, which is also plentiful, differs from *B. retusa* in being more thorny. The leaves are used as a cure for worms.

### *Apta.*

*Apta*, *Bauhinia racemosa*, is found both on the western hills and in the eastern plains. *B. alba* or the white *kanchan* and the *B. acuminata* or the red *kanchan*, which differ little from *B. racemosa*, are also plentiful. Ropes are made of the bark of *B. racemosa* and the leaves are much used for native cheroots. The *apta* is worshipped by Hindus on *Dasara* Day in October. The bark is applied to swellings of the limbs and its juice is given internally as a remedy for jaundice. *Bauhinia tomentosa* is also fairly plentiful. The roots are prescribed in certain cases of flux and for inflammation of the liver.

### *Babhul.*

*Babhul*, *Acacia arabica*, is the commonest and most generally useful tree in the district. It is found in all the sub-divisions, but sparsely towards the west. It is very hardy and grows rapidly in black soil and on the banks of rivers. It grows to a considerable size and has excellent, hard, close-grained, and lasting wood; but the timber is generally crooked, and straight pieces of any length are seldom found. The wood is used as cart-axles, ploughs, and sugarcane-rollers, as well as for fuel. It also makes excellent charcoal. The bark is valuable in tanning and yields a good yellow dye, and its sap is a useful gum worth about 4d. a pound (6 pounds the rupee) in the local markets. The long seed pods are eagerly eaten by sheep, goats, and cattle. At Manchar, about fourteen miles north of Khed, in 1837, Colonel Sykes noticed a *babhul* whose trunk eighteen inches from the ground measured nine feet round. Its head was branching, and, with a vertical sun, shaded nearly six thousand square feet. A variety known as *vedi* or wild *babhul*, *Acacia farnesiana*, is found chiefly in the eastern and central plains. It yields sweet flowers from which a perfume is distilled. The wood is used for fuel but not for building, as it is soon attacked by insects. The bark contains tannin and is made into the tassels which adorn bullocks' heads on *Pola* or the Bull-day. The gum is also useful [In 1839-40, Government offered land free of rent for planting *babhul* trees in Indapur. By 1842-43 the plantations extended over

2200 acres and contained 19,000 trees. Rev. Rec. 1241 of 1841, 83 and 1568 of 1844, 90.]

### *Badam .*

*Badam*, the Almond, *Prunus amygdalus*, is grown in gardens but is not common. It gives good shade and the fruit when ripe is eaten by children and the lower classes, but it is never dried and has no trade value. The kernel of the fruit is wholesome and pleasant to eat.

### *Bhava.*

*Bahva*, *Cassia fistula*, is largely found on the central and western hills and uplands; in the east it is scarce. It is one of the most ornamental of forest trees, throwing out in the hot weather long tassels of beautiful pimrose-yellow flowers much like the laburnum. Its long hanging pods are also easily recognized. The wood though close-grained and hard is not much used. The bark serves in tanning, the roots yield a purge, and the seeds are embodied in a pulp which is used as an aperient both in India and in Europe.

### *BeL.*

*Bel*, *Aegle marmelos*, a highly ornamental tree, twenty to forty feet high, is common all over the district both wild and in gardens. It has an excellent hard wood which is used for making native drums, but the tree is seldom cut as it is sacred to Shiv, it is said, on account of its fragrant flowers and aromatic leaves. Its fruit, which is about the size of an orange, has a woody shell and a sticky pulp. It is seldom eaten raw but it makes a delicious syrup and a pleasant preserve and pickle, and has valuable healing properties. Prepared in certain ways it acts as an aperient, in others as an astringent, and is useful in cases of dysentery or diarrhoea. The root, bark, and leaves, are also used in making cooling applications. The aromatic leaves are offered to Shiv, especially in the month of *Shravan* that is August, and on the *Mahashivaratra* in February. The wood is sometimes burnt with the dead and the fruit made into snuff-boxes. The seeds yield a varnish.

### *Bhokar.*

*Bhokar*, *Cordia latifolia*, is grown as a fruit tree in the west of the district. It is usually small seldom more than thirty feet high. It has valuable white wood which is used in boat-building and makes excellent fuel. The bark is made into ropes and fuses and the leaves are used as plates. The young leaves and unripe fruit are eaten as a vegetable. The fruit is pickled and is eaten when ripe; it is greedily devoured by birds. Its sticky pulp is used as birdlime and is

considered a valuable remedy in lung-diseases.

#### *Bibba.*

*Bibba*, the Marking-Nut, *Semecarpus anacardium*, is a wild tree common on the central and western hills. The calyx or covering and the kernel of the nut are eaten. The green fruit when pounded makes good birdlime. The oil of the nut is used for marking linen, the colour being made fast by mixing it with a little quicklime water. It acts as a blister and some drops given in milk or butter are useful in diarrhoea. It is applied as oil to the axles of country carts. The juice is so harsh and bitter that woodcutters burn the bark before they cut the tree.

#### *Bondara.*

*Bondara*, *Lagerstræmia lanceolata*, is abundant in the western hills. It differs from *nana* in having smaller leaves. The wood is light brown close-grained and elastic; in the west it is much used for house-buildings.

#### *Bor.*

*Bor*, *Zizyphus jujuba*, is common in cultivated lands and over nearly all the centre and east of the district. The tree is of spreading habit, coppices readily, and sometimes grows thirty feet high. It is very thorny. The fruit which ripens in the cold weather resembles the crab-apple in flavour and appearance. It is never larger than a gooseberry and is much eaten. The bark is used in tanning and is a great favourite with the lac insect. Grafting greatly improves the taste and size of the fruit. It is dried and pounded by the natives and eaten with vegetables, the dried powder being called *borkut*. The wood, which is used for cabinet work, for saddle-trees, for field-tools, and for wooden shoes is tough and lasting, and as it is not affected by insects, might prove useful for railway sleepers. *Ranbor*, *Zizyphus vulgaris*, is a variety with a smaller fruit found on the eastern hills and tablelands. *Ghotbor*, another variety, is common in the west and is occasionally found in the east. It seldom grows to be more than a shrub. The wood is used for torches, and the burnt fruit by shoemakers' to blacken leather.

#### *Bakul.*

*Bakul*, *Mimusops elengi*, is found throughout the district and is specially common in gardens and near temples. Its sweet-smelling cream-coloured flowers yield an oil which is used in perfumery; the fruit is eaten by the poor, and the bark is an astringent and tonic. The wood is very hard and lasting, and is used for house-building and for furniture. Probably from the sweetness

of its flowers and its healing properties, the *bakul* is sacred. It was under a *bakul* tree that Krishna played to the milkmaids, and its sweet flowers, which are called the flowers of paradise, are offered both to Vishnu and to Shiv.

#### *Bartondi.*

*Bartondi*, *Morinda citrifolia*, is common in the east and centre of the district, but is rare in the west. It is a small tree seldom more than twenty to twenty-five feet high. *Manjishta*, *M. tinctoria*, which differs little from the *bartondi*, also occurs in the district. The root of both varieties yields a valuable dye which is much used in colouring turbans and carpets. Its close-grained, light, and tough wood makes good wooden shoes or *khadavas*.

#### *Chakotar.*

*Chakotar*, the Citron, *Citrus decumana*, is largely cultivated throughout the district. It grows thirty or forty feet high. The fruit is large pale-yellow and pear-shaped, with a thick rind and a pink or crimson and sweet or acrid pulp. The leaves are used for flavouring dishes and the rind of the fruit yields an oil which is used in perfumery. The rind is also an aromatic stimulant and tonic. The juice of the fruit forms a refreshing drink.

#### *Chandan.*

*Chandan*, the Sandal tree, *Santalum album*, is occasionally found throughout the district, both cultivated in gardens and near temples, and wild. It grows readily from seed but suffers much by transplanting. The heartwood is famous for its scent. When rubbed to powder, with or without other ingredients, it is used as a cooling unguent and in preparing Hindu sect-marks. Trees grown on rocky and poor soils yield much more heartwood than those on rich alluvial land. The oil distilled from the wood is a medicine and perfume. The wood is used by the rich to burn the dead, the poor and middle classes contenting themselves by throwing a log or two on the funeral pyre. The wood and the saw-dust are burnt as incense in Hindu and Parsi places of worship. The wood is also made into beautiful fancy articles. The ripe fruit, *chandan charoli*, is eaten by the poor.

#### *Char.*

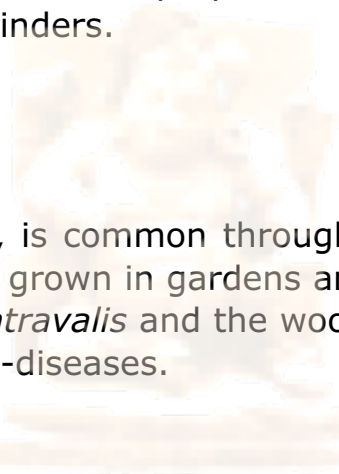
*Char*, *Buchanania latifolia*, is a wild fruit tree found on highlands both in the east and in the west of the district. The wood is tough and the bark is used for making ropes and *gondas* or ornaments tied to the necks and horns of bullocks. The bark is used by tanners. The stones of its cherry-like fruit or *charoli*, which abound in oil; are eaten roasted or pounded and are used in



confectionery and other cooking.

#### *Chinch.*

*Chinch*, the Tamarind tree, *Tamarindus indicus*, both in the hilly tracts and in the plains, is commoner than any other large cultivated tree except the mango. It grows sixty or seventy feet high and gives abundant shade. Its tough and lasting wood is used for cart-wheels and oil-mills and is valued for burning bricks and tiles. It makes excellent charcoal for gunpowder. The fruit, which ripens in February, is salted and stored in almost every house. The pulp of the fruit when preserved in sugar makes a cooling drink. The seed is fried and eaten by the lower classes; in seasons of famine it is ground to flour and made into bread. From the seed is also prepared a size which is used by wool-weavers, saddlers, and book-binders.



#### *Chapha.*

*Chapha*, *Michelia champaca*, is common throughout the district on wooded hills and tablelands and is also grown in gardens and near temples. The leaves are used as dining plates or *patravalis* and the wood is used as fuel. The milky juice is valuable in certain skin-diseases.

#### *Dalimb.*

*Dalimb*, the Pomegranate, *Punica granatum*, of two kinds, is grown in gardens throughout the district and is valued for its fruit, and for the healing properties of its root, leaves, bark, flowers, and fruit rind. The bark of the root is used as a cure for worms and the juice of the fruit forms a pleasing and cooling drink. It bears in November-December and again in April-May, and only when bearing does it require much watering. During the rest of the year an occasional watering is enough. The tree begins to bear in its fourth year; it is in its prime from its sixth to its tenth year; and under favourable circumstances continues to fruit till it is fifteen years old.

#### *Dhaman.*

*Dhaman*, *Grewia tiliaefolia*, which flourishes near the sea, is also found in Poona. It is common in the forest lands in the centre and west, and is occasionally found on the eastern uplands. Its tough and elastic wood is used in house-building and is good for bows and for carriage-shafts. The berries have an agreeable bitter taste, the bark makes cordage, and the leaves are good fodder.



### *Dhavda.*

*Dhavda*, *Conocarpus latifolia*, one of the commonest and most useful timber trees, is plentiful in the west and centre and is occasionally found in the east. Its tough wood is much used in house-building and for field-tools and cart-axles. If not properly seasoned it is apt to be attacked by white-ants.

### *Gehela.*

*Gehela*, *Randia dumetorum*, a shrub rather than a tree, is plentiful in the western hills and valleys, but is not found in the east. The wood is used as fuel and the fruit as an emetic and a fish poison. *Gondhan*, *Cordia rothii*, is plentiful in gardens and forests. It differs from the *bhokar* in having narrower leaves and red fruit.

### *Gorakh-Chinch.*

*Gorakh-chinch*, the Baobab, *Adansonia digitata*, occurs in a few gardens. The seeds are surrounded by a starchy pulp with an acid flavour which forms a wholesome and agreeable article of food, and is regarded as a specific in putrid and pestilential fevers and a valuable medicine in dysentery. The powdered leaves applied to the skin are used to check excessive perspiration. The bark is also an antidote to fever, and its fibres are used in making cordage. The tree is remarkable for the enormous size of its trunk.

### *Harda.*

*Harda* or *hirda*, *Terminalia chebula*, is plentiful on the western hills. From its value in tanning and dyeing the nut is in great demand in Europe. Of late years, since the demand has become constant, the people in the west preserve their *harda* trees and refrain from lopping them for ash-manure. A rise in the price of *harda* nuts would do more than almost any measure to clothe the sides of the western hills. A decoction of bruised myrobalans is a safe and effective aperient. It is also useful in skin-diseases.

### *Hallian.*

*Hallian*, *Eriodendrum anfractuosum*, though not plentiful, is found in the thicker forests on the western hills. The light and soft wood is used in tanning leather and for making toys. The fine soft silky wool which surrounds the seeds is used for making cushions. It yields a gum called *hallianke gond* which is valued in bowel-complaints.

### *Hedu.*

*Hedu*, *Nauclea cordifolia*, is found only in the west and even there is seldom of any size. Its soft, yellow, close-grained wood is used in house-building and for other domestic purposes.' The leaves are a valued remedy for children's stomach complaints. The yellow flowers of the *Nauclea kadamba* are sacred to Krishna who is said to have played with the milkmaids under a *kadamb* tree. The flowers are imitated in native jewelry.

### *Hinganbet.*

*Hinganbet*, *Balanites egyptiaca*, is a thorny wild tree often growing thirty feet high. It is common in the east, in wooded hills, plains, and tablelands. Its bitter leaves are used in medicine, and its wood as fuel and for making shoe-moulds. The unripe fruit is bitter and purgative. The ripe fruit is eaten by the poor. The seeds yield an oil and the bark a juice with which fish are poisoned.

### *Hivar.*

*Hivar*, *Acacia leucophloea*, is found in the centre and still more commonly in the east of the district. Its hard but somewhat brittle wood makes good posts and excellent fuel. The bark supplies a tough and valuable fibre for fishing-nets and ropes. Brahmans do not touch this tree as they believe it is haunted by an evil spirit who occasioned the quarrel between Dasharath, king of Ayodhya, and his wife, which led to the banishment of Dasharath's sons Ram and Lakshman.

### *Hura.*

*Hura*, *Symplocos racemosa*, is a small wild tree seldom more than twelve or fifteen feet high. It is found in the deeper forests of the western hills. Its yellowish strong and compact wood is much used in cabinet work. The bark is used in dyeing and as a mordant, and yields the well known scented *abir* powder.

### *Jayphal.*

Jayphal the wild-nutmeg, *Myristica dactyloides*, is sometimes grown in gardens. It has much less stimulant and narcotic power than the Java nutmeg.

### *Jamb.*

*Jamb*, the Rose-apple, *Eugenia jambos*, is a garden tree. It is of two kinds

red and white, of which the white is the commoner and at the same time the more highly esteemed. The bark yields a gum.

#### *Jambhul.*

*Jambhul* or *Jambhal*, *Syzigium jambolanum*, is a very common tree both cultivated and wild. It is found throughout the district but chiefly in and on the borders of the hilly west. It bears a small purple plum-like fruit which ripens in May and June and is much eaten. The tree grows twenty to fifty feet high with straight clean stem and glossy deep-green leaves. Its hard and reddish wood is valued for its power of resisting the action of water. It is much used in native house-building, and for cart-frames and field-tools. The bark yields an excellent brown dye and is used as an astringent in chronic diarrhoea and dysentery.

#### *Khandul.*

*Khandul*, *Sterculia urens*, is rare in the east and is not common in the west. It yields a gum like the tragacanth and the leaves and twigs are used in cattle-disease. Its soft spongy wood is of no special value. The bark supplies excellent fibre for ropes.

#### *Karanj.*

*Karanj*, *Pongamia glabra*, is a forest as well as a road and river-side tree. It is fairly plentiful throughout the district, thriving best on river-banks and near water. The tree sheds its leaves at the end of the cold season. It is almost at once reclothed in a beautiful covering of fresh pale green, and when the fresh leaves are mature it comes into flower, and fruits at the end of the year. The wood is light tough and fibrous of a yellowish brown, and if not properly seasoned is soon attacked by insects. Its fruit yields an oil which is used for lamps and valued as a cure for rheumatism and for itch and other skin-diseases. The rind or *pend* of the bark is pressed and rolled by Pinjaris or cotton-teazers into a felt. Grass grows well under the shade of the *karanj*.

#### *Kalamb.*

*Kalamb* or *kadamba*, *Nauclea parvifolia*, is common in wooded lands both in the east and west. Its strong dark and close-grained wood is used in house-beams.

### *Kamrak.*

*Kamrak*, better known as country gooseberry, *Averrhoa karambola*, is of two sorts sweet and bitter. The bitter variety is chiefly used in pickles and preserves. The ripe fruit is yellow about two inches by one inch broad, and is so deeply indented that its cross section has the shape of a four-rayed star. Two crops may be produced by watering during the year.

### *Kaju.*

*Kaju*, *Anacardium occidentale*, is found in the western hills. The wood makes excellent charcoal. The walls or pericarp of the seed contain a bitter oil which has powerful blistering properties. The enlarged crimson or yellow fruit-stem is also eaten and has a pleasant sour flavour. The raw kernel is unpleasantly bitter, but when fried it is much prized in confectionery. In the Konkan a medicinal drink is made from the enlarged peduncle of the fruit. The trunk yields a transparent gum which is used as a varnish and is said to keep off insects.

### *Karvand.*

*Karvand*, *Carissa carandas*, is a large evergreen shrub found in the wooded parts of the central and western hills. The half ripe fruit is made into tarts, jellies, and pickles, and the ripe berry is largely eaten.

### *Kavath.*

*Kavath* or *Kut*, the Wood-apple, *Feronia elephantum*, is found throughout the district both in forests and in gardens. It grows forty or fifty feet high and has beautiful dark-green leaves. It yields a large quantity of sweet gum which is used as a tonic. The fruit is round, three to four inches in diameter, with a hard woody shell, and yellow pulp containing the seeds. When ripe it is eaten with sugar, and when green it is made into relishes and pickles. The pulp also makes excellent jelly. The wood is lasting and useful and the leaves are used in children's bowel-complaints.

### *Khajuri or Shindi.*

*Khajuri* or *Shindi*, the Wild Date, *Phoenix montana* and *sylvestris*, is plentiful in the western hills and is also found in gardens. It grows thirty to forty feet high. The fruit when ripe is of a reddish yellow and has a sweetish and astringent pulp. Mats, baskets, and brooms are made of the leaves which are also used in thatching, and the juice drawn from the young shoots is either fermented or boiled into sugar and molasses. The wood is used for building, for water-pipes, and for other purposes.

*Kel.*

*Kel*, the Plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*, is perhaps commoner than any fruit except the mango. They are planted in gardens at any time of the year and require a rich soil and water once in ten or twelve days. They fruit only once and after twelve months are cut down. Fresh shoots spring from the root and again fruit. The trees are generally removed when they have once sent up shoots and borne fruit. The flower, the unripe fruit, and the young shoots are all eaten as vegetables. Hindus use the leaves as dining plates and for making native cheroots or *bidis*. They are also valued for dressing blisters. The fruit, of which there are three varieties, a small yellow, a large yellow, and a large red, is an important article of food and the juice is sometimes made into a fermented liquor. The stem fibres are useful to gardeners in budding and grafting and are also used in making paper. The wild plantain, *chavai*, grows freely in the Sahyadris.

*Kenjal.*

*Kenjal*, *Terminalia alata*, is a common tree. The bark contains tannin and the wood which is very good is supposed to be improved by keeping it under water.

*Kadu Kharik.*

*Kadu Kharik*, *Solamen jacquini*, is found only in the western hills and uplands. Its heartwood yields a medicinal oil and its fruit is used as a cure for children's bowel-complaints.

*Khair.*

*Khair*, *Acacia catechu*, is fairly plentiful on wooded uplands and hills. It has a dark red wood, somewhat brittle but of great strength which is not attacked by insects and takes a good polish. It is useful for all house and field purposes, especially in making ploughs, pestles, and cart-frames. From its heartwood is extracted the powerful astringent called *kat* which is so much eaten with betel-leaf and used in medicine, dyeing, and painting. It is made by the Katkaris and Thakurs of the petty division of Ambegaon. In making catechu, chips of the heartwood are boiled in earthen pots, the clear liquor is strained off, and when of sufficient consistence is poured into clay moulds. *Kat* is made to a very small extent in the Poona district.

### *Limbu.*

*Limbu*, the Lemon, *Bitens limmoun*, is common in gardens. It is grown in much the same way as the guava and the fig. It is seldom more than fifteen feet high. The fruit is to be had all the year round and is in great demand for its juice which is used in making drinks and in all kinds of cookery. The unripe fruit is often pickled and the rind and juice are used medicinally. The Sweet Lime, *sakhar-limbu*, *Citrus lamiata*, is much larger than the common lime and though insipid is a great favourite with the people. It sometimes grows twenty or twenty-five feet high. The rind yields an oil which is used in perfumery.

*Lalai*, *Albizzia amara*, is largely found throughout the district on wooded hills and in plantations. The wood is dark-brown, strong, and fibrous, and is commonly used as fuel and in making ploughs and carts. The leaves are used as a hair-wash.

### *Makar Nimbori.*

*Makar Nimbori*, the Wild Citron, *Attantia monophylla*, is found near the Sahyadris. It is a handsome tree, but the cultivated fruit is so abundant that the wild variety is not used. The wood is white, very fine, and close-grained; it is useful for cabinet purposes.

### *Maruk.*

*Maruk*, *Ailanthus excelsa*, not unlike the English ash, is found both in the west and east of the district but is not plentiful. The wood is soft but close-grained, and is used for water-pipes, drums, sheaths, spears, and swords.

### *Mahlung.*

*Mahlung*, *Citrus medica*, is much grown in gardens throughout the district. Its fruit which is as large as a cocoanut is used in medicine. The kernel is eaten and preserved. The leaves are used in flavouring and the rind is an aromatic stimulant and tonic, and yields an oil which is used in perfumery. The juice of the fruit is a refreshing and agreeable beverage.

### *Moha.*

*Moha*, *Bassia latifolia*, is found in the west and central hills and uplands. Though a forest tree, it is sometimes grown in gardens, especially near the Sahyadris. Its young ruddy-bronze leaves are one of the greatest ornaments of the western forests at the beginning of the hot season. Its chief value lies

in the thick fleshy bell-shaped flower which when dried is eaten and distilled into spirit. Almost every animal, wild or domestic, eats the fresh flowers; the fruit is chiefly used as a vegetable. The wood, though easily attacked by white-ants is hard and lasting, but the tree is too valuable to be cut for timber. It is used for naves of wheels, frames of doors and windows, and other purposes. The seed when allowed to form is enclosed in a thick walnut-like pod. It yields an excellent oil, good for food and burning and also for skin-diseases, and is used in making candles and soap. It is also used in adulterating clarified butter. The leaves and bark are useful in fomenting a wound. The bark yields a brown dye, and the leaves are made into plates or *patravallis* which are used chiefly at religious feasts.

#### *Nagchapha.*

*Nagchapha*, the Cobra Champa, *Mesna ferea*, is found in some of the western hills and uplands. The reddish wood which is known as iron-wood is said to be the heaviest and hardest timber in India. The dried anthers or fertilizers are fragrant; the flowers are used to deck women's hair, and the flowers and leaves as antidotes to poison.

#### *Nana.*

*Nana*, *Lagerstraemia parviflora*, is abundant in the western hills. It is a straight-growing tree which yields a much used timber.

#### *Naral.*

*Naral*, the Cocoa-Palm, *Cocos nucifera*, is sometimes grown in gardens as an ornamental tree. Though in the Deccan it is seldom vigorous, in 1837, Colonel Sykes found a flourishing palm garden at Mahalunge near Chakan, and clumps of cocoa-palms at Pabal eighteen miles west of Sirur, and in other places. The cocoanuts, kernel, and oil used in the district all come from the coast.

#### *Naring.*

*Naring*, the Orange, *Citrus aurantium*, is grown in garden lands in considerable quantities and in much the same way as the pomegranate and the fig. The chief varieties are the *mosamb* or Mozambique and the *santra* from Cintra in Portugal. The orange tree is remarkable for the enormous number of fruit it yields, one tree sometimes bearing many as 1000 oranges a year. The leaves are used for flavouring and the rind of the fruit yields an essential oil valued in perfumery and as an aromatic stimulant and tonic. The juice of the fruit is a refreshing and agreeable beverage.



### *Limb.*

*Limb*, *Azadirachta indica*, known as the Indian Lilac, is found throughout the district. It is one of the commonest of garden and road-side trees, being grown chiefly for shade and ornament. The wood is hard, lasting, and useful for furniture. The heartwood of old trees has a fragrance like sandalwood and is used for building. Its boiled leaves and fruit yield a bitter and cooling drink useful in fevers and small-pox. The leaves are also used as a poultice and are eaten by Hindus with gram and molasses, on the Shalivahan New Year's Day, the 1st of *Chaitra* in April. The bark is used as a medicine and oil pressed from the seed in rheumatism.

### *Pangara.*

*Pangara*, *Erythrina indica* is plentiful in the western and central woods and is grown in gardens as a prop for the betel-vine. Its soft spongy wood is used for making toys and moulds of shoes. The flower is supposed to have been stolen by Krishna out of Indra's heaven and is now under a curse and is never used for worship.

### *Palas*

*Palas*, *Butea frondosa*, is common in the west and centre and is occasionally found in the east. At the beginning of the hot season it is a mass of bright scarlet blossoms. The leaves are much used as plates and the young shoots are eaten by camels and other animals. The wood is strong and tough and makes excellent charcoal. The stem yields *kino* gum which is valued in diarrhoea and dysentery and for tanning, the flowers yield a valuable dye, and the root and bark excellent tough fibre. The juice is also used in medicine. The *palas* is a favourite with the lac insect and the best lac is found on it. The seed-nut is given to horses as a purge and to free them from worms.

### *Papai.*

*Papai*, *Carica papaya*, is fairly common in gardens both in the plains and in the north-west of the district. The tree has much of the general appearance of a palm, the fruit and leaves clustering at the top of a straight bare stem. With water and manure it bears three times in the year. The fruit is eaten both raw and cooked. The juice of the unripe fruit and the powdered seed are valued as a cure for worms. The tree has the power of quickening the decay of flesh and newly killed meat is hung on it to make it tender.

### *Papnas.*

*Papnas*, the Pomelo or Shaddock, *Citrus decumana*, is not common except near large markets. It is grown only in gardens and requires a rich soil and constant watering. It grows fifteen feet high and if constantly watered bears twice a year.

### *Peru.*

*Peru*, the Guava, *Psidium guava*, is grown throughout the district in garden lands and thrives best in light soil. It is of two kinds red and white, the white being the more esteemed. It is common throughout the plain country and on the borders of the hilly west. November and December, and April and May are its bearing seasons, and it is only in these months that it requires frequent watering. During the rest of the year an occasional watering is enough. The tree begins to bear in its fourth year; it is in its prime from its sixth to its tenth year; and under favourable circumstances goes on bearing till it is fifteen years old. It is seldom over fifteen feet high and is of a spreading bushy habit. The fruit is much eaten both raw and in several kinds of preserves and jellies. The bark is astringent, and the wood hard strong and lasting. It is useful for cabinet purposes.

### *Phanas.*

*Phanas*, the Jack, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, is not a common tree. It is grown in gardens and is found wild near the hilly west. It grows forty or fifty feet high, has dark glossy foliage, and yields valuable timber. It is of two kinds, *kapa* a superior variety, and *barka*, which yields a kind of cake called *phanaspoli*. Stripped of its thorny cover the unripe fruit is eaten as a vegetable, and when ripe, as a fruit. It is also valued as a poultice for guinea-worm. The leaves are used as plates. The seeds are eaten parched or mixed with vegetables, and the juice makes good birdlime. The heartwood yields a yellow dye.

### *Pila Dhotra.*

*Pila Dhotra*, the Mexican Poppy, *Argemone mexicana*, is found throughout the district in fields and near villages. The seeds are narcotic, and their oil which is an aperient is used as a cholera remedy and to cure skin-diseases.

### *Pimpal.*

*Pimpal*, *Ficus religiosa*, is sacred, perhaps from its smooth ghost-white stem and branches and the windless rustling of its leaves. Among Buddhists it is the symbol of Gautama the last Buddha. It is commonly believed to be the abode

of a *munja* or Brahman youth who has been girt with the sacred-thread but has not been married and so is uneasy and feared. It is also apparently worshipped as a *ling*. It is girt with the sacred-thread and is surrounded by a stone plinth, and Hindu women often walk many times round it to get rid of the evil spirit of barrenness. Its leaves are a favourite food for camels and elephants and are much liked by the lac insect. Its rapid growth and thick shade make it a useful roadside tree. Except as fuel the wood is of no value.

#### *Pimpri.*

*Pimpri*, *Ficus comosa*, is found throughout the district. It is much like the *pimpal* and as it grows easily from cuttings is a useful roadside tree.

#### *Ramphal.*

*Ramphal*, the Bullock's-Heart fruit, *Anona reticulata*, a larger variety of the custard-apple, is common in the western and central sub-divisions, chiefly in gardens, and is much valued for its fruit. In good soil it sometimes grows forty feet high. The full grown fruit is as big as a cocoanut and has a sweet smell. The leaves have a fetid odour and when beaten to pulp are used to kill lice on cattle. Its aromatic flowers are offered to the gods.

#### *Ramkanta.*

*Ramkanta*, the Broom Babhul, *Acacia ramkanta*, is a tall tree in shape like a huge broom. Though less abundant than other varieties of *babhul* it is common all over the district except in the far west. The wood is much used for cart-yokes and as fuel, and the bark in tanning.

#### *Ratambi.*

*Ratambi*, *Garcinia purpurea*, is a large tree which is found occasionally near the Sahyadris. The fruit which is offered for sale in most markets is used as an acid.

#### *Ray-avla.*

*Ray-avla*, *Cicea disticha*, is a cultivated tree. The fruit is eaten as a pickle.

#### *Rui.*

*Rui*, *Calotropis gigantea*, is found throughout the district on wooded hills

and in plantations. It is valued for the medicinal properties of its root bark and leaves. The bush is sacred, its flowers and leaves being offered to the gods and used in certain religious ceremonies. The wood makes excellent gunpowder charcoal. *C. procera*, a similar species, is also plentiful.

#### *Sag.*

*Sag*, the Teak, *Tectona grandis*, is found only in the Konkan near the Sahyadris and in the belt of country between about ten and twenty-five miles east of the Sahyadris in Junnar, Khed, Maval, Haveli and Purandhar. It is easily raised from seed and in a moist climate is of rapid growth. As a timber tree it is unrivalled and is much valued. The wood is very hard but easily worked, and though porous is very strong and lasting. In colour it varies from yellowish to white-brown. It is very oily when fresh, yielding a good oil somewhat like linseed-oil which is used as a varnish. The large leaves are used for lining roofs under thatch.

#### *Sagargota.*

*Sagargota*, *Caesalpinia bonducella*, is a wild tree which is specially plentiful in the west. Its bitter seed and the bark are used in intermitent fevers as a tonic and its wood as fuel.

#### *Salai.*

*Salai*, *Boswellia thurifera*, one of the frankincense trees, is common on all trap hills, and is easily known by its white scaly bark. The wood, which is full of resin, burns readily and is used for torches. The flowers and seed-nuts are eaten by the people, and the tree yields the gum olibanum.

#### *Sarphali.*

*Sarphali*, is common throughout the district on wooded hills and mountains. It seldom grows to be more than a bush. A gum called *kavdi ud*, obtained from the bark, is used as incense, and is said to possess stimulant and diaphoretic properties. It also forms a part of some ointments, and its wood is used as fuel. This tree is well suited for covering bare hills as small cuttings thrown on the dry soil strike root.

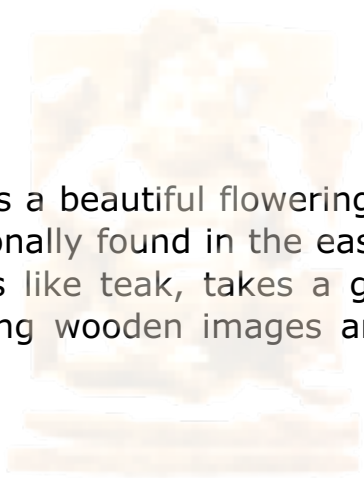
#### *Savri.*

*Savri*, the Silk-Cotton, *Bombax malabaricum*, is found chiefly in the west and central hills and uplands and on river banks. It is a large tree with a beautifully straight trunk, bright red flowers, and a soft down which makes excellent pillow stuffing. Its whitish wood though soft is close-grained and is

said; to make good packing cases. It is also much used for water-channels and sword-scabbards. It yields a useful resin, the root' when boiled gives a gummy substance which is valued as a; tonic, and the bark is used as an emetic.

#### *Shevga.*

*Shevga*, *Moringa pterygosperma*, is found throughout the district in gardens and near villages. It bears pods which together with the leaves and flowers are eaten as vegetables. The seeds give a pure sweet oil which is valued by watch-makers as it does not freeze except at a very low temperature. The wood is soft and the bark is useful in medicine. A gum from cuts made in the trunk is used in rheumatism.



#### *Shivan.*

*Shivan*, *Gmelina arborea*, is a beautiful flowering tree. It is abundant in the western woods and is occasionally found in the east where vegetation is fairly plentiful. The wood, which is like teak, takes a good polish, and is used in house-building and for making wooden images and furniture. The fruit is a medicine.

#### *Saundad or Shami.*

*Saundad* or *Shami*, *Prosopis spicegera*, is largely found throughout the district on woody hills, plains, plantations, and tablelands; the tender fruit is used as a vegetable. The wood, which yields a gum, is hard, strong; and lasting, and is much used in making churning-staves or *ravis*. According to the Mahabharat it was on the *shami* tree that the Pandavs stored their arms during their thirteen years' exile.

#### *Sisu.*

*Sisu*, Blackwood, *Dalbergia latifolia*, is scarce and of small size. It is occasionally found in the western and central hills. The timber,, which is heavy, strong, and fibrous, takes a fine polish and is one of the best of furniture woods. It springs readily from seed, but is of very slow growth. The tree flowers in March and April.

#### *Siras.*

*Siras*, *Albizzia lebbek*, is a good roadside tree and is found throughout the district. It is of rapid growth and takes well from cuttings. It yields a gum. The

wood is a light reddish brown, with dark veins; it is not liable to crack. It is well fitted for wheel naves, and for pestles and mortars; the heartwood makes excellent charcoal.

#### *Sitaphal.*

Sitaphal, the Custard-Apple, *Anona squamosa*, grows readily on bare hill-sides, and in the cold weather yields a sweet and much valued fruit. It is common in gardens in the west and centre of the district and is grown in the same way as the guava. The tree is seldom more than fifteen feet high. The leaves have a fetid odour and when reduced to powder are used to kill lice on cattle.

#### *Supari.*

Supari, the Betel-Palm, *Areca catechu*, is found in some gardens, but the nuts sold in the Poona markets are imported. The nut is eaten with, betel-leaf and holds an important place in Hindu religious ceremonies. An extract made from the nut is used as catechu and the charcoal as tooth-powder. The wood, which is strong and lasting, is used as water-pipes.

#### *Tad.*

*Tad*, the palmyra-palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*, which thrives best near the coast, is scarce in Poona. The fibre of its leaves is strong and useful for house purposes.

#### *Toran.*

*Toran*, *Syziphus rugosa*, is a wild shrub which grows freely in the western hills. The fruit when ripe is eaten. The wood is hard, strong, and close-grained.

#### *Tirti.*

*Tirti*, *Capparis rythocarpus*, is a small tree which is common in the east. Its strong and porous wood is not used for any special purpose.

#### *Tut.*

*Tut*, the Mulberry, *Morus indica* is found in some gardens and near temples. There are many trees on the fort of Purandhar. Its fruit is used as a

refrigerant and laxative and the roots to cure worms. The leaves are the favourite food of the silkworm. Three species are mentioned, the white and the red which grow to a considerable size, and a smaller variety called *chunchu tut*.

#### *Tembhurni.*

*Tembhurni*, *Diospyros melanoxylon*, is found throughout the district on wooded hills and in plain plantations. The wood is jet black, hard, and heavy and is well suited for ornamental work. The heartwood rubbed with water is used by Brahmans to mark their foreheads.

#### *Tivas.*

*Tivas*, *Dalbergia oogeinensis*, is fairly plentiful in the western and central hills. The wood is much valued being well suited for building and for making ploughs, wheels, and carriage poles.

#### *Umbar.*

*Umbar*, *Ficus glomerata*, is a large spreading tree common in the Sahyadri forests, and though often found in gardens and fields and near temples, is not a cultivated fruit tree. The leaves are usually covered with galls. The spittle produced by chewing *umbar* leaves mixed with cumin-seed or *jira* is considered excellent for inflamed eyes. The fruit, which is almost always full of flies, is eaten by the poor. When unripe it is taken as a vegetable, and in seasons of scarcity, is mixed with flour and made into cakes. The wood not being liable to split, is well suited for panels and drums, and as it lasts under water it makes valuable well-frames. The tree yields much milky juice, which, together with the leaves bark and fruit, is used medicinally and made into birdlime. The leaves are a good cattle and elephant fodder. The tree is considered sacred to the three-headed god Dattatraya who is supposed always to be present near its roots.

#### *Vad.*

*Vad*, the Banian tree, *Ficus indica*, is common both in the hilly west and in the eastern plains. As large cuttings when set in the ground grow readily, it is a favourite roadside tree. Its sap is sometimes used to reduce inflammation. The timber is of little value, and as the tree is held sacred by the Hindus it is seldom felled or turned to any use save for shelter and shade. The fruit is much eaten by birds but is said to be poisonous for horses. Its leaves are used as plates or *patravalis*. In 1837, at the village of Mhow in the Andhra valley, Colonel Sykes noticed a banian tree with sixty-eight stems, most of



them thicker than a man's body; all except the parent stem were formed from air-roots. With a vertical sun, it could shade 20,000 men. [Report of the British Association for 1837, 255.]

*Varas.*

*Varas*, *Bignonia quadrilocularis*, gives excellent wood for furniture and for planks and beams. It is fairly abundant in the central and western hills.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

## PRODUCTION

### DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[From materials supplied by Rao Saheb Nilkanth Bhagvant Mule, Mamlatdar, and Major G. Coussmaker.] The Domestic Animals of Poona are the same as those found in other parts of the Deccan.

The pasturage is uncertain. In a few seasons it is abundant, in many it is scanty or precarious, and in times of drought it fails. When the grass fails the cattle have to be sent to distant pastures in the higher hills and large numbers perish. The 1876-77 famine reduced the number of all domestic animals, but the returns seem to show that the stock of horned cattle has nearly regained its former strength. [The following statement shows the returns of cattle and horses during the seven years ending 1881-82. These and other returns of animals cannot claim any great accuracy:

*Poona Cattle and Horses, 1875-1882.*

YEAR.	Bullocks.	Cows.	She- buffaloes.	He- buffaloes.	Horses.	Mares.
1875-76	205,123	158,988	50,148	12,436	6589	5070
1876-77	189,741	117,684	39,338	9817	4706	3417
1877-78	202,403	112,444	39,509	9716	4620	3452
1878-79	202,823	115,024	37,586	10,184	4650	3633
1879-80	210,027	121,918	36,634	10,796	4228	3803
1880-81	213,795	130,371	40,242	11,714	4166	3876
1881-82	206,632	139,793	41,055	12,068	5022	4196

YEAR.	Colts.	Asses.	Sheep and Goats.	Total.	Decrease compared with 1875-76.
1875-76	2406	7137	273,584	720,540	--
1876-77	1429	5584	233,266	604,982	115,558
1877-78	1236	6021	236,370	615,771	104,769
1878-79	1638	6106	245,491	626,635	93,905
1879-80	1987	5230	261,847	656,470	64,070
1880-81	2177	6770	242,646	655,757	64,783
1881-82	1774	6936	285,200	702,676	17,864

] The district has no class of professional cattle-breeders. But Kunbis who form the bulk of the husbandmen own large numbers of cattle, rear them with care, and sometimes deal in cattle. The 1881-82 returns show a total of about 200,000 oxen and 140,000 cows. Deccan cattle are hardy little animals, inferior in size and appearance to those of Gujarat. Of their breeds it is difficult to say anything definite. Few natives take intelligent notice of varieties of breed. They only recognize certain distinguishing marks or characteristics, the possession of which may be said to constitute a certain breed. They seldom take the trouble to keep the breeds pure or to improve them. They pay little attention to the animal's cleanness or comfort. Every village has its public grazing grounds, inferior waste lands free of Government assessment, the resort of almost all the village cattle. The mixing of the cattle in the grazing grounds does much to injure the breed and to spread disease.

### **Oxen and Cows**

Bullocks, returned at 206,632, and cows at 139,793, are, as far as has been ascertained, of ten kinds, Khilari, Malvi, Ghir, Dangi, Deshi, Arabi, Naghoris, Varhadi, Akulhashi, and

Hanams. Khilari cattle, called after the cattle-breeders of that name who are found in West Khandesh, are the most valuable draught animals in the Deccan. They are of good size, active, strong, and fairly teachable. They are a little slighter, but much resemble the famous Amrit Mahal breed of Hansur in Maisur. They have clean limbs, fine bones, sloping shoulders, round barrel, high hind quarters, and small hard and tough hoofs. One of the favourite breeding grounds of the Khilari cattle is the hilly country between Satara and Pandharpur whence they are generally brought. A pair of these bullocks will travel in a riding cart day after day at a steady pace of six miles an hour. The colour of the cows is almost always creamy white; of the bulls the same with reddish grey fore-quarters. The horns are long and upright, thin and irregularly curved in the case of the cows, and in the case of the bulls handsome and massive, close together at the base, sloping back with a slight outward curve opening to a span of a foot, and ending in sharp and strong points. The ears are of medium size pointing backwards with the opening exposed; they rarely droop or turn upwards. Oxen of this breed cost £3 to £20 (Rs. 30 - 200) and cows £2 10s. to £9 (Rs. 25-90) each. Cows are seldom sold as the owners are unwilling to part with them, and when a promising calf is born allow it to drink the whole of its mother's milk. Malvi cattle come from the extensive grazing grounds of Malva, being brought by Vanjaris and Lamanis with whom they are great favourites. [The Lamanis come from Khandesh and Malva and sell cattle on credit, returning after harvest to receive payment. They go from village to village. The Lamanis are locally known as Hedes from *hed* a bullock. This word is applied to all Muhammadans and Hindus who deal in bullocks. Mr. J. O. Moore, C.S.] The bullocks are good-tempered steady workers and teachable. The Malva breed includes two varieties, a short-horned and a long-horned. The short-horned Malva bullock differs greatly from the Khilari, being formed for steady plodding rather than for speed. They have a long, square, level frame, with short curved horns pointing forwards; the face is rather short and straight; the ears slightly bent and not very large; the colour white with a bluish grey above the fore-quarters of young animals and bulls. The cows are fine milkers. The long-horned variety is larger and more loosely made; its horns are turned upwards at the base, and then upwards and backwards, giving the animal a more stately appearance. The colour, as a rule, is darker, the grey being often spread over the whole body. As they are taller than the others, husbandmen generally put the long-horned Malvas next the plough, for the

higher the plough yoke is lifted the deeper the share enters the earth. The cows are good milkers; even when more than eighteen years old, within a fortnight after calving, they give about twenty-two pints (11 Poona *shers*) of milk. Malva oxen cost £2 10s. to £10 (Rs.25-100), and Malva cows £2 to £7 10s. (Rs. 20-75).

The Ghir or Sorthi, that is the South Kathiawar breed, is noble and stately, but the specimens met in the Deccan are seldom the best of their kind and are probably of mixed blood, some from Kathiawar and others from Surat and Baroda. They are heavy and loosely made. They have a long stride and can draw very heavy and bulky loads, but their feet and hoofs are not suited to the stony Deccan and they soon become lame. They are also headstrong and difficult to turn. They are mostly used as pack animals and are much prized for the heavy work of garden cultivation. This breed varies much in colour, but its other characteristics are very marked: great height, a large massive head, short blunt curled horns, a round jutting forehead, large limpid eyes, and very long pendulous ears with a half twist so as to bring the opening in front. The cows are long of yielding profit, but after calving they give about twenty-five pints (12-13 *shers*) of good milk a day. The breed is imported by Lamanis. Sorthi oxen cost £5 to £30 (Rs. 50-300) and Sorthi cows £3 to £12 (Rs. 30-120). The Dangi, that is the Kolvan or North Thana breed, is common in the Akola subdivision of Ahmadnagar and presumably in similar localities along the Sahyadris. As they roam freely in large herds over the forest-clad hills, these cattle become hardy and indifferent to the weather. They feed on all sorts of fodder and thrive as well on rice straw as on millet stalks. They are neither large nor well-made, are very ordinary workers, but useful and hardy. Their colour is marked, a dirty white with spots and blotches of black or dark-brown. They have small black horns, for the most part curly, but the curliness is not sufficiently marked to be taken as a characteristic of the breed. The cows, which are good milkers and well tempered, sell at £2 to £5 (Rs. 20-50). The bullocks generally fetch much the same price as the cows except in the more distant markets where their price varies from £4 to £15 (Rs. 40-150). The Deshi or local breed to which the largest number of cattle belong, is too mixed to be definitely described. They vary in every particular. The oxen, some of whom will work in the same team with well-bred oxen, cost £1 10s. to £9 (Rs. 15-90), and the cows, which when well fed clean

and kindly treated yield ten to eighteen pints (5-9 *shers*) of milk a day, cost £1 to £5 (Rs. 10-50). The Arabi or Aden cattle are the best cattle in the district. They are small, between 3½ and four feet at the hip, gentle, and docile, moderate feeders, and good milkers. The colour is either white or grey gradually changing to blue grey or black on the fore and hind quarters with blacker points, and a white ring above the coronet of the hoof, or fawn-coloured deepening into a reddish brown more or less dappled. The horns are small and weak, often deficient; the hump is well developed; the eyes are large and full; the face short and straight, with a small square muzzle; the ears small erect or pricked forward, never hanging; the body square with a full dewlap; the skin fine and thin; the hair very short and smooth; and the tail thin and whip-like ending in a moderate tuft. The breed is attractive and the cows command £5 to £12 (Rs. 50-120). The bulls are strong, docile, and active, and can be used for draught and stud purposes. The cows come early into profit, and are most valuable for dairy purposes. [Lady', belonging to Major G. Coussmaker, had her second calf when 4½ years old and before the calf was four months old gave eleven Poona *shere* (22 pints) of milk daily. When the calf was a year old the mother was still giving about nine pints a day and did not dry for three months more. The heifer calf came into season when scarcely a year old.] There are four other varieties, Naghoris of which an ox costs £5 to £12 10s. (Rs. 50-125) and a cow £2 to £6 (Rs. 20-60); Varhadis or Berar cattle of which an ox costs £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100) and a cow £2 to £6 (Rs. 20-60); and Akulkhashis costing £5 to £12 10s. (Rs. 50-125). Finally there is the breed called Hanams which are brought from Nomad and the Mahadev hills south of Phaltan. They are generally used as cart-bullocks for which they are better suited than for the plough. They are rarely employed in carrying packs. As they sometimes fetch as much as £20 (Rs. 200) a pair few Kunbis can afford them.

Oxen are generally used in field-work, for drawing water from wells and carrying it in skin-bags or *pakhals*, for drawing carts, for pressing oilseed, and sometimes for riding. Except that barren cows are used by Vanjaris as pack-animals no cows are made to work. Working bullocks are fed with grass chaff, cotton-seed, oilcake, and sometimes millet ears, also with whatever green produce the husbandmen do not take to market, as the haulm of sweet potatoes and groundnut. When out of work the bullocks are sent with the cows to the village



grazing lands under the charge of a cowherd or *gurakhi*. [The cowherds are generally small boys and girls. They take the cattle to the pasture-ground between six and seven in the morning. They water them at some stream or pond thrice a day, in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. At midday they gather the cattle round them and sit under some tree playing the flute. In the afternoon the cowherds again take the cattle to the pasture-ground and bring them home in the evening. Though often very young, the cowherds, by the use of stones, sticks, and abuse, have their cattle completely under control and sometimes amuse themselves by riding on the backs of bullocks and she-buffaloes.] At night they get nothing to eat but grass. During the rains when there is no field-work some of the oxen are taken to the hills and left at large to graze. As regards the feeding of cows there is diversity both of opinion and of practice; but millet stalks, both Indian millet or *jvari* and spiked millet or *bajri*, are considered the best food. *Kulthi*, *Dolichos biflorus*, cotton-seed or *sarki*, and wheat bran, mixed with a little salt, increase the supply of milk; *kulthi* is sparingly given as it is apt to bring on abortion. Of the different kinds of oil-cake that produced from the earthnut is considered the best; linseed *til* *Sesamum indicum* is also valued, and *khurasni* *Verbesina sativa* and safflower are used, but their bitterness is apt to taste the milk. According to some authorities oil-cake of all kinds lessens the quantity of milk but increases the amount of butter and cream. Chuni, that is the husk and broken grain of *tur* pulse stewed in water, is a favourite food which keeps the cow quiet at milking time.' Three pounds of *chuni*, three pounds of cotton-seed, two pounds of oil-cake, twelve pounds of millet stalks, ten pounds of lucern or other green fodder, and two handfuls of wheat bran, and one handful of salt given in each of the three pails of drinking water, are a liberal allowance for a cow. Generally eight pounds of grain and twelve pounds of dry fodder are considered ample rations. When cows are kept only for milk, it is usual to milk three of the four teats, leaving the fourth for the calf. When it is meant to be reared for field-work or for other purposes the calf is allowed to drink the whole of the milk. The following items represent the cost to Europeans in Poona of keeping a cow in full milk. The daily allowance of food is about two pounds (one Poona *sher*) of millet, *tur* bran or *chuni*, and cotton-seed; fifteen pounds of millet stalks; and five pounds of green grass or lucern. A little salt is mixed with the gram and some handfuls of bran with the water. At the following average rupee prices, cotton-seed sixty pounds, *tur* bran thirty-two, millet thirty-eight, millet stalks

twenty-eights bundles or about 160 pounds, and lucern about 170 pounds, the quantities mentioned above give for grain a monthly cost of about 9s. 4½d. (Rs. 4¼<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub>) for millet stalks 6s. (Rs. 3) for lucern 2s. (Rs. 1) and about 7½d. (5 annas) for salt and bran, that is a total monthly cost of about 18s. (Rs. 9). In addition to the grains given to cows, a buffalo gets two pounds (1 *sher*) a day of oil-cake, twenty instead of fifteen pounds of *millet stalks*, and *ten* instead of *five pounds* of green grass. The monthly cost of a buffalo's keep maybe estimated at about £1 4s. (Rs. 12). Of this about 12s. (Rs. 6) are on grain and oilcake, 8s. (Rs. 4) on millet stalks, 3s. 6d. (Rs. 1¾) on lucern, and 7½d. (5 annas) on salt and bran. If fed in this way a country cow will give eight to twelve pints (4-6 Poona *shers*) a day, and a Kathiawar or Aden cow sixteen to twenty-two pints (8-11 *shers*). A buffalo gives fourteen to twenty-four pints (7-12 Poona *shers*) Oxen which are being prepared for sale or are extra fed to make them stronger and more useful in the field, are kept at home day and night and fed largely on ground or bruised pulse, groundnut, cotton seed, sesamum, fresh jvari stalks, *bajri* flour, and sometimes a small quantity of oil. Bullocks are guided by a string called *vesan* which is passed through the nose.

#### *Cattle Disease.*

The chief forms of cattle disease are *tiva* a disease of the stomach, *lal* a disease of the mouth, *sushi* a disease of the bowels, *khurkut* a disease of the hoofs, *dhendal* a fatal diarrhoea, and *phashi* a disease; of the tongue, flaw, caused by gas in the stomach after imprudent feeding, is easily cured by an aperient of hot linseed-oil, peppermint, and ginger or epsom salts. The Indian form of the foot and mouth disease is easily cured with cleanliness, carbolic acid, and careful feeding.

Except Ghirs or Sorthis, which live for more than thirty years, the age of a bullock or cow varies from twenty to twenty-five years. The bull has a sacred character as the carrier or *vahan* of Shiv. The cow also is sacred, but the bullock, except that his flesh is never eaten but by the lowest classes, is not treated with any special respect. Butchers who are all Musalmans kill

cows and bullocks for the use of the non-Hindu population. Cattle which die from disease or accident become the property of the village servants, the Mhars and Mangs. They eat the flesh and dispose of the hides to the tanners or Chambhars and of the bones to Musalman dealers who send them to Bombay for export to England or to the coffee plantations in Ceylon, where they are used in making manure. A bullock or cow with one horn turned up and the other turned down or *akshapatal*, a snorer or *ghornara*, a reeler or *dulnara*, and one with small white spots *phulalela*, are considered likely to cause loss or damage to the owner. Mangs castrate bullocks by applying butter to the testicles and rubbing and squeezing them for about half an hour between two smooth cylindrical rods called *musals*. After the operation the bullock is allowed to rest for about a fortnight during which he is well fed and cared for. In very many cases the bulls are not castrated before they are five or six years old, as by that time they are full grown and their humps and horns are well developed. In front of many temples of Shiv is a sitting stone image of *nandi* or the bull, the carrier of the god. In entering one of these temples a Hindu worshipper places his hand on the testicles of the bull and bows to the *ling* taking care to see the *ling* between the bull's horns. The cow is the most sacred of animals. Its five products or *panch-gavya*, urine, dung, milk, curds, and butter, are taken on the *Shravani* Day to purify the soul from sin. [The *mantra*, or sacred verse repeated on the occasion is *Yattvagasthigatam papam dehe tishthati mamake, prashanat panchagavyasya dahatyaguirivendhanam.*, that is, By the drinking of the five products of the cow the sin which has penetrated into my skin and bones is burnt, like fuel by fire.] They are also drunk on the eleventh day after a death or birth by all the members of the family. A cow, or more correctly her nominal value which ranges from 6d. (4 *annas*) upwards, is given in charity to Brahmans. [Cow-gifts or *gopradans* are made to Brahmans on the occasion of an eclipse or of a death. The dying man or some near relation generally makes a cow-gift to Brahmans. Of the four cows which are given to Brahmans after a death, one forms part of the ten prescribed charities or *dasha danas*; the second is called the *vaitarni* as she draws the dead man across the Vaitarna river in the lower world; the third is called *papakshaya-dhenu* or the sin-destroying cow; and the fourth is called *moksha dhenu* or the salvation-giving cow. When a man cannot give four cows he gives only one, the *vaitarni*. Besides these a male and a female calf called *vatsa* and *tari*, with a bell tied round the neck of each, are set loose at one of the funeral rites. The male calf

is branded on the blade of the thigh bone with a red-hot three-pointed iron pike or *trishul*. Since the Cattle Trespass Act has come into force these calves are given to Kunbis who take them to their fields.] Every year on the last of *Ashadh*, *Shravan*, or *Bhadrapad* (July -September) Kunbis or Marathas keep a holiday called *pola* or the bull-feast, from *pol* a bull, in honour of their cattle. On the *pola* or bull day the bullocks are washed and painted with red earth. Their horns are covered with tin-foil or *begad*, hemp tassels are tied to the horn tips, a necklace of bells is fastened round their necks, coloured clothes are thrown over their backs, and they are fed with *malida*, that is wheat or millet flour and molasses. In the evening all gather near the village office or *chavdi* and form a procession with music. The *patil* or some other rich villager takes the lead and the procession passes outside of the village gates. The day ends with a rich supper. People generally of the Trimali caste from the Karnatak teach bulls to dance and balance themselves on their masters' thigh and belly, and answer a few set questions by shaking their heads, recognizing and approaching a particularly dressed individual, and grunting in a peculiar manner. The owners get corn, money, and old clothes. The custom of keeping a sacred bull or *pol* free from work and fed by all is still kept in many villages. But as young bulls are seldom castrated till they are four or five years old and as till then they graze with the other cattle, the advantage of the village bull is to a great extent lost.

### Buffaloes

Buffaloes, returned at 53,123 in 1881-82, are common over the whole of the district. The cow-buffaloes (41,056) provide most of the milk. They are considered hardier and thrive on coarser food than; other cattle. Many male calves are allowed to perish, but especially in the western rice-fields some are used in the plough. They are of special value in the rainy season when the sun is not oppressive. A cow-buffalo is not made to work except when she gets fat and unmanageable. Eleven kinds of buffaloes are found in the district: *Shindan* or Sindh buffaloes, costing £2 to £20 (Rs. 20- 200); *Kachhan* or from Cutch, worth £3 to £20 (Rs. 30-200); *jafari* or from Jafarabad in Kathiawar, worth £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200); *Bhesri*, worth £2 to £12 10s. (Its. 20-125); *Surti* or from Surat, worth £5 to £20 (Es. 50-200); *Varhadi* or from Berar, worth £2 to £12 10 (Rs. 20-125); *Nemadi* or from Nemad, worth £1 10. to £10 (Rs. 15-100);

*Gavthi* or local, worth £110s. to £8 (Es. 15-80); *Gavlan* or *Gavli* worth £2 to £10 (Rs. 20-100); *Mahuri* or from Mahur, worth £1 10s to £7 10s. (Rs. 15-75); and *Dhangari* or *Dhangar*, worth £210s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100). The Gavlis or Dhangars are professional buffalo-breeders and earn their living by selling milk, curds, and fresh and clarified butter. In order to get a larger quantity of milk they often destroy the young calf as soon as it is born, taking care to prevent the mother seeing it by folding a piece of cloth round her eyes as otherwise she would not give her milk unless the calf was by her side. Most rich and middle-class people keep she-buffaloes for their milk. The male buffaloes (12,068) are in such little esteem in the Deccan that few people keep them. When a male calf is born, it is either thrown away or taken to some distance and deserted, when it is killed by wild animals, dogs, or low-caste natives. Buffaloes are fed with grass, millet stalks or *saram*, and chaff. In the rainy season they are sent to graze in fields or on hill-sides. Cow-buffaloes, when in milk, before or at the time of milking, receive a mash of crushed pulse and oil-cake, cotton-seed, and rice bran. She buffaloes are almost always stall-fed and well cared for. A cow-buffaloe calves once every two years, and usually gives milk for a year after calving. Buffaloes cannot bear the heat of the sun and are very fond of water and shade. When not at work they are taken to a river; stream or pond, where they lie for hours all under water except their heads or even their noses. She-buffaloes are washed daily and are shaved once or twice a year. Buffaloes live from twenty to twenty-five years. He-buffaloes used in field-work are castrated either by stone-breakers or by husbandmen. As a rule it is only in working rice-fields that the buffalo is preferred to the bullock. That a he-buffalo may not get mischievous, or when his neck wants strengthening, a string or *vegan* is passed through his nose. To strengthen his neck he is tied by the head for a few hours every day. This is to prepare him for the yearly buffalo-fight on *Dasara* Day (September-October) in which the winner is the buffalo who forces the other back. A bull-buffalo is offered as a sacrifice to Devi or Durga in every Poona village on *Dasara* Day (September-October). The village headman cuts off the head if possible with a single stroke of his sword. The flesh of the sacrificed buffalo, as well as of buffaloes who die from sickness or accident, is eaten by Mhars and Mangs. The hides are used for making water-bags and buckets, and the horns which are useful for making glue are exported in large quantities. That fat and beautiful cattle may not suffer from the evil eye, a black thread with a cowry shell or a marking-nut, or sometimes an old



shoe, is tied round its neck or leg.

## Horses

[The details regarding horses owe much to additions by Mr. W. Lamb, Superintendent Horse Breeding Operations.] Of Horses, mares, and foals, the 1881-82 returns showed a total of 10,992. The horse requires more care than any other domestic animal. The district has long been famous for its horses, and there are few villages in East Poona without one or two brood mares. Horses are used for riding, driving, and carrying loads. Eight breeds of horses are found in the district: Deshis, including Bhimthadis or Bhivarthadis that is of the valley of the Bhima, and Nirthadis that is of the valley of the Nira, cost £6 to £60 (Rs. 60-600) each; Kathiawadis cost £10 to £100 (Rs. 100-1000); Iranis or Persians, £15 to £100 (Rs. 150-1000); Rangdas of North India with prominent noses, £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500); Australians, wrongly called Cape horses, £30 to £100 (Rs. 300-3000); Pahadis or Yabus, £10 to £100 (Rs. 100-1000); Pegus £20 to £100 (Rs. 200-1000); Arabs, including those imported from Arabia and the Deccan produce of Government stallions, £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000); and Charghoshas, literally four that is slit-eared, of which there are very few, about £50 (Rs. 500). [The Persian *char* four and *ghosha* ear.] Of these the local or Deshi horses, which are bred on the banks of the Bhima and Nira, were most esteemed by the Marathas. They were of a middle size, strong, and rather handsome, generally dark bay with black legs. [As it does now to the Government Arab and English stallions the Bhimthadi or Deccan horse formerly owed much to foreign sires, to Arab and Persian horses brought by sea to the Konkan ports and to Turki horses brought by land from Upper India and Afghanistan. The import of horses probably dates from very early times. But there is no evidence that it was an important trade until the Muhammadan conquest of Upper India between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. At the close of the thirteenth century Marco Polo notices that large numbers of horses were brought from Arabia and Persia into South India. The climate did not suit horses and the people did not know how to treat them; they lived only a few years (Yule's Marco Polo, II. 277-278). Shortly after Marco Polo's time (1297-1327) repeated inroads of Musalmans from the north showed the Hindu chiefs of the south that their only hope of success lay in improving their cavalry. From the middle of the fourteenth century, when the great



Musalman dynasty of the Babmanis(1347-1520) was established at Kulbarga in the Deccan and the great Hindu dynasty of the Vijayanagar kings was established (1330-1565) in the Karnatak, to secure a large supply of horses became one of the chief cares of the state. As during that time the Deccan was cut off from North India the bulk of the horses were brought by sea through the Konkan ports. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese found that their chief influence with Indian powers lay in their control over the import of horses. Scarcely a treaty with Gujarat, Ahmadnagar, or Vijayanagar is without a horse clause, the promise on the part of the Portuguese that horses shall be brought to their allies and shall be prevented from reaching the ports of their allies' rivals. Under the Marathas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the import of horses through the Konkan continued. It was less important than formerly, apparently because communications with North India were open and easy and large numbers of horses came to the Deccan from the north. The Marathas also had learned how to breed and rear horses in the Deccan. Moor (Little's Detachment, 95), writing about 1790, says: 'The Marathas certainly breed many horses and procure others from Arabia and Persia and from Kandahar and the northern parts of Hindustan.' The two chief breeds were the Arab and the Turki. The Turki was a heavy horse which would have crossed well with the Arab. But the Marathas objected to crossing breeds. They put Arab to Arab and Turki to Turki and thought that if the blood was kept pure the foal would have all the virtues of its parents. The Deccani ponies which Orme (Fragments, Note IV.) calls 'so diminutive and naughty that no one owns them,' Moor thought a most contemptible breed though not so despicable as Orme made them. They were serviceable and hardy and were often used instead of bullocks for carrying loads. They were worth 10s. to 30s. (Rs. 5-15). Horses of ordinary size bred in the country sold for £20 to £60 (Rs.200-600) and northern horses up to £100 (Rs. 1000) which was reckoned a high price. Horses were fed on gram and *Kulthi*, favourites sometimes being indulged with sheep's head broth, rice and milk, and other dainties. Their medicine for all forms of sickness was *masala*, spices mixed with flour and clarified butter. Except when they were vicious horses were seldom gelt. Their trappings were a bridle with one bit like a snaffle, a horse-hair cloth with a leather girth and stirrups or a peaked saddle, and ornamented martingals and cruppers. At the sides of the horse tails of the white wild-cow were hung sometimes six a side; the mane was plaited in small braids with coloured silks and hanging silver knobs, and

there was a necklace over the horse's chest of plates of silver or of silver coins. They carried with them the head and heel ropes and the leather feeding bag. The Marathas deserved to have the best horses, such care did they bestow on them. When dismounted a Maratha was always shampooing his horse, rubbing him violently with his elbows and wrists, and bending the animal's joints backwards and forwards. With this careful grooming a Maratha's horse on a pound and a half ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  *sher*) of grain looked as well as a European's horse on four or five pounds. Little's Detachment, 89-90. Some details of the horse trade between A.D. 535 and 1567 are given in the Kanara Statistical Account, pp. 49-51.] The Dhangar or Khilari pony deserves notice. He is thick-set, short-legged, and strong, very unlike the ordinary village pony though really of the same breed. The difference is chiefly due to early castration and the perfect liberty which in consequence it is possible to give them. Each family or tribe of wandering Dhangars keeps five to twenty or thirty ponies, most of them geldings and the rest mares. Most are bought from villagers but some are bred by the Dhangars. As they have no stallions their mares are generally covered by chance village ponies. The Dhangar ponies were the best of the thousands that in 1879-80 were sent from the Deccan as baggage carriers in the Afghan campaign. It is the fashion to say that the breed of valuable Deshi ponies is either extinct or degraded. Still many first-class ponies can be seen on the mail cart line between Poona and Belgaum, and excellent pony hacks can often be bought in Poona. Although there are no professional breeders in the district, the headmen and other well-to-do villagers, especially in the eastern sub-divisions, keep mares both with the object of riding and breeding. The number of horses has doubtless diminished. This is generally attributed to the great drain on the stock of horses for service in the Persian campaign of 1856-57, the Abyssinian campaign of 1867-68, and the Afghan campaign of 1879-80. As only males were taken on those occasions the mares would soon have replenished the numbers if the regular demand was as great as formerly. The true explanation seems to be that the extension of made roads and railways and the great reduction in the mail cart service have combined to lower the demand and therefore to reduce the supply. Though the Marathas cling to the name *Bhimthadi* and will often maintain that a mare is of pure Bhimthadi breed, it is impossible to prove and difficult to believe in pure local descent. The fact that the best Bhimthadi mares are in many cases fifteen hands high raises a strong presumption of English or Arab blood. Government for many

years maintained a large horse-breeding establishment at Aligaon on the Bhima. This was abolished about forty years ago; and in its stead at various central stations imported English and Arab stallions were posted for the free use of horse-breeders.

In recent years increased attention has been paid to the improvement of the Deccan breed of horses. About 1864 a yearly horse show was established at Sirur, and in 1872 a second show on a much larger scale was started at Poona. The number of Government stallions has been gradually increased as more and more work was found for them. In 1881 a separate department for horse breeding was organized. The prizes at Poona and Sirur shows vary from 10s. to £20 (Rs. 5-200), the aggregate amount spent being £60 (Rs. 600) at Sirur, and £600 (Rs. 6000) at Poona. These shows and the use of the Government stallions have greatly improved the breed of Poona horses. The present establishment of Government stallions in the Poona district is nine horses and six ponies. They are posted, six at Sirur, four at Supa, three at Baramati, and two at Indapur. Three of the horses are English; the rest are Arabs. Most of the colts are sold as yearlings, the majority finding their way to the yearly fair at Malegaon in the Nizam's territory. Some fillies are also sold at the Malegaon fair; but most are kept by the breeders to be used as brood mares. At Malegaon the yearlings fetch £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200). They are bought chiefly by a tribe called Hatkars who live in the neighbouring villages. They feed these young animals well for a year or two and bring them again to the fair, where they are sold, as two three and four year olds at £15 to £70 (Rs. 150-700). The chief purchasers are dealers from Haidarabad and officers from native cavalry regiments. Yearlings are sold because the breeders are generally too poor to meet the cost of bringing them to maturity, and colts are sold in preference to fillies because, not being castrated, they become very troublesome. One of the chief objects of the new horse-breeding department is to introduce the practice of castrating colts, for which purpose skilled operators are provided by Government who perform without fee or charge. When the practice becomes general it is hoped that breeders will keep their colts and that many remounts may pass into the army direct from the breeders.

After they are a year old colts are fed with *hariali* Cynoden

dactylon, lucern, and pond grass, millet straw or *kadbi*, wheat husk gram, maize, *math* Phaseolus aconitifolius, and millet flour. Weak and thin animals are given fresh and clarified butter, sugar, the flesh of a goat or sheep, eggs, and gram and young millet plants *Phadi*, a preparation of wheat flour and molasses boiled in water and made into balls, is also sometimes given. Small ponies, which are generally used for carrying loads, are hobbled and allowed to graze after the crops are removed. In Bhimthadi, horses are sometimes let loose in fields with standing *jvari*, a treatment which soon strengthens and fattens them. Oilcake is sometimes given as a tonic, but the people dislike it as they believe it affects a horse's speed and makes it more difficult for him to recover from a broken joint or bone. Horses are not generally broken to the saddle before they are two years old though they sometimes begin work at eighteen months. They are shod once every one or two months. The people are very fond of having gaily dressed horses led in their marriage and other processions. The chief forms of horse disease are: *palkida*, believed to be strangles; *shemba* or *sina*, glanders in its worst stage, a disease of the head produced from cold; *chandani* or tetanus, producing shivering of the body; *ghatsarp* or throat-snake, laryngitis, which affects the inside of the throat so that the animal cannot eat or drink and generally dies. The cure for this disease is to make the horse inhale the smoke of the middle part of the *kevda* Pandanus odoratissimus flower for three days or swallow pills of the ashes of snake's slough mixed with honey. *Thasi*, probably glossitis, is a disease of the mouth, which swells and blackens the lower part of the tongue, *Munga* or lampass is a disease of the upper lip. *Pashan* canker in the feet and *bhenda* which is a grease in the heels, or in its worst form grapes, are diseases of the leg. *Kurkuri* or colic, including enteritis or inflammation of the intestines, produces pain in the stomach and generally proves fatal. Fever and a disease called *chakraval* or ring-bone, though not fatal, makes the animal incurably lame. *Barsati*, *haddibadi*, and *berhadi* are also diseases to which horses are subject. *Zhairbadi* and *Indiana* or anthrax fever though not common is known in Poona, and is very fatal. Horses feet if allowed to remain damp or badly cleaned are apt to breed worms. The Poona district is very healthy for horses who live twenty to thirty years. On *Dasara* Day in September-October horses are washed and decked with flowers and ornaments, and a beautiful cloth or silk cover is thrown across their backs. They are worshipped, have a new saddle set on their backs, and are ridden in procession to the sound of drums.

Seventy-two peculiarities in a horse are considered unlucky for his owner. The chief of these are: *utarand* or three rings of hair on the forehead one above the other; *basing* or three rings of hair forming three angles, on the forehead; *chimata* or two rings of hair in a line on the forehead; *asudhal* (*ashrudhal*) or watering of the eyes; *bhoda* rings of hair near the corners of the eye; *kridaval* or a ring of hair on the breast; and *gom* which is of different kinds is a line of hair on the neck or chest. A horse which remains quiet in the stable, is called *khunte-gad* or fastened to the peg and is considered lucky, while a restive horse called *khunte-upat* or peg-lifting is considered unlucky. Each of these unlucky marks has a *jabab* or counterbalancing good mark. The knowledge of and the belief in these bad and good signs is said of late years to have greatly declined.

### Asses

Of Asses the 1881-82 returns showed a total of 6936. The asses are used by Beldars and Vadars both of whom are stonecutters, and by Lonaris or lime-burners, Kumbhars or potters, and Parits or washermen, for carrying loads and sometimes for riding. [Riding an ass is considered a disgrace by the higher classes, and was formerly a punishment. Delinquents were paraded through the town seated on an ass's back, people may still be seen riding on asses with their face tail-wards in some parts of the districts as part of the merry-making in the *Shimga* holidays in March -April,] They are also used to carry bricks and sand, grain and road sweepings. Asses are of two kinds, country or *Deshalu*, costing £1 to £6 (Rs. 10-60), and Arab, Persian, and Italian asses, costing £80 to £60 (Rs. 800-600) which have been imported by Government for use as stallions for mule-breeding. The country ass is small and generally frightfully cowhocked, but they are as hardy, enduring, and easily fed as any of their race. They are generally bred by the wandering tribe of Kolhatis. In the country they are seldom groomed and are let loose to graze and pick up their food near village dunghills. In towns they are fed with grass, millet stalks or *saram*, and rice-husk, and sometimes with grain and gram. The ends of the nostrils, generally the false nostrils, are sometimes slit half-way across to enable the animal to breathe freely when heavily laden. The ass is careful to drink only pure water. If it cannot get clean water it will remain without drinking for two or three days at a time. Asses suffer



from *kurkuri* a disease of the abdomen, and *raska* a cough. They live twenty to twenty-five years. Ass's milk is used as a medicine for children and as a tonic. The urine is drunk by persons suffering from venereal diseases and the dung is used as a poultice and in cases of dysentery and fever. On the first of *Kartik* (October-November) asses are washed, decorated, and feasted.

## Mules

Mules are proverbially strong and are used by Lonaris. charcoal-burners, in carrying loads and in drawing carts. None of these mules are bred in the district. They are either cast from the Commissariat Department or they were sold at the end of the Abyssinian campaign. With the object of introducing the practice of mule-breeding Government have posted two donkey stallions at Sirur for the free use of those who will bring pony mares to them. Prizes are given for the mares so covered and for young mules at the Poona and Sirur horse shows. The people are averse from the practice and take to it very slowly.

## Sheep

Of Sheep and Goats, the 1881-82 returns showed 285,200. Large flocks of sheep are found in all good sized villages and goats are common everywhere. The city of Poona offers a ready market for as many sheep as the district can produce. Sheep brokers and mutton butchers come regularly from Bombay and buy goats, kids, sheep, and lambs, paying 2s. to 8s. (Rs. 1-4) a head. There are two kinds of sheep, country or *desalu* costing 2s. to £1 (Rs.1-10) and *dumba* (from *dum* a tail) long broad-tailed sheep, costing 8s. to £2 10s. (Rs.4-25). The long-tailed sheep include three varieties: *Yaipuri*, long-tailed and white with a black patch or two; *Kabuli*, broad-tailed, short-legged, and white or white and black; and *Yelga* from the Bombay Karnatak, tall, broad-tailed, and of many colours. In many Poona and Ahmadnagar villages it is the exception to find sheep the property of a Dhangar or an individual of the shepherd caste, and the keeping of a flock of breeding ewes is not usual except among well-to-do Kunbis. Every Kunbi who tills garden land tries to have his own flock of sheep, and most villages have three or four husbandmen with flocks of their own. Sheep for stock are bought by the score, the price varying from £1 16s. to



£6 (Rs.18-60). The price is sometimes as high as £8 (Rs.80) when the buyer chooses each sheep picking one ram and nineteen ewes all between three and four years old and of good colour. A favourite custom among Kunbis is to buy an old ewe with her sixth lamb, kill the mother as soon as the lamb can shift for itself, and bring up the young one as a pet for the children. The pet is kept till it begins to be troublesome when it either follows its mother or is sold to a broker. Ewes go with lamb five months, and though known to yearn in every season of the year, November and June are the favourite times. It is not known how long a ewe will go on bearing. The Dhangars think it advisable to sell them after they have had five lambs. The age of the mother when the first lamb is born varies from 400 to 600 days, and the intervals at which the lambs are dropped vary from six to 14½ months. As a rule only one lamb is yeaned at a birth, a couple being a very rare occurrence. Male lambs are castrated and sold when a year and a half old to butchers or other dealers. A ewe or ram till it is shorn is called *saoli*, and after it is shorn a ram is called *balinga* and a ewe is called *sakore*. A castrated sheep or wether is called *varip*. Forty per cent are castrated between the age of six and twelve months, never before six and never after twelve. The object of castration is to make them fat. A two or three year old wether fetches 13s. (Rs. 6½), an ordinary sheep 6s. to 7s. (Rs. 3-3½), and a lamb 3s. (Rs. 1½). Unless well fattened the ordinary Deccan sheep does not become very heavy. After they are six months old they may be killed weighing when clean twenty pounds, and rarely more than thirty pounds. As the feeding of sheep is neglected, and as they are not sheltered against rain or sun, the Deccan sheep seldom lives more than seven years. If looked after and cared for the might live three years longer. If the flock is large, Kunbis generally engage a Dhangar or a man of any other labouring caste to tend them, paying him £2 10s. (Rs. 25) a year, besides food and clothing. The surplus milk of the ewes is also his. In the early morning sheep are driven in flocks of 100 or 120 to the grazing land where they nibble grass and eat fresh *babhul* leaves and pods. If shelters from the midday sun and from rain they thrive better, have more wool and milk, and are more useful. At the end of the hot season, when food is scarce and water is bad, the sheep fall into very poor condition and the June lamb's are very weakly. The rank vegetation which in their half-starved state they greedily devour brings on scouring and many die from that disease, or from the fly which is very virulent during the rainy season. In the evening the sheep are brought back and shut in their folds, which are generally

surrounded by a hedge thick enough to keep out wolves but giving no protection against wind and rain. Great numbers of lambs and half-grown sheep are carried off by wolves, who, where the grass and the crops are long, are very bold catching stragglers both by day and night. One or two wolves haunt most villages. The shepherd has a large dog and while out keeps his sheep constantly moving for fear of the wolf who is generally hid behind a big stone or bush or in the long grass watching for the chance of picking off a lamb. The rams generally remain in the flocks and miscarriages are not uncommon. Old rams get very ill-tempered and without any provocation attack and knock down the other sheep.

The dung and urine of sheep are so valued as manure that owners of flocks are engaged to graze their sheep in fields for two or three nights. The Dhangars usually wander from village to village in a regular yearly circuit in the plains during the rains and cold weather and in the west during the hot months. They are paid by the husbandmen to fold their sheep in their fields. In some places they only get their food. In others where gardens abound as much as 1s. or 2s. (8 *annas* or Re. 1) is paid for one night for a hundred sheep. Sheep's blood is given to horses to drink and is rubbed on their chests when they are exhausted.

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Sheep are sheared twice a year in *Ashadh* or June-July and in *Kartik* or October-November. Each sheep on an average gives one pound of wool at each shearing worth 4½d. to 6d. (3-4 *as.*). The loss in carding, spinning, and weaving amounts to twenty-five per cent. Sometimes Dhangars are called to shear the sheep and are paid at the rate of 4s. (Rs. 2) the hundred. The wool is bought by the Dhangars whose women card it by means of a bamboo bowstring with gut twist, and spin it either fine with the help of the ordinary spinning wheel or coarse using the spindle. The threads are stiffened with a paste of tamarind stones pounded in the rough stone mortars which are generally to be seen outside of Dhangars' houses. The paste is applied with a large stiff brush. After the warp-threads have been placed and stretched the Dhangar takes two days to weave a blanket about eight feet long and 2½ feet wide, the price of which varies from 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) according to the colour and fineness of the texture. White blankets and seats or a *asans*

used while performing religious ceremonies, have a special value, being considered more sacred.

### **Goats**

Goats costing 8s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 4-12). belong to four classes: *khuri*, *ghodsheli*, *koi* or *surti*, and *savti*. The *khuri* are Karnatak goats; they are small and have short ears. The *ghodsheli*, said to come from *ghoda* horse and *sheli* a-she-goat, is a large goat. The *koi* or *surti* goats give the largest supply of milk and are kept and fed at home; their flesh is said to be hard and coarse. The *savti* goats are taller and larger but give less milk. They are sent into the forests: to graze. Their flesh is said to be tender and they are generally kept for food. There are no special goat-breeders. Dhangars, Kunbis, and; Musalmans are the classes who own the largest number, and Brahmans and other high-caste Hindus have sometimes a she-goat or two in their houses. Goats are tended in the same way as sheep. They eat the fresh leaves of trees and shrubs but are fed at night with *jvari* stalks, *tur* and gram, *shevri limb* and *karvand* leaves, and *babhul* leaves and pods. Dhangars keep their goats with their sheep in the field at night. A she-goat bears every ten months and each time gives birth to two or more kids. Her daily yield of milk varies from half a pint to eight pints ( $\frac{1}{4}$ -4 *shers*). Goat's milk is used as a tonic for children and is sometimes made into butter. The flesh both of sheep and goats is eaten by all classes except Brahmans and Gujarat Vanis. Goats suffer from the same diseases as sheep and live five to ten years. The sheep and the goat are offered as sacrifices to village gods and demons. The blood of the offered animal is spilt over the idol and the flesh is cooked and shared among the worshippers and the members of the village community.

### **Elephants and Camels**

Elephants and Camels were common in Poona when it was the capital of the Peshwas, Camels used to be bred in the Man and Malsiras sub-divisions of Satara and Sholapur. At present the number of both is small. Those that remain belong either to the Commissariat Department or to petty chiefs.

### **Dogs and Cats**

Except in cantonments' the Dog and Cat are often without owners and neglected. The only sporting dogs are greyhounds

of two breeds *lut* and *paligar*. The *lut* is most esteemed, but both are rare and still more rarely pure bred.

## Fowls

Cocks and hens are the only poultry reared in the country parts of the district, though turkeys, geese, and ducks are found in large towns. Domestic fowls are more often kept by Musalmans and Mhars, Mangs, and Dhangars than by Kunbis. They are of three kinds: the common fowl like to but much smaller than the English barn door fowl, known as *savli*, *gujai*, or *teni*; the Pegu, *asil* or *surati* and the Malay of English poultry books, called by Europeans *kalam* [The word *kalam* seems as in the case of the *kalam* crane, *Anthropoides virgo*, to be a corruption of the Persian *sulang* that is big fowl. Mr. Fazl Lutfullah.] very much larger than the ordinary fowl and laying larger better and more costly eggs. Among fowls is occasionally found an *uphratya parachi* or fowl with ruffled feathers, the Frizzled Fowl of English poultry books. [Though this frizzle is a sport or freak of nature rather than a distinct breeds judicious mating would perpetuate the characteristic. It is an ordinary-sized fowl of all colours, with many feathers curled away from, instead of towards, the body some feathers having no web, only the naked shaft. Major Coussmaker.] A cock costs 2s. to 10s. (Rs.1-5); a hen 1s. to £1 4s. (8 as.-Rs. 12); a half fowl 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) and a chicken 2¼d. to 4½d. (1½-3 as.). They are left to pick what they can find near their owner's house, chiefly worms and insects. They are also sometimes fed with corn and bread. The flesh and eggs are eaten by almost all classes except Brahmans and Gujarat Vanis. Hens lay for about six weeks ten or twenty eggs and then stop. Hens are very capricious in their laying; those that have no inclination to sit, unless they get fat, stop every few days and begin to lay again, whereas those that are determined to sit or are very fat only lay a few eggs and then stop for a month or more. Eggs are useful in preparing fireworks. The chief diseases to which domestic fowls are subject are *manmodi* or the neck-breaker, *hopa* a fatal kind of piles, and *roup* which first shows itself by running from the nostrils and eyes, an accumulation of saliva in the mouth, eruptions on the head, and diphtheric ulcerations in the mouth and throat like a yellowish white fungus. Fowls also suffer from disease of the liver and inflammation of the bowels. It is difficult to define the symptoms of the two last diseases; sluggishness, indigested food in the crop, great thirst, want of appetite, leg

weakness, and a yellow tint in the bare skin of the head and face, are all more or less apparent. Fowls live three or four years. Hens and chickens are offered as sacrifices to village gods and spirits and are waved round the head to remove sickness and the influence of the evil eye, either when a man is overtaken by calamity, or in consequence of vows made, when enterprizes are undertaken, or male children are born. As a rule the birds which are sacrificed are eaten by the persons who offer them.

### Pigeons

Many Musalmans and a few Hindus breed Pigeons for amusement. They are of four kinds: *lakhia*, *lotan*, and *girrebaj*, all costing 1s. to 2s. (*as.8-Re. 1*) a head, and *sadhe* or common, costing 6d. to 1s. (4-8 *an*,). Pigeons take so little room, breed so persistently, and are so easily kept that every town has its three or four families of pigeon-fanciers who constantly play with their birds, and teach them tricks which after a few years become characteristics of certain breeds. They are generally fed with *bajri*, *kardi*, wheat, peas, and other grain, and, when in want of fattening, with bread, sugar, butter, and flesh. These are spread in the quadrangle of a house where the pigeons are let loose. Pigeons are kept in small cots either in walls or on wooden stands. They are made to fly between ten and eleven in the morning and between five and six in the evening. They rise from two hundred to five hundred feet in the air and return to their cots at the sound of a whistle. Pigeons sometimes leave their homes and do not return for six months at a time. Small silver or brass ornaments, called *painjans*, are sometimes tied round their feet. They live for twenty years and are subject to two chief diseases: *suka* in which a sticky master passes from the mouth, and *tukhama* an outbreak of small tumours. Pigeons are eaten by some classes of Hindus and by Musalmans and Europeans.



## PRODUCTION

### WILD ANIMALS

WILD ANIMALS. [Contributed by Mr. A. Keyser, C. S.] The spread of tillage and the increase in population constantly reduce the number of Wild Animals, The Tiger, *Vagh*, *Felis tigris*; the Panther, *bibla*, *Felis pardus*; the Leopard, *chitta*, *Felis jubata*; and the Bear, *asval*, *Ursus labiatus*, are found only in the Sahyadris, and even there in very small numbers. [The bear is sometimes tamed and taught to dance by men of the wandering tribe of Musalman Darveshis, who lead their bear from door to door and ask for alms. A few hairs from a bear's back are kept in lockets and hung from the necks of children to guard them against the evil eye. Children are also for the same reason made to ride on bears' backs.] During the eight years ending 1882 four human beings and 175 cattle were killed by tigers, and fifteen tigers and sixty-eight panthers were slain, for which rewards were given by Government. [The details are: 1875, two tigers and nine panthers; 1876, one tiger and six panthers; 1877, one tiger and seven panthers; 1878, eight tigers and five panthers; 1879, two tigers and six panthers; 1880, six panthers; 1881, sixteen panthers; and 1882, one tiger and thirteen panthers.] Of the Deer tribe, the Stag, *sambar*, *Rusa aristotelis*; and the Spotted Deer, *chital*, *Axis maculatus*, are rare, but are still found in the Sahyadris. The Bison, *gava*, *Gavaeus gaurus*, is found in the Sahyadris but is also very rare. The Wolf, *landga*, *Canis pallipes*, although not common, occurs over the whole district and causes much loss of sheep and goats. In 1877, 110, in 1879, 584, in 1880, 370, and in 1882, 265 sheep and goats were registered as killed by wolves, and twenty-four wolves were slain between 1877 and 1882. The Hyaena, *taras*, *Hyaena striata*, is also found in the hills and occasionally in the interior of the district.

Other game animals, which though not numerous are found in various parts of the district, are, the Boar, *randukkar*, *Sus indicus*, whose favourite haunts are the *babhul* groves that abound close to the Bhima and Ghod rivers and also in the hill forests in the west. In the neighbourhood of Poona, since the opening of the Mutha canals (1873), there has been a very large increase of wild pig. The people complain loudly of their ravages. They come down in the evening from the Sinhgad range, and, after eating sugarcane and earthnuts, either return to the hills early in the morning or remain in the cane. The cultivation of earthnuts has been discontinued in the



neighbourhood of Poona owing to the ravages of these animals. The Antelope, *kalvit*, Antelope bezoartica, and the Indian Gazelle, *chinkara*, Gazella benettii, are chiefly found in the hills, and a third variety of small deer, the Hog-deer, Axis porceus, occasionally falls to the shot of an unusually fortunate sportsman in the Sahyadris. The animals which abound all over the Presidency and which require no special mention are the Jungle Cat, *ranmanjar*, Felis chaus; the Jackal, *kolha*, Canis aureus; the Fox, *khokad*, Vulpes bengalensis, which has its home chiefly in the rocky hills and ravines abounding all over the district; the Ichneumon, *mungus*, Herpestes griseus; the Bandicoot rat, *ghus*, Moesa bandicota; and the Grey and Red Squirrels, *khar*, Sciurus palmarum. The S. Elphinstone is occasionally seen.



### Game Birds

GAME BIRDS. [Contributed by Mr. A. Keyser, C. S.] The district is poorly supplied with Game Birds. Of Quail, the Grey Quail, Coturnix communis, is found over most of the district between November and March, and the Bustard Quail, Turnix taigour, also an immigrant. The Rain or Black-breasted Quail, Coturnix coromandelica, and the smaller variety which can hardly be considered a game bird, the Rock Bush Quail, Perdica argoondah, are natives of the district and are found all the year round. The Bustard, Eupodotis edwardsi, is very rare and so is the Florican, Sypheotides amrita, but both are occasionally shot. Duck and Snipe are found in the various rivers and artificial lakes and ponds during the cold months. The common Grey Partridge, Ortygornis ponticeriana, abounds, and both the Black, Francolinus vulgaris, and the Painted, Francolinus pictus, are to be found. The Rock Grouse, *pakurdi*, abounds on the low stony hill ridges with which the district is full. Pea Fowl, Pavo cristatus, Grey Jungle Fowl, Gallus sonnerati, and Spur Fowl, Gallus spadiceus, inhabit the forests in the west. Half-tame pea-fowl are found near many villages, as the people look on them as sacred. The Green Pigeon, Crotopus chlorigaster, is rare, but the Blue Pigeon, Columba intermedia, is found in flocks in nearly every well. Except of quail, and on rare occasions of duck and snipe, no large bags are made in the district, and even good quail shooting is not to be had every year.

## PRODUCTION

### SNAKES

[Contributed by Mr. G. W. Vidal, C. S.] Snakes are numerous throughout the district, particularly in and about the cantonment of Poona. All except three kinds, of which one is rare and another is doubtful, are harmless. The Cobra in fact is the only venomous species which need be taken into account. The small Viper or *phursa*, *Echis carinata*, which is so plentiful and so destructive in the narrow strip of littoral between the Sahyadris and the sea creeps up to the summit of the Sahyadri range, but is not common in any other locality in the Poona district. A few stragglers may be found in the plains to the east of the range, but they are rare. The Large Chain Viper, *ghonas*, *Daboia russellii*, which occurs very sparingly in the Konkan, may also be expected in the Sahyadri range; but there appears to be no authentic record of its occurrence. The Hamadryad, the Banded Bungarus, the Krait, and the Green Tree Vipers are equally unknown.

As might be expected the mortality from snake bite in the Poona district is insignificant, and for the past five years has shown a satisfactory decrease. In 1876, twenty-four deaths were attributed to this cause; in 1877, twelve; in 1878, nine; in 1879, five; and in 1880 only four. This comparatively low rate is, no doubt, due to a great extent to the scarcity of the *Echis*, which is the chief agent of destruction in Western India generally. The bite of the Cobra, although far more dangerous, is more easily avoided. On the other hand the *Echis*, though it may only cause death once in five times, finds many more opportunities of biting, from its small size, its fierceness, and its perverse reluctance to move out of the way to avoid being trodden on. This conclusion is amply borne out by the annual returns of mortality from snake bite for the Bombay Presidency; for in the tracts where the *Echis* is especially abundant, in Sind, Ratnagiri, and Thana, the mortality is greatly in excess of that of all the other districts put together.

The harmless snakes are numerous, though the number of species represented is not large. Besides the Chequered Water Snake, *panadivad*, *Tropidonotus quincunciatus*, which is abundant throughout the well-watered tracts, the species most commonly seen in and about Poona are the Thickbodied *parad*, *Gongylophis conicus*, and the Grass-green Ground Snake, *Tropidonotus plumbicolor*, the young broods of which make their appearance in the rainy season. Both these species are commonly supposed by Europeans and natives alike to be venomous. In the more rural parts the commonest species is perhaps the Indian Rat Snake, *dhaman*, *Ptyas mucosus*.

The following is a list of the various species which are known to occur. The list, except in the case of one species [See note 1 at foot of page 76,] which is entered on the authority of Mr. W. Theobald as occurring in Poona, has been compiled exclusively from specimens obtained and procured by the writer. For the descriptions, which have been given in as popular a form as possible, the writer is greatly indebted to the works of Dr. Gunther and Mr. Theobald. The following books are referred to in the list: Russell's Indian Serpents; Gunther's Reptiles of British India; Theobald's Descriptive Catalogue of the Reptiles of British India; Fairbank's Bombay Reptiles published for the Bombay Gazetteer; and Destruction of Life by Snakes and Hydrophobia, in Western India, by Ex-Commissioner. The classification follows that adopted by Dr. Gunther and Mr. Theobald. The writer is also much indebted to Dr. Nicholson for much information contained in his work on Indian Snakes.

### *Typhlophidae.*

The family of Typhlophidae, the so-called Blind Snakes with rudimentary eyes, is represented by the *Typhlops braminus* (Daud) This little burrowing reptile, whose head without a magnifying glass is with difficulty distinguished from its tail, bears a strong superficial resemblance to a common earth worm, and is probably frequently passed by as an earth worm. It is not often seen above ground, except after a shower of rain. It belongs to the lowest type of snake, and is also perhaps the smallest of the Ophidia, its maximum length being only eight inches. It is held in needless dread by natives. According to Dr. Russell, the father of Indian herpetology, the Blind Snake progresses either end foremost, but this peculiarity has not

been noticed by later writers.

A very closely allied species of slenderer form, the *Typhlops pammeces* or *tenuis* of Gunther, is included in Dr. Fairbank's list of Bombay Reptiles, as also is another species of the same group, the sharp-nosed *Onycephalus acutus* (Dumeril et Bibron), whose occurrence in the Deccan has been noted by Dr. Gunther. The latter will probably be found in this district, but the occurrence of the former which is a Ceylonese species seems doubtful.

### *Uropeltidae.*

The Short Tails, Tortricidae, with rudimentary hind limbs, and the Xenopeltids without limbs, are not represented in this district. Of Rough Tails, Uropeltidae, at least two species have been found, *Silybura macrolepis* (Peters), which is distinguished from its many congeners by having fifteen instead of seventeen scales in a row, has been obtained on one occasion, but is very rare. This Rough Tail is black with very bright steel-blue reflections when fresh. Each hexagonal scale is margined with waxy white, giving the skin honeycombed appearance, while a broad bright yellow zigzag band runs along each side from mouth to neck, succeeded by a few broken spots of the same colour. A similar yellow band adorn each side of the tail below. The latter appendage, as in all the makes of this group, is abnormally short. It looks as if it had been severed obliquely like the joint of a fishing-rod and then scraped with a rasp. The caudal disk acquires this rough appearance from a double row of keels thrown out from each scale. At the extremity of the tail, as if the cut had left jagged edge, are a pair of minute horny spines. The scales of the body are smooth. The Rough Tail Snakes are seldom seen above ground, but are occasionally exposed is making deep cuttings for roads. That they labour hard in making their burrows is shown by the fact that specimens of this family are sometimes found with the head displaced from its direct axis, 'as though' writes Theobald 'it had been dislocated during some effort of the snake to penetrate the soil.' The head in all these Rough Tails is smaller than, and not distinct from, the neck. *S. macrolepis* grows to about ten inches in length, the tail being less than half an inch. Like all other snakes with thick tails, this species is called *dutondi* by the natives.

An allied species, *Silybura bicatenata* (Gunther), has been obtained in excavations made at the Amba Pass between Ratnagiri and Kolhapur, and occurs also within the limits of the Poona district. *S. macrolepis* is not included in Dr. Fairbank's List of Bombay Reptiles, but a third species of Rough Tail, *S. elliotti* (Gray), which is said by Theobald to inhabit Madras and the Deccan, is entered. *S. elliotti*, which may be distinguished by the yellow band which completely encircles the tail, has not yet been recorded from the Poona district, and does not probably extend so far north.

#### *Calamaridae.*

The Dwarf Snakes, *Calamaridae*, of diminutive size and found chiefly in the East Indian Archipelago and the Malayan peninsula, do not occur in the Deccan districts, though one species of the genus *Geophis* is found near Madras.

#### *Oligodontidae.*

The prettily marked Short Tooths or Filleted Ground Snakes, comprising the genera *Oligodon* and *Simotes*, are represented by Gunther's *Oligodon fasciatus*. This species is distinguished by having a irregular series of brown dots on the ventral shields, seven upper labial shields, and scales in rows of fifteen. The markings on the head are symmetrical, but less distinct than in other species of the same genus. The back is adorned by a series of brown black-edged cross bands. It grows to fourteen inches in length. Other representatives of this family, both of the genus *Simotes* as well as *Oligodon*, probably occur, but have not as yet been satisfactorily discriminated. Dr. Fairbank includes in his List of Bombay Reptiles the Pretty Short Tooth, *Simotes venusta* (Jerdon). Another species, *Simotes russellii* (Daud), has also been found in Ratnagiri, though omitted from Dr. Fairbank's list. The Short Tooths are active little reptiles, and the conspicuous V-markings on their heads often cause them to be mistaken for Vipers by the casual observer. They are, as might be expected, thought highly venomous by the natives, and a specimen *Oligodon fasciatus* was once gravely presented to the writer by a conjuror and snake-charmer as the young of the Chain Viper, *Daboia elegans*. In the Konkan, the Short Tooths are generally known as *bachcha nags* or young



cobras. It is probable also that the tradition handed down by the Portuguese of a diminutive snake to which they gave the name of Cobra de Morte, from the supposed deadly nature of its poison, had its origin in the dread in which these innocent Short Toths were once popularly held. Possibly the belief in such a small but poisonous species was strengthened by Cuvier's description in his *Regne Animal* of a 'petite vipere.' Dr. Russell also may have furthered this belief by recording several cases where natives had died from the bites of diminutive but unrecognized; snakes. Two sepoys in Captain Gowdie's battalion at Rajamahendri were bitten in the night by the same snake, which was described as being 'scarcely six inches long, about the size of a large goose-quill, of a dark straw colour, a flat head with two very small eyes which shone like diamonds, and behind each eye was a black streak about three fourths of an inch long.' The first man bitten died after six hours, and the second, who was bitten within a minute after the first, died within eleven hours. Neither man suffered visible pain or convulsions, but passed away in a kind of stupor. Similarly, according to Dr. Russell, 'the porter of Mr. Bouchier Governor of Bombay, a very stout Arab, was bitten by a small serpent, and expired almost instantaneously, after exclaiming that a snake had bit him.' Dr. Russell's information was got from the Governor's son, Mr. James Bouchier, who spoke from memory, and added, 'that the snake, to which the man's death was imputed, was by the Portuguese, called Cobra de Morte; that in the course of twenty years in India he had only seen two of them, one in the island of Bombay, the other in his own house at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras; that the length of the snake was from six to nine inches its thickness that of a common tobacco pipe; the head black with white marks, bearing some resemblance to a skull and two cross bones; the body alternately black and white, in joints the whole length; that its venom is of all others the most pernicious.'

There can be little doubt from the descriptions given, and from the fact that no diminutive poisonous snake has yet been discovered by naturalists in India, that both the snakes above described were referable to some species of *Oligodon*. If so, death in each case must be attributed to excessive fright, as it is beyond doubt that none the snakes of this family are provided with poison fangs and glands. The Cobra de Morte, like the mythical his Cobra or poisonous lizard has no real existence; but, whereas the latter name is still applied various



species of lizards known to be harmless, the Cobra de Morte is now, whatever it once was, a name and nothing more.

### *Colubridae.*

Of the Ground Colubrides belonging to the Coronellina group three species, of whose occurrence within the limits of this district there seems to be no authentic record, are included in Dr. Fairbank's list. These are (1) Humbert's snake, *Ablabes Humberti* (Jan) which is known to occur in Ceylon, Madras and Peninsular India, (2) the Large-nosed Cycloph, *Cyclophis nasalis* (Gunther), and (3) the Eastern Coronella, *Coronella orientalis* (Gunther). Humbert's snake is entered as doubtful by Dr. Fairbank, and may have been wrongly discriminated. The distribution of the Cycloph is also known with certainty. A single specimen of the Eastern Coronella, the sole species of this genus ever found in India, is said to have been obtained by Colonel Sykes in the Deccan. There is no other record of its occurrence, and the species was founded on this single specimen, which was transferred from the collection of the East India Company to that of the British Museum.

Of the snakes of the group Colubrina, three genera, *Cynophis*, *Ptyas*, and *Zamenis* are represented. The following species occur:

*Cynophis helena* (Daud) is a rather formidable looking snake, which grows to about forty inches, the tapering tail being about a fifth of the total length. It is distinguished from its congener *C. malabaricus*, which is said to be common on the Anamalli hills, by having twenty-seven instead of twenty-five scales in each row. The markings of *C. helena* are somewhat peculiar. A narrow black line marks the occipital suture. A broadish black band runs on each side of the neck, below which is a similar oblique band. The anterior part of the back is covered with numerous black cross bands, each enclosing two white ocelli on either side, the white spots being more distinct in the forepart of the trunk than behind. The cross bands disappear about half way down the trunk and are replaced by a broad dark band running laterally on each side to the tip of the tail. As in some of the *Tropidonoti*, there is a conspicuous black streak running

obliquely from the back of the orbit to the gape. The scales are very slightly keeled. This species appears to be rare in the Poona district, and is not included in Dr. Fairbank's List of Bombay Reptiles. *Ptyas mucosus* (Lin.), the *dhaman* or Indian Rat Snake, is very common throughout the tract and is too well known to need description. It is an active powerful snake, growing to seven feet in length. It strikes fiercely if pursued or brought to bay, and with its powerful jaws and sharp teeth can inflict a painful bite. From its size and comparative fearlessness, and its diurnal habits, it is perhaps more often seen than any other species, and its size and colour not unfrequently cause it to be mistaken for a cobra. It feeds on rats, mice, frogs, and young birds, and often comes into houses and huts in search of its prey. It is very commonly exhibited by snake-charmers, who show their skill in recapturing it after letting it loose, a feat which requires both nerve and practice, as the *dhaman* is never tamed by captivity.

The bite of this species is not generally considered venomous by natives; but many superstitions are current respecting it. For instance, in the Konkan the bite is said to be poisonous on a Sunday, but harmless on other days. Both in the Konkan and Deccan it is believed that if a buffalo is in the same field with a *dhaman*, whichever sees the other first will survive, while the one who is first seen will die. In the Deccan also the *dhaman* is suspected of milking the she-buffaloes under water, when the latter take their daily bath in the rivers or ponds. The similar superstition which in England gave the name of Goatsucker to the common nightjar, from its supposed nocturnal raids on the milch goats, will occur to all. [In parts of the Madras Presidency the *dhaman* (*Sardi Pambu*, Tamil) is popularly believed to be the male of the cobra (*Naga Pambu*, Tamil), All cobras are consequently believed to be females ! It is interesting to compare with this the converse idea maintained in the Konkan, that all cobras are males, their female partners being the harmless colubrine snakes of the species *Zamenis fasciolatus*. The *dhaman* is also in many parts of India credited by local tradition with having a sting attached to its tail, a blow from which is said to cause the part struck to mortify.]

*Zamenis fasciolatus* (Shaw) is common in the Poona district, as also in the Konkan, where it is called *nagin* by the natives,

and is popularly believed to be the female of the cobra. It is frequently seen in the baskets of snake-charmers, and is an active reptile of somewhat slender form. The colour of the body is usually an olive brown. Young specimens are marked with numerous white cross bars, from the neck to the tail. With age the white bars disappear gradually, the posterior ones being the first to become obsolete. In old specimens no trace of the cross bars remain. The species grows to about forty inches in length, of which the tail covers nine inches. It is one of the numerous harmless species which are locally thought venomous.

*Zamenis brachyurus* (Gunther), the Short-tailed Cowry Snake, is found (teste Theobald) in the Poona district and South-East Berar, and Dr. Fairbank, presumably on this authority, has entered the species in his List of Bombay Reptiles. The writer has not, however, succeeded in obtaining a specimen. [Since the above was in type, a specimen obtained by the writer in Poona, and sent for identification to the Calcutta Museum, has been found to agree with Dr. Gunther's original description of the species as published in the Annals and Magazine of Natural History, 1866, vol. XVIII. p. 27. pi. VI. fig. A A'. The single type specimen on which the species was founded also came from Poona, and the snake now deposited in the Calcutta Museum appears to be the only other specimen of the species yet known.] It is described as growing to 21.5 inches of which the tail measures only three inches. The colour is olivaceous above and whitish beneath, while in some specimens, probably immature, irregular yellow-edged brown spots are found on the head and forepart of the trunk.

In addition to the above, Dr. Fairbank includes in his list as inhabiting the Deccan *Zamenis gracilis* (Gunther), or the slender Cowry Snake, so called from the similarity of the large black-edged brown spots on the anterior part of the trunk to the cowry shells used as money by the natives. This species probably occurs in Poona, but if so, it must be far from common.

### *Natricina.*

The group of *Natricina*, or fresh-water Colubrines, is

represented by three species of the genus *Tropidonotus*, which are unaccountably omitted from Dr. Fairbanks list. *Tropidonotus quincunciatus* (Schl.) the Chequered Water Snake, the *panadivad* the Marathas, is too well known to need description. It is abundant everywhere in or near rivers, pools, marshes, and canals, wherever frogs and fish are procurable. It differs, however, from the true fresh water snakes (Homalopsidae), which live more exclusively in the water, in having the nostrils situated on the side instead of on the upper surface of the head. This species swallows its prey directly it is seized, and never overpowers it by constriction. The *panadivad* is perhaps the commonest and most widely spread snake in India, and although fierce and active, is one of the very few harmless snakes which local tradition rightly acknowledges to be. The colouration of the Chequered Water Snake is very variable, ranging from blackish grey to greenish olive, with from three to seven rows of black spots down the body in quincuncial order. In some specimens the sides are ornamented with orange red spots with dark bars between, which, as usual, are more conspicuous in young than in old specimens. Adults of this species measure up to fifty-one inches in length.

*Tropidonotus stolatus* (L.), the common little *halhallia* of Bengal, the *naneti* of the Marathas, the *rath* of snake-harmers, is also comparatively common. It is of a brownish olive colour with irregular pale-edged dark-brown cross bars, and is easily distinguished by a pale buff streak running longitudinally on each side of the back from neck to tail. At some seasons the head, neck, and sides acquire a bright red tinge. Its maximum length is two feet. It is more terrestrial in its habits than the Chequered Snake and is of a milder disposition; nevertheless it is wrongly believed to be venomous by the natives.

*Tropidonotus plumbicolor* (Cantor), the common Green Grass Snake, is also abundant in the Poona district, especially in the rains, when the young broods make their appearance. Young specimens have a broad bright yellow collar, pointed in front and forked posteriorly, behind a black collar of corresponding shape. The body is also marked with about a dozen narrow black cross bars. The bright collar and cross bars disappear with age, and adults are a uniform dull green above and white below. The under-parts in the young snakes are steel blue. The

species grows to about twenty-five inches, and is of thick make, with a broad head and a short tail. Its food consists of frogs, which it catches in the wet grass during the rainy season, often pursuing them into houses. It is of course harmless.

#### *Homalopsidae.*

HOMALOPSIDAE. The true Fresh-water or Estuarine Snakes, Homalopsidae, have no representatives in this district.

#### *Psammophidae*

PSAMMOPHIDAE. Nor have any species of the family of Desert snakes (Psammophidae) been found. The best known example of this family, Russell's Condanarouse (Psammophis condanarus, Merr) occurs in parts of the Madras Presidency.

#### *Dendrophidae.*

DENDROPHIDAE. Of the Tree Snakes of this family no species have been recorded from this district.

#### *Dryiophidae.*

DRYIOPHIDAE. Of the family of Whip Snakes consisting of the genera Tragops and Passerita, the only species hitherto found in the Poona district is the well-known green whip snake (Passerita myeterizans, L.), which is found on trees in and near the Sahyadri range. This is evidently the species to which Dr. Fairbank alludes in his list as a Dendrophis; but the long flexible snout and excessively slender form of this species at once distinguish it from any species of the Dendrophidae. In colour this snake is bright grass-green, lighter beneath, with a yellow lateral line along each side of the abdomen. Large specimens grow to six feet in length, of which the tail occupies rather more than one-third. The natives name this Whip Snake *sarptoli* and it is popularly believed to hang on the boughs of trees with its tail, and dart at the eyes of passers-by. In reality it is a very inoffensive reptile, which bites only under severe provocation. Its chief food consists of small birds and lizards.

### *Dipsadidae.*

DIPSADIDAE. This family of Tree Snakes, characterised by a strongly compressed body and a short triangular head, is represented by at least one species, *Dipsas trigonata* (Boie), which is found in well-wooded tracts near the Sahyadri range. The short viper like head of this snake often causes it to be mistaken for a venomous species, but like all the snakes of this family it is harmless, although fierce and remarkably active. The ground colour is olive brown. The crown of the head is marked with two dark black-edged bands convergent behind, while a yellowish zigzag and irregular band, edged broadly with black, runs down the median line of the back. Underneath it is white or sometimes salmon-coloured mottled with brown specks. It grows to at least forty inches, the tail being about one-fourth of the total length. A closely allied species, *Dipsa gokool* (Gray) is comparatively common in the Ratnagiri district where, like numerous other harmless species, it bears the name of *manyar* and is believed to be very deadly. *D. gokool* probably occurs also above the Sayhadris. Another tree snake of the same, genus, but of considerably larger dimensions, *Dipsas forsteni* (D. and B.), is entered in Dr. Fairbank's list as being found in the Sahyadri range; but as both *Dipsas trigonata* and *gokool* are omitted from this list it is possible that one of these latter species has been taken for *Dipsas forsteni*.

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### *Lycodontidae*

LYCODONTIDAE. Of this family the common Lycodon, *L. aulicus* (L.), is the sole representative. It is frequently found in houses which it enters in pursuit of the skinks or snake-lizards (Mahr. *sapsarali*) which form its chief food. It also preys on the little houses geckos so common on the walls of bungalows. As a rule and species of snake which is discovered in a dwelling house, other than a cobra or a *dhaman*, is vaguely termed a Carpet Snake by Europeans in India whose knowledge of snakes is usually very limited But the name of Carpet Snake is probably more often applied to this species than to any other. The Lycodon, though fierce and active, is perfectly harmless and is usually nocturnal in its habits. Its colouration however, in some specimens, rather closely resembled that of the venomous Krait, *Bungarus coeruleus* (Schn.), which is common in Bengal, Assam, and the peninsula of Southern India but is not found, fortunately, in the Bombay Presidency, except a the province of Sind, where it is called the *pioni* according to Dr. Fairbank, from



its supposed habit of sucking the breath of sleepers. The bad reputation borne by the Lycodon is doubtless due to its resemblance to the really dangerous Krait. The Lycodon is rather variable in colour. The commonest type is a reddish brown ground, barred with numerous dark-edged white or faintly yellow cross bands, the first of which forms a broadish dull white collar. But the ground colour and pattern of the bars vary much in differed specimens. The darkest coloured individuals are those which most resemble the Kraits. In old specimens the white cross band disappear, and the yellow tinge sometimes seen in the cross bars quickly fades in spirits. It grows to about two feet of which the tail measures one-sixth. The eye of the Lycodon is small and very black, with a vertical pupil, whereas the Krait has a round pupil. The latter may also be, readily distinguished from the harmless Lycodon by a glance at the vertebral scales, which in the Krait are much broader than the other scales of the body and hexagonal in shape, forming a conspicuous ridge on the median line of the back; whereas in the Lycodon the vertebral series of scales is no larger than the other rows. The dentition of the Lycodon is peculiar, as, unlike most other harmless species, each maxillary is furnished with two enlarged fangs in front, placed in a transverse line, the outer being much larger than the inner. But no snakes of this family have posterior grooved teeth, and, as Gunther has pointed out, the use of the fangs in front of the jaws is to pierce and hold fast the hard smooth scales of the lizards on which it preys. In the Konkan the Lycodon is one of the many harmless species to which the name of *manyar* is applied, and which are popularly believed to cause death by a touch of the tongue or by casting their shadows over their victims.

#### *Amblycephalidae.*

AMBLYCEPHALIDAE. The Bluntheads (Amblycephalidae) have no representatives in this district.

#### *Pythonidae.*

PYTHONIDAE. Of this family, numbering two species, the well known Indian Rock Snake, *Python molurus* (L.), is found occasionally throughout the district, and called by the natives in different localities *ajgar*, *ar*, and *chitai*. It inhabits thick forests

and groves, usually in the neighbourhood of water or swampy ground, where it finds a regular supply of food in the animals which come to drink. Birds of all kinds, squirrels, rats and mice, and even young deer and sheep contribute to its support. It is one of the largest of living reptiles, but its size and power have no doubt been occasionally much exaggerated. Specimens of twenty feet long have been frequently obtained, and as specimens of its congener of the Malayan Peninsula, *Python reticulatus* (Schn.), have been recorded as measuring about thirty feet, it is probable that *P. molurus* may occasionally attain the same length. The majority of specimens however exhibited by snake-charmers seldom exceed twelve feet. Rock Snakes from fifteen to twenty feet long' writes Gunther [The Reptiles of British India, p. 329.] have the thickness of a man's thigh, and will easily overpower a small deer, a sheep, or a good-sized dog. But although able to kill these animals, the width of their mouth is not so large that they can swallow one larger than a half-grown sheep. The way in which they seize and kill their prey is the same as that observed in numerous smaller snakes: after having seized the victim, they smother it by throwing several coils of the body over and round it. In swallowing they always begin with the head; and, as they live entirely on mammals and birds, the hairs and feathers offer a considerable impediment to the passage down the throat. The process of deglutition is therefore slow, but it would be much slower except for the great quantity of saliva discharged over the body of the victim. During the time of digestion, especially when the prey has been a somewhat large animal, the snake becomes very lazy: it moves but slowly when disturbed, or defends itself with little vigour when attacked. At any other time the Rock Snakes will fiercely defend themselves when they perceive that no retreat is left to them. Although individuals kept in captivity become tamer, the apparent tameness of specimens brought to Europe is much more a state of torpidity caused by the climate than an actual alteration of their naturally fierce temper. Notwithstanding the above, however, the tame Pythons exhibited in this country by snakemen, whether, from overfeeding or other causes, are usually very gentle creatures, and, unlike the restless *dhamans*, can be easily and safely handled. One peculiarity of the Pythons is that they incubate their eggs, and the temperature of the body at this season has been observed to be higher than at other times.

The ground colour of the Indian Rock Snake is usually a

greyish brown. The crown and nape of the head are marked with a brown spot like the head of a lance. The back and tail are adorned with a vertical series of large brown quadrangular spots, with an oblong spot on each side of the central line. The sides of the body have another series of irregular pale centred brown spots. The snout is long and depressed, and in adult individuals a rudimentary hind limb, hidden between the muscles, may easily be discovered on each side of the root of the tail.

### *Erycidae.*

ERYCIDAE. The family of Sand Snakes or Erycidae has two representatives in this district, both of which are comparatively common.

The *parad*, *Gongylophis conicus* (Schn.), is frequently seen within cantonment limits at Poona, and is common elsewhere in the district. It is a very thick clumsily made brown snake marked on its back with large brown blotches, which frequently unite and form a broad zigzag band, and on each side is a row of smaller irregular brown spots. The tail is very short and tapering, and the head, which is scaled not shielded, except at the lips and forepart of the snout, is flat, oblong, and scarcely distinct from the neck. The general character of the markings resembles that of the Python, and the *parad* like the latter has rudimentary hind limbs. *Parads* are indeed often exhibited by snake-charmers as young Pythons. The maximum length of the *parad* is about twenty-five inches. In young specimens the markings are very distinct, and the underparts, which are white in the adult, are suffused with a pale salmon tinge.

The Two-headed Snake, the *dutonde* of the Marathas, *Eryx johnii* (Russ.), is also common in the Poona district in dry stony fields where it preys on mice. Its colour is usually reddish brown irregularly dotted with black, while young specimens have a series of brown rings distinct on the hind part of the body and getting fainter towards the neck. The lower parts are pale, marbled with dark in the adults, and in young specimens steel-blue spotted with salmon colour. Like the *parad* it is thick and heavy and very slow in its movements. Its chief characteristic is

its short thick rounded tail, which the snake-charmers frequently mutilate in order to give it the appearance of a second head. The real head resembles that of the *parad* in being covered with scales instead of shields, and in not being distinct from the neck. It grows to about four feet, of which the tail only occupies four inches. This species, like the other members of the family, has the conical prominences in the place where the hind limbs ought to be. The *dutonde* is perfectly inoffensive, and cannot be made to bite under any provocation. It avoids wet ground and prefers sandy plains, where it can burrow with ease. In the Deccan this snake is generally called the *mandul*.

#### *Acrochordidae.*

ACROCHORDIDAE. The Wart Snakes or Acrochordidae with small tubercular or spiny scales are not found in this district.

#### *Elapidae.*

Of the Elapidae embracing the genera *Naja*, *Ophiophagus*, *Bangarus*, *Xenurelaps*, and *Callophis*, the only representative in this district is the well known Cobra, *nag*, *Naja tripudians* (Merrem.). Cobras are no doubt abundant in the Poona district; but as they are chiefly nocturnal in their habits, by no means aggressive, and from their large size easily seen and avoided, the mortality attributable to their deadly bite is fortunately very low. At least eight varieties of this species have been enumerated by Gunther, all referable to the same species, but the type usually seen in the Deccan is of a uniform brownish olive colour above, with a pair of conspicuous white black-edged spectacles on the dilatable neck or hood. The length of Cobras is a subject of almost as much dispute amongst Europeans in India as the length of tigers, and the natural tendency in such cases is to exaggerate the size. Specimens of over five feet in length are decidedly rare, and the limit of seventy inches given by Theobald is probably correct. The fables relating to the Cobra handed down by local tradition would fill a volume. Although, however, it is popularly credited with a sagacity and cunning of which it is entirely innocent, it is unfortunately impossible to exaggerate the deadly effect of its bite, for which no reliable antidote has as yet been discovered. The Cobra impartially feeds on birds, rats, squirrels, lizards, frogs, and sometimes

fish. It climbs trees and roofs of houses in search of prey, and although generally terrestrial, swims well, and readily takes to the water. It has occasionally been caught at sea at a considerable distance from land. The Hamadryad, *Ophiophagus elaps* (Schl.), *the gnahn* of the Burmese, which from its greater power and fierceness is even more dangerous than the Cobra, is luckily not found in Western India. The Krait, *Bungarus coeruleus* (Schn.), occurs in Sind, but probably nowhere else in the Bombay Presidency. The long slender venomous snakes of the genus *Callophis*, which feed on the Dwarf Snakes (*Calamaria*), and have the same geographical distribution, have not yet been observed in the Deccan, though one species, *Callophis nigrescens* (Gunther), inhabits the Nilgiris and the Wainad.

#### *Hydrophidae.*

The Sea Snakes or *Hydrophidae*, which are found in salt water exclusively, and which are without exception venomous, are not found in any of the inland tracts.

#### *Viperidae.*

The true vipers which have no pit in the loreal region are represented in India by the genera *Daboia* and *Echis*, having each one species. Of these one only, the *phursa*, *Echis carinata* (Merrem.), is known with certainty to occur in the Poona district. It is extremely abundant in the coast districts of Ratnagiri, Thana, and Kolaba, and is found more sparingly in the barer portions of the summit of the Sahyadri range or Konkan Ghat Matha. East of the Sahyadris it is seldom seen. The comparative immunity of the Poona district from deaths by snake-bite is no doubt due to the scarcity of the *Echis*, which is the chief agent of destruction in other districts where it is plentiful. Gunther was strangely in error when he wrote that no case was known of its bite having proved fatal. The *Echis* has a wide distribution. It is found in Sind and the Panjab, North-Western, Central, and Southern India, and is exceptionally common on the Western coast; but it is absent or very scarce in Lower Bengal, and it is rare in the Deccan. In Sind it is known at the *Kapar* and at Delhi as the *aphai*. The *Echis* is a little brown; snake seldom exceeding twenty inches in length, with a series of dark-edged pale ovate spots on the body, with a very



conspicuous undulating pale line down each side. The head is covered with keeled scales and the pupil is vertical. The *phursa* is most often found in rocky hill-sides and plains, living under the shelter of large boulders, and feeding on centipedes; but it occasionally enters houses, and has an awkward habit of taking its siestas on roads and footpaths, whence it will not stir on the approach of man, but will suffer itself to be trodden on rather than move. This peculiarity makes it especially dangerous to bootless travellers, should they tread on it unawares in the dark. Once roused it is fierce and active, and will defend itself with great vigour and courage. Of all the venomous snakes in Western India this little viper is undoubtedly by far the most destructive. Its bite is not probably attended by fatal results more than once in five times; but its diminutive size and obstinate immobility give it far more frequent opportunities a biting than has any other species of venomous snake. The symptoms of *phursa* bite are also peculiar and may be readily distinguished. The venom, unlike that of the Cobra, liquifies the blood, and induced excessive hemorrhage [The peculiar hemorrhage induced by the bite of this viper seems to have been noted by old writers. In his work on Destruction of Life by Snakes in Western India, Ex-Commissioner quotes a passage from the Physician Johnstonus, which evidently refers to the Echis: 'Is enim in eo tractu quo Alexander Porum persequabatur inventos fuisse serpentes parvos quidem, ad eorumque morsum toto corpore sanguineum sudorem dimanasse'. That is, For he (says) that in the country in which Alexander followed after Porus certain small snakes were found at whose bite a bloody sweat oozed from the whole body.] at the bitten part, and in severe cases bleeding at the gums and from the pores of the skin, followed by lockjaw. The action of the virus is, however, very slow, and in fatal cases the average interval between the bite and death is about 4½ days. The application of ammonia has been found after trial to aggravate rather than reduce the hemorrhage which is the chief source of danger. For some years past a native remedy, the root of the *pangla* shrub, *Pogostemon purpuricaulis*, has been used at the Ratnagiri Civil Hospital, with some apparent success in stopping the troublesome bleeding. The root is given both internally and a paste for outward application; but its property as a styptic does not yet appear to be known to Indian dealers in drugs. The results obtained with its use for this purpose are however sufficiently encouraging to justify a careful and exhaustive analysis of the plant by competent authority. The *Pogostemon purpuricaulis* is a plant of the labiate order, nearly allied to the Patchouli shrub, and is



found abundantly in the Konkan and in the western subdivisions of the Poona district. [Further information as to the Echis, with a more detailed account of the symptoms induced by its bite, will be found at pages 51-52 of Vol, X. of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Ratnagiri and Savantvadi.]

The Chain Viper or Daboia, the Cobra Manilla (*Coluber monileger*) of the Portuguese, the *tic polonga* of Ceylon, the *ghonas* and *kandor* of Konkan Marathas, *Daboia russellii* (Shaw), has a wide distribution in India, ranging from Ceylon to the Himalayas; but if it occurs at all within the limits of the Poona district, it must be very rare. It is known, however, to occur in the Southern Konkan, as well as in Cutch and Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency, and it is probable that it will be found in or near the Sahyadri range. It grows to about sixty inches and is handsomely marked by three chains or necklaces of large black white-edged rings, the middle series being oval in shape, and the outer circular. The head is marked with two yellow lines converging on the snout, and is peculiarly repulsive. The Daboia is thickly built and sluggish, and like the *phursa* shows great reluctance to move on the approach of man. It is nocturnal in its habits, and feeds on rats and mice and sometimes attacks sitting hens. It is fierce and fearless, and on this account, as well as from its long powerful fangs and its deadly venom, is perhaps more to be dreaded even than the Cobra or the Hamadryad.

#### *Crotalidae.*

The Pit Vipers, *Crotalidae*, so called from the deep pit in the loreal. region, of which the American Rattle Snakes are the best known examples, are represented in India by the genera *Trimeresurus*, *Peltopelorus*, *Halys*, and *Hypnale*. One species of the *Trimeresurus* or Tree Vipers with prehensile tails, *Trimeresurus strigatus* (Grey), is said by Gunther and Theobald to inhabit the Deccan or the Nilgiris. Another, *T. anamallensis*, occurs in the Anamalli Hills, as does *Peltopelorus macrolepis* (Beddome). One species of *Halys*, *H. himalayanus*, is restricted to the Himalayan region, while another, *H. elliotti*, has been found on the Nilgiris. *Hypnale nepa*, the 'Carawala also occurs in the mountains of Southern India. As far, however, as can be ascertained, there is no authentic record of the occurrence of any species of Pit Vipers within the limits of the Bombay

Presidency. The Indian Pit Vipers are usually of small size, and though venomous are much less dangerous than their cousins of the new world.

### Snake Charmers.

The small gangs of professional jugglers who frequently visit Poona and other large towns in their wanderings, exhibiting snakes, and performing conjuring tricks, belong to the tribe of Madari Garudis. They are Muhammadans, said to be of Arabian descent. Like other Musalmans the Garudis are distinguished among themselves as belonging to one or other of the four main tribes, and are known accordingly as Madari Syeds, Madari Shaikhs, Madari Moghals, and Madari Pathans. They speak a corrupt Hindustani, and are worshippers of *Samna Mira*. [There is a tomb of *Samna Mira* at Tasgaon in the Satara District, in whose honour a fair is held annually in *magh* (February-March),] They circumcise their boys, obey the Kazi, and marry only among the four tribes of Madari Garudis. The Garudis have no fixed homes, but wander from town to town wherever their performances are likely to attract spectators and bring money. No one party appears to have any exclusive beat, though the same gang frequently revisits the same towns. The males only, of all ages, take part in the performances. While travelling from place to place they occupy their time in hunting for snakes, ichneumon, and scorpions, practising their tricks, and training the boys. The snake-charmers are quiet and inoffensive, and are not reckoned among the criminal tribes like the more turbulent Hindu Mang Garudis, with whom they have nothing in common except the name of Garudi.

The stock in trade of a family of Garudis includes, firstly, a fusty but capacious bag, well worn and patched all over, containing a very heterogeneous collection of odds and ends, and rude apparatus used in their various juggling tricks; secondly, two or more flat circular bamboo baskets for holding the snakes and slung on a polo for greater convenience in transport; thirdly, the *pungi* or double-pipe made of a gourd with two hollow bamboo tubes, inserted as mouth-pieces; and lastly, a diminutive drum or tom-tom, shaped like an hour-glass, with a button loosely attached by a string tied round the middle, which is made to strike the drum on each face in succession, by a smart turn of the wrist. Add to these an

ichneumon, a hubble-bubble or cocoanut pipe, which serves at once for tobacco smoking and holding fireballs, and a few black scorpions with the stings extracted, and one or two small harmless snakes carried in pieces of hollow bamboo, and the Garudi's outfit is complete.

The snakes usually kept for exhibition are Cobras, Pythons, and Rat Snakes, with occasionally a Sand Snake, or so-called two-headed snake with the tail mutilated so as to resemble the head. A few specimens of common harmless snakes, such as the chequered Water Snake and the fasciolated Cowry Snake, are also kept to be sacrificed to show the skill of the ichneumon, when the occasion does not demand the more exciting fight between the ichneumon and the cobra. Vipers are seldom found in the snake-charmer's collections, being too sluggish and ill-tempered for exhibition. The poison fangs of the Cobras are invariably extracted as soon as they are caught, and the fang matrix is sometimes cauterised as an additional precaution to prevent possible danger by the development of new fangs to replace the old.

Most of the snakes exhibited can be fed in captivity without difficulty; a hungry Python is always a good excuse for demanding a chicken to appease his appetite after being exhibited, while frogs are always easily obtained and gratefully accepted by the greedier *dhamans*. Cobras are said to persistently refuse food in confinement, and have either to be crammed or let loose at intervals of a month or so to find their own food, and be recaptured, if possible, after repletion.

The capture of wild Cobras is a comparatively easy task to those who know their habits, and have nerve to handle them. When a Cobra frequents a rat-hole, as it generally does, it betrays its occupancy by wearing the mouth of the hole smooth and leaving thereon a little slimy deposit. The Garudis, on finding such evidences of the snake's haunts, dig quietly into the hole, until the tail of the Cobra is exposed to view. Seizing the tail with one hand, the snake-catcher rapidly draws the Cobra through the other hand, up to the neck, where it is firmly grasped on each side by the finger and thumb in such a way as to render the snake powerless to bend its neck in either

direction. The fangs are then as soon as possible extracted with a pair of pincers, and the Cobra is carefully secured in an empty basket. *Dhamans* are sometimes caught in holes in a similar manner, but more often are pursued and captured in open ground. To catch a large *dhaman* in this way is a feat requiring great dexterity and some courage; for, this snake, although not venomous, is very fierce and active, bites savagely, and often wounds with a smart stroke of its powerful tail. The length of a *dhaman* moreover frequently makes it impossible to draw it with one hand through the other at one stroke, from tail to neck. In such cases, the man, seizing the snake by the tail, eventually gets a grip of its neck by a quick hand-over-hand movement, while at the same time the snake is prevented from turning on its captor by being violently swung from side to side with each movement of the hand. But in so doing the snake-catcher, if not very dexterous, is very liable to be bitten, especially in the face. As the Rat Snakes never lose all their fierceness in captivity the same process has to be repeated on each occasion that they are let loose, and the recapture of a savage *dhaman* is one of the most skilful feats performed by the exhibitor. Chequered Water Snakes are also fierce, active, and untameable, but are easily caught in a gorged state, in the shallow streams and canals, which they frequent. The smaller snakes are generally caught by the aid of a bamboo stick split into two pieces at one end, and thus forming a rude forceps. Of the snakes usually exhibited the Cobra is perhaps the only species which can be really tamed. Pythons, fierce by nature, are probably kept in a state of lethargy by frequent feeding. Cobras on the other hand are naturally gentle in disposition, and, after a few lessons, are easily made to stand with hood erected, by rivetting their attention on some object kept constantly moving before them, from side to side.

The *pungi* or gourd-pipe is invariably played as an accompaniment to the Cobra's dance, as it is called, as well as to every juggling trick performed by the Garudis. But the dismal monotone of this weird instrument is an accessory and nothing more. Snakes hear imperfectly, and according to Dr. Nicholson, the Burmese snakemen put their Cobras through exactly the same performances without any musical accompaniment. The *pungi* has probably no more effect on the movements of the Cobra than it has in causing the basic growth of the mango tree, through all its stages, from seed to fruit, or the marvellous disappearance of the little boy in the well-known basket trick.

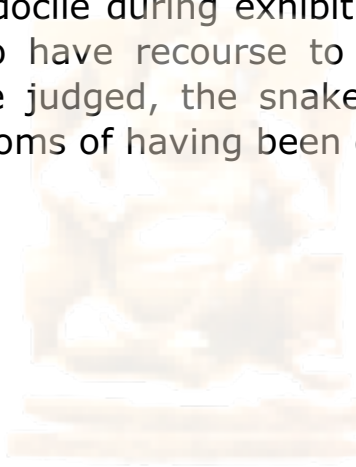
The Garudis profess indeed to charm Cobras from their holes by the sound of the *pungi*, and it is possible that a tame Cobra, which has been placed by its keeper in a hole to simulate a wild one, may be sufficiently aroused by the familiar droning of the pipe to show itself at the mouth of the hole. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether a wild snake would be similarly attracted by the noise. It is a very common trick amongst the Garudis, on visiting a compound where they are likely to obtain an audience, to secretly place a tame Cobra in any hole that may suit the purpose, and then, pretending to have discovered a wild one, show their skill in catching it. This very simple ruse answers admirably if the snake-charmer is allowed to conduct his pretended search where he pleases. In this case he has only to lead the spectators gradually to the spot selected, examining a few holes by the way, which he confidently pronounces to be empty, and finally stopping at the right hole, with an air of triumphant mystery, produce his tame snake after much ceremony and gesticulation to the usual accompaniment of slow music. Sometimes, it happens: that one of the audience knows or pretends to know of some particular hole frequented by a Cobra, and desires the snakemen to charm and catch it. In this case the snake-charmer has no opportunity of placing a tame Cobra beforehand in the hole, with intent to deceive. But he is generally equal to the occasion; for one of the party, with an eye to this contingency, nearly always carries a tame Cobra cunningly concealed in the folds of his waistcloth, which by very ordinary sleight of hand he can, unseen by the spectators gradually insinuate into the hole, while pretending to examine the entrance. Stories are indeed told of these men being carefully stripped and searched beforehand, to satisfy the spectators that they have no snake concealed about them, and then taken to some holes, of which they could have had no previous knowledge, whence they have notwithstanding produced Cobras. But in all such cases it will generally be found on inquiry that although the spectator may have satisfied themselves by previous search that no snake was concealed about the performer, no subsequent examination has been made of the snake itself to ascertain, by the presence or absence of fangs, whether it was a wild or a tame one. If the snakeman shows a decided reluctance, as he usually does, to the captured snake being killed or examined, it may be safely inferred that, whether subjected to previous search or not, he has somehow contrived to produce in the exact nick of time one of the fangless specimens in his collection.



The Garudis know well the difference between venomous and harmless species of snakes, and will handle the latter fearlessly. But if they have credulous listeners, they delight in telling exaggerate and fanciful tales as to the dire consequences of the bite of an earth-worm, or an innocent Rough Tail. It is not known whether these snakemen, if accidentally bitten by a Cobra, and they seldom meddle with other venomous snakes, have recourse to anything as a supposed antidote. Johnson, the author of *Indian Field Sports*, who employed a party of Kanjurs in Calcutta to catch snakes for him a year, writes of these people, that whenever they attempt to catch snakes there are always more than one present, and a second person carries with him a *gudgudi* which is a smoking machine, made generally of a cocoanut below, with an earthen funnel above, containing fireballs; in the fire they have always secreted a small iron instrument about the size of a prong of a table-fork, curved into the shape of a snake's tooth, tapering from above, and whenever they are bitten they first put on a light ligature above the bite, then suck the part, and as soon as blood appears they introduce this instrument red-hot into the two orifices made by the teeth, and take some bazar spirits, if they can procure any, in which they infuse a small quantity of *bhang*.' As far as this author could learn, these were the only remedies ever adopted. The Garudis frequently carry with them the so-called snake stones, but probably profit more by their sale than by their use. These stones, found on analysis to be made of calcined bone, are black, highly polished, and shaped like almonds. Similar stones appear to be manufactured in other parts of the world, as in Mexico, where the material used is charred stag's horn. These snake-stones have the property of absorbing liquid up to a certain point, and if applied to a wound will adhere and draw out the blood, until saturation prevents further absorption. [An interesting account of the manufacture and properties of snake-stones will be found in Wood's *Natural History*, III. 144.] Besides the ordinary black snake stones the Garudis occasionally offer for sale as charms small transparent beads of the size and shape of acidulated lemon drops, which they audaciously profess to have extracted from the palates of very old male Cobras. It is not known how or where these beads are obtained, or of what substance they are composed. In their general consistence they appear to be like pieces of pale amber. In some parts of India the snake-charmers use the root of a plant to stupefy snakes and scorpions. A few pieces of root are



placed in a bag in which the snakes or scorpions, as the case may be, are kept, and in a few minutes the patients are said to become comatose. Possibly the root used may be that of the *Aristolochia indica*, or Indian birthwort (*isharmal*, Hind.), well known as a supposed antidote in cases of snake-bite. The roots of allied species of birthworts are used in other countries, both as antidotes to the poison and for stupefying snakes. In North America the well known Virginian snake-root, *Aristolochia serpentaria*, is used as an antidote, while in South America the 'Guaco,' a similar root is employed for the same purpose and also for stupefying snakes, the juice extracted from the root being dropped into the snake's mouth. Similarly, the Egyptian snake-charmers are said to use an African species of birthwort to make their snakes docile during exhibition. In Western India the Garudis appear to have recourse to no such expedients, and, as far as can be judged, the snakes exhibited by them never show any symptoms of having been drugged.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

## PRODUCTION

### FISH

[Contributed by Mr. Henry Wenden, District Engineer, Great Indian Peninsula Railway.] The Poona rivers and streams are fairly stocked with fish. From the middle of June, when the south-west monsoon sets in, until Production Fish. the end of October, the rivers and streams are in full volume. With the close of the rains their waters gradually subside, and, by March, they form'a series of pools connected by long reaches of feebly running stream. Some of the pools are long, deep, and rocky, safe sanctuaries for fish; others are shallow, easily netted or emptied in sections with the help of temporary dams. By the end of April the shallow pools have been plundered of all their fish-life.

During the rains, every highland stream is beset with basket-traps or minute bag-nets which effectually prevent the return to the main waters of fish that have run up the small streams to breed. Very few of the fry escape. In the lower reaches are numerous natural or artificial dams or narrowings of the water-way, in which, during breaks in the rainfall and in the final shrinking of the rainy-season floods, are set immense bag-nets with meshes varying from two inches at the mouth to a quarter of an inch at the tail or bag. These nets are usually set for ten to twelve hours, and taken up morning and evening. As much as 300 pounds weight of fish are frequently taken from one such net, composed of specimens varying from an inch to several feet in length. Fry predominate to a painful extent; many of the mature fish are heavy with spawn and milt; and all are crushed into one mass by the force of the stream.

No private rights to fisheries exist, but each village claims the river within the limits of its own land. In some sacred *dohs* or pools the priests prevent the people from fishing. In the absence of any legislation for the protection of fish, these sacred breeding places are the only safeguard for the preservation of the supply; it would be an incalculable gain to the mass of the people if they were more numerous. [The chief sacred pools or *dohs* where fish are never killed are: In the

Haveli subdivision, Tukarambava's pool in the Indrayani at Dehu, and Moraya Gosavi's pool in the Pauna at Chinchvad; in Bhimthadi, Bhivai's pool in the Nira at Kambleshvar; in Purandhar Holkar's pond at Jejuri; in Sirur, Santbava's pool in the Bhima at Ranjangaon; in Indapur, Ojhraidevi's pool in the Nira at Ojhre and Sonhoba's pool in the Bhima at Narsinhpur in Khed, a pool near the ferry at Kashekhed, Mahadev's pools at Chandoli Vetale and Pangri, the Vrindavan pool at Donde, Madhavesvar's pools at Saygaon and Mohokol, the Umbar pool at Kadhe, Mhasoba's pool at Bibi, Gadad Narayan's pool at Kahu, the Pimpal pool in Koyali in Vade, Avli in Kashevadi, Dham in Surkundi, Bhand in Tiphavadi and Goregaon, Maud in Valadh, Kand in Shirol, Gajrai at Nimbgaon, all in the Bhima; and Tukarambava's pool at Yelvadi, and Chakra-tirth at Alandi.]

The chief fishing classes are Marathi Bhois and Koli Bhois, but few of either class live solely by fishing. Where not forbidden they catch fish at all seasons and by every means in their power. The following account from Dr. Day's Fishes of India describes the devices for catching fish which are in use throughout the Poona district: As soon as the young fish are moving, that is shortly after the rains set in, men women and children catch myriads of fry in rice-fields and in every sheltered spot to which the fish have retired for shelter. Nets are employed which will not allow a mosquito to pass, and so far as human ingenuity can contrive it, the sides of the rivers are stripped of fish. Husbandmen make wicker-work traps, baskets, and nets, and first set them so as to trap the breeding fishes on their way up stream to their spawning grounds, and afterwards torn the traps so as to catch the fish in their down-stream journey. Streams are strained to capture the fry, and no irrigation channel is without its wicker-work trap.

The minimum size of the mesh of the fresh-water nets is shown in the following return which is compiled from ninety-one reports:

### FRESH-WATER FISHING NETS.

SIZE OF MESH IN INCHES.											
1	Below 1	1/2	1/3	1/4	1/5	1/6	1/8	1/10	1/12	1/16	1/32
5	5	18	5	24	1	5	18	4	2	3	1

In fifty-three of seventy more returns the size of the mesh is compared to a grain of wheat, pearl, Indian maize, gram, split pulse, oil seed, barley, tamarind seed, a small pea, a peppercorn, to a hole large enough for a big needle a bodkin or a quill or to the openings in coarse muslin. [Day's Fishes of India, XI.]

The mesh of the nets varies with the season of the year and the size of the fish. Rivers are dammed and diverted for fishing, and the still more wasteful system of poisoning water is sometimes practised. Fish are poisoned by the leaves, bark, or juice of various plants, chiefly the *kuchla* or *kajra* *Strychnos nux-vomica*, the *ramet* *Lasiosiphon speciosus*, the *supti* *Tephrosea suberosa*, and the *hingan* *Balanitis roxburghii*. Mr. Thomas in The Rod in India also mentions among fish poisons, *Croton tiglium*, *Anamirta cocculus*, *Capsicum frutescens*, and *kare kai* (Tulu) *Posoqueria nutans* or *longispina*. [On the Bombay side *kare kdi* is known by the name of *ghela*.]

Occasionally dead or night lines are systematically set. What is known as the Indian Trimmer is a favourite device. A stout pliant bamboo rod eight to twelve feet long is stuck in the bank in a sloping position, or sometimes in shallows several bamboos are set stretching in a line across the river at intervals of a few yards. From the point of the rod is hung a line with the hook passed through a cord tied round the waist of a frog so that it may paddle on the surface of the water. At times the line is dropped from the bough of an overhanging tree. This device is very effective, especially in turbid water, and large fish and water-snakes are often taken.

True angling with a hand-rod is practised in an unscientific,

almost childish, manner by idlers or pot-hunters.

A few men labour day after day with the *pagir* or *bhor jale* that is the light casting net with poor results. But as a rule the methods which involve the minimum of labour are most in favour. The *malai* or basket-trap, the *khabri* or bag-net, the *bhuse* or *tivri* which may be described as floating entanglements, and the trimmer, take but a short time to set and gather in, and may be left to themselves for twelve hours or more. These may therefore be looked on as the commonest means of catching fish. The nets chiefly used are:

1. A light easting net called *pagir* or *bhor jale*.

2. A heavy casting net called *sark*, of strong cord and large mesh used in catching large fish in fast water. A cord is passed through the meshes at the outer diameter of the net, which, on being drawn tight, closes the mouth and the fish are, as it were, caught in a closed bag. After being thrown and closed this net is drawn in mouth foremost.

3. Bag-nets called *khabris* are fixed in strong currents generally produced by building rough stone dams with openings.

4. A net called *bhuse* varying in length, but often 500 feet long and two feet broad, of fine cord and large mesh, are so floated along the upper and lightly weighted along the lower edges that it remains at or near the surface. It is left stretched across a pool for hours, usually for a whole night, and fish attempting to pass are entangled.

5. Another net called *tivri* differs from the *bhuse* in having larger meshes and in being so weighted as to lie near the bottom of the pool. It takes large fish.

6. Drag-nets called *pandis*, six feet to eight feet deep and of varying length, are floated at the top and weighted at the bottom where there is a bag or pocket.

7. A net called *jhile* or *pelui* is fastened to a triangular frame of bamboo, and is used in much the same way as the European shrimping net.

8. A plunge net, called *choba*, is a bag-net fixed to an iron or bamboo ring, from which rise three bamboo rods which are fastened together at or near the tail of the bag. The fisherman wades in the shallows, and plunges the net to the bottom; and passing his hands through the hole at the tail of the net, catches any fish that are imprisoned by it.

9. The *lavkari* can only be described as a bag-drag net. It is often seventy to eighty feet long with a diameter of thirty feet at the mouth. As it requires as many as fifty men to work and costs as much as £20 (Rs. 200) it is not commonly used.

Many simple modifications of these nets are called by different names.

The nets are mostly designed for the capture of very small fry, Except the *bhuse* and *tivri* which may be termed entanglement though they are exceedingly fine and light, a fish is rarely able to burst through these nets. A fish is sure to catch and the fish in its efforts to get free wraps itself in the net.

Most of the people of the district eat fish. About thirty kinds of fish are offered for sale in the Poona market at prices varying from 1½d. to 1½d. a pound (2 -2½ annas a *sher*). Five kinds are common eaten by Europeans, *vambat* *Mastacembalus armatus*, *ahir* *Anguilla bengalensis*, three *marals* *Ophiocephalus*



marulins, *O. leucopunctatus* and *O. striatus*, *shivada* or *pari* Wallago attu, and *shengal* or *shingala* Macrones seenghala. These fetch 4d. to 4½d. a pound (5 1/3-6 annas a sher).

If the people studied their interests they would give up basket-traps and bag-nets of minute mesh and cease poisoning pools. Were netting stopped between the 1st of September and the 30th of November, mature breeding fish would not be destroyed, and the fry would increase. And if, from the 1st of December to the end of March, no nets with a smaller mesh than one inch were used, the supply of food would be largely increased. The fry would grow until March between which and June, as in early life fish increase in weight with astonishing rapidity they would yield an infinitely greater supply of food than if, as at present, they were destroyed in infancy. It is believed that though the supply of fish were increased twentyfold it would not exceed the demand.

Many pools, ponds, and lakes in the district are well suited for the systematic rearing of fish. It is possible to cultivate water as profitably as land. Indeed, in China, where fish-rearing has been a science for thousands of years, an acre of water is considered more valuable than an acre of land. In the Poona district, an acre of water, if not used for irrigation, is worth nothing. Any pond within fifteen miles by road or thirty miles by rail of a European settlement might be made a source of considerable revenue. In Poona coarse tasteless fish cost 4⅛d. to 4½d. a pound (5½-6 annas a sher), a price double the price of good beef and a quarter to a half more than the price of good mutton; and even at this price the supply of fish is uncertain and scanty. If the *gaurami* or *Osphromenus olfax* and some other non-predatory fish were introduced, the outlay would be trivial and the produce would find a ready market. But the outturn of water is limited in the same degree as the yield of land, and, to make it pay, fish-rearing would have to be conducted in a careful and systematic manner.

According to Dr. Day, between eighty and ninety species of fish are known to be more or less common throughout the fresh waters of India. These may occur, though it does not follow that, all do occur, in the rivers and ponds of the Deccan. Of the

eighty or ninety species only between thirty and forty are more than twelve inches long. The rest are chiefly species of small size, though almost all are valued by the people as food.

A collection recently made for the International Fisheries Exhibition in London included forty-four species. These were, *Ambassis nama gande-chiri*, *Gobius giuris kharpa*, *Mastacembelus armatus vambat* or *bam*, *Ophiocephalus striatus dakhu*, *O. leuco-punctatus* or *O. marulius maral*, *Channa orientalis* (?), *Macrones seenghala shinghala* or *shengal*, *Macrones corsula ? kala shengul*, *Macrones cavasius shingata*, *Rita pavimentata ghogra*, *Rita hastata kurdu*, *Pseudeutropius taakree vaidi* or *vayadi*, *Callichrous bimaculatus gugli*, *Callichrous malabaricus kala gugli*, *Wallago attu shivada* or *pari*, *Bagarius varrelli* [Grows to an enormous size. The writer has lately stuffed two of 93½ and 60 pounds respectively.] *mulanda* or *tharota*, *Belone cancila kutra*, *Discognathus lamta malavya*, *Lepidocephalicthys thermalis chikani* or *mura*, *Nemacheilus sinuatus*, *N. aureus* or *N. botia teli mura*, *N. savona mura*, *Nemacheilus? mura* or *sonda*, *Labeo fimbriatus tambda*, *L. calbasu kanoshi*, *L. potail royadi* or *tambti*, *L. boggut sande*, *L. nakta nakta*, or *nakta shendoa*, *L. ariza* or *kawrus kavdasha*, *Labeo?* (unidentified), *Cirrhina fulungee loli*, *Rasbora daniconius dandvan*, *Barbus sarana kudali* or *pitule*, *Barbus dabsoni pangat*, *Barbus jerdoni? khadchi* or *masla*, *B.? khudra*, *B. parrah kudali*, *B. kolus Koolis* or *kolashi*, *B. ambassis bhondgi*, *B. ticto. bhondgi*, *Rohtee cotio* or *alfrediana gud-dani*, *R. vigorsii phek*, *Chela clupeodies alkut*, *Notopterus kapirot chalat* or *chambari*, and *Anguilla beugalensis ahir*. [The writer is not absolutely certain of the accuracy of his identification in all cases]

The European fisherman may get fair sport if he uses light but strong tackle. *Moral*, *shengal*, *gugli*, *pari*, and *khadchi* all freely take the spoon or natural fish-bait.

*Maral* and *shengal* have been killed up to 14 pounds weight; *pari* up to 21 pounds; *khadchi* to 14 pounds; and the *gugli*, though seldom over 15 inches in length, are exceedingly voracious and relieve the tedium of waiting for bigger fish. These five kinds of fish abound in almost all large river pools, whose rocky sanctuaries or retreats cannot be thoroughly netted and it is near these rocky parts that the best sport is usually found. They can be caught by spinning from the bank,

but it is far better sport to troll for them from a boat. In Lake Fife at Khadakvasla *khadchi* and *pari* have been killed by trolling with the spoon and natural bait. With *khadchi* the best sport is gained by spinning with natural bait in the rapids when the water is clear during long breaks in the rainy months and during the cold weather. The *khadchi* is commonly called *mahasir* by Europeans. This is not the celebrated *mahasir* Barbus for Still it has very much the habits of the true *mahasir* and gives splendid sport being very powerful and very game. According to The Rod in India, whose thoroughly sound hints no fisher can do better than study and follow, the Labeo affords capital bottom fishing, and, as Labeos abound in the Poona rivers, good sport should be obtainable by those who are adepts in this style of angling.

At Dev, on the Indrayani, some fifteen miles north-east of Poona, there is a celebrated sacred *doh* or pool containing a vast number of exceedingly large *khadchi* [The writer has been unable to detect any difference between these fish and those, also called by the natives *khadchi*, which he has killed in other waters, excepting regards their habits and food.] The priest prevents natives from netting the pool, but does not forbid Europeans to fish for sport. Specimens of 38 pounds weight have been caught by Europeans, and there is no doubt that some fish in the pool are double this size. If, as seems probable, these Dev *khadchis* are the same species as those caught at other places with spoon and natural boat, they must be a degenerate or educated race, for they no longer delight in the rapid waters in which our wrongly called *mahasir* is generally found nor will they take live or imitation baits. For ages they we been fed by the priests of the shrine on the river-bank on groundnuts *Hypogoea arachis*, until, unlike other members of the Barbus tribe, they have become strict vegetarians. Of numbers which have been captured and dissected, not one has been found with a trace of any food but groundnuts,, white grain, berries, grass, and water-weeds; while specimens, it is believed of the same species in other pools on the same and other rivers in the district, have been found to have fed chiefly on animal life, fish, insects, grubs, worms, and snails. During the heat of the day it is a wonderful sight to see the *khadchis* sailing about the Dev pool in large shoals, with their fins above the surface, like so many sharks. The bait for them is the groundnut, and they want fine but very strong hooks and tackle. A handful of groundnuts will soon collect a shoal, and, when the water boils with their rises, the

baited hook should be thrown into the midst of the shoal. In the early part of the season, in October soon after the rains are over, when there may be some wild or imperfectly educated fish in the pool, and if the pool has not been over-fished, several runs may be obtained in the course of a day. But, as a rule, the fish are so shy and cunning that after the first run the fisherman may put up his tackle and leave the pool, for he will get no more sport, if this style of fishing may be dignified with the name of sport.

Good sport may be had with small fish in the rapids which usually join the river pools, especially if the rapids have been baited. A rapid is baited by sending a man to spend a couple of days in casting into the heads of several runs or rapids parched gram, groundnuts, and balls of a paste made of clay, bran, rice, and gram. This brings the fish to feed and the sportsman may begin fishing with gram thrown as a fly, spinning with a small bright spoon, or ordinary fly-fishing using small salmon flies. When the fish of one run have become shy the fisher should move to another.

Of the medicinal qualities of the *ahir*, *Anguilla bengalensis*, the local Bhois have the following belief: "On a Saturday the impotent man should strip himself naked and grind black gram. With the flour of the black gram he should bait a hook, and when he catches an *ahir*, he should put it into a broad basin of water in which it can swim. He should then rub red-lead or *shendur* on the *ahir's* head; and, taking it in his hand, say to it: Oh fish I am changing my state for yours in taking this slimy *balas* from your skin. Please accept my offering. He should then remove the *balas*, and, when it is dry roll it into pills, which when eaten will restore his manly power.'

Another of the Poona Bhois' fish-tales is that a fish called *vavas* lives at Rahu Pimpalgaon. In shape the *vavas* is said to be circular like a wheel. It is believed that while Sita, the wife of Ram, was bathing in the river the *vavas* bit a piece out of the calf of her leg. This, say the Bhois, is proved because if you examine the palate of the fish you will always find a ball of butter. To the question why flesh should turn to butter there is the ready reply, 'It is a miracle and must be accepted'!

## POPULATION

### ***Census Details 1872-1881***

ACCORDING to the 1881 census the population of the district was 900,621 or 168.43 to the square mile. Of these, Hindus numbered 846,781 or 94.02 per cent; Musalmans 42,036 or 4.66 per cent; Christians 9500 or 1.05 per cent; Parses 1574 or 0.17 per cent;) Jews 619 or 0.06 per cent; Chinese 78; Sikhs 30; and Unitarians 3. The percentage of males on the total population was 50.53 and of females 49.46. The corresponding returns for 1872 were a total of 921,353 or 180.69 to the square mile, of whom Hindus numbered 870,273 or 94.45 per cent; Musalmans 41,764 or 4.53 per cent; Christians 7415; Parsis 1286; Jews 504; and Others 111. Compared; with the 1872 returns the 1881 returns show a decrease of 20,732 or 2.25 per cent. This decrease is partly due to the famine of 1876-77 and partly to the readiness with which the people of Poona leave their homes in search of employment.

#### *Birth-place.*

Of 900,621 (males 455,101, females 445,520), the total population, 799,381 (males 402,414, females 396,967) or 88.75 per cent were born in the district. Of the 101,240, who were not born in the district, 22,232 were born in Satara; 15,184 in Ahmadnagar; 10,552 in Sholapur; 10,317 in the Kanarese districts; 7485 in the Konkan districts; 4967 in Gujarat; 3744 in Bombay; 3359 in Nasik; 1690 in Khandesh; 1585 in Goa, Daman, and Diu; 595 in Sind; 15,968 in other parts of India; and 3562 outside of India.

#### *Language.*

Of 900,621, the total population, 812,124 (406,908 males, 405,218 females) or 90.17 per cent spoke Marathi. Of the remaining 88,497 persons, 48,254 or 5.35 per cent spoke Hindustani; 12,384 or 1.37 per cent spoke Gujarati; 10,776 or 1.19 per cent spoke Telugu; 6990 or 0.77 per cent spoke Marwari; 5239 or 0.58 per cent spoke English; 2539 or 0.28 per cent spoke Portuguese-Konkani of Goanese; 1013 or 0.11 per cent spoke Tamil; 882 or 0.09 per cent spoke Kanarese; 98 spoke Panjabi; 75 spoke Hindi; 56 spoke Arabic; 55 spoke Burmese; 34 spoke Sindhi; 30 spoke Pashtu; 28 spoke Persian; 23 spoke Chinese; 10 spoke French; 6 spoke German; 2 spoke Baluchi; 2 spoke Greek; and 1 spoke Italian.

The following table gives the number of each religious class according to sex at different ages, with, at each age, the percentage on the total population of the same sex and religion. The columns referring to the total population on it religious distinctions but show the difference of sex:

*Age.*

*POONA POPULATION BY AGE, 1881.*

AGE IN YEARS.	HINDUS.				MUSALMA'NS.			
	Males	Percentage on Males.	Females.	Percentage on females.	Males	Percentage on Males.	Females.	Percentage of Females
up to 1	11,204	2.62	11,388	2.70	530	2.49	536	2.57
1 to 4	44,521	10.43	48,013	11.42	2106	9.91	2176	10.45
5 to 9	62,438	14.64	58,741	13.97	2966	13.97	2871	13.79
10 to 14	53,417	12.52	43,136	10.26	2689	12.66	2251	10.81
15 to 19	30,873	7.23	29,483	7.01	1452	6.83	1439	6.91
20 to 24	31,127	7.29	36,165	8.60	1605	7.55	1749	8.40
25 to 29	39,235	9.19	39,350	9.36	1797	8.46	1945	9.34
30 to 34	36,886	8.64	37,640	8.95	1757	8.27	1837	8.82
35 to 39	28,274	6.62	26,525	6.31	1413	6.65	1238	5.95
40 to 49	40,964	9.60	38,605	9.18	2116	9.96	2059	9.89
50 to 54	18,899	4.43	19,791	4.70	1038	4.81	1046	5.02
55 to 59	8787	2.06	8915	2.12	439	2.06	375	1.80



Above 60	19,869	4.65	22,535	5.36	1338	6.30	1283	6.16
Total	426,494		420,287		21,231		20,805	
	Jews.				OTHERS INCLUDING PARSIS.			
Up to 4	9	3.10	12	3.64	25	2.59	22	3.05
1 to 4	38	13.10	45	13.67	79	8.18	72	10.00
5 to 9	58	20.00	68	20.66	109	11.29	107	14.86
10 to 14	41	14.13	43	13.07	119	12.33	88	12.22
15 to 19	35	12.06	28	8.51	99	10.25	80	11.11
20 to 24	11	8.79	20	6.07	89	9.22	55	7.63
25 to 29	19	6.55	18	5.47	58	6.01	51	7.08
30 to 34	14	4.82	19	5.77	68	7.04	54	7. 50
35 to 39	13	4.48	18	5.47	68	7.04	47	6.52
40 to 49	18	6.20	20	6.07	118	12.22	61	8.47
50 to 54	10	8.44	10	3.03	50	5.18	26	3.61
55 to 59	5	1.72	10	8.03	25	2.59	13	1.80
Above 60	19	6.55	18	5.47	58	6.01	44	6.11
Total	290		329		965		720	

*continue.*

AGE IN YEARS.	CHRISTIANS.			
	Males	Percentage on Males.	Females.	Percentage on females
up to 1	132	2.15	109	3.22
1 to 4	379	6.19	394	11.66
5 to 9	468	7.64	508	15.63
10 to 14	378	6.17	371	10.97
15 to 19	357	5.83	307	9.08
20 to 24	1244	20.32	318	9.41
25 to 29	1182	19.31	362	10.71
30 to 34	584	9.54	288	8.52

35 to 39	405	6.61	188	5.56
40 to 49	491	8.02	270	7.99
50 to 54	202	3.30	95	2.81
55 to 59	117	1.91	51	1.50
Above 60	182	2.97	118	3.49
Total	6121		3379	
	TOTAL			
Up to 4	11,900	2.61	12,067	2.70
1 to 4	47,123	10.35	50,700	11.37
5 to 9	66,039	14.51	62,295	13.98
10 to 14	56,644	12.44	45,889	10.30
15 to 19	32,816	7.21	31,337	7.03
20 to 24	34,076	7.48	38,307	8.59
25 to 29	42,291	9.29	41,726	9.36
30 to 34	39,309	8.63	39,838	8.94
35 to 39	30,173	6.63	28,016	6.28
40 to 49	43,707	9.60	41,015	9.20
50 to 54	20,184	4.43	20,968	4.70
55 to 59	9373	2.05	9364	2.10
Above 60	21,466	4.71	23,998	5.38
Total	455,101		445,520	

The following table shows the proportion of the people of the district who are unmarried, married, and widowed:

*Marriage.*

*POONA MARRIAGE DETAILS, 1881.*

	HINDUS.					
	Under Ten.		Ten to Fourteen.		Fifteen to Nineteen.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Unmarried.	116,319	109,199	45,685	15,883	16,952	1011
Married	1746	8736	7476	26,383	13,518	27,235
Widowed	98	207	257	770	403	1237
	MUSALMANS.					
	Unmarried.	5553	5409	2424	1351	1061
	Married	45	170	151	872	377
Widowed	4	4	14	28	14	39
	CHRISTIANS.					
	Unmarried.	975	1009	375	360	341
	Married	4	2	3	10	16
Widowed	--	--	--	1	--	4

*continue.*

	HINDUS.					
	Twenty to Twenty-nine.		Thirty and Over.		Total.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Unmarried.	12,380	828	4764	852	196,100	127,773
Married	55,846	68,383	131,806	88,295	210,391	219,032
Widowed	2136	6304	17,109	64,964	20,003	73,482

	MUSALMANS.					
Unmarried.	1146	88	515	123	10,799	7083
Married	2134	3330	6557	4339	9264	9999
Widowed	122	276	1014	3376	1168	3723
	CHRISTIANS.					
Unmarried.	2099	93	471	47	4261	1673
Married	320	557	1375	656	1718	1364
Widowed	7	30	135	307	142	342

*POONA MARRIAGE DETAILS, 1881—continued.*

	PARSIS.					
	Under Ten.		Ten to Fourteen.		Fifteen to Nineteen.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Unmarried.	208	198	108	77	77	35
Married	2	1	7	11	21	43
Widowed	--	--	--	--	--	2
	JEWS.					
Unmarried.	105	124	41	37	29	9
Married	--	1	--	6	6	19
Widowed	--	--	--	--	--	--
	OTHERS.					
Unmarried.	3	2	3	--	7	--
Harried	--	--	1	--	--	--
Widowed	--	--	--	--	--	--

*continue.*

	PARSIS.					
	Twenty to Twenty-nine.		Thirty and Over.		Total.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Miles.	Females.
Unmarried.	57	7	13	1	443	318
Married	70	92	251	169	360	316
Widowed	1	4	37	73	38	79

	JEWS.					
Unmarried.	7	2	4	--	186	172
Married	21	33	66	60	93	119
Widowed	2	3	9	35	11	38
	OTHERS.					
Unmarried.	6	--	10	--	29	2
Harried	4	3	66	2	71	5
Widowed	--	--	4	--	4	--

### *Occupation.*

According to Occupation the 1881 census returns divide the population into six classes:

I.-In Government service, learned professions, literature, and arts, 28,026 or 3.11 per cent.

II.-In Domestic service, 14,261 or 1.58 per cent.

III.-In Trade, 9141 or 1.01 per cent.

IV.-In Agriculture, 293,364 or 32.57 per cent.

V.-In Crafts, 67,271 or 7.46 per cent.

VI.- In Indefinite and Unproductive occupations, including children, 488,558 or 54.24 per cent.

### **Houses**

According to the 1881 census, of 205,355 houses, 153,401 were occupied and 51,954 unoccupied. The total gave an average of 38.39 houses to the square mile, and the 153,401 occupied houses an average of 5.87 inmates to each house.

## Villages

There is one village or town to about every 4.51 square miles of land and each village contains an average of 760 people, and about 173 houses. Except eleven towns, including 184,700 people or 20.50 per cent of the entire inhabitants, the population of the Poona district, according to the 1881 census report, lived in 1177 villages with an average of 610 souls in each village. Of the whole number of towns and villages 85 had less than 100 inhabitants 170 had from 100 to 200; 438 from 200 to 500; 300 from 500 to 1000 135 from 1000 to 2000; 24 from 2000 to 3000; 22 from 3000 to 5000; 8 from 5000 to 10,000; and three more than 10,000 inhabitants.

## Communities

[Contributed by Mr. A. Keyser, C. S.] The bulk of the people of the village communities of Poona are of the Maratha Kunbi caste. At the head of the community is the *patil* or hereditary headman. In many villages two or more families either each provide an officiator or serve in rotation, but in most villages the headman is always taken from the same family. When there are more families than one the division may generally be traced to the sale of part of the headman's property and right to hold office. In the smaller villages there is seldom more than one Brahman family in which is vested the hereditary office of *kulkarni* or village accountant. The headman and the accountant jointly exercise all authority in the village. Authority is nominally vested in the headman alone, but the superior education and intelligence of the accountant, who has to write all reports and jury findings, give him almost the whole power. Next to the headman and accountant comes the village moneylender who is usually a Marwar or a Gujarat Vania, but is often also a Brahman and is sometimes a Maratha. He advances money to the husbandmen to pay their assessment and to provide funds for such emergencies as marriage and funeral expenses, and also for improving their fields and adding to their farm stock. His position as a monopolist enables the moneylender to make terms which to European ideas, accustomed to countries where money is cheap, are very harsh. At the same time the moneylender is by no means always an evil character. In many villages he is the people's best friend, without whom they admit they would neither be able to find seed to sow nor money to meet their necessary expenditure. That his terms are not so excessively harsh as they are sometimes represented, is shown by the fact, that, as a rule, his customers prefer to apply to him for advances to improve their estates rather than avail themselves of the more liberal terms on which money is offered by Government. As a middleman between the cultivators and the Government, who ensures the punctual payment of the land-rent, the moneylender is a valuable public servant. The other Government servants are the Mhars, who are messengers, scavengers, and general assistants to the headman and accountant, and the Ramoshis or village watch. In a few cases Mhars and Ramoshis receive cash payment, but in most cases they are paid partly by



grants of rent-free Government land and partly by a fixed proportion from each landholder's crop. Besides these two sources of income in the larger towns the Ramoshis often get fees from travellers whose carts they watch, and these payments in villages on the main lines of traffic sometimes amount to considerable sums. The headman and the accountant are paid by rent-free land and cash. And if the assessment which they escape paying does not amount to a certain fixed percentage on the revenue collected the sum is made up by Government, so that they are really paid in cash. Several other village servants are paid by the community. The *chaugula* or assistant headman whose functions are now almost obsolete, but who still takes a share in all village festivities and ceremonies; the *sonar* the gold and silver smith; the *sutar* or carpenter; the *lohar* or blacksmith; the *parit* or washerman; the *kumbhar* or potter; the *nhavi* or barber; the *chambhar* or currier and shoemaker; the *dhor* or Mang who makes ropes; the *koli* or waterman; and, in the larger villages, the *gurav* or priest who looks after the temple, and the *gram-joshi*, or Brahman astrologer who performs most ceremonies. All of these are usually paid in grain, but money payments, especially to clients from dependent or incomplete villages, are not uncommon. In the larger villages in the plains the full staff of office-bearers and servants is generally found; in the smaller villages, especially in the hilly west, the staff is by no means complete. Many of the smaller western villages are composed of a few Koli families with one or even without any family of Mhars and with one accountant for a group who usually lives in the largest village of his circle.

Except in one or two large towns such as Junnar and Manchar, the Musalman population is small. With rare exceptions, they live on terms of perfect friendship with the Hindus, and in a few villages the head family or one of the head families is Musalman. The principal occupations of the Musalman portion of the community are those of butchers, weavers, vegetable-sellers, and labourers. Parsis, except as liquor-sellers and Government servants, are almost unknown. Though the various Hindu castes do not intermarry or eat together, with the exception of the Mhars, Mangs, Ramoshis, and Chambars, they mix freely, and use the same wells. Disputes between the different castes are rare. The chief exception to this is that Kunbis and Mhars have often serious quarrels regarding the death of cattle, the Kunbis charging the Mhars with poisoning their cattle in order to get the carcasses. Besides the regular body of villagers, groups of reed-huts on the outskirts of a village often mark the camp or settlement of a gang of wanderers. Of these wanderers the chief are the Vanjaris or pack-bullock owners, the Kolhatis or rope-dancers, the Kaikadis or basket-makers, the Vaidus or herb-sellers, and the Vadars or earth-workers.

### **Movements**

In 1875 the Deccan Riots Commissioners came to the conclusion that the district exported little except its superfluous labour. During the eight months from October to June, especially during the latter portion of this period, a

considerable proportion of the Kunbi or cultivating classes go to Bombay, where they earn a living as palanquin-bearers, carriers, grass-cutters, and labourers. It is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the proportion of the population who yearly move to Bombay in search of work. It is probably not less than five per cent. And, if the numbers are added who go to the local labour markets and ply their carts along the principal thoroughfares, the estimate may safely be doubled. [The 1881 census shows that 111,650 people born in Poona were in that year found in different parts of the Bombay Presidency. The details are: Bombay 69,000 against 54,600 in 1872, Ahmadnagar 14,800, Sholapur 9550, Satara 4690, Nasik 4340 Khandesh 3630, Kolaba 3280, Belgaum 840, Ratnagiri 660, Kaladgi 400, Dharwari 310, and Kanara 150.] This practice of a yearly migration in search of labour tends to preserve among the people a spirit of independence and self-reliance. In years of local scarcity the people scatter in search of subsistence to all parts of the Bombay Presidency, to the Berars, and to the Nizam's Dominions. The practice though attended with some inconveniences, was; of considerable assistance to Government in lighting the 1876 famine.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

## POPULATION

### BRAHMANS

**Bra'hmans,** [Hindu caste details are from materials collected by Mr. K. Raghunathji by personal local inquiry and from information supplied by Mr. M. M. Kunte.] according to the 1881 census, included fifteen classes with a strength of 49,039 or 5.80 per cent of the Hindu population. The following statement shows the divisions and the strength of Poona Brahmans:

#### *POONA BRAHMANS, 1881.*

DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.	DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.
Chitpavan	6010	5574	11,584	Kast	93	85	178
Deshasth	16,758	15,991	32,749	Marvadi	140	59	199
Devrukhe	96	79	175	Shenvi	266	179	445
Dravid	15	22	87	Tailang	67	33	100
Govardhan	315	289	604	Tirgul	169	131	300
Gujarati	218	64	282	Vidur	51	49	100
Javal	9	2	11	Total	25,511	23,528	49,039
Kanoj	463	236	699				
Karhade	841	735	1576				

### CHITPAVANS

**Chitpa'vans** [This account of the Chitpavans has the approval of Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh.] from the fact that the Peshwa belonged to their tribe are historically the most important of Poona Brahmans. They are returned as numbering about 11,600 and as found over the whole district. Besides Chitpavans they are called Chitpols and Chiplunas. Of these names Chitpavan is said to mean either pure from the pyre *chita* or pure of heart *chith*, and Chitpol is said to mean heart-burners. It seems probable that these names, like the third name Chiplunas, come from the town of Chiplun in Ratnagiri, their chief and original settlement whose old name is said to have been Chitpolan. [Sahyadri Khand, I. 2.] Since 1715, when Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath rose to be the chief man in the Maratha state, the Chitpavans have also

been known as Konkanasths, that is the chief Konkan Brahmans. Their worship of Parashuram, the slayer of the Kshatriyas and the coloniser of the Konkan, on Parashuram hill close to Chiplun, the fact that they are called *Parashuram srishti* or Parashuram's creation, and the meaning pure from the pyre which the sound of their name suggests, to some extent explain the curious legends of which they are the subjects. According to the Sahyadri Khand, Parashuram was so defiled by the slaughter of the Kshatriyas that Brahmans refused to perform any ceremonies for him. At that time the bodies of fourteen shipwrecked foreigners happened to be cast ashore by the sea which then washed the foot of the Sahyadri hills. These corpses Parashuram purified by burning them on a funeral pyre or *chita*, restored them to life, taught them Brahman rites, and made them perform ceremonies to free him from blood-guiltiness. Parashuram wished to reward his new priests, and as the Deccan had already been given to Brahmans he prayed the sea to spare him some of his domain. The sea agreed to retire as far west as Parashuram could shoot an arrow from the crest of the Sahyadris. The arrow was shot and reclaimed a belt of land about thirty miles broad. The banks of the Vashishthi, about forty miles north of Ratnagiri, were set apart for the new Brahmans, and in memory of the process by which they had been purified they were called Chitpavans and their settlement Chitpolan. After establishing this colony Parashuram retired to Gokarn in North Kanara. Before leaving he told the Brahmans, if they were ever in trouble, to call on him, and he would come to their aid. After a time, fearing that they might be forgotten, one of the Brahmans feigned death and the rest called on their patron to come to their help. Parashuram appeared, and, disgusted with their deceit and their want of faith, told them that they would lose the power of meeting in council and would become servile. Accordingly they are said to have married Shudra women and become degraded. [Another account states that Chitpavans were not foreigners but Bhois or local fishermen. Taylor's Oriental Manuscripts, III. 705. This legend, with slight variations, has been often quoted. The chief references are, Moore's Hindu Pantheon, 351 Wilks' History of the South of India, I 157-158; Grant Duffs Marathas, I. 8 Ancient Remains of Western India, 12; Burton's Goa and the Blue Mountains, 14-15 Asiatic Researches, IX. 239; and Journal Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, XVII. 37 (1853) and V. 1865.] The historic value of this legend is hard to estimate. The writer of the Sahyadri Khand was hostile to other local Brahmans as well as to the Chitpavans. He dishonours the Karhade Brahmans by a story that they are descended from the bones of a camel which was raised to life by Parashuram. This story, probably, arose from a play on the words *khar* an ass and *had* a bone. The explanation has nothing to do with the Karhades who are almost certainly a Deccan tribe who take their name from the town of Karhad in Satara, at the sacred meeting of the Koina

and Krishna rivers. As the two stories are so similar it seems probable that the Chitpavans were called after the old settlement of Chitpolan, and that the resemblance of that word to *chita* a pyre suggested some parts of the legend. At the same time it seems probable that the Chitpavans did not, like the bulk of Konkan Brahmans, enter the Konkan by land. Their fair complexion, the extent to which they use the Konkan dialect in their homes, and the legend of their arrival as shipwrecked sailors seem to show that they came into the South Konkan from, beyond the sea. Whether they were foreigners is doubtful. [Wilford (Asiatic Researches, IX, 239) thought that the Chitpavans were Persian descended from the sons of Khosru Parviz,] The legend of the shipwrecked sailors being foreigners or *mlechhas* is, to some extent supported by the low position which the Chitpavans formerly held among Brahmans, and by the commonness among them of light or gray eyes. The Chitpavans have a tradition that they came from Amba Jogai in the Nizam's country about 100 miles north of Sholapur. They say that they were originally Deshasths, and that fourteen Brahmans of different family-stocks accompanied Parashuram to the Konkan and settled at Chiplun. These fourteen family-stocks belonged to two branches or *shakhas*, Shakala and Titiriya. The *sutra* or ritual of the Shakala branch is that composed by the seer Ashvalayan and of the Titiriya branch is that of the seer Hiranyakeshi. They pay homage to the goddess Jogai or Yogeshvari of Amba, and, wherever they are settled, build a temple in her honour. At Poona there are two temples to Yogeshvari, one red and the other black. Among Chitpavans Yogeshvari takes the next place to Ganpati. Before marriage and other ceremonies they go to her temple with music and ask her to come and be with them during the ceremony. [Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh.]

Until the rise of Balaji Vishvanath Peshwa, who belonged to their class, the Chitpavans held a low position and were known chiefly as spies or *harkaras*. Even after several generations of power and wealth, with strict attention to Brahman rules, the purer classes of Brahmans refused to eat with them, and it is said that when Bajirav, the last Peshwa (1796-1818), was at Nasik he was not allowed to go down to the water by the same flight of steps as the priests. [Hamilton's Description of Hindustan, II 197; Grant Duffs Marathas, I. 8; Wilks (History of the South of India, I. 157-158) says that when he wrote (about 1880) the Brahmans of other parts of India denied that the Konkanasths were Brahmans. In their predatory incursions the Konkanasths are said to have greedily sought for copies of the Sahyadri Khand and destroyed them. Grant Duff (Marathas, I. 8) mentions that a few years before the Peshwa's overthrow a respectable Brahman of Vai



in Satara was degraded because he had a copy of the Sahyadri Khand.] Whatever disqualifications may in theory attach to the Chitpavans, their present social and religious position is as high as that of the Karhade or any other branch of Deccan Brahmans.

Chitpavans have no subdivisions. All eat together and intermarry except families who have the same or an akin family-stock. [The akin *gotras* or family-stocks are Bharadvaj, Gargya, and Kapi; Jamadagnya and Vatsa Kashyap and Shandilya; Kaundinya and Vashishtha; Kaushik and Babhravya; Nityunjan and Vishnuvridha; Atri alone has no kin: hence the saying *Atri ani sarvanshi maitri*, a person of the Atri family-stock can be joined to a person of any other family-stock. Besides surnames and family-stocks, there are *pravars* or founders' names which are subdivisions of family-stocks. Thus the Shandilya stock has three *pravars*, Shandilya, Asit, and Deval, and other family-stocks include three or five founders' names. In marriage the boy and girl should, on the father's side, be of different founders' names and of different family-stocks.] Among the common surnames or *adnavs* are Abhyankar, Agashe, Athavle, Bal, Bapat, Bhagvat, Bhat, Bhave, Bhide, Chitale, Damle, Dugle, Gadgil, Gadre, Jog, Joshi, Karve, Kunthe, Lele, Limaye, Londhe, Mehendale, Modak, Nene, Ok, Patvardhan, Phadke, Ranade, Sathe, Vyas. The names of some of their family-stocks or *gotras* are Atri, Babhravya, Bharadvaj, Gargya, Jamadagnya, Kapi, Kashyap, Kaundinya, Kaushik, Nityunjan, Shandilya, Vashishtha, Vatsa, and Vishnuvridha. Many families, though settled for generations in the Deccan still call themselves Konkanasths and differ considerably from Deshasths. Many of them can be recognized by their gray or cat eyes, their fair skin, and their fine features. The Poona Chitpavan speaks pure Marathi. As many of the owners are rich and most are well-to-do, Chitpavan houses are generally comfortable and well kept. The house is generally built round a central plot or yard and is entered through a gateway or passage in one of the outer faces of the building. From the inner court a few steps lead to the veranda or *oti*, for the house is always raised on a plinth or *jote* three or four feet high. In the veranda strangers are received, boys and girls play, a clerk or agent spreads his account-books, or the women of the house swing and talk. The ground floor has four to seven rooms, a centre hall, a back veranda, and the second storey has four rooms and two great halls; the walls are of brick and mortar and the roof is tiled. The woodwork is either of teak or of common timber. A rich house costs £500 to £1000 (Rs. 5000-10,000) to build, a middle-class house £200 to £800 (Rs. 2000-3000), and a poor house £30 to £50 (Rs. 300-500).



The furniture in a rich man's house is worth about £400 (Rs. 4000), in a middle-class house about £90 (Rs. 900), and in a poor house about £16 (Rs. 160). [The details are:

*Chitpavan, Furniture.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.		MIDDLE.		POOR.		
	No.	Cost.	No.	Cost.	No.	Cost.	
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		a.
Gloss Hanging Lamps.	10	200	4	75	--	--	--
Chairs.	12	50	2	8	--	--	--
Benches.	2	10	1	5	--	--	--
Cots.	2	100	2	50	1	5	0
Boxes.	10	200	2	40	1	15	0
Swinging Cots	2	100	1	20	1	10	0
Cradles	3	90	1	10	1	5	0
High Wooden Stools	2	20	1	5	--	--	--
Low Wooden Stools	12	40	5	15	2	8	0
Carpets	2	200	1	50	--	--	--
Bedding	10	200	3	80	1	8	0
Blankets	5	50	2	10	2	5	0
Coverlets	10	20	3	6	2	3	0
Metal Pots	150	900	50	250	20	40	0
Brass Lamps	10	80	5	25	2	8	0
Wooden Lamps	2	25	2	10	2	5	8
Silver Vessels	30	500	10	100	--	--	--
Worship Vessels	20	300	15	150	5	40	0
Handmills	2	25	1	10	--	--	--
Grindstones and Pins	4	20	2	8	1	3	0
Mortars and Pestles	3	15	2	10	1	4	0
Earthen Pots	5	10	10	5	15	3	0
Carriages	2	1000	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	4155	--	892	--	162	8

Beside the articles mentioned in the above list, a well-to-do man was

a pair of mirrors, one or two tables, four or five sofas, and a few cups and dishes for tea services. Of late young educated men have begun to furnish their houses in European style.] Few families have a large enough store of cooking and eating vessels to entertain the whole company of guests. called to a caste-dinner or *Brahman-bhojan*.

In rich and well-to-do Chitpavan families soon after harvest either in November-December or in April-May a year's supply of the different kinds of grain is bought and kept in a store-room or *kothi*. Stores of oil and of fuel are also laid in. From day to day little is bought in the market except vegetables and fruit. The daily purchases in rich families are made by a Brahman man-servant, and in middle and poor families by the head of the house or by grown sons. The women of the family never go to the market to buy vegetables or fruit. The daily supply of milk comes in most cases from the family cows and buffaloes; in some cases it is bought from a milkman. The dairy is entrusted to the women of the family, and in rich houses to Brahman servants. Most of the grain, chiefly rice, wheat, millet, and pulse, is ground daily by Kunbi servants. Except at certain religious ceremonies which very rarely take place, a Konkanasth should eat no flesh and drink no liquor. Their every-day food is rice, millet or wheat bread, pulse, vegetables, oil, whey, milk, and curds. Their drink is water, milk, and sometimes tea and coffee. Spirituous liquor is forbidden by caste rules, but its use, especially the use of European spirits, has of late years become commoner among the more educated. They take two meals a day, one between nine and eleven in the morning, the other between seven and nine in the evening. Men and women eat separately, the women after the men have done. Children take a meal early in the morning and again in separate dishes with the father or mother; after he has been girt with the sacred thread a boy follows the same rules as a man. The head of the house, his sons, and guests of superior rank sit on low wooden stools in a row, and in a second row facing them are guests or male relations of inferior rank. Metal or leaf plates are laid in front of each stool and to the right-hand side is a water-pot or *tambya* and to the left a cup with a ladle in it. On the top to the right are cups for curries and relishes. The pulse and grain are served by a Brahman cook, and the vegetables and butter by one of the women of the family, generally the host's wife or his daughter-in-law. The dinner is served in three courses, the first of boiled rice and pulse and a spoonful or two of butter, the second of wheat bread and sugar and butter with salads and curries, and the third of boiled rice with curds and salads. With each course two or three vegetables are served. The plate is not changed during dinner. In each course the chief dish is heaped in the centre of the plate; on the right the vegetables are arranged, and on the left the salads with a piece of lemon and some salt. In rich families the chief dishes are served by a Brahman servant, and the salads by one of the

women of the family, generally by the host's wife or his daughter-in-law. Except on a few holidays and by a few strict elders the rule of silence at meals is not kept. The dinner lasts about half an hour. After dinner a few chew a basil leaf and sip a little water, others chew betelnut or a packet of betelnut and leaves. The ordinary monthly food charges of a household of six persons, a man and wife two children and two relations or dependants, vary for a rich family from £6 to £9 (Rs. 60-90); for a middle class family from £4 to £6 (Rs. 40-60); and for a poor family from £110s. to £2 (Rs. 15 - 20). [The details are:

*Chitpavan Food Charges.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.				MIDDLE.				POOR.			
	From		To		From		To		From		To	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Rice	10	0	12	0	10	0	12	0	7	0	8	0
Split Pulse	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	8	0	2	0	8
Wheat	4	0	6	0	2	0	3	0	--	--	--	--
Millet Bread	--	--	--	--	2	0	3	--	1	8	2	0
Pulse	3	0	5	0	2	0	2	8	0	12	1	0
Butter	10	0	12	0	3	0	4	0	0	8	1	0
Oil, Sweet	6	0	7	0	2	8	4	0	0	8	0	12
Oil, Bitter	1	0	2	0	3	0	4	0	0	12	1	0
Vegetables	4	0	5	0	2	0	2	8	0	4	0	8
Sugar	5	0	7	0	2	0	2	8	0	2	0	4
Molasses	3	0	5	0	2	0	3	0	0	4	0	8
Milk	8	0	10	0	5	0	7	0	1	0	2	0
Coffee	1	0	2	0	0	8	0	1	--	--	--	--
Tea	0	8	0	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Firewood	7	0	9	0	5	0	6	0	3	0	4	0
Tobacco and Betel	2	0	4	0	1	0	1	2	0	4	0	8
Buttermilk and Curds	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	8	0	12
Total	65	8	88	12	43	0	56	14	18	8	22	10

The money outlay of a begging or *bhikshuk* Brahman who receives constant presents of grain and clothes is much less than the sum named in the text.]

### *Dress.*

Indoors a rich Chitpavan wears a waistcoat, a silk-bordered waistcloth, and either leaves his feet bare or walks on wooden clogs or pattens. At dinner and when worshipping his house gods he wears a silk waistcloth and pats on a fresh waistcloth at bed time. In cold weather he rolls a shawl round his head and puts on a flannel waistcoat. Out of doors he wears a big round flat-rimmed turban generally with a belt of gold on the front of the outmost fold and a low central peak covered with gold. The usual colours are white, red, crimson, and purple. He wears a short cotton or broad-cloth coat, a double-breasted twelve-knotted or *barabandi* waist-coat, a shouldercloth, and on his feet square-toed red shoes. His waistcloth and shouldercloth are daily washed at home. His full or ceremonial dress is the same as his everyday dress. The English speakers, or *B.A's* as they are called, wear small neatly folded turbans, English-cut shirts and broadcloth coats, coloured stockings, and English boots and shoes, and in a few cases loose trousers. Of ornaments, a rich man wears a pearl or gold necklace, a diamond or gold finger ring, sometimes a pair of bracelets round the right or left wrist, and a pearl earring. Old men wear a necklace of gold with pearls, coral, and *rudraksh* or rosary beads. Except that it is cheaper, a middle-class man's dress does not differ from a rich man's dress. On ceremonial and other full-dress occasions a poor Brahman generally wears a turban, a shouldercloth, and a coat. A rich man's wardrobe and ornaments are worth about £320 to £580 (Rs. 3200-5800), a middle class Brahman's £50 to £85 (Rs. 500-850), and a poor Brahman's £1 to £3 (Rs.10-30). [The details are:

### *Brahman Man's Dress and Ornaments.*

Article.	RICH.					MIDDLE.					POOR				
	No.	From		To		No.	From		To		No.	From		To	
<i>Dress.</i>		Rs	a.	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Turbans	4	75	0	100	0	2	30	0	50	0	1	2	0	10	0
Waistcoats, Broadcloth	4	3	0	7	0	2	3	0	4	0	--	--	--	--	--

Waistcoats, Twelve-knotted	4	2	0	3	0	2	1	0	1	8	1	0	4	0	10
Coats, Broadcloth	2	10	0	20	0	1	5	0	10	0	--	--	--	--	--
Coats, Cotton	4	5	0	7	0	3	4	0	5	0	--	0	8	1	0
Coats Cotton	2	2	0	2	8	2	2	0	2	8	1	1	0	1	4
Jacket, <i>sadare</i>	4	2	0	4	0	2	2	0	2	8	--	--	--	--	--
Waistcloths, silk	2	15	0	25	0	1	10	0	15	0	1	1	8	2	8
Waistcoats, Cotton	3	5	0	7	0	2	4	0	5	0	1	1	8	2	8
Sash, <i>dupeta</i>	2	25	0	100	0	1	15	0	50	0	--	--	--	--	--
Shouldercloth, <i>uparna</i> , Gold- edged.	1	15	0	20	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Shouldercloth, Silk-edged Cotton.	2	6	0	10	0	1	5	0	7	0	--	--	--	--	
Shouldercloth, Plain edged Cotton.	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	8	4	0	1	0	15	2	4
Shoes	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	12	1	0	1	0	10	0	12
Handkerchiefs	4	2	0	2	8	2	1	0	1	8	--	--	--	--	--
Walking Stick Umbrella	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	8	1	0	--	--	--	--	--
	2	3	0	4	0	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	8	0	18
<i>Ornaments,</i>															
Necklace, Diamond	1	1000	0	1500	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Necklace, Pearls	1	1000	0	1500	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Necklace, Gold	1	200	0	500	0	1	100	0	200	0	--	--	--	--	--
Necklace, Gold	1	200	0	400	0	1	100	0	150	0	--	--	--	--	--
Necklace, Gold <i>sakali</i>	3	200	0	400	0	2	100	0	200	0	--	--	--	--	--
Armlets, Gold <i>pochi</i>	1	30	0	40	0	1	15	0	25	0	--	--	--	--	--
Diamond Ring, <i>angathi</i>	1	100	0	1000	0	1	20	0	50	0	--	--	--	--	--

Gold Ring	2	50	0	100	0	2	30	0	40	0	--	--	--	--	--
Gold Ring Pavitrak	1	20	0	30	0	1	20	0	80	0	--	--	--	--	--
Total	--	3173	0	5787	0	--	472	12	858	0	--	8	13	21	10

]

The indoor and outdoor dress of a rich Brahman woman is a robe and bodice of cotton and silk. The robe is twenty-four to thirty-two feet long and three to four feet broad. It is passed round the waist so as to divide it into two parts of unequal length, the longer part being left to fall as a skirt and the shorter part being drawn over the shoulders and bosom. In arranging the lower half of the robe the corner of the skirt is passed back between the feet and tucked into the waist behind leaving in front two gracefully drooping folds of cloth which hide the limbs to below the knee nearly to the ankle. The upper part is drawn backwards over the right shoulder and the end is passed across the bosom and fastened into the left side of the waist. When going out the skirt of the robe is drawn tightly over the head, and the end is held in the right hand about the level of the waist. The bodice is carefully made so as to fit the chest tightly and support the breast, the ends being tied in a knot in front under the bosom. It covers the back to below the shoulder-blade, and the sleeves, which are tight, come within about an inch of the elbow. The right sleeve which is covered by the robe is plain, but, except among the poorest, the fringe of the left sleeve is highly ornamented with gold and embroidery. On marriage and other great occasions a rich woman draws a shawl over the back part of her head and holds the ends in front one in each hand at about the level of the lower part of the bodice. Her indoor jewelry includes head, ear, nose, neck, arm, and toe rings. Though she may not have a specimen of every form of ornament, a rich woman has a large stock of jewelry worth £170 to £750 (Rs. 1700 - 7500). Except that her ornaments are fewer and that her outdoor dress is less costly, a middle-class woman's dress is nearly the same as a rich woman's. A poor woman has few and light jewels and a small store of clothes. The value of a rich woman's wardrobe varies from £50 to £120 (Rs. 500-1200); of a middle class woman's from £15 to £30 (Rs. 150 - 300), and of a poor woman's from £2 to £4 (Rs. 20 - 40). [The details are:

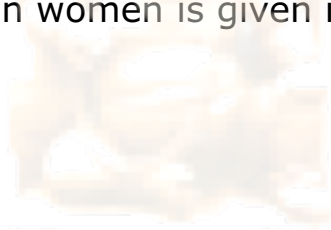


*Brahman Woman's Clothes.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.					MIDDLE.					POOR.				
	No.	From		To		No.	From		To		No.	From		To	
		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Bodice, <i>choli</i>	10	10	0	15	0	6	3	0	4	0	3	0	12	1	0
Bodice, <i>choli</i>	2	10	0	20	0	1	5	0	10	0	1	1	8	4	0
Bodice, <i>choli</i>	--	--	--	--	--	4	2	0	2	8	3	0	9	1	0
Bodice, <i>choli</i>	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	0	3	0	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>shalu</i>	1	200	0	300	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>paithani</i>	1	100	0	600	0	1	75	0	150	0	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>pitambar</i>	1	50	0	100	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>Dhanvadi rasta</i>	2	20	0	40	0	1	10	0	15	0	1	10	0	15	0
Robe, <i>Barhanpuri</i>	2	20	0	40	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>Ahmadabadi</i>	2	15	0	25	0	1	10	0	20	0	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>Brahapuri</i>	--	--	--	--	--	1	10	0	20	0	--	--	--	--	--
Robe, <i>Ahmadabadi</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	6	0	8	0
Robe, <i>mugra</i>	1	8	0	10	0	1	5	0	7	0	1	2	8	4	0
Robe, <i>mugra</i>	2	5	0	10	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cheap Robes	--	--	--	--	--	2	10	0	--	0	2	6	0	8	0
Shawls, a Pair of	1	50	0	100	0	1	25	0	50	0	--	--	--	--	--
Scarf <i>shela</i>	1	25	0	40	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	--	513	0	1200	0	--	157	0	296	8	--	27	6	41	0

] The value of a woman's ornaments varies from about £ 150 to about £.750 (Rs. 1500-7500). [The details are: Of HEAD ORNAMENTS, *chandrakor*, the quarter or crescent moon, 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20); *phul* or flower, 6s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 3-15); *ketak*, the flower of the *Pandanus odoratissimus*, 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 5-15); *rakhdi*, a flower-shaped ornament, £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10- 25); *mud*, shaped like a cone, 16s. to £4 (Rs. 8-40); *phirkiche phul*, or the screw-ornament shaped like a flower, 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10); and *agra phul*, the last flower, 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-8), total £3 18s. to £13 6s. (Rs. 39 -133). Of EAR ORNAMENTS, *bugdis* £1 12s. to £20 (Rs. 16 - 200); *balis*, £1 to £5 (Rs. 10-50); *kudi*, £1 10s. to £7 10s. (Rs. 15-75); *kurdu*, a sacred grass, of gold and pearls, 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20); *kap*, literally a slice, £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500), total £14 12s. to £84 10s. (Rs. 146 - 845). Of NOSE ORNAMENTS, a *nath*, a gold nosering set with pearls, £1 4s. to £50 (Rs. 12 - 500). Of NECK ORNAMENTS, *mangal sutra* the lucky thread of black beads, 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20); *chandrahar* a string of crescents, £30 to £80 (Rs. 300-800); *vajratik*, literally thunder bolt-spangle, perhaps a lightning-guard, £1 4s. to £7 10s. (Rs. 12-75); *putlyache gathle* a necklace of gold coins £2 to £30 (Rs. 20-300); *kantha*, literally necklace, of gold and pearls, £5 to £40 (Rs. 50-400); *ekdani pot*, the one-grain necklace, of glass beads with a large central gold stud, 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 5 -15); *sari*, £8 to £50 (Rs. 80-500); *thusi*, supposed to represent a thrashed wheat ear, but more-like a leaf of the sacred basil or *tulsi*, £5 to £20 (Rs. 50- 200); *vindivijora*, literally a lightning scarer, £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500); and *jondhali pot*, literally millet-grain string, in shape like a row of millet grains, £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40), total £64 4s. to £285 (Rs. 642-2850). Of WRISTLETS, *rui phul kakne*, literally a thread of *rui* or *Calotropis gigantea* flowers in form like the *rui* flower one of the holiest and most spirit-scaring of plants, £5 to £15 (Rs. 50-150); gold bangles or *bangdis* £20 to £35 (Rs. 200-350); *chhand*, £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000); *patlis*, £1 to £35 (Rs. 10-350); *todas* or cords, a rope-shaped ornament, £15 to £50 (Rs. 150-500); *got*, literally a circle, £20 to £60 (Rs. 200-600); and *vaki*, literally a crook or curved ornament with or without diamonds, £15 to £100 (Rs. 150 -1000), total £81 to £315 (Rs. 810 - 3150). of FEET ORNAMENTS, for the ankles *todas* or ropes of silver, £2 to £20 (Rs. 20-200), and for the toes *jodvas* or double rings, 16s. to £2 (Rs. 8 - 20); *phul* or flower rings with a knob or boss, 2s. to 14s. (Rs. 1 - 7); *gend*, a flower in shape like a *gonda* flower, 2s. to 8s. (Rs. 1-4); and *masoli* in shape like fish, 8s. to £1 (Rs. 4-10), total £1 8s. to £4 2s. (Rs. 14-41).

The names of the ornaments are interesting. Several of the names show, and several of the forms bear out the evidence of the names, that before they were made of metal many of the ornaments were made of flowers or of grass. The kind of flower, grass or plant chosen, and the character of the originals of the ornaments which have not their source in plants or trees, suggest that at first all were worn, not as they are now worn for look's sake, but because the objects from which they were made or of which they were copies were holy or spirit-scaring objects. At least in the case of plants the root of the belief in their spirit-scaring power seems to have been the experience of their healing power, the belief that spirits fear and flee from healing plants being part of the early theory that sickness is spirit-caused. Most of the ornaments which are not metal copies of holy plants are copies of other holy or spirit-scaring objects, the moon, the sun, the cobra, and the sacred bull. In illustration of this suggestion a detailed account of the head ornaments worn by Brahman women is given in the Appendix.]



Till they are four years old the children of the rich, middle, and poor run naked about the house; out of doors they are covered with a cloak which is drawn over the head and ends in a peaked hood. After he is four years old a boy generally wears a waistband in the house and a girl a petticoat. Out of doors a boy is dressed in a cap and waistcoat and a girl in a petticoat and bodice. After it is seven or eight years old, a child's dress comes to cost as much as a grown person's. The value of a rich boy's wardrobe varies from £50 to £100 (Rs. 500-1000), of a middle-class boy's from £20 to £40 (Rs. 220-400), and of a poor boy's from £4 to £7 (Rs. 40 - 70). The value of a rich girl's wardrobe varies from £25 to £50 (Rs. 250-500), of a middle class girl's from £17 to £28 (Rs. 170 - 280), and of a poor girl's from £3 to £5 (Rs. 30 - 50) [The details are:

*Brahman Boy's Clothes.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.				MIDDLE.				POOR.			
	From		To		From		To		From		To	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Cap of Gold and Silver Lace	6	0	10	0	4	0	6	0	--	--	--	--
Cap of Wool	0	8	1	0	0	8	1	0	0	8	0	12
Hood, <i>kuncki</i> of <i>kinkhab</i>	5	0	10	0	4	0	8	0	--	--	--	--
Hood, <i>kuncki</i> of Cotton-silk	3	0	5	0	3	0	5	0	1	0	2	0
Hood, <i>kuncki</i> of Chintz	1	0	1	8	1	0	1	8	0	8	0	12
Waistcoat, <i>banyan</i>	0	12	1	0	0	12	1	0	0	8	0	12
Coat <i>angarkha</i> of Silk	6	0	12	0	5	0	7	0	--	--	--	--
Coat <i>angarkha</i> of Cotton	2	0	2	8	1	0	1	8	0	12	1	0
Coat, <i>dagla</i> , Broadcloth	3	0	5	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	1	8
Shouldercloth, <i>uparna</i> , Silk-edged.	5	0	6	0	4	0	5	0	--	--	--	--
Shouldercloth, <i>uparna</i> , Plain	--	--	--	--	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	8
Trousers, <i>tuman</i> , Cotton-silk	3	0	5	0	2	0	3	8	--	--	--	--
Trousers, <i>tuman</i> , Cotton	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	8	0	12	1	0
Shoes, <i>jode</i>	0	8	1	0	0	8	1	0	0	4	0	8
	36	12	62	0	29	12	48	0	6	4	9	12

*Brahman Girls Clothes.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.				MIDDLE.				POOR.			
	From		To		From		To		From		To	
	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Hood, <i>kunchi</i> of <i>kankhab</i>	5	0	10	0	4	0	8	0	--	--	--	--
Hood, of striped Silk-cotton	3	0	5	0	3	0	5	0	1	0	2	0
Hood, of Chintz	1	0	1	8	1	0	1	8	0	8	0	12
Bodice of Gold Cloth	4	0	6	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bodice of Gold Cloth	3	0	5	0	2	0	3	0	--	--	--	--
Petticoat of <i>kinkhab</i>	15	0	25	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Petticoat called Barhanpuri	7	0	8	0	4	0	5	0	--	--	--	--
Petticoat	7	0	10	0	5	0	7	0	--	--	--	--
Robe and Bodice, <i>sadi-choli</i>	8	0	10	0	5	0	6	0	1	0	1	8
Total	53	0	80	8	24	0	35	8	2	8	4	4

]

The value of a boy's ornaments varies in a rich family from £50 to £90 (Rs. 500 - 900), in a middle-class family from £19 to £35 (Rs. 190-350), and in a poor family from £3 to £6 (Rs.30-60). The value of a girl's ornaments varies in a rich family from £19 to £40 (Rs. 190-400), in a middle-class family from £15 to £25 (Rs. 150-250), and in a poor family from £2 to £5 (Rs. 20-50). [The details are:

*Brahman Boy's Ornaments.*

ARTICLE.	RICH.		MIDDLE.		POOR.	
	From	To	From	To	From	To
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Earrings, Gold and Pearl <i>bhikbali</i>	40	100	15	50	--	--
Earrings, Gold and Pearl <i>chavkade.</i>	25	75	15	30	--	--
Earrings, Gold and Pearl <i>kuduk</i>	8	12	3	7	--	--
Necklaces, Gold <i>hasli</i>	50	150	50	75	--	--
Necklaces, Silver <i>hasli</i>	--	--	--	--	10	15
Necklaces, Gold <i>tait</i>	25	50	25	30	--	--
Necklaces, Silver <i>tait</i>	--	--	--	--	2	5
Bracelets, Gold <i>tode</i>	150	200	--	--	--	--
Bracelets, Silver <i>tode</i>	--	--	15	25	8	15
Bracelets, Gold <i>kadi</i>	150	200	--	--	--	--
Bracelets, Silver <i>kadi</i>	--	--	15	25	5	15
Girdles, Silver or Gold <i>sakhli</i>	10	15	6	10	2	6
Girdles, Silver or Gold <i>kargota</i>	10	20	10	15	--	--
Anklets, Silver <i>tode</i>	30	60	20	40	--	--
Anklets, Silver Silver <i>vale</i>	8	10	5	8	5	8
Anklets, Silver Silver <i>tordya</i>	10	20	10	20	--	--
	516	912	189	335	32	64



*Brahman Girl's Ornaments.*

ARTICLE.	Rich.		MIDDLE.,		POOR.	
	From	To	From	To	From	To
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Hair Ornament, Gold <i>phule</i>	10	15	6	10	3	5
Earrings, Gold <i>bugdya</i>	10	20	4	6	1	3
Necklace, Gold <i>tait</i>	25	50	13	30	--	--
Necklace, Gold <i>taiti</i>	--	--	--	--	2	5
Necklace, Gold <i>hasli</i>	50	150	50	75	--	--
Necklace, Silver, <i>hasli</i>	--	--	--	--	10	15
Bracelets, Gold <i>bindli</i>	20	40	16	25	--	--
Bracelets, Gold <i>mangatya</i>	15	30	12	20	--	--
Girdle, Silver, <i>sakhli</i>	10	15	6	10		--
Anklets, Silver, <i>tode</i>	30	60	20	40	10	15
Anklets, Silver, <i>vale</i>	8	10	5	8	--	--
Anklets, Silver, <i>tordya</i>	10	20	10	20	--	--
Total.	188	410	144	244	26	44

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Maharashtra State Gazetteers

*Character.*

As a class Chitpavans are notable for their cleanness and for their neatness and taste in dress; their stinginess, hardness, and craftiness are also proverbial. Chitpavans are beyond doubt one of the ablest classes in Western India. They were the mainstay of the Maratha power when the Maratha power was at its highest. In 1727 the Nizam found every place filled with Konkan Brahmans; [Grant Duff's Marathas, 221.] in 1817 Mr. Elphinstone found all the leading Brahmans in the Poona Government connected with the Konkan. [Pendhari and Maratha Wars, 112.] Under the English they have lost much of the power which for a century (1717-1817) they enjoyed. Still their superior intellect, their eagerness for education, and the high positions they hold in Government service enable them to maintain their supremacy in all Marathi-speaking districts. [Nairne's Konkan, 133.] Beyond the limits of Western India their talents are admired and respected. In Sir George Campbell's opinion no Hindus have shown greater administrative talent

or acuteness, [Ethnological Number of the Bengal Asiatic Society, XXXV. 70.] and Mr. Sherring held that for quickness of intellect, for energy, practical power, and learning they are unsurpassed. [Hindu Tribes and Castes, 77. Sir George Campbell's and Mr. Sherring's remarks apparently include Deccan as well as Konkan Marathi Brahmans. In all walks of life Deccan Brahmans press Chitpavans close. Still as a class Chitpavans are generally considered keener, more pushing, and quicker minded than Deccan Brahmans and have a larger proportion of men of marked talent.] They are Government servants, lawyers, engineers, doctors, traders, moneylenders, moneychangers, writers, landowners, husbandmen, and religious beggars.

### *Daily Life.*

A rich Chitpavan rises at seven, bows to the picture of his favourite god, washes his face, bows to the sun, and drinks a cup of Milk coffee or tea. He sits talking till eight, and, attended by a Brahman servant or two, bathes, and tying a silk or newly-washed cotton waistcloth round his middle and setting his feet on wooden pattens, goes to the house-shrine or god-room. In the house shrine he sits on a low wooden stool before the gods for about half an hour, repeating prayers, worshipping, and chanting verses. When his worship is over, he marks his brow with the *tilak* or sect-mark, changes his silk waistcloth, if he has worn- it, for a cotton waistcloth and sits in his office doing business till eleven. He dines with some male friends or near relations, chews betelnut and leaves, and sleeps for an hour or two, awakes about two, washes his hands and face, dresses and sits in his office, and, towards evening, goes to look after his estate or to walk. He comes back about six,; washes, puts on a silk waistcloth, prays, chants, sups, and goes to bed about ten. Middle-class Brahmans may be divided into *grahasths* or laymen and *bhikshuks* or clerics. Lay Brahmans belong to two classes, those who are employed as clerks in Government or traders' offices and those who lend money or manage land on their own account. A Brahman clerk in the service of Government or of a trader rises at six, washes, and goes to market to buy whatever is wanted in the house. He returns, bathes between eight and nine, and, after repeating prayers, worshipping, and chanting verses for about ten minutes, dines. After dinner he chews betelnut and leaves, dresses, and goes to office. He comes back at six, generally reads a newspaper, or sits talking, washes, repeats Sanskrit prayers for ten minutes, and sups at or after seven. After supper he chews betelnut and leaves, smokes tobacco, and sometimes plays chess or cards. He goes to bed about ten. Middle-class lay Brahmans, who are not in service, are generally landowners and moneylenders. A man of this class rises about six, washes, and sits on

his veranda chewing betelnut betel leaves and tobacco, and doing business. He bathes at nine, worships, and again sits on the veranda doing business. About noon he goes into the house, dines, sleeps for an hour or for two hours at the most, and again sits in the veranda till four. He then goes to look after his property, and, after visiting a temple, returns at dark; about an hour later he sups and goes to bed about ten. A priestly or *bhikshuk* Brahman rises earlier than a lay Brahman, washes, and finishes his prayers and worship by seven. If he has anything to buy, any food to beg, any enquiry to make about a dinner or if he has friends or relations to see, he goes out; if not he sits repeating the Veds or reading Purans till nine. About ten he washes, and putting on a silk waistcloth makes offerings of water, cooked rice, and flowers to fire and to gods, and dines. He dries his hands and mouth with a towel which he always carries in his hand or across his shoulder, and chews betelnut and betel leaves. About noon he goes to sleep, and wakening about two washes and sits reading his sacred books. At five he goes out, visits a temple, and returns at sunset. After his return he repeats prayers and other verses, till about seven; he then sups and either sits talking or reading some sacred book and retires at ten. Poor Brahmans may be divided into priests and beggars. These rise at five, bathe, and put on a fresh or woollen waistcloth and repeat Sanskrit prayers till about seven. When his prayers are over he marks his brow with the *tilak* or sect-mark and goes out, the beggar to beg, the family priest to his patrons' houses, where he worships the house gods, and helps the family if any marriage, thread ceremony, or other important family business is on hand. Their dinner hour is not fixed; it is generally about twelve. A begging Brahman does not always dine at home, but whether he dines late or early at home or abroad he never misses his midday sleep. Generally after meals priests gather at a fixed place, and repeat Vedic texts or talk on various subjects, and receive invitations to dinner for the next day. They return home after sunset, repeat prayers, dine, and go to bed about nine.

A rich woman rises before her husband, and after nursing her child if she has a young child, hands it to her servant, who is generally of the Maratha caste. She bows before the basil plant and to the sun, washes, and repeats verses. She next gives orders to the cook who is generally a man, and to other household servants who are generally women, has her hair combed, and bathes. [The strictness of the rule that certain articles in a house may be touched and certain articles may not be touched by a middle-class or Shudra servant complicates the arrangements in a Brahman household. A Kunbi servant cannot go to the god-room, kitchen, and dining room of the house. He may touch bedding and woollen clothes; he may not touch fresh home washed

cotton clothes. He may touch dry grain; he can touch no grain that is wet. These rules are puzzling and much care is required in teaching and learning them. Even Brahman servants are hampered by rules. When they have bathed and put on woollen, flax, or silk clothes they are pure and can touch anything. They become impure if they touch anything impure such as bedding or such wearing apparel as a coat or a turban. If they touch a shoe or a piece of leather they have to bathe. A schoolboy after his bath has to get a servant or a younger brother or sister to turn the pages of his leather-covered school book. Mr. M. M. Kunte.] After her she puts on a fresh robe and bodice, worships the basil plant and other house gods, and reads a chapter of some sacred Marathi book. She superintends the cooking of the midday meal, and when the men have begun to eat dines in a separate room. When her meal is over she sleeps for about two hours, and after wakening sits talking with neighbours or relations. About five, she visits a temple for a few minutes and on her return looks to the cooking of the evening meal, and,, when supper is over, goes to bed at ten. A middle-class woman, like a rich woman, rises before her husband, bows to the sweet basil plant, and washes. She sweeps the cooking room, puts the vessels in order, kindles a fire, and sets a pot of cold water over it. She sweeps the god-room, prepares lights, arranges vessels and flowers, and, taking the pot from the fire, bathes. After bathing and combing her hair she begins to cook. When dinner is ready she serves it to her husband and other male members of the family in the women's hall, and to the women of the family in or near the cook-room. After they have finished she takes her own dinner. She cowdungs the cook-room, sleeps half an hour to an hour, and sets to cleaning rice, cutting vegetables, sweeping, and cooking. About seven or eight she serves supper, and, after the men of the house have finished, she herself sups, cowdungs the cook-room, and goes to bed after ten. The life of a poor woman is the same as the life of a middle-class woman, except that as she has all the housework to do she has little leisure from dawn till ten at night. Occasionally she is able to rest between two and four in the afternoon when she chats with her neighbours or goes to hear a preacher. With her neighbours her talk is of her troubles and worries and about her children, how she is to clothe them and how her husband can ever get money enough to marry them. Either at a pond or a river bank she has to wash all the cotton clothes and occasionally the woollen and silk clothes which her husband and children used the day before, and carries back to the house a pitcher full of water which she rests on her right hip. So important a part is this of their daily life that, when they meet, the poorer Brahman women ask each other if their day's washing and water-drawing is over. The husband milks the cow if there is a cow, and the wife warms the milk, puts a little whey into it, and turns it into curds. The curds are churned into whey or buttermilk, the buttermilk is

kept, and the butter is clarified into *ghi*. As all these operations are pure the churning pole and strings cannot be touched freely by any person except the mother and the wife to whom the management of the dairy always belongs. The washings of the cooking vessels, broken pieces of food, the cleanings of grain, and the remains of uncooked vegetables are gathered in a vessel and kept in a corner, and form part of the cow's food. When a boy becomes five years old his life begins to be ordered by regular hours. He rises about six, his face is washed and he is taught to repeat verses in praise of the sun and other gods, and to bow to them. About seven he has a dish of rice-porridge and milk, or bread and milk. About eight or nine he is bathed in warm water and dines with his father about noon. After dinner he sleeps for about two hours when he gets some sweetmeats or, milk and bread. About four he is taken out and brought home between five and six, and, after eating some milk and bread, is sent to bed. When about six years old a boy is generally sent to school. He now rises at five, his face is washed, and he gets some bread and milk and is taken to school. He returns at ten and is bathed and sandal is rubbed on his brow. He dines about eleven with his father and after dinner takes a nap. He rises about twelve or one, eats sweetmeats, and is taken to school, and brought back at six. He sups before seven and goes to bed soon after. Except that he has less milk and few or no sweetmeats the daily life of a middle-class and of a poor boy is much the same as that of a rich man's son. The daily life of a rich man's daughter is much the same as that of his son. A few middle-class families, like the rich, send their girls to school, while the poor and a few of the middle-class girls help their mothers in housework and pass the rest of their time in play.

Chitpavans are either Apastambas or Rigvedis, that is their rites are regulated either by texts written by the sage Apastamba of the Krishna or Black Yajurved or they are regulated by the text of the Rigved. Apastamba and Rigvedi Chitpavans intermarry. They are Smarts that is followers of Shankaracharya who hold the doctrine that the soul and the world are one. [The original Shankaracharya, who was a Namburi Brahman of the Malabar Coast, is believed to have lived about A.D. 700. He has been succeeded by thirty-three pontiffs whose headquarters are at Shringeri in West Maisur. His followers are found chiefly in Western and Southern India.] They worship Shiv, Vishnu, and other gods, and observe the regular Brahmanic fasts and feasts. Their priests, who belong to their own caste, spend most of their time at their patrons or *yajmans*. The family priest is most useful to his patron. Besides his religious duties he buys articles wanted by the ladies of his patron's family and helps his patron in procuring good matches for his children, or in arranging the terms patron, if he has a mind for it, also finds his



priest a ready listener or talker on abstruse subjects, the origin of life, the force that made and moulds the world, and together they sigh over the thought that life is a vain show and that their share of the glitter of life is so small. Though the social power of the orthodox is less than it was, and though among the younger men some are careless of the rules of caste, the hereditary connection between priest and patron and the self-containedness of a Brahman family are powers strongly opposed to change. Families who incline to leave the old ways are often forced to conform by the knowledge that innovators find great difficulty in marrying their daughters and getting wives for their sons. As a class, Chitpavans have zealously taken to the study of English. In the whole of the Poona district few Chitpavan families are without one or two young men who know some English. The bulk of the men in some streets in Poona city understand English, and even those who are settled in villages as husbandmen take care to secure an English education for their sons. [Mr. M. M. Kunte.]

### *Customs.*

For her first confinement a young wife generally goes to her parents' house. When labour begins the girl is taken to a warm room whose windows have been closed with paper. Great anxiety is felt that the birth should happen at a lucky moment. Should the child be born in an unlucky hour, as when the *mul nakshatra* or the twenty-fourth constellation is in the ascendant, it is believed that either its father or its mother will not live long. When the woman has been taken to the lying-in room a midwife is sent for, and if the woman suffers severely the family priest is called to read the verses from the Veds and Purans which drive away evil spirits. Sesamum oil and bent grass or *durva* are brought and handed to the family priest or any elder of the family, who holds the grass in the oil and repeats verses either one hundred or one thousand times over the oil. Some of the oil is then given to the woman to drink, a cow's skull is hung over her head in the room or laid on the housetop, and the rest of the oil is rubbed on her body. As soon as it is born the child is laid in a winnowing fan, the mother and child are bathed in hot water, fire is kept burning in the room, myrrh-incense is burnt, an iron bar is laid on the threshold of the lying-in room, and an earthen jar filled with cow's urine with a branch of *nim* leaves floating in it is set at the entrance of the lying-in room. To prevent evil spirits coming in along with them any person entering the room must take the *nim* twig and with it sprinkle his or her feet with the urine. When the father of the child hears of the birth, he goes to the house to perform the *jatkarm* or birth-ceremony. When he reaches the house he bathes either in hot or cold water from a pot in which a gold ring has been



dropped, and washes the clothes he was wearing when the news of the child's birth came to him. The person who performs a birth ceremony is considered as impure as the person who performs a death ceremony. In case the father suffers from some grievous malady such as leprosy, some one of his family performs the rite. Whether the father performs the rite or not he must bathe and wash and must avoid touching any one until he has washed. In the women's hall a square is traced with quartz powder and two low wooden stools are set in the square. The father, wearing a rich silk waistcloth, bows before the house gods and the elders, and sits on the stool to perform the birth ceremony. Before he begins he pours a ladleful of water on the palm of his right hand and throws it on the ground, saying, ' I throw this water to cleanse the child from the impurity of its mother's body.' The mother then comes from the lying-in room with the child in her arms and sits on the stool close to her husband. The *punyahavachan* or holy blessings, *matrika-pujan* or mothers' worship, and *nandishradh* or joyful-event spirit-worship, are performed. [Details of these services are given under Marriage.] Then the father, taking a gold ring, passes it through some honey and clarified butter which are laid on a sandal-powdering stone and lets a drop fall into the child's mouth. He touches the child's shoulders with right hand, and presses the ring in his left hand against both its ears. He repeats verses, smells the child's head three times, and withdraws. The midwife cuts the child's navel cord with a penknife and buries the cord outside of the house. The father takes in his right hand the ring and some cold water, and sprinkles the water on the wife's right breast who after this may begin to suckle the child. A present of money to Brahmans ends the birth-ceremony. A Brahman is engaged from the first to the tenth day to read soothing passages of scripture or *shantipaths*. After the reading is over he daily gives a pinch of cowdung ashes which are rubbed on the brow both of the child and of the mother.

Either on the fifth or on the sixth evening after a birth a ceremony is performed called the *shashthi-pujan* or the worship of the goddess Shashthi that is Mother Sixth. An elderly woman draws six red lines on the wall in the mother's room, and, on the ground near the lines traces a square with lines of quartz, and in the square sets a low wooden stool. Six small heaps of rice are laid on the stool and a betelnut is set on each heap in honour of Jivanti, Kuhu, Raka, Shashthi, Sinivali, and Skanda, and worshipped by the women of the house. An iron weapon is kept near the god-betelnuts, and both the deities and the weapon are entreated to take care of the child. Under the mother's pillow are laid a penknife, a cane, and some leaves of *narvel* *Narvelia zeylonica*. At each side of the door of the mother's room are set two pieces of prickly-pear

or *nivdung* and some live coal resting on rice husks. Cooked rice is served on a plantain leaf, sprinkled with red powder mustard seed and *udid* pulse, a dough lamp is placed over it, and the whole is carried to the corner of the street for the evil spirits to eat and be pleased. Although the family is held impure for ten days, the first, fifth, sixth, and tenth days after a birth are considered lucky for alms-giving or for feeding Brahmans on dishes prepared without water or fruit. For this reason on the evening of the fifth a feast is given to relations, friends, and *bhikshuh* or begging Brahmans. The sixth night is considered dangerous to the child. The women of the house keep awake all night in the mother's room, talking and singing or playing, and sometimes a Brahman is engaged to repeat verses or read soothing lessons or *shantipaths* with the object of driving away evil spirits. On the tenth the mother is bathed, the walls of the lying-in room are cowdunged, the bathing-place is washed, and turmeric, red powder, flowers, and a lighted lamp are laid near or over it. The lap of the midwife, who is generally of the washerman caste, is filled with rice, betelnut, leaves, and fruit, and she is presented with a robe and a bodice and money. On the twelfth day the ear-boring or *karna-vedh* ceremony is performed. The mother, with the child in her arms, sits on a low wooden stool in a square traced with lines of quartz powder. The goldsmith comes with two gold wires, sits in front of the mother, and pierces with the wires first the lobe of the right ear and then the lobe of the left ear, and withdraws after receiving a present varying from a turban to  $\frac{3}{8}d.$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$  *anna*) and the price of the wires. A girl's ear is bored in five places, in the lobe, twice in the upper cartilage, on the tragus, and the concha of the ear. A girl's nose is bored when she is a year or two old. The hole is generally made in the left nostril; but, if the child is the subject of a vow, his right not the left nostril is bored. If a boy is the subject of a vow his right nostril is bored and a gold ring is put into it. The father, mother, and child then bathe, and the father and mother with the child in her arms sit on two low wooden stools set in a square of lines. After the *punyahavachan* or holyday blessing, and the *nandishraddha* or joyful-event spirit-worship rice grains are spread in a silver plate and the name of the family god or goddess is traced with the gold ring. The family astrologer comes with the child's horoscope, which he draws out at his house, and lays it in front of the silver plate. The horoscope contains four names for the child; three of these he fixes and leaves the fourth for the parents to choose. These three names are traced on the grain with the ring, and, at the same time, are traced the name of the family deity, the month, and the ruling planet. Then the family astrologer lays the ring on the rice and the whole is worshipped with sandal paste and flowers. The father worships the astrologer and setting the plate on his right knee reads out the names loudly so that the persons near may hear them. The astrologer reads out the

horoscope and calls a blessing on the child's head, saying, ' May the child live to a good old age.' A feast and a money present to Brahmans ends the naming.

A cradle is hung in the women's hall and kinswomen and friends bring a plate with a bodice, a cocoanut, a turmeric root, and a betel packet. Two low wooden stools are set near the cradle and the mother sits with the child in her arms on one of the stools. An elderly married woman marks the child's and its mother's brows with redpowder, and another woman sitting near the mother takes the child in her arms. A woman of the house and another woman from among the guests lay in the mother's lap a cocoanut, turmeric, and redpowder, and five married women lay the child in the cradle and sing songs. A lighted lamp is waved round the mother and child, and the women guests retire each with the present of a bodice and a cocoanut. When the child is a month old the mother goes to the house well, worships it, and returns.

During the fourth month if the child is a boy the sun-showing or *suryavalokan* is performed; in the fifth the earth-setting or *bhumyu paveshan*; and in the sixth, eighth, tenth, or twelfth month the food-tasting or *annaprashan*. In the case of a girl the sun-showing, the earth-setting, and the food-tasting are all performed at the same time. On some lucky day in a boy's fourth month a quartz square is traced in the house and two low wooden stools are placed in a line. On the right stool the father sits and on the left stool the mother sits with the child in her arms. After the *punyahavachan* or holy-day blessing, the mother goes out of the house followed by her husband, and holding her child up shows it to the Sun praying him to guard it. They walk to the village temple and presenting the god with a packet of betel and a cocoanut beg him to be kind to the child. On their return if it is on the way they call at the maternal uncle's house, where fruits are laid in the mother's lap and the child and its parents are presented with clothes and ornaments. On returning home the husband and wife wash their hands and feet, and water is waved over the head of the child and thrown away. They take their seats as before. The father fills a silver or gold cup with sugared milk mixed with curds honey and butter, and sets it on a high wooden stool, and in front of the cup lays fifteen pinches of rice and sets a betelnut on each pinch in honour of Bhumi, Chandra, Shiv, Surya, Vishnu, and the ten *Dishas* or Directions, and they are worshipped. Then taking the child on his knee, with its head to the south, a gold ring is passed through the contents of the cup and held up, and what falls from the ring is allowed to drop into the child's

mouth. The Brahmans and the priest are given money and retire. A carpet is spread, and some carpenter's tools, pieces of cloth, a pen ink-pot and paper, and jewelry are laid on the carpet and, to find out what the child is to become, he is laid on his face near them and the first thing he clutches shows to what calling he will take in afterlife.

### *Birthday*

A child's birthday is marked by several observances. In the morning the father bathes in warm water and the mother and child are rubbed with sweet-smelling oils and powders and bathed in hot water. A square is traced in the women's hall, and three low wooden stools are set in the square, two in a line and the third in front of them. Eighteen little rice heaps are piled on the front stool and a betelnut is laid on each heap. One of the betelnuts represents the family-deity or *kul-devta*; another the birth-star deity or *janma-nakshatra devata*; others Ashvatthama, Bali, Bibhishan, Bhanu, Hanuman, Jamadagni, Kripacharya, Markandeya, Prajapati, Pralhad, Ram, Shasthi, Vighnesh, and Vyas; two represent the father's deceased parents. The father and mother with the child in her arms take their seats on the two stools and a married woman marks the child's brow with redpowder. The house gods and the elders are bowed to, and, with their leave, the holy-day blessing and the joyful-event spirit-worship are performed, and the eighteen deities are asked to give the child a long life. A little milk mixed with a little molasses and sesamum seed is put in a silver cup, and given to the child to drink. The Brahmans get some money and take their leave, and the day ends with a fesat. On this day the father is forbidden to pare his nails, to pluck out any hair, or to quarrel with or sleep with his wife.

### *Shaving.*

The shaving or *chaul* of the boy's head takes place in the first., second, third, or fifth year, or at the same time as the thread-girding. In the morning of the shaving day, after anointing themselves with oil, the father, mother, and child bathe, and, dressing in rich clothes and covering themselves with shawls, sit in a line in a quartz tracing. The usual holy-day blessing and joyful-event spirit-worship are performed, the sacrificial fire is lit, the boy is seated on the knee of his maternal uncle or on a wooden stool set in a square traced with lines of quartz, and the barber shaves his head except the top-knot. The barber retires after receiving a present varying from a turban to a few copper coins. The boy is anointed with sweet-smelling oil and bathed along with his

parents. After he is dried, ashes from the sacrificial fire are rubbed on his brow, and the ceremony ends with a feast to Brahmans.

### *Thread-girding.*

Chitpavans gird their boys with the sacred thread when they are seven to ten years old. The boy's father goes to the house of the family astrologer and asks him to fix a lucky day for girding the boy. The astrologer refers to his almanac and names a day in one of the five sun-northening or waxing months, *Magh* or January February, *Falgun* or February-March, *Chaitra* or March April *Vaishakh* or April-May, and *Jyeshth* or May-June. If the boy was born on one of the five northening months the astrologer must avoid his birth-month, and if the boy is the *jyeshth* or eldest of his family the astrologer must avoid the month of *Jyeshth* or May-June. The thread-girding always takes place between six in the morning and noon; never after midday. A week or two before the day fixed for the girding the near relations and friends are told and during the interval they by turns feast the boy and his parents. Drummers and pipers are sent for and the terms on which they will play at the thread-girding are fixed, a booth or porch is built, and invitation cards or *lagnachitia* are sent to distant relations. To invite the caste neighbours the boy's parents and their male and female relations and friends start accompanied with music. Before they start they ask the house gods to attend the ceremony, then they ask the village god, and then their relations and friends. In the booth or porch an earthen altar is made facing the west, three of the boy's cubits long, three broad, and one high. In front is a step about a span square, and behind, the back rises about eighteen inches above the altar in three six-inch tiers, each narrower than the tier below it. The whole is whitewashed. A day before the thread-girding the *punyahavachan* or holy-day calling; the *ghana* or rice-pounding, and the *devpratishttha* or god-installing are performed with the same detail as before a marriage. On the morning of the thread-girding, day the boy and his parents bathe and the *ghatikasthapan* or lucky-hour installing, and *patrikapujan* or birth-paper worship are performed with the same detail as before a marriage. The mother's feast or *matribhajan* follows. Twelve low wooden stools are set in a row and twelve unmarried thread-wearing Brahman lads take their seats on the stools. At one end of the row are set a silver dining plate and a lighted lamp, and behind them two low wooden stools on which the boy and his mother sit. Dinner is served and all dine, the boy eating from the same plate with his mother. When the meal is over the boy goes to his father, fetches silver or copper coins, and presents them to the twelve Brahman lads. Then a quartz square is traced and a low wooden stool is set in the square. The boy is seated on the stool, and



the family barber shaves his head and retires with a present varying from 2s. (Re. 1) to a turban. The boy is rubbed with sweet scents and oils, he is bathed, his brow is marked with redpowder, and he is brought into the house. He is decked with ornaments from head to foot, a rich shawl is wrapped round his body, long wreaths of flowers are hung from his head over his chest and back down to his knees; a cocoanut and a betel packet are placed in his hands, and the priest, taking him by the arm, leads him to the house gods before whom he lays the betel packet and makes a bow. He is led before his parents and other elders in the house and bows to them, and is then taken outside and bows to Brahmans. Two low wooden stools are set on the altar facing each other, over the eastern stool about a pound of rice is poured and the boy is made to sit upon the rice; over the western stool no rice is poured and on it the boy's father sits. Round the altar are spread carpets on which learned *pandits* and *shastris* sit and on the other side of the altar the rest of the guests sit leaning on pillows and cushions. Behind the boy stands his sister with an earthen jug holding water covered with mango leaves and a cocoanut, and his mother with a lighted hanging lamp. Some male relations hold between the boy and his father a sheet of unbleached cotton cloth marked with red lines, and the family priest fills with red rice the hands of all the guests both men and women. The astrologer repeats *mangalashtaks* or lucky verses. When the lucky moment comes the cloth is pulled on one side, the boy hands the cocoanut to his father, and lays his head on his father's feet. The father blesses him, and the guests shower rice on him, and the musicians raise a blast of music. The father takes the boy and seats him on his right knee, and the guests withdraw with betel packets and a cocoanut. The Brahman priest and other laymen throw rice over the boy's head and seat the boy on a low stool to the father's right. An earthen square is traced in front of the father and blades of sacred grass are spread over it. A married woman brings alive coal from the house on a tile and lays it near the altar. The priest blesses the coal and spreads it, over the altar and on it are laid pieces of cowdung cakes and firewood. Water is sprinkled six times round the altar and rice is thrown over it. The father lays a few blades of sacred grass between himself and the fire. A cup full of butter is placed over the blades of grass and other blades are thrown over the fire. The priest keeps near him a staff or *dandkasht* of *palas*, *Butea frondosa*, as tall as the upraised end of the boy's top-knot, a piece of deer skin, blades of sacred or *darbha* grass, a rope of *munj* grass long enough to go round the boy's waist, two cotton threads one for the boy's waist the other for his neck, a sacred thread or *janve*, a bamboo basket or *rovali*, four short waistcloths or *panchas* two of which are dyed red, and four loincloths or *langotis* of which two are of silk and two are of cotton. Of the two cotton threads, the priest daubs one in oil and turmeric and ties it round the boy's waist and gives



him a loincloth or *langoti* to wear. He then rolls a red cloth round his waist and a white cloth round his shoulders. The other cotton thread is also rubbed with oil and turmeric and the bit of deer skin is passed into it and hung on the left shoulder of the boy in the same way as the sacred thread. A sacred thread is also hung over his left shoulder and the boy is made to pass between the sacrificial fire and his father. A wooden stool is placed near his father and the boy is seated on it facing east. A metal water-pot, a plate, and a ladle are set in front of the boy and he sips water thrice from the pot repeating verses. He is then brought back between the fire and his father and takes his former seat. The fire is rekindled, and the father taking the boy by the hand, goes out of the booth, and they both bow to the sun. Then, to the left of the fire or *hom*, two low wooden stools are set, and the father and son stand facing one another. The father, in his hollowed hands, takes water, a betelnut, and copper or silver, and pours them into his son's hollowed hands and the son lets them fall on the ground. After this has been repeated three times they again take their seats on the stools placed for them. The boy tells his father that he wishes to become a Brahman and to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred verse. The boy holds out his left hand and covers it with his right, and the father ties his two hands together with the short waistcloth that was wound round the boy's shoulders. He then puts his left hand under and his right hand over the boy's bound hands, and lays them all on the boy's right knee. Then the boy and his father are covered with a shawl, and the father thrice whispers the sacred verse into his son's right ear, and he repeats it after his, father. That no one else, whether Brahman or Shudra, man or woman, may hear the verse, all present go to some distance. Then the father takes off the shawl and frees the boy's hands and the father and son take their seats in front of the fire. Blessings are asked on the boy's head and the grass string or *munj* is tied with three knots round the boy above the navel. The *palas* staff or *dand* is given in the boy's hands, and he is told always to keep it by him and not to stir without taking it in his hand, and that if he meets any dangerous animal or anything that causes him fear he should show the staff and the cause of fear will vanish. Then the father says to his son ' Up to this you have been like a Shudra, now you are a Brahman and a Brahmachari. When you go out you must behave with religious exactness or *achar*; you must rub dust on your hands and feet before washing them; you must take a mouthful of water and rinse your mouth with it; you must bathe twice a day, pray, keep alight the sacred fire, beg, keep awake during the day, and study the Veds.' Then a money present is made to begging Brahmans and the rest of the guests are feasted. The mother's connection with her son is now at an end, so she too dines; the father, the boy, and three Brahmans fast till evening. In the evening the *bhikshaval* or begging comes. The boy is dressed in a waistcloth, a coat,

and a cap, and, with his *palas* staff in his hand, goes to the village temple accompanied by kinswomen and with baskets of sweetmeats and music. At the temple the boy places a cocoanut before the god and bows, and all return with the baskets and their contents. In the booth a low wooden stool is placed for the boy to stand on. His feet are washed and his brow is marked with redpowder and sandal paste. The bamboo basket or *rovali* is placed in his right hand and his *palas* staff in his left. His mother takes a ladle, puts a gold wristlet round its handle, fills it with rice, drops a rupee or two in the rice, and telling the women who surround her that she is giving alms to her son, pours the contents of the ladle into the bamboo basket. The other women follow and present the boy with sugar balls. When the almsgiving is over, the boy hands the basket to the priest who takes it home after giving some of the sweetmeats to the children who are present. The boy bathes and the family priest, sitting in front of him with a cup dish and ladle, teaches him the twilight literally the joining prayers or *sandhya*. The fire is kindled and a handful of rice is cooked over it in a metal vessel. The boy throws three pinches of cooked rice over the fire and the rest is kept on one side. Then five leaf-plates are served for the father, the son, and the three Brahmans who have fasted since morning. The rice cooked by the boy is served to the three Brahmans by a married woman. On the second and third days the *hom* fire is kindled and the boy is taught the twilight prayers or *sandhya*. On the morning of the fourth day the boy is bathed and seated on a stool in the booth. In front of him is raised an earthen altar or *vrindavan* like a *tulsi* pot, and a branch of the *palas* tree or a blade of *darbha* grass is planted in the altar. The boy worships the plant, and taking a spouted metal water-pot or *abhishekpatra* with water in it walks thrice round the altar spouting the water in an unbroken line. Then a bodicecloth, a looking glass, a comb, and glass bangles are laid in a bamboo basket near the earthen pot, and the boy retires with a low bow. The boy then makes over to the priest the loincloths, the staff, the deer skin, the sacred thread, and the grass ropes, and the priest presents him with new ones in their stead. The Brahmans are presented with money and repeat blessings over the boy's head.

### *Pupil's Return.*

Twelve days to a month after comes the *samavartan* or pupil's return. On a lucky day the boy is bathed and an earthen altar or *sthandil* is raised in the booth. In front of the altar are set two low wooden stools. Near the stools are laid *shami* or Mimosa suma leaves, a razor, rice, wheat, sesamum, and pulse, curds, and bullock's dung. The priest kindles a sacred fire and feeds it with butter. The boy sits on one of the

stools and his parents stand behind him with two cups in their hands, one with cold water the other with hot water. The priest holds a metal plate at a little distance from the boy's head, and the boy's father, with a cup in each hand, presses the boy's head with the middle part of both his hands and pours the water from the two' cups in one spout into the plate held by the priest without letting a drop of water fall on the boy's head. The priest pours curds into the plate, and the father, taking some curds in the four fingers of his right hand, rubs them in a line on the boy's head. He begins from the boy's left ear, then goes to his left cheek down to the chin, then across the right cheek and ear, and then passes behind the head to the left ear where he began. This he repeats three times. Then the priest holds in both hands blades of sacred grass with some hairs of the boy's topknot and the father sheers them in two with a razor and gives them into the boy's hands. The priest drops a pinch of sesamum, wheat, rice, *udid*, and *shami* leaves over the cut hair in the boy's hands, and the boy gives the whole into his mother's hands who throws it in the bullock's dung. This is repeated seven times, four times beginning with the right ear and three times beginning with the left ear. Then, as if to sharpen the razor, its edge is touched with a blade of sacred grass and the razor is made over to the barber with the water from the plate. The barber shaves the boy's head, and passes the razor over his cheeks and chin, and is presented with a new handkerchief. The sesamum seed, wheat, and rice, and about Is. (8 as.) in cash are given to the Brahman priest. *Karanj* Pongamia glabra seeds are ground and rubbed on the boy's body, and he is bathed and seated on a low stool near the sacred fire. Sandal paste and redpowder are rubbed on his brow, redpowder on his right cheek, and lampblack on his left cheek and on both his eyes. He is dressed in a waistcloth and two sacred threads are thrown round his shoulders in addition to the thread he already has on. The deer skin loincloth, the *palas* staff, the *munj* grass rope and the old sacred thread are taken off, and he is dressed in a coat, shoes, and turban; flower garlands are hung from his head and round his neck, an umbrella is placed in his left hand, and a bamboo stick in his right. A waistcloth is thrown over his shoulders and the priest advises him never to bathe in the evening, never to look at naked women, to commit no adultery, never to run, never to climb a tree, never to go into a well, never to swim in a river. He ends, 'Up to this time you have been a Brahmachari, now you are a *snatak* or householder.' The boy bows before the priest and the priest blesses him. A cocoanut is placed in the boy's hand and he bows before the house gods and before his parents and elders. The boy then ties wheat flour and sweetmeats in a waistcloth or *pancha*, and starts for Benares accompanied by relations, friends, and music. He goes to a temple and lays the cocoanut before the god. The priest or the boy's maternal uncle or some other relation asks him where he is going; he says, To

Benares. They advise him not to go to Benares and promise that if he will go home they will find him a wife. He takes their advice, goes home, and the thread-girding ends with a feast.

### *Marriage.*

Chitpavans generally marry their girls between six and ten and their boys between ten and twenty. In choosing a husband for the girl the boy should as far as possible belong to a respectable and well-to-do family, be intelligent, good looking, and a little older than the girl. Among rich and middle-class families there are other points which generally influence a girl's parents in the choice of a husband. Among poor families, though this is not always the case, money is wanted and wealth in a son-in-law outweighs suitability of age, good looks, or intelligence. The fathers of dull or ill-behaved sons, unless they are very rich, have to spend £30 to £100 (Rs. 300-400) before they can get them married. The form of marriage in use among the Chitpavans is the *Brahma vivaha* or Brahma wedding. According to this form of wedding besides a dower the bridegroom receives presents with his wife.

In rich families who have a daughter to marry the women of the house, after consulting the men, send for the priest, [A rich man does not generally employ his priest. He sends his clerk or some other person well known to him; sometimes an elderly relation.] and one of the elders of the house hands him the girl's horoscope, and naming the boy's father or an elder of the family, asks the priest to go to his house and offer the girl in marriage. When he reaches the boy's house, the priest is seated on a low wooden stool mat or carpet in the women's hall or in the veranda, and the boy's father, after hearing from the priest why he came, goes into the house and tells the women that a priest has come with the horoscope of such and such a person's daughter. The boy's father takes the horoscope and asks the priest to call for an answer in three or four days. After a day or two the boy's father, if he is a rich man, sends his priest or some male relation to see the girl at her father's. He tells the envoy if the girl is handsome to ask £20 to £30 (Rs. 200 - 800); if she is ordinary looking to ask £30 to £50 (Rs. 300-500); and if she is ugly not to refuse her but to ask more than the parents can give. The priest goes to the girl's house, tells her father why he has come, and asks if he may see the girl. The father goes inside, tells his wife that so and so's priest has come to see the girl, and goes out and sits by the priest. The girl comes and the priest asks how many brothers she has, what are their names, what is her father's name, whether she has dined, and what she has had for dinner. If the girl answers clearly, the priest remarks under his breath, but so that the father may hear, 'Yes, she will reach the boy's shoulder; that

is well.' Then the girl goes into the house and the priest tells her father that he approves of the girl had that if he will get so much money his master will take her in marriage for his son. After some talk the sum of money is settled and the priest goes back and tells his master. In middle-class families, after consulting his house people, the father, taking his daughter's horoscope, goes to the boy's father and offers his daughter in marriage. The boy's father says, Times are hard; I must have money, not less than £50 (Rs. 500), as my son is clever and holds a good position. Or he say he will send some one to see the girl, and will let the father know how much money he wants. A poor Chitpavan who is willing to take money for his daughter has not to look out for a husband. Men in want of wives go about with money in their hands searching for girls. There is no want of suitors and the girl's father makes the best bargain he can looking to the age of the suitor and to he amount of money he promises. In proof that he has accepted an offer the girl's father hands the boy's father a cocoanut. A day or two after the offer has been accepted the father's relations and family priests go to an astrologer. They hand him the boy's and the girl's horoscopes and ask the astrologer to see whether there is anything in the horoscopes to prevent marriage. When the boy's father is anxious to get the girl as a wife for his son he tells the astrologer to do his best to see that the stars agree, and the astrologer decides for the wedding. Other fathers again are anxious about the stars or are not anxious for the match and they ask the astrologer to examine the horoscopes closely and are not satisfied until the horoscopes are found to agree in all points. After the astrologer has given his decision each of the fathers pays him 1½d. to 2s. (1 *anna-Re.1*) and a cocoanut, bows to him and withdraws.

If the astrologer finds in favour of the wedding preparations are at once begun. The first thing the father does after the horoscopes have been compared is to prepare two lists, one of sundry articles the other of clothes. He heads the list of sundries with *Shri* that is praise of Ganesh, and starts the list with turmeric and redpowder or *haladkunku*, for these are lucky articles. [The other articles are: Butter, sugar, oil, molasses, rice, wheat, peas, split gram, *tur*, betelnut, thread, cloves, nutmeg, cardamoms, redpowder or *gulal*, cocoanuts, dry cocoa kernel, spices, scented oil, rose water, coir twine, palm leaves, rafters turmeric, and bamboo basket.] The list of clothes includes silk and cotton waistcloths, robes, bodices, shouldercloths, and turbans. They hire men and women servants to clean the house, to grind grain, and to do other house work. With the help of neighbours and kinswomen, the women make sweetmeats wafer biscuits and other dishes, always taking care to begin the baking on a lucky day which the family priest tells them. The



grain and pulse grinding must also be begun on a lucky day. A couple of handmills are cleaned, and five married women, whose father and mothers-in-law are alive, touch the mill with lime in five places, and laying before each handmill a betelnut and five betel leaves tie mango leaves to them. The five married women grind about five handfuls of rice and sing songs in praise of the boy and girl. The rest of the rice is ground by the servants. The five married women also grind a little wheat and *udid* pulse singing songs.

Musicians, who are generally Hindus of the Nhavi and Ghadshi castes, playing on the drum and pipe, are next sent for. A bargain is made with them to play music for five days at the house for a certain sum, and a betelnut is given to each of them to seal the bargain. The usual rates are 2s. to 6s. (Rs. 1-3) a day to the drum beaters or *tasekaris*, and 1s. to 4s. (8 as.-Rs. 15) a day to the pipers or *sanaïs*.

The building of the marriage porch or booth is begun two to twenty days before the wedding. It costs 2s. to £20 (Rs. 1 -200). On the day before he begins to build the host sends his priest to an astrologer to find what is the best time to begin. An hour or so before the appointed time the priest goes to his master's and begins to get things ready. He takes a metal plate, lays in it rice grains, sandal powder, frankincense, camphor, a lighted lamp, sugar, flowers, and redpowder. Outside of the house he orders a hole to be dug, and near the hole he sets two low wooden stools facing each other, one for himself the other for his master. Some metal water-pots of the kinds called *tambya* and *panchpatri* are filled with water. The master dressed in a silk waistcloth takes his seat on one stool, and the priest, sitting in front of him on the other, repeats texts and the host worships. He traces a quartz square in front of the bamboo or wood post which is to form the chief post of the booth, offers a pinch of sugar, and asks the god of the booth to be kindly. The boy's father with his priest and a couple of relations goes to the girl's with a flower garland, sugar, and if well to-do gold or silver ornaments. At the girl's, with his companions he sits on a carpet or mat, and the astrologer, consulting both the boy's and the girl's horoscopes, finds a lucky moment for holding the wedding. The girl is made to stand in front of her father's house gods, her brow is marked with redpowder, a flower garland is put on her head, and an ornament is put on her person. Sugar is handed round and the company retires.

The head of the house writes a letter asking the house and the family gods to be present during the marriage festivities. He marks it with redpowder and places it in the god-house or *devhara*. To ask guests to



the wedding, near of kin both men and women, come the day before the wedding and stay five days. Sometimes the girl's people ask the guests by themselves and the boy's people by themselves in a different party. But generally one party goes to the house of the other and the two parties join and make the invitations together. The formal invitation is known as *akshat*. At both houses, before either party starts, the priest takes two silver cups and fills them with grains of rice mixed with redpowder; he also takes a bag of cocoanuts and betelnuts. Of the two silver cups he gives one to one of the women who is to go with the party and holds the other in his hands; the bag he gives to one of the servants who hangs it from his shoulder falling on his back or side. At the girl's house, if it has been arranged that the girl's party are to call at the boy's, both men and women dress in their best, and to hurry them the priest orders the musicians to play. Then the party starts, but not before they lay a few grains of coloured rice and a cocoanut in front of the house gods, bow low to them, and ask them to be present at the wedding. At the same time the priest is asked to attend the boundary-worship and the troth-plighting. Then the party start, accompanied by the priest, musicians, servants, a couple of men with guns, and a gaily harnessed horse. First go the men with guns, then the musicians followed by a boy on horseback, then the priest with the silver cup in his hands containing grains of red-coloured rice, then the men, behind them the women, and last a couple of servants, one of them with the cocoanut and betelnut bag under his arm if it is evening there are a couple of torch-bearers. In this way they go to the boy's house where the men, women, children, and priest of the boy's house are ready to start. The two parties go together to the temple of Ganpati. Here the men and the priests enter the temple, leave a pinch of coloured rice near the god, and pray him to be present at the marriage booth for five days to ward off danger and trouble. They go to the houses of kinspeople, friends, and acquaintances. At each house one of the priests lays a few grains of coloured rice in the host's hands and naming the house and the day asks him to the marriage. The women go into the house, lay a few grains in an elderly woman's hands, and invite the family to the wedding, asking some to the dinners, some to stay for five days, and some to be present at the wedding ceremony. If they are near relations the inviters are given two cocoanuts, which are handed to the servants; if they are not near relations they leave the house after having given the invitation. When all the other guests have been invited their masters ask the priests to attend.

Either on the marriage day or on the day before, a stone handmill, a wooden mortar, and a couple of pestles are washed, and the pestles are tied together with a cotton thread and hung with mango leaves and a

gold neck ornament and kept in some secure part of the house. In the mortar are laid four pieces of turmeric roots, a bamboo basket with rice, a new date mat, and a winnowing fan with *udid* pulse. A little before five in the morning or at eleven, which-over is the lucky hour, a girl or two is sent with music to call the women guests. In the women's hall a square is traced with red-powder and three low wooden stools for the father mother and son are set in a line, covered with sacking, and a fourth is set for the priest at some distance in front. The priest gives into the father's hands a cocoanut, a betelnut, and two leaves, and leads the way followed by the father mother and boy to the family gods before whom the father lays the cocoanut and betelnut and leaves and asks if he may go on with the ceremony. They next go to the elder guests and ask their leave, and when the elders have given them leave take their seats on the three stools. The priest worships Ganpati, lays on the mat in front of the father a handmill to whose neck the father ties a couple of mango leaves and marks it in five places with lime and turmeric powder. Meanwhile five married women whose fathers and mothers-in-law are alive rub the boy and his father and mother with sesamum oil and sing songs while the father fastens the mango leaves to the grindstone. When the grindstone is ready, the father grasps the bottom of the handle, the mother grasps it holding her hand further up the handle than the father, and the boy grasps it holding his hand further up than the mother. Then the women drop in the *udid* pulse and the three give the stone a few turns. After they have ground a little of the pulse, the father mother and boy leave their seats, and the five married women grind the pulse into fine powder singing songs in praise of the boy and girl. Next the bamboo basket, to which a silk bodice has been tied, is brought filled with rice. Mango leaves are tied to the pestles, and the father mother and son and the five married women help in pounding the rice. After a little pounding the married women are offered a little sugar or molasses and the pestles are put back in their places, care being taken that they do not strike against each other, as it is believed that the knocking of pestles causes confusion and quarrels in a house. The hands of five married women are rubbed with turmeric, their brows are touched with redpowder, flowers are stuck in their hair, and the parents bow before them.

At the boy's house a quartz square is traced in the women's hall and a stool is set inside of the square, and the boy is seated on the stool with his legs resting on the ground. A cup containing turmeric powder is given to the boy's mother who pours scented oil into it and either herself or the boy's sister takes a mango leaf, places a betelnut over it, and holding the leaf with both her hands, dips the end of the leaf into the cup and with it five times touches the boy's feet, knees, shoulders,

and head. This is repeated five times by each of the four other married women. After they have done, the sister or any one of the five women rubs the boy's body with turmeric, and taking him near the door of the booth, seats him on a stool, and bathes him. When his bath is over the boy goes into the house and puts on a fresh waistcloth. They now make ready to carry to the girl what remains of the turmeric. In a winnowing fan a married woman lays a pound or two of rice, two cocoanuts, some betelnut and leaves, cups containing turmeric redpowder and oil, and a robe and a bodice. The winnowing fan is given to a servant to carry on his head, and the five married women with music accompany her to the girl's. On reaching the girl's the women are received and seated in the women's hall. The girl is brought out and seated on a stool which is placed in a square tracing, she is touched as the boy was touched five times over with a mango leaf dipped in turmeric, and bathed by her sister. She is then seated on another stool, and the boy's sister presents her with a robe and bodice, rubs her hands with turmeric and her brow with redpowder and fills her lap with the cocoanut and betelnut and grains of rice. The laps of both the girl's mother and sister are also filled and the guests are presented with turmeric and redpowder and withdraw.

The next ceremony is the *punyahavachan* or holy-day blessing which is also called the *devaksthapan* or guardian-enshrining. It is performed either on the marriage day or on the day before the marriage. About seven in the morning, both at the girl's and at the boy's, in the centre of the marriage booth, a married woman traces a square, and, in the square, places three low wooden stools in a line covered with a piece of woollen cloth, a blanket, or a woollen waistcloth. A fourth stool is set in front of the three and a fifth to the left for the priest. When these preparations have been made the boy and his parents sit themselves on the three stools and the priest on the fifth stool to the father's left. A little in front of them are spread carpets and mats on which begging priests or *bhikshuks* sit. Then the family priest leaves his stool and brings from the house a plate containing a number of articles of worship. [The articles are: Bunches of mango leaves, one round bamboo basket, two bodicecloths, two or three pounds of rice, thirty to thirty-live betelnuts, there metal water-cups, one water-pot; two earthen jars, six *umbar* sticks each stick rolled round with a mango leaf and tied with thread, flowers, sandal, bent glass, curds sacred grass, camphor, frankincense, and some coppers, together worth 2s. to 6s. Rs.1-3.] On the stool in front of him the father places a basket with twenty-seven small heaps of rice and a betelnut on each heap, an earthen water-pot or *avignakalash* filled with rice, a piece of a turmeric root, a copper coin, some betelnuts, a sweetmeat ball, and an earthen

jar with a betelnut and a copper coin inside and its mouth closed by mango leaves and a cocoanut. Before the stool on which these articles are laid is set a dish, a water-pot, and a cup and ladle. When everything is ready the priest goes into the house and says, 'We are too late; the worship cannot be finished till after dark' This is to hurry the boy's parents who are dressing with care in their best clothes. The father comes out in a silk waistcloth, a shawl, and a second waistcloth folded round his head; the mother in a silk robe and bodice, and a shawl over her shoulders; and the boy in a silk waistcloth and a shouldercloth. If the mother owing to the recent death of a child or of some other near relation or in case she has them not, wears no ornaments, a near kinswoman among the guests takes off some of her own ornament and in spite of objections makes the mother wear them. When they are ready the priest puts in the father's hand a cocoanut and a packet of betel leaves, and, followed by the father the mother and the son, goes to the household gods. The father lays the cocoanut and betel leaves before the gods, and he and mother and the the boy bow low to the gods and ask their leave to go on with the ceremony, Then, going to each of the elders of the family, including the widows, the priest says, They are come to ask your leave to perform the ceremony; and the father and mother bow before them. Then they follow the priest into the marriage hall. Before taking their seats they bow to the begging priests who muster in strength and have taken their seats on the carpets and mats, and lastly they bow to the family priest They take their seats amid the blessings of the company. The father sits on the first stool, the mother on the one next to his right and the boy on the third. The priest repeats verses and calls the name of the boy's sister. She comes with a plate containing a chaplet of flowers, a leaf-cup with milk, and another with wet redpowder or *pinjar*, a box with redpowder mixed with cocoanut oil or *kunku*, a few grains of rice, and a lighted brass hanging lamp. She takes a pinch of redpowder and with it touches the priest's brow, sticks a few grains of rice on the redpowder, presents him with a cocoanut, and waves a lighted lamp before his face. Then she waves the lamp round the faces of a few of the leading Brahmans, then round the father and mother, and lastly round the face of the boy, and ties a chaplet of flowers round his head Then the priest blesses the boy's sister, the mother waves the lighted lamp before her face, the father presents her with a cocoanut, and she retires. The family priest places a betelnut in a leaf-cup to represent Ganpati and asks the father to worship it, while he and the begging priests repeat verses and with his hand motions the father how to worship. The father takes a few blades of bent, grass, and sprinkles water and sandal powder on the betelnut Ganpati, throws redpowder grains of rice and flowers over it, waves burning camphor frankincense and a lighted lamp round it, and lays sugar before it. He takes one of the two pots with the cocoanut

stoppers, touches with the stopper his own, his wife's, and the boy's head, and sets the pot on the ground as before; he takes the same pot a second time and a third time, touches with it his own head and the heads of his wife and son, and lays it on the ground. He goes through the game performance with the second pot which he went through with the first. All the while the family priest repeats verses and the musicians play their *sambal* or *nagara* drums and their *sur* and *sanai* pipes. Three farthings to 3d. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  -2 as.) is given to each of the begging priests. The family priest calls the boy's sister and she comes carrying a lighted lamp. Then they go into the house, the girl with the lamp lighting the way followed by the father with a flat bamboo basket, his wife holding the earthen jars, and the priest with a water cup and ladle. When they reach the door of the god-room the girl with the lamp retires, and the father and mother lay the basket and the earthen jars before the house gods on a raised stool, and mark the gods with sandal paste, and bestrew them with grains of rice and with flowers. The boy goes into the house and hangs his chaplet and marriage coronet on a peg. The same ceremony with the same details is performed at the girl's house. Planet-worship or *grihamak* is performed with the help of three six or twelve Brahmans. When everything is ready for the worship they think on the god Ganpati and the worship is begun. A leaf-plate is spread on a low wooden stool and on the leaf grains of rice and forty-one betelnuts are laid and worshipped. The father purifies himself by sprinkling his body with water dropped from a blade of *darbha* grass. A mound or altar is made of sand and sprinkled with cowdung and water. Fire, which some married woman brings from the house, is set on the mound, and the priest fans the fire, feeding it with cowdung cakes and pieces of firewood and repeating verses. Next comes the troth-plighting or *vag-nischaya*. The boy's father goes to the girl's house with musicians, kinspeople, the family priest, and servants carrying plates filled with ornaments and other articles. [The plates contain a necklace called *sari*, a pair of wristlets called *vaki*, and armlets called *tode*, a leaf-cup containing curds, milk, sugar, molasses, and betelnut and leaves, cocoanuts, copper and silver coins, rice, split pulse, two robes and bodices, a headcloth, turmeric powder and turmeric roots, two small metal cups with red and black powder, a leaf-cup with sandal powder, mango leaves, flowers, a cup ladle and plate, sweetmeat balls, a comb, a brass pot filled with oil, a brass ladle, sesamum seed or *til*, cumin seed or *jire*, and coriander seed or *dhane*.] At the girl's they are seated in the marriage hall on carpets, the begging and lay Brahmans always sitting apart. After the guests are seated the priests from both houses exchange cocoanuts and embrace. After the priests have embraced, the fathers embrace, and then the elder males of both houses exchange cocoanuts and embrace. A quartz square is traced in the marriage hall and low wooden stools are set in the square. The girl's



father sits on one stool. Meanwhile the girl, on whose brow a flower garland has been fastened, with her head covered with a piece of broadcloth called *aginpasoda*, is led by her sister and seated on the stool close to her father. The boy's father sits in front of them with priests to his left repeating verses. The girl's father worships Varun the god of water. He takes a leaf-plate and spreads about a pound of rice over it. He takes a copper water-pot, marks it in five places with sandal powder, fills it with cold water, drops a betelnut, a blade of bent grass, and a silver coin into it, and over its mouth lays a bunch of mango leaves. Over the bunch of leaves he lays a leaf-cup filled with rice and on the rice a betelnut. To the betelnut, as representing the god Varun, he presents sandal paste, flowers, sugar, a packet of betelnut and leaves, cocoanuts, and cash, burns frankincense, and waves a lighted lamp. The fathers mark the brows of their priests with sandal and present them with turbans. They then mark one another's brows with sandal and exchange turbans. Then each of the fathers takes five betelnuts and five turmeric roots, and the girl's father ties them to the hem of the boy's father's waistcloth, and the boy's father to the hem of the girl's father's waistcloth. The fathers then hold the two bundles in which the turmeric roots and betelnuts are tied near each other, the priest rubs them with sand, and sprinkles water from the Varun pot over them. The contents of both bundles are mixed and made into one heap and distributed among good and respectable begging guests. Next Shachi or Indra's wife is worshipped. On a leaf-plate a pound or two of rice is spread and on the rice a betelnut is set and worshipped. At this Ganpati and Varun worship the money placed before the god by the girl's father is doubled by the father of the boy. The priest repeats verses, lays on the girl's right palm a drop of curds milk honey and sugar, and she sips it. The girl's sister ties a marriage ornament on the girl's brow and her priest tells the girl's mother and her other relations that the boy's people have come to ask for the girl. They agree to let her go. The girl now leaves her place and sits on another stool in front of a picture of the house gods and throws grains of rice over it. The boy's father presents her with ornaments and clothes, and she walks into the house followed by the priest. She is dressed in the new clothes, the ornaments are put on her, and she is seated on a low wooden stool. The boy's mother lays before her a plate with rice, a betelnut and leaves, a cocoanut, redpowder, and a water-pot. In the house the boy's mother, or some one on her behalf, washes the girl's feet and wipes them dry with a towel, rubs turmeric on her hands and face, applies redpowder to her brow, and sticks rice grains over the redpowder. Then, telling the house people that she is filling the girl's lap, she drops into it a handful of wheat, a cocoanut, a packet of betel leaves, and some sweetmeat balls. The girl makes over the contents of her lap to some one close by, and walks away. The brows of the male guests are



marked with sandal, the lay guests or *grahasths* are presented with packets of betel leaves and cocoanuts, and the begging priests or *bhikshuks* are paid 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.) and all retire.

After the guests have left the priest takes a thread of the same length as the girl is tall, and adding to it a thread for every year the girl is old makes it into a wick, puts the wick into a lamp, lights the lamp before the god Gaurihar, and feeds it with oil brought by the boy's relations in the brass pot. What remains of the wick after the four wedding days are over, is carefully kept and burnt in the lamp at the worship of *Mangalagauri* which the girl performs in the month of *Shravan* or July-August. After the lamp is lighted the girl's mother is seated near it and the boy's mother begins to wash her and her relations' feet, but as the boy's side is considered higher than the girl's the girl's mother objects and the boy's mother desists. The girl's mother's lap is filled with a robe, a bodice, some rice, and a cocoanut, and the laps of her relations with rice only. [During the four marriage days the girl's lap is filled with wheat and not with rice H -409 part 1-7]

The *simantpunjan* or boundary-worship is generally performed when the boy crosses the border of the girl's village. When the boy and the girl live in the same village the boundary-worship is performed either in a temple or at the boy's house, either on the marriage day or on the day before the marriage. When the ceremony is to be performed at the boy's house, with the help of the priest, an elderly married woman of the girl's family takes bamboo baskets and trays and lays in them cocoanuts, rice, butter, curds, milk, honey, molasses, sugar, turmeric, redpowder, sandal, flowers, two pieces of bodicecloth which she makes into a bag and fills with betelnuts and leaves, and two turbans, a sash, a chaplet of flowers, a ladle, a dish, a water-pot filled with warm water, a high wooden stool, a piece of broadcloth to spread over the stool, and some coppers. Meanwhile one of the girl's relations goes to call neighbours and kinspeople and another starts to tell the boy's parents that the girl's relations are coming. At the boy's in the middle of the hall a square is traced with redpowder and two low wooden stools are set in the square and covered with broadcloth. The girl's relations, with music and the articles mentioned above, go in procession to the boy's. First walk the musicians, behind them the women followed by the servants, and a few paces behind the male guests. At the boy's the men are seated on carpets and have pillows to lean against, and the women sit in the women's hall on carpets. The girl's priest sets the high stool near the two low wooden stools and covers it with a piece of broadcloth. The

boy who is ready dressed, sits on the high stool, and the girl's parents sit on the two low wooden stools in front of him. The girl's father, taking a silver or leaf cup, fills it with rice grains, and setting a betelnut over it, worships it in honour of Ganpati; he then worships his family priest and presents him with a new turban. He now begins to worship the boy. The girl's mother takes the water-pot containing warm water, pours it first on the boy's right foot and then on his left, and the girl's father wipes his feet dry, marks his brow with sandal, and sticks grains of rice over it. He hands the boy a new turban, and the boy gives the turban on his head to some relation and puts on the new one. He is then handed a sash which he lays on his shoulders. The boy's sister is given a flower chaplet and she ties it from behind round the boy's turban. The girl's father lays on the boy's right palm a mixture of curds butter honey milk and sugar, which he sips, flowers and grains of rice are thrown over him, and a nosegay is placed in his hand. All the while the family priest repeats verses. The girl's mother washes the boy's sister's feet and presents her with a bodice. The girl's parents now leave their seats. The mother going into the women's hall, washes the feet of the boy's mother and his other kinspeople, fills their laps with rice and cocoanuts, and presents them with sugar. While this is going on in the women's hall, the girl's kinsmen mark the brows of the male guests with sandal, and present them with packets of betelnut and leaves and cocoanuts and the begging priests with coppers. Then the girl's kinspeople go home.

The same evening the girl's kinspeople, except her father who has to stay at home, start for the boy's with a richly-trapped horse, a couple of men with guns, and, on the heads of Kunbi servants and kinswomen, three to six bamboo baskets, plates, and pots covered with leaves. [The baskets contain four or five kinds of cooked vegetables, split pulse, wafer biscuits, flattened rice or *pohe* both sweet and sour, one or two kinds of preserves or *koshimbirs* in small cups, and a number of sweetmeats, salt pickles, butter, plantains, dates, sugar, and in a cup of spiced milk ten to twenty packets of betelnut and leaves, thirty to fifty plantain-leaf plates, rice, cocoanuts, turmeric and redpowder betelnut and leaves, two bodices, and one robe.] Of the vessels holding these articles, one is a *tapela* or metal pot, one is a *top* or metal bowl containing split pulse, one is a vegetable pot, one is a plate or *parat*, and one is full of *botvyachi khir* that is dough-grains boiled in milk and sugar. Besides these there is a plate in which are a new turban and: shouldercloth and a rupee in cash. The uncooked food and other articles are given to Kunbi servants to carry; the rest are taken by kinswomen or if the family is well-to-do by Brahman clerks and cooks or dependants. Before the procession starts a Brahman is sent to the

boy's. In the house he traces a square with redpowder and draws figures of men, animals, and trees. After the procession has left the girl's house, the girl is dressed in a yellow cloth called the bride's cloth or *vadhuvashtra* and is seated near the marriage god or Gaurihar on a low wooden stool. A small bamboo basket with rice and sesamum is placed in her hand and she is told to sit in front of the god, throw a few grains over him, and repeat ' Gauri, Gauri, grant me a happy wifehood and long life to him who is coming; to my door.' [The Marathi runs, *Gauri Gauri saubhagya de, dari yetil tyala ayusha de.*] When they reach the boy's marriage hall, the men, of the bride's party sit either on the veranda or in the marriage hall, and the women go into the house and sit in the women's hall on carpets or mats which have been spread for them. They lay out the dishes and baskets, and one of them goes to the boy's kinswomen and asks them to come and see the food. A lighted lamp is placed near the dishes. The boy's kinswomen cluster round, and after they have looked at what has been brought they withdraw. When the women have gone one or two of the girl's kinsmen dressed in silk waistcloths go into the house, set about half a dozen stools in the place where the Brahman had drawn the tracings, lay out plantain-leaf plates, serve the dishes, and ask the boy to dine. The boy's sister places a rupee under the leaf-plate from which the boy is to dine. The boy comes with a few unmarried boy friends of his, with a turban on his head and a chaplet of flowers tied to it, and takes his seat on the stool along with his companions. The man who serves puts a drop of butter on the palm of the boy's right hand, and he sips it; he is then given a plantain and spiced milk, and when he has eaten half of the plantain and drunk half of the milk the rest is taken home and offered to the girl. When dinner is over the boy rubs his hands on the leaf-plate and chews a packet of betel leaves and nuts. The rupee which the boy's sister laid under the leaf-plate is taken by the girl's mother nominally for clearing away what the boy has left, though his leavings are generally taken by his own people.

Next comes the. *varaprasthan* or marriage-bidding. The girl's father accompanied by his priest goes to the boy's house, and laying a cocoanut in the boy's and his priest's hands gives them the formal invitation to his house to hold the marriage. The girl's father and his priest are each given a cocoanut and withdraw.

In the evening before the marriage the boy is dressed in the new turban and shouldercloth which were presented to him by the girl's relations, and his sister ties a flower chaplet to his turban. His family

priest, who all the time goes on repeating verses, places a cocoanut in the boy's hand and leads him before his house gods, and the boy lays the cocoanut before the gods and bows low before them. He is next taken before the elders of the house and bows before each. Then he is led to the house door, and curds are thrice laid on the palm of his right hand, and he thrice sips the curds, and wipes his hand on his shouldercloth. Then his cheeks are touched with lampblack and redpowder, and he is taken outside by some near relation and seated on a horse, and his relations and friends form a procession to escort him to the girl's. In front of the procession are link-boys and Kunbis carrying torches; then come musicians of the Maratha, barber, or Ghadsi caste playing drums and pipes; the boy's sister carrying in her hands an earthen jar filled with cold water; in the middle the boy's mother carrying a brass plate with two lighted dough lamps; and on the left a near relation carrying a bamboo basket with a lighted brass hanging lamp resting on rice grains and folded round with a bodice. Then follows the boy on horseback with friends and torch-boys on either side followed by the women of his family, after whom the men bring up the rear. On the way, to quiet evil spirits, cocoanuts are broken and cast away, and, as the boy passes, people come out of their houses, wave brass lamps before him, and receive a cocoanut. When he reaches the girl's house, cooked rice, spread all over with redpowder, is thrice waved over the boy's head and thrown to some distance in the street. A married woman of the girl's house, bringing an earthen jar filled with cold water and with its mouth covered with a bunch of mango leaves and a cocoanut, marks it in five places with lime and spills the water over the horse's feet, and is given a bodice by the boy's relations. The boy is next taken off the horse and a married woman pours on his food milk and then water, and waves a lighted lamp before him. The girl's brother catches the boy by the right ear and he is presented with a turban. Then the girl's father carries the boy into the marriage hall and seats him on a high wooden stool. After the boy is seated in the girl's marriage porch an astrologer, with a mixture of lime and redpowder, writes the name of the god Ganesh, the day, date, month, and year, and asks some married woman to smear with cowdung a spot underneath a redpowder drawing on the Wall and on the spot to trace a square with lines of quartz powder. The astrologer sprinkles grains of rice on the square and over the square hangs a pot full of cold water. A second pot is set near the first pot and both are marked with sandal paste in live places. He ties the pots together with a piece of thread and worships them. He then lets a cup whose bottom is pierced with a fine hole float on one of them, and seating both the fathers before the pots makes them worship them while he repeats verses. He then draws up two marriage papers, gives them to the fathers to worship, reads the papers, and makes them over to the fathers.

If possible before the boy and girl are married, if not soon after the marriage, the *madhupark* or honey-mixture ceremony taken place. The boy is seated on a high wooden stool and the girl's parents sit before him; the mother pours water over his feet and the father wipes them dry with a towel. The girl's father takes a ladle full of curds, milk, honey, and butter, and pours the contents on the boy's right palm who sips it. He is presented with clothes ornaments, and cash, and is led into the house. He is made to stand on a low wooden stool and the girl is set in front of him on a *sahanpat* or sandal-grindstone. A silk waistcloth is held between the boy and the girl by the priest on one side and his assistant on the other. The girl is given a garland of flowers to hold in her hands, and the boy a necklace of black glass beads. The priests begin to chant marriage verses, and when the lucky time is come the priests stop chanting and the cloth is withdrawn to the north. A bugle sounds, and, at the signal, the musicians raise a blast of music, the priests and guests clap their hands, the girl's father lifts the girl, and she drops the flower garland round the boy's neck, while he fastens the necklace of black glass beads round her neck. The priest gives the boy and the girl some handfuls of rice and they sprinkle the rice over each other's heads. The priests tell the boy and the girl to think on their family goddesses and then the boy and girl sit. When they are seated, a number of Brahmans, who are called from the marriage hall, repeat verses. The priest winds a thread round the couple, and breaking it in two equal parts, twists them into cords and tying each round a piece of turmeric root fastens one to the wrist of the boy's right hand and the other to the wrist of the girl's left hand. The begging Brahmans who take part are each given  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 *anna*). After the *madhupark* is over a quartz square is traced in the women's hall and the girl's parents going into the god-room lay a betel packet before the gods, and bow to them. They then bow before the elders and the priest bowing to the guests, in a loud voice, asks leave to perform the ceremony. The father and mother sit on the stools, bowing to the Brahmans who sit along with the family priest. Except the jewels which are to be presented to the girl, the rest of the ornaments are taken off her body. [The articles presented to the boy are: A plate of queen's metal, a water-pot and cup either of silver or brass, a brass lamp, finger rings, and if well-to-do a necklace, a cow, a female servant, and land. A few middle class families and some of the poor, who cannot afford to give so much, content themselves with a brass water-pot, and a cup, a lamp, and perhaps a gold finger ring.] A married woman rubs with sandal paste the brows of the priest, of the girl's father and mother, and of the boy and girl. Then all stand the priest holding a plate in his hand, and the girl, the boy, and the *girl's* parents standing round the



plate. The boy holds out his open hands, the girl lays her half open hands in the boy's, who holds her thumbs with his. Over their hands the girl's father holds his open palm slanting and the mother pours cold water from a jug on her husband's hand which falls on the hands of the boy and the girl, and from them drops into the plate. When this is done all sit and the girl's parents join their hands, repeating the names of the boy and girl, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and families. Then the two family priests, taking a plate with water and a silver coin in it and dipping mango leaves into the water, sprinkle it over the heads of the boy and girl repeating verses. The priest takes two threads and winds one thrice round the necks and the other thrice round the waists of the girl and boy. Then he makes them fit a little closer to each other so as to loosen the thread. Then the thread which was wound round their necks is pulled down over the feet and the thread which was wound round the waist is drawn up over the head. The threads are next wetted with cocoa-milk and rubbed with turmeric and the girl's priest winds one round the boy's right wrist and the boy's priest winds the other round the girl's right wrist. These are called marriage-wristlets or *lagna-kankans*.

As soon as the astrologer has been presented with the hour-cups and the cocoanut the *sabha puja* or guest-worship is performed for which invitations were issued the day before. The male guests are seated either in the hall of the house or in the marriage porch. Those who are *bhikshuks* or begging priests sit on one side of the room and the laymen sit on the other side; a few of the highest of each class are provided with pillows. In front of the guests sit dancing-girls, and before the dancing-girls are laid silver plates with betel packets, flower garlands, nosegays, and sweet-smelling *davna* or *Artemisia abrotanum* and *marva* or sweet marjoram shrubs. There are also silver jars of rosewater and boxes of perfumery. A few of the host's friends rise from among the guests and hands the articles. Packets of betelnuts and leaves are given first to rich or learned laymen and priests and then to the rest; next each is given a flower garland, their clothes are sprinkled with rosewater, and their wrists are rubbed with scented oil. Besides these each wealthy layman is given a cocoanut and each learned cleric 1½d. to 4s. (1 *anna* - Rs. 15). Except the poor clerics all withdraw thanking the host for his hospitality, and receiving the host's thanks for their friendly attendance. The poor priests go into the yard, and as they leave the host gives each ¾d. to 6d. (½-4 *as.*). This is called *ramnyachi dakshana* or the toy-present. Each of the women guests is given a cocoanut and all retire.



Outside the house in a square tracing is placed a grindstone and in front of the stone a bathing tub filled with warm water. Around the stone are set five water-pots or *tambe* filled with cold water. The boy and the girl are seated on the stone and bathed. Married women sprinkle water from the five pots on the head of the boy and girl, and the boy, taking a mouthful of water, blows it over the body of the girl's sister and the girl on the body of the boy's sister. Wiping dry their bodies with a towel, the boy and girl dress in fresh clothes and are led into the house and seated on two low wooden stools, the girl to the right of the boy. Then, taking a necklace of black glass beads with a gold button in it, the boy worships it and fastens it round the girl's neck. Then, on a low wooden stool in front of him, the boy lays two pinches of rice and two betelnuts and turmeric roots, and worships. The rice is tied to the hems of the boy's and girl's clothes and after the marriage, ceremony is over is cast away.

For the *vivaha* or marriage which is also called *grahapravesh* or house-entering the boy and girl are seated on low wooden stools; near each other dressed in silk waistcloths and robes. In front of them an earthen altar is raised and on its four sides blades of *darbha* grass are spread. To its left are set four leaf-cups mango leaves and sacred grass, and, either in a new winnowing fan or on a leaf-plate, are placed parched rice grains, and behind them a sandal grindstone. In front of the boy are set a water-pot and cup and on each of his third fingers is put a ring of *darbha* grass. Fire is lit on the altar and fed with butter, with sacred sticks or *samidha*, and with bent grass or *durva*, and a little butter is sprinkled over the grain. The girl's brother comes and seats himself in front of the girl facing her. He puts two handfuls of parched grain into the girl's hands and the boy holding the girl's hands in his left hand and covering them with his right, both the boy and the girl stand with their hands covered, and throw the parched grain over the fire. Then the boy, taking the girl's right hand in his own right hand, walks round the fire for the first time, and makes the girl stand on the sandal grindstone. After this the boy and girl take their seats on the wooden stools as before. He takes the girl's hand a second time and walks round the fire. At the time of taking the third turn the boy lifts the girl in his arms or sets her on his right hip and completes the third turn. The remaining parched grain the boy throws in the fire, pours more butter on it, and the ceremony is over.

After the marriage-fire or *vivaha-hom* comes the *sapta-padi* or seven steps. While the boy and girl are sitting on the stools the priest calls to

the women and children in the house to come and see the husband lift up his wife, and as this is a funny sight all cluster round the couple. The sacrificial fire is rekindled. To the left of the fire seven small heaps of rice are made in a straight line and close by is set the sandal grindstone. The boy and girl leave their seats, and the boy thrice takes a handful of rice and throws it into the fire. He then lifts the girl, carries her on his left arm, and walks thrice round the fire. Before taking the third turn he sets the girl down, and standing behind her the girl's brother sets the boy's foot so that he pushes the girl's foot right over the heaps of rice, the priest repeating a verse when each step is taken. In return for the help he has given the girl's brother is presented with a turban. As soon as the seventh heap of rice is broken, the priest asks the boy's sister to press down the girl's big toe and for this service she is presented with a cocoanut. The bride now stands on the sandal-stone and the boy, lifting her as before, once more walks round the fire. When this turn is finished the boy and girl again take their seats on the low wooden stools and feed the fire with butter and parched grain. After the seven steps are taken the boy and the girl are taken outside of the house and the priest points to them the pole or *dhruva* star. They look at it, bow to it with joined hands, and coming back into the house feed one another. When the feeding is over small round betel-leaf parcels are given to the boy and girl. By turns they hold one end of the rolled leaf in their teeth and the other bites off the end. After this they play games of odds and evens, the boy is pressed to take the girl on his knee, and they are told to kiss each other.

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Meanwhile the boy's female relations take offence and go back to the boy's house. After they have gone the girl's relations fill bamboo baskets with split pulse, wheat flour, a cup full of butter, molasses, a little bran and oilcakes, rice, scented oil, redpowder, and cocoanuts, and placing them on the heads of servants, go to the boy's house, and fill the offended women's laps with grain pulse and cocoanuts, rub scented oil on their hands and redpowder on their brows, and ask them to come to their house to a feast. To please the boy, who like his female relations is supposed to be annoyed, the girl's brother and father bring a richly trapped horse to the boy's house. They beseech him to come back and dine, but he refuses and asks for ornaments or rich clothes. The girl's father agrees to give him what he wishes, and with the boy's kinspeople and friends returns in triumph to the girl's. Here the guests are all seated, and when dinner is announced all wash their hands and feet, put on silk waistcloths, and take their seats. The boy, wearing a new silk waistcloth, sits with the girl at the head of the male guests and they feed one another from the same plate. The women guests dine at the same time in a separate room. In front of the

boy's mother a lighted lamp is set and she is asked to take her seat and break the wafer biscuit which is served on her leaf-plate. Then follows what is known as *ukhana* or metrical bantering. Most of the cleverness is in the rhymes which are lost in a translation. The girl's mother begins: In front was a niche in which was a frying pan, do not sulk, do not be proud, but eat at leisure. [*Samor hota konada tyant hota tava, rusu naka, phugu naka, savakash jeva*] The boy's mother answers, I step on a low sandalwood stool, what have you prepared that I may dine at leisure? [*Chandanache patavar thevla paya, savakash jevayala kelet kaya* ] The girl's sister says, In front was a niche in which was a drinking cup, to dine at leisure we have prepared sweet-gram balls. [*Samor hota konada tyant hota gahu, savakash jevayala kele. bundiche ladu*] The boy's sister answers, In front was a niche in which was a grain of parched rice, the balls you have prepared we do not like. [*Samor hota konada tyant hoti lahi, amhala bundiche ladu avadat nahi.*] Some one from the girl's side says, In front was a niche in which was a grain of parched rice, to prepare more dishes of sweetmeats we have no means. [*Samor hota konada tyant hoti lahi, yaj peksha pakvannavar chadh karavayas amhala milat nahi* ] One from the boy's side then gets angry and says, In front was a niche in which were avle fruits, in your banter how much folly there is. [*Samor hota konada tyant hote avle, ukhane ghalatana kiti chevale ?*] From the girl's side, In front was a niche in which were pulse cakes, if yon do not like pulse cakes eat pebbles. [*Samor hota konada tyant hote vade, tumhala ladu nahi avadat tar kha khade*] From the boy's side, Near the gate of the marriage hall was tied a fowl, the girl's sister is a tattler. [*Mandavache dari bandhale kombade, navaremuli kadali karavali donhi kadache chombade.*] From the girl's side, In the front niche was a necklace, and from the boy's mother's hair-knot passed a Bhangi's household. [*Samor hota konada tyant hote gathle, vihiniche khopyatun gele bhangyache khatale*] From the boy's side, In front was a niche in which was a plate, if households pass through the hair of our head why should you be ashamed? [*Samor hota konada tyant hoti tatali, amche khopyatun geli khatali, tenvha tumhala kan laj vatali ?*] From the girl's side, At the door of the marriage hall was a *champaka* tree, the girl's sisters are a band of dancing-girls. [*Mandavache dari hota chapha, navaremuli kadalya karavalya kalavant nicha tapha*] From the boy's side, In front was a niche in which was a knife, from her way of tucking in the back part of her robe she truly is a courtesan. [*Samor hota konada tyant hoti suri, kasatyachi niri tar kasbin khari.*] In this way they go on dining for hours and end in abuse. At last to close the Contest one of them says, In front, was a niche in which was a grain of parched rice, we do not wish to banter in the presence of men. [*Samor hota konada tyant hoti lahi, amhi purusha-dekhat ukhane ghalit nahi.*] Among the men like scenes take place. They answer each other in verses or *shloks*.

*Sunmukh* or looking in the daughter-in-law's face comes after the offence-taking. The women of the boy's house take to the girl's a silver plate with ornaments and other plates and baskets containing a new robe, a bodice, cocoanuts, sugar, dates, almonds, turmeric, and redpowder. When they reach the girl's house the boy and girl are seated in the marriage hall on low wooden stools. The contents of the baskets and plates are shown to the women of the house, the boy's feet are washed by some elderly woman, and the girl is presented with turmeric and redpowder. The silver plate is set before the boy who takes from it a nosering and a necklace and puts them on the girl. Women relations deck the girl with other ornaments, dress her in a new robe and bodice, and fill her lap with wheat, cocoanuts, almonds, apricots, and dates, and the rest of the women are given turmeric and redpowder, pieces of cocoa-kernel mixed with sugar, and betel packets. The boy's mother and grandmother are presented with robes and bodices and his sisters either with bodices or with bodices and robes. After dinner the boy's relations return. Then comes the *sadi* or robe-giving when women relations and friends start from the boy's house with two plates, one with jewelry and the other with sixty-three betelnuts, turmeric roots, about a pound of rice, a cocoanut, a rupee in cash, a bodicecloth and a robe, and go to the girl's house accompanied by music. After a short time they are followed by the boy's father, brothers, and other relations and friends. When they are seated the priest sets two low wooden stools opposite each other. The boy and girl sit on the stools in a square marked by lines of quartz powder. One of the women relations places the plates which they brought near the boy, and he takes a nosering and puts it in the girl's nose and a necklace and fastens it round the girl's neck. The boy's sister decks the girl with other ornaments, and dresses her in the new bodice and robe, and fills her lap with a cocoanut, sixty-three betelnuts, turmeric, and rice grains. A married girl should not remain at her parent's more than three hours after the robe-giving.

Next comes the *rasnhane* or festive bathing when the girl's mother bathes the boy's mother and other kinswomen at the girl's house. A swinging cot is hung in the back part of the house adorned with jingling bells and a plantain tree is set at each corner of the cot. Taking a present or *amboan*, the girl's mother and her kinswomen and friends go to the boy's house and seat themselves in the women's hall, and either the girl's mother or some other elderly married woman goes to the boy's mother and other elderly women and asks them to come to her house and have a bath. A low stool is set in the middle of the marriage



hall, the boy's mother is seated on the stool, her feet are washed by the girl's mother with milk and water, and she is presented with a yellow robe and a white silk-bordered bodice. Turmeric and redpowder are handed to the boy's mother and other women and their laps are filled with rice and cocoanuts. All start in procession with music. Before they start the washerman spreads cloths for the women to walk on and continues lifting the cloths over which they have passed and laying them in front till the party have reached the girl's house. The washerman prevents the boy's mother putting her foot on the cloth until she gives him a present for removing the evils that overhang her head. This is called *ovalni* or keeping off. For this he is paid 2s. (Re. 1). As she moves, wreathed poles called *nakshatramalas* or star-garlands and *abdegir palchhatras* or guardian umbrellas are held over her head, and every now and again she is seated on a high wooden Stool in the street, and with other relations' her lap is filled and she is presented with turmeric and redpowder. Fireworks are let off, Sometimes guns are fired and torches are lighted, and musicians Sound, drums and fifes. With this pomp the procession passes to the girl's house. Near the door of the marriage hall the musicians stop the way and refuse to let the boy's mother enter until she pays them an *ovalni* or guarding fee, and she pays them about 2s. (Re. 1). Then the boy's mother refuses to enter the marriage hall unless the girl's mother pays her 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5). When this is paid she goes into the hall. The girl's mother pours milk and water over the boy's mother's feet, presents her with turmeric powder and redpowder, and seats all the guests in the marriage hall. The boy's mother is seated on a low wooden stool, and the girl's mother, bringing a basket of rice, pours it over her head, and while she bends in getting up throws a robe over her shoulders. Then a square is traced in the marriage hall and a low wooden stool is set in the square and a bangle-seller is asked to come with glass bangles of different colours and kinds. When the boy's mother has taken her seat the bangle-seller is asked to sit and the boy's mother throws a sash over him. Then he asks her what bangles she likes and takes her hand to try the size. But she refuses to let him put any glass bangles on her wrist unless she first gets gold bracelets. If the girl's family is rich they yield to her wish; if they are poor she has to be content with glass bangles. Then all the other women are presented with glass bangles. The cost to a rich family varies from £5 to £10 (Rs.50-100), to a middle-class family from £2 to £2 10s. (Rs.20-25) and to a poor family from 10s. to £1 (Rs.5-10). Then the guests, beginning with the boy's mother, are rubbed with spices and oils and bathed by the girl's mother and by female servants. After the guests have been bathed the girl's mother is rubbed with sweet scented powders and oils and her head with scented powders and cocoa-milk. She is seated on the swinging cot and a woman standing near swings the cot, and hence the name the

swinging bath or *jhokenhane*. Sweetmeats are served, betel is handed, and the guests withdraw.

At the girl's house in the women's hall a quartz square is traced and three low wooden stools are set, two in a line and the third in front. The girl's maternal uncle brings the girl in his arms and seats her on a stool and the boy walks in and sits to the right of the girl. On the front stool a new waistcloth is laid, and, with the priest's help, the boy and girl worship the waistcloth by throwing turmeric and redpowder over it. When the worship is over her maternal uncle carries the girl in his arms to a mango tree. The priest follows and they sit on low wooden stools in front of the tree, worship it, and go back to the house. Then comes the *airini* or bamboo basket worship, when, in a square tracing, the boy and girl are seated on two low wooden stools and the girl's mother places a ring of twisted cloth on the boy's head and on the ring of cloth the father sets the basket with dough lamps in it. The girl is seated on the boy's lap and he drops a pinch of sugar into her mouth. She is then seated on the lap of the boy's priest, then on the boy's father's lap, then on the brother's lap, and they too drop a little sugar into her mouth. The boy and girl are then both seated on the girl's mother's lap and she puts sugar in the girl's mouth, and the ceremony ends. The robe and bodice the girl wore at the time of marriage are placed over the priest's hands and the boy worships them and along with a money present asks him to take them. The girl's father taking the girl in his arms goes into the marriage hall, and seating the girl by turns on the lap of the boy's relations says to each, 'This my daughter whom up to this moment I have nourished as a son, do you now likewise nourish as your son.'

Within five days after the marriage day, generally in the evening, comes the *varat* or marriage procession. In the girl's house the boy and girl are dressed in rich clothes and seated on low wooden stools before the house gods. The girl's sister puts a little curds on the boy's right palm and he sips it. He takes from the god-room an image of the goddess Annapurna and hides it in his hand or in his pocket. The boy's sister ties together the hems of the boy's and girl's garments and they are seated on a horse, the girl in front of the boy. They start for the boy's house accompanied by men and women relations and friends with music and fireworks. On the way, if they pass a spot supposed to be haunted by evil spirits, a cocoanut is waved over the boy's and the girl's heads, dashed on the ground, and cast away. At the boy's house, when the boy and girl alight, the horse's feet are washed and cooked rice



sprinkled with redpowder is waved round the horse's body and thrown to some distance. On the threshold the boy's sister sets a pot filled with rice, and when the boy and the girl come near the pot, the girl knocks it over with her foot. The boy's sister refills it and the girl knocks it over again. This is repeated a third time. Then the boy tells the girl that his sister wants their daughter. The girl promises that if she has seven boys and the eighth is a girl she will give her in marriage to her sister-in-law's son. Then the sister fills the bride's hands with rice, and, with the boy walking close behind her and bending over and holding both her hands from behind and with his thumbs from time to time forcing out grains of rice, she walks till they reach the room where the marriage gods are enshrined. Here the boy and girl sit on low wooden stools before the gods, and after performing some rites the boy's relations tell him the bride's new name and this he whispers into her right ear.

In the same evening at the girl's house is the *mandavapartani* or marriage booth-returning. A feast is given to the boy's relations when a variety of dishes are prepared, and the feast lasts all night to near daybreak. After the feast the boy and his father are presented with a turban and the boy's mother with a robe and bodice. The guests receive a betel packet and a cocoanut and withdraw. Next comes the *samaradhana* or festive entertainment a return feast given at the boy's house to the girl's relations when a dish or two more of sweetmeats are prepared than at the girl's house.

The closing rite is the guardian-unshrining or *devdevakotthapan*. When the feast is over, at the boy's house his parents along with the boy and girl, and at the girl's house her parents alone, unshrine and bow out the marriage gods. The marriage gods are unshrined with the same details with which they were enshrined. The gods are brought out of the house in the same order in which they were taken, into the house. All are put in a plate and the water from the Varan-pot is sprinkled over the gods and on the girl and boy and on the boy's parents. The mango leaves are plucked off the twigs and thrown on the top of the marriage hall and some of the ropes that bind the roof of the marriage hall are loosened. Among rich Chitpavans the cost of a marriage varies from £150 to £250 (Its. 1500 - 2500); among the well-to-do from £50 to £100 (Rs. 500-1000; and among the poor from £10 to £25 (Rs. 100-250).

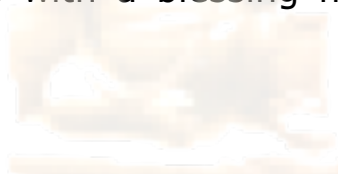
*Coming of Age.*

*Garabhadhan* literally conception is the ceremony at a girl's coining of age. A girl generally comes of age between twelve and fourteen. News is sent to the family astrologer and he is asked to say whether the time at which her sickness began was lucky or unlucky. [Almost always some ill luck attaches to the moment at which a girl's sickness begins. Of five hundred cases perhaps only one falls at an entirely lucky moment. Ill-luck may creep in from many sources, days, dates, months, planets, junction of planets, and colour of clothes. Under any of the following circumstances quieting or *shanti* rites should be performed. If the sickness began on a Saturday, Sunday, or Tuesday; if it began on the first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, twelfth, or fourteenth of the lunar fortnight or on the day of full-moon; if it happened in. the month of *Chaitra* or March-April, *Jyesth* or May-June, *A'shadh* or June-July, *Bhadrapad* or August September, *Kartik* or October-November, and *Paush* or December - January; if any of the following stars was in the ascendant, the second the third, sixth, ninth, tenth eleventh, sixteenth, eighteenth, twentieth, and the twenty-fifth of the twenty-eight daily *nakshatras* or host-stars in the moon's monthly course round the heavens; if it happened during the first, sixth, ninth, tenth, thirteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth nineteenth, twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of the fortnightly *nakshatras* or host-stars in the sun's yearly course in the ecliptic; if it happened during an eclipse; if it happened in the evening or at night; if her sickness began when the girl was asleep was wearing old clothes, was wearing red green or any fantastic coloured clothes, or if she was wearing no clothes at all; if it happened at a strange house or village, and if at the time the girl was holding a broom, sticks, grass, fire, or a winnowing fan All these occasions require a *shanti* or quieting ceremony.] If the moment was unlucky all sorts of calamities and troubles arise, and to remove or prevent them, *shanti* or quietings have to be performed The chief of these is the *Bhuvaneshvari shanti* or the quieting of Bhuvaneshvari. When a quieting is wanted word is sent to married female neighbours, who come, and, without touching the girl, lay in her lap a turmeric root, a betelnut, and a handful of rice. Then a woman of the Maratha caste is sent to the houses of kinswomen friends and neighbours, and they are asked to come to the turmeric and redpowder or *halad-kunku* ceremony. A bamboo frame is set in the women's hall six feet long and two broad and a bangle-seller is called to adorn it with bangles. A high wooden stool is set in the frame, and the girl, dressed in new clothes and wearing ornaments is seated on the stool. Musicians play for four days for a couple of hours morning and evening, and a woman of the Maratha caste attends the girl day and night, washing her clothes, combing her hair, and sleeping with her. For three days the girl is given presents of cooked food, and the food is eaten by the girl, her maid, and the house-people. On the morning of the fourth day the girl is bathed and neighbours kinswomen and friends

come with presents of a cocoanut, a betelnut, a piece of bodicecloth, and a handful of rice, and lay them in her lap. The girl's mother goes to the boy's house with uncooked food enough for the whole family, and cooking it with the help of the women of the house serves it to the boy's household. Before the dinner is begun her mother gives the girl 2s. to £1 10s. (Rs.1-15) in cash. On the fifth morning, or on any day within sixteen days from the beginning of the girl's sickness, learned Brahmans, the girl's parents, and near relations are called, and the boy and the girl are bathed. In the women's hall a square is traced with lines of quartz powder, and two low wooden stools are set in a line, one for the girl the other on the girl's right for the boy. A square altar of earth is raised in front of the boy and near it is laid a leaf-cup filled with grains of rice. On the rice is set a betelnut and the boy worships the nut as the god Ganpati. A sacrificial fire or *hom* is lit on the earthen altar and the same rites are performed as at a marriage, except the seven-steps or *saptapadikraman* and the polestar-seeing *dhruvadarshan*. When this is over the boy and girl leave their seats and go and sit in a square tracing on two low wooden stools, on the veranda or near the house steps. Another earthen altar is raised in front of them and the middle of each of its sides is adorned with a plantain stem. The boy then begins to kindle a sacrificial fire in honour of the goddess Bhuvaneshvari. He first takes some grains of rice in a leaf-cup, sets a betelnut on the rice, and worships the nut as the god Ganesh. Then the priest is given a betelnut and the boy makes a low bow before him and other Brahmans. The boy and girl leave their seats, the boy sitting on a low stool close by, and the girl going into the house and sitting among the women. The priest, sitting on the stool on which the boy sat, mixes in a metal plate cowdung and cow's urine, curds, butter, water, and the sacred grass or *durbha*, and repeats verses and sprinkles the mixture over the earthen mound and round himself. When he has finished sprinkling the mixture he sprinkles mustard seed round him, and last of all water. To the east of the altar a square is traced and in the square are laid a couple of leaf plates. Three heaps of mixed rice and wheat are laid in a line, and on each heap a water-pot is set, the pot on the middle heap being larger than the side pots. The priest fills the pots with water, and drops into each a little sesamum seed, some *durva* grass, the five jewels or *pancharatna* gold diamond amethyst emerald and pearl, the five leaves or *panchapallav* of the *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) *umbar* (*F. glomerata*) *vad* (*F. indica*) *pimpri* (*F. infectoria*) and mango, the five cow-gifts or *panchagavya* milk curds clarified butter cow-urine and cowdung, the seven seeds *bhat* rice, *jav* barley, *kang* Italian millet, *mug* *Phaseolus radiatus*, *sava* *Panicum miliare*, *til* sesamum, and *udid* *Phaseolus mungo*, *apta* leaves, coriander seed or *dhanya*, the seven earths, [The seven earths or *saptamritikas* are: From the king's palace gate, from an ant hill, from under an elephant's foot, from under a

horse's foot, from where four roads meet, from a cowshed, and from under the *vala* or *Audropogon muricatum* tree.] and thirty-two healing roots and herbs. The pots are covered with metal lids and on each lid rice and a betelnut are laid. On the pot, close to each betelnut, is set an image, Bhuvaneshvari on the central pot, Adhidevata Indra on the right pot, and Pratyadhidevata Indrani on the left pot. The three goddesses are worshipped and each is presented with a robe and a bodice. The priest sits, on the stool on which the girl sat, and a married woman brings fire from the house and the priest scatters it on the altar along with firewood and cowdung cakes. Two pounds of cooked rice are brought from the house and kept close by, as are also four leaf-plates on which forty-two pinches of rice are laid with a betelnut on each pinch. Then to the north-east of the leaf-plates, which are called the *navagrahas* or nine planets, [The nine planets are the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Rahu, and Ketu,] is set a water-pot or *kalash* covered with mango leaves and a cocoanut. The *navagrahas* and the water-pot are worshipped. Then low wooden stools are set round the fire or *hom* and learned Brahmans sitting on the stools repeat verses and feed the fire with cooked rice, butter, sesamum, and *samidhas* or sacred sticks of the: *palas* (*Butea frondosa*), *khed* (*Mimosa catechu*), and other trees. Then the Brahmans take *durva* grass, wheat, and sesamum seed, and mixing cooked rice in milk and butter, feed the fire in honour of Bhuvaneshvari. Next a married woman takes a bamboo basket, and, laying a leaf-plate in it, brings about a pound of cooked rice and pours it into the basket; and the boy, taking a little out of the basket, makes ten balls, and places one at each of the eight points of heaven, the east and south-east, the south and south-west, the west and north-west, and the north and north-east. He adds two more, one to the east the other to the north of the altar. He makes twelve more balls and sets nine near the *navagraha* and one each near the three goddesses. Over all the balls he throws a little *udid* pulse and redpowder or *gulal*. He makes twenty-three torches, twenty-two of them small and one of them large, he soaks the torches in oil, and placing one on each of the twenty-two rice balls or *mutkis* lights them. Then the boy and the girl take their seats on two low wooden stools, and place the basket with the cooked rice before them and stick the big torch into the rice. The torch is lighted, redpowder is sprinkled over it, and a cocoanut and a betel packet are placed in the basket. The boy takes a pinch of rice in his hands, and says, 'To you Yaksha Brahmachari, Bhut, Pret, Pishachya, Shankini, Dankini, and Vetala and other evil spirits do I offer-this. May you eat it and depart in peace.' He then throws the rice over the basket. Then a Kunbi servant coming from the house with a blanket on his head lifts the basket in both hands, and after waving it thrice round the boy and girl sets it on his head, and, without looking back, lays it by the

roadside at some distance from the house. The boy and girl wash their hands and feet outside of the house enclosure, return, and go into the house. The boy dresses in a short waistcloth or *pancha* and the girl in a bodice and robe, and they are seated on stools, the girl to the left of the boy. Then the priest and other Brahmans take water and a few mango leaves from Bhuvaneshvari's pot and from the mango leaves sprinkle the water over the heads of the boy and girl. The rest of the water is put in a bamboo or metal *rovali* or sieve and is held over the head of the couple. The boy's mother seats the boy and girl on stools, and either his mother or his sister rubs sweet powder on the boy's body and the girl's mother or sister rubs sweet powder on the girl's body. Both of them are then taken to the house well and bathed separately. After rubbing themselves dry the boy dresses in a rich silk waistcloth and the girl in a bodice and robe, and the clothes in which they bathed become the priest's property. Then the boy's and the girl's brows are marked with sandal and redpowder and they take their seats before the sacrificial fire and worship it. The boy then takes a pinch of ashes from the sacrificial fire and touches with it his own and the girl's brows. This part of the ceremony ends with a blessing from the priest and other Brahmans present.



Next to perform the conception or *garbhadhan* ceremony a square is traced with lines of quartz and two low wooden stools are set in the square. The boy and girl, after bowing before the house gods and the elders, take their seats on the stools, and a married woman comes and touches the boy's, the girl's, and the priest's brows with red powder. The *punyahavachan* or holy-day blessing is performed with the same details as before a marriage, and the boy and girl leave their seats and go and sit near the sacrificial fire in the house. The fire is then rekindled and rice is cooked over it, and the boy places the rice along with a few mango leaves on his right. The boy takes a mango leaf in each hand, his wife lays butter on the two leaves, and the boy drops butter on the rice. She then washes her hands and more butter is thrown over the fire. They are now done with the sacrificial fire, which is put out either at once, or in the evening, or next morning. The boy and girl now rise, and taking flowers in their hands go out of the house and looking at the sun throw the flowers towards it. They then come in, take their seats near the fire, and the boy, laying his right hand on the girl's head, pronounces a blessing. The boy's sister hands the boy a small quantity of bent grass or *durva*, pounded wetted and tied in a piece of white cotton, and he, standing behind the girl and laying her head between his knees, with his left hand lifts her chin and with his right squeezes into her right nostril enough bent grass juice to pass into her throat. The girl leaves her seat, washes her hands and feet, and sits as before



beside her husband. She once more leaves her seat and sits to the left of the boy when he either touches her breast or one of her shoulders and lays in her lap a coconut which rests on a turmeric root, betelnut, and wheat. The girl's mother and her relations, as well as the boy's mother and her relations, one after another, lay articles in the girl's lap and present both the boy and girl with clothes and ornaments. When the lap-filling is over the boy whispers his name into the girl's right ear. Then money is presented to Brahmans who ask a blessing on the heads of the couple, and they go and make a bow before the house gods and the elders. A feast is held, and as the girl is considered to have become pure, she is given" a cup of butter and serves it to the diners. In the evening, if the fire is allowed to remain, it is rekindled and fed with grains of rice and the boy rubs ashes on his own and on the girl's brows. A carpet is spread in the women's hall and the men and women relations take their seats. The girl is dressed in rich clothes and her head is decked with flowers. The boy is dressed in rich clothes, a coat waistcoat and turban, and they are seated face to face on the carpet. Male guests sit round the boy and female guests sit round the girl. Small round parcels of betel leaf are given to the boy and girl. The boy holds one end of the rolled leaf in his teeth and the girl bites off the other end. The boy is made to take the girl on his knee and bite a roll of betel leaf which the girl holds in her teeth. Jokes are made and they banter each other. The girl then washes the boy's feet and marks his brow with redpowder and sandal. She puts a nosegay in his hands and spreads leaf-plates for the guests to eat sweetmeats and fruit. All begin eating and the boy and girl who sit at the head of the table feed one another and eat from the same plate. When all are done the girl hands the guests packets of betel and the boy either leads her by the hand or lifts her in his arms and takes her into the nuptial room. Next morning, if the sacrificial fire is still alight, the boy and girl bathe and rekindle it and then allow it to die.

### *Pregnancy.*

A pregnant woman is treated with the greatest care and tenderness and both her parents and her husband's family try to give her whatever she longs for. She is considered particularly open to the attacks of evil spirits and is therefore as far as possible kept within doors, is forbidden from going into an empty house, from sitting under a tree, or from riding an elephant or a horse. She ought not to go into a house with an upper story, or sit on a mortar or pestle, or let her hair hang loose on her back, or quarrel, or eat hot and pungent things, or weep, or sleep during the day, or lie awake at night. She ought not to draw lines with coal or with her finger nails on the ground. She ought not to sit with her



feet turned back, and she ought not to cut anything during an eclipse. She should eat packets of betelnut and leaves mark her brow with redpowder, rub her arms with turmeric, put lampblack into her eyes, bathe, and comb her hair. If the mother attends to these rules the child becomes healthy and intelligent. If she suffers from loss of blood she should give a Brahman a sacred thread of gold, and the issue of blood will cease. As what the husband does during his wife's pregnancy is believed to affect his wife and the unborn child, he avoids certain acts. He builds no house, does not bathe in the sea, attends no funerals, does not travel, and does not get his head shaved. [These acts are forbidden to the husband of a pregnant woman because during her pregnancy a woman is specially apt to suffer from the attacks of spirits. The forbidden acts must therefore be believed to be specially likely either to enrage spirits or to bring them to the house. The reason for the different prohibitions seems to be that in building a house the anger of the place-spirit is aroused against the trespasser; the husband must not bathe in the sea because the seashore is thick with ghosts; he must not go to a funeral because the burning ground is the great haunt of spirits; he must not travel because he crosses boundaries another favourite, spirit haunt; he must not have his head shaved because, perhaps, an exorcist might get hold of the shaved stumps and through the stumps work mischief in the house. These rules and examples are interesting as they throw light on the widespread practise of the lying-in father. This practise, which is commonly known by its French name *couvad*, may be described as various forms of invaliding the father instead of or as well as the mother. The practice occurs in Western India among the Pomaliyas or gold-washers of South Gujarat, who, after a birth, take great care of the husband, give him special food, and do not allow him to go out; among the Dombars and Lambanis of the Bombay Karnatak the husband is oiled and fed and keeps at home the wife doing all the work; among the Korvi basket-makers of Madras both men and women eat asafoetida after a bath (Tylor's Primitive Culture, I. 84); and in Seringapatam and on the Malabar Coast on the birth of the first daughter or of any son the father goes to bed for a month, lives on rice, takes no exciting food, and is not allowed to smoke. In Borneo the husband must eat nothing but rice and salt; he must do no hard work, fire no gun, strike no animals. In West Yunnan in China the husband takes to bed for forty days. In Europe traces of the practice of the lying-in husband remain in Corsica, North Spain, Beam, Navarre, and Biscay. The practice is very noticeable and elaborate in America. In Greenland both father and mother keep quiet; in North America the father gives up all active pursuits, fells no tree, fires no gun, and hunts no large game, but loafs at home in a hammock; in Guiana and other parts of South America the husband does no work, fasts, and may not use his nails in scratching; in California he is given nourishing food. In the West

Indies the father takes to his hammock, eats and drinks nothing for five days, and for five more takes nothing but light beer. On the fortieth day he is cut with sharp teeth, his wounds are peppered and he is put to bed and kept in bed for several days. For six months he does not eat birds or fish (Tylor's Early History of Mankind, 291-305). Mr. Tylor (Ditto, 298) suggests as an explanation of these customs sympathetic magic that is the feeling that closely connected beings act on each other. The character of the acts forbidden to the Chitpavan husband, and the fact that diseases connected with pregnancy and childbirth are still in India almost universally believed to be the work of spirits, suggest that the explanation of all varieties of *couvad* is to be found in the early spirit theory of disease. The object of all the special treatment seems to be to prevent the father doing anything likely to displease spirits or give them the opportunity of fastening on him and coming home with him.]

The chief ceremonies which are performed during a woman's pregnancy are the man-bearing or *punsavan* in the second month, the quench-longing or *anavalobhan* in the fourth month, and the hair-parting or *simantonayana* in the sixth or eighth months. These ceremonies should be performed at each pregnancy; if they are not performed at a woman's first pregnancy they cannot be performed on any subsequent occasion. On the day of the ceremony the wife and husband are anointed with sweet smelling spices and oils and they bathe. A quartz square is traced in the women's hall and two wooden stools are set in the square, and at some distance in front of the stools carpets are laid for Brahmans to sit upon. The husband and wife bow before the house gods and the male and female elders, and take their seats on the stools. A married woman marks the brows of the husband the wife and the family priest and retires, and the husband, taking in his hollowed right hand a ladleful of cold water, pours the water on the ground before him saying, ' I pour this water that the child in my wife's body may be a male and be intelligent, that he may live long, and that he may not suffer in the hour of birth, and not be possessed with *bhuts*, *gans*, and *rakshasas*, and may be happy and long-lived.' He next performs the quench-longing or *anavalobhan* ceremony that his wife may not wish for anything which is likely to cause a miscarriage. He then worships Ganesh and performs the holy-day blessing with the same details as during a marriage. Then an altar of earth is raised in front of the boy and the girl and the sacrificial fire is kindled with the same details as at the marriage or *vivaha hom*. After this the wife leaves her seat and stands behind the stool on which she sat, and into her hollowed hands her husband drops a grain of wheat with on each side of the wheat two grains of *udid* pulse. Over these three he pours a

little curds. He then asks her thrice what she is sipping, and she answers that by which women conceive. The husband and wife go outside the house, wash their hands and feet, and sit as before on the low wooden stools. He places his right hand on his wife's head, and prays that the child may be born in the tenth month and may be a male. Next comes the hair-parting or *simantonayana*. The husband holds back the wife's head as he did when she came of age, and squeezes the juice of bent grass into her right nostril. He next takes a water-pot, fills it with water, and putting on a lid lays grains of rice on the lid, and over the whole sets a golden image of Vishnu. After the sacrificial fire is kindled he takes a porcupine quill and a blade of sacred grass, and passing them along the parting of his wife's hair fastens them into the knot behind. He takes a garland of wild *umbar* figs and hangs it round her neck, and decks her with ornaments and her hair with flowers. She is then seated on her husband's left and her lap is filled with fruit and wheat. Presents of clothes and ornaments are made to the husband and wife and they leave their places after the Brahmans have called blessings upon them. Money is distributed among the Brahmans and those who have not been asked to dine retire. From this time until after the child is born the wife is held impure, and water and food are not taken from her hands. As at the coming of age the sacrificial fire is allowed to go out.

### *Atonement.*

All-atonement or *sarva-prayaschitta vidhi* is generally performed by the mortally sick or the aged whose failing powers warn them that their end draws near. It is a sad rite. His friends, from day to day, try to persuade the sick or the aged to put off the atonement ceremony as there is no cause to fear the immediate approach of death. No one can make atonement without asking leave of his heir. If the sick is too ill to perform the rite, his heir can take his place. If a man dies without performing the ceremony, atonement can be made on the eleventh day after his death. On the morning of the day of atonement, the penitent bathes and dresses in a newly washed waistcloth and shouldercloth. He sits on a low wooden stool in the women's hall and in front of him sit on mats and carpets Brahmans among whom are a few learned divines or *shastris* and scripture-readers or *puraniks*. When the Brahmans are seated the penitent takes in his hands some copper coins and a water cup and ladle, and after walking round the seated Brahmans throws himself on his face before them, and with joined hands begs forgiveness. He rises and stands before them with joined hands. The Brahmans say: ' Tell us truly why you have called us and why you have bowed so low before us? ' The penitent, keeping his hands joined,

answers: 'From my birth until now, either knowingly or unknowingly, with wish or without wish once or often, with body speech or mind, alone or in company, with touch or otherwise, by eating or refusing to eat, by drinking or refusing to drink, by eating or drinking with those of other castes, by tempting or by causing another to sin, by eating Or drinking from unclean vessels, by defiling a person from his caste in these and in other ways I have not ceased from sin. Do ye receive me, and by giving me atonement free me from the burden of my sins. He lies flat or bows before the Brahmans. He goes on: ' Do ye, who are able, free me, penitent, from the burden of my sins.' And a third time he bows or falls before them. He again rises and gives them the coppers he holds in his hands. He next goes into the house and brings out the money he intends to give the Brahmans, and putting it in a plate lays the plate before them. He worships the money and lays a sacred book before the plate, and throws grains of rice over the heads of the Brahmans. Then the Brahmans choose one of their number, who is either ignorant of the ceremony or whose love of money overcomes his scruples, and set him in front and call him the representative or *anuvadak*. The representative repeats the name of the host and his family stock and says: ' Except such grievous sins as murder and adultery, I take on myself the sins of my patron and free him from them.' The penitent then gives the sinbearer a double share of the money in the plate besides uncooked food and other presents, and the sinbearer is told to leave the house bearing with him the load of the penitent's sins. After the sinbearer has gone, the host washes his hands and feet, sips a little water, and with joined hands returns thanks to the other Brahmans for freeing him from the burden of his sins. He asks them to allow him to be shaved and a barber shaves his head except the top-knot and his face except the eyebrows and pares his nails. The penitent goes to the house well, bathes, rubs his teeth with a branch of the *aghada* *Achyranthes aspera*, and again bathes. He rubs cowdung ashes on the palms of his hands and then with his right hand rubs ashes on his head, face, chest, private parts, and feet. He puts on more water and covers with ashes his whole body from head to foot and bathes. In this way he thrice rubs ashes and thrice bathes. He next takes cowdung and rubs it on his body from head to foot and again bathes. He takes earth and laying bent grass upon it, throws a little to the east, south, west, and north, towards heaven, and on the earth, and pouring a little water on the earth rubs the wet earth on his head, face, throat, chest, navel, shoulders, sides, armpits, back, thighs, legs, feet, and hands, and finally over his whole body. He takes more dust and bent grass, drops sesamum over them, and throwing them into the well prays to the well and bathes. He rubs cow's urine on his body, then cowdung, then milk, then curds, and last of all butter, bathing after each. He dresses in fresh-washed clothes, and going into the house,

makes a clay altar, kindles a Sacrificial fire, worships Vishnu, and feeds the fire with cow's urine, dung, curds, milk, and butter, and drinks what of the mixture remains. He makes money presents to Brahmans and they retire. This ends the atonement except that unless he is ill the penitent eats nothing during the whole day. If he is ill, he can eat any food Which is not mixed with salt, for on this day salt is strictly forbidden. Women perform the all-atonement as well as men. The only difference is that no verses are repeated.

### *Death.*

When a Chitpavan is on the point of death, a spot in the women's hall is cowdunged, holy basil or *tulsi* leaves are sprinkled over the spot, and a blanket is spread over the leaves. On the blanket the dying person is laid with his feet to the south. A few drops of the sacred Ganges or Bhagirathi are poured into his month; a learned Brahman repeats verses from the Veds, another reads the Bhagvat Gita, and near relations or the family priest ask him to repeat, Narayan Narayan. His son rests the dying head on his lap and comforts him until he has drawn his last breath. When all is over the women of the family sit round the body weeping and wailing; the men and the boys go out and sit on the veranda bareheaded; servants or neighbours start to tell relations and friends, and the priest turns up his almanac to see whether the moment of death was lucky or was unlucky. To die under the constellations called *tripad* and *panchak* or under the last five of the seasonal stars or *nakshatras*, between the second half of Dhanishtha and the first half of Ashvini, is unfortunate. When the time of death is unlucky, to prevent calamity and trouble, quietings or *shantis* have to be performed on the eleventh day after death. Soon neighbours dressed in a waist and shouldercloth begin to drop in. One goes to the market and brings what is wanted for the funeral. When he comes back others busy themselves laying out the body. If the deceased was a Agnihotri or fire-sacrificing Brahman, some live coal is taken from the sacred fire, or a fire is kindled, and the live coal is put in an earthed pot. The chief mourner and his brothers, if he has brothers, and bathed one after the other outside of the house. The chief mourner takes a blade of the *darbha* grass, touches his brow with it, and passing it over his head throws it behind him. He dresses in a wet waistcloth and shouldercloth and sits in front of the barber and shifts his sacred thread to the right shoulder. [In performing ceremonies for the dead the thread is always shifted from its usual position on the left shoulder to the right shoulder; it is allowed to remain on the left shoulder in performing ceremonies to the gods.] The barber shaves his head except the top-knot and his face except the eyebrows, and pares his nails. The chief mourner is dressed



in a new waist-cloth, a shouldercloth or *uttari* is tied along with his sacred thread, a blade of *darbha* grass is tied round the sacred thread and the shouldercloth, another round the top-knot, and of a third he makes a ring and puts it on the third right finger. The body is brought out of the front door by the nearest male relations, followed by the women, and is laid on the outer steps of the house on a small wooden plank, the head resting on the steps. The women gather weeping round the head and the men stand at some distance. Three or four pots of cold water are brought from the well and poured over the body which is hidden from sight while it is being dressed. Elderly men bathe the body and leave it bare except a loincloth. [ Elderly women dress a woman's body in a full suit of clothes. If the dead woman is married and is not a widow her hair is braided, redpowder is rubbed on her brow, and turmeric on her face and arms; nose, ear, head and feet ornaments are put on; butter is rubbed on her head; and her lap is filled with fruit and flowers.] A piece of gold and an emerald are put in the mouth. A few drops of the sacred Bhagirathi river are poured into the mouth and sprinkled over the body, the two thumbs and the two great toes are tied together with cloth, and the body is laid on the bier and covered from head to foot with a cloth. If the dead leaves children a hole is made in the face-cloth over the mouth. If the dead leaves a wife she is bathed in cold water, and says: 'Because of the great evil that has fallen on me, I shave my head.' She takes off such of her ornaments as are not to be given to the barber, or she puts on ornaments of little value, a small nosering, earrings, and silver toerings which are given to the barber, or instead of ornaments she gives him about 4s. (Rs. 15) in cash. The barber shaves her head and pares her nails. She breaks her bangles and her lucky marriage necklace, rubs off her red brow-mark, takes off her bodice, and puts on a white robe. The robe and the ornaments she wore at the time of shaving become the property of the barber. Her hair is wrapped in her bodice and laid on the bier. The chief mourner starts walking with the firepot hanging from a string in his hand. The bier is raised by four of the nearest kinsmen, set on their shoulders, and carried feet first close after the chief mourner. With the chief mourner walk two men, one holding a metal pot with the rice which was cooked near the feet of the corpse; the other carrying a bamboo winnowing fan with parched pulse and small bits of cocoa-kernel, which, as he walks, he throws before him to please the evil spirits. Of the men who have come to the house some follow the body bareheaded and barefooted, repeating with a low voice Ram Ram, Govind Govind. The rest go to their homes. The bearers walk slowly and the chief mourner keeps close in front that no one may pass between the fire and the body. No woman goes to the burning ground. Female friends take the women and the children of the house and bathe them, get the ground floor where the corpse was laid, the veranda, and the



house steps washed with water and cowdung, and go home. Half-way to the burning ground the bier is lowered, and, without looking back, the bearers change places. When they reach the burning ground an earthen altar is made and the fire from the pot is poured over it. Instead of himself accompanying the funeral, the family priest sends another Brahman, generally one who officiates at the burning ground and who is known by the name of *karta*. [*Kartas* take their name from the Sanskrit *karat* a funeral rite. They are found among all Brahmans. They generally perform death ceremonies. The rest of the caste look down on the *Karta*, and they are seldom asked to conduct marriage and thread-girding or other lucky ceremonies. They eat, drink, and marry with the people of their caste, but are considered unclean in the same way that a mourning family is considered unclean.] A few chips of firewood are thrown over the fire and it is fed with butter. Close to the platform, a spot of ground is sprinkled with water and sesamum seed is thrown over it. On this spot the funeral pile is built by the mourners and round the pile blades of *darbha* grass are strewn. The pile and the bier are sprinkled with sesamum and water, the sheet is pulled off the body and thrown aside, the hand and feet cloths are cut and the body is laid on the pile with the head to the south. Pieces of sandalwood and basil leaves are thrown over the body, and, if the deceased died at an unlucky time, seven dough balls are made and laid on the head, the eyes, the mouth, the breast, and the shoulders. Then from a mango leaf butter is dropped on the several balls, and the loincloth is cut that the body may leave the world in the same state in which it came into the world. The chief mourner lights the pile, if the dead is a man at the head and if a woman at the feet, and the other mourners throw the rest of the fire under the pile. The chief mourner fans the fire with the end of his shouldercloth and throws a few sesamum seeds over the pyre. The *karta* or funeral priest all the while repeats verses. When the skull bursts the chief mourner, carrying on his left shoulder an earthen jar filled with cold water, takes his stand near where the head of the corpse lay, and another of the mourners picking a pebble makes with it a small hole in the earthen pot, and, from the hole 'as the chief mourner walks round the pyre water keeps trickling. At the end of the first round, when the chief mourner comes back to the south, a second hole is made with the stone, and a second stream trickles out. After the second round a third hole is made, and when three jets stream out, the chief mourner throws the pot backward over his shoulder and the water spills over the ashes. The chief mourner calls aloud striking his hand on his mouth, All the mourners come together and one of them ties round the pebble, with which the pot was broken, a blade of *darbha* grass and calls it *ashma* that is the life. The chief mourner, to cool the spirit of the dead which has been heated by the fire, pours water mixed with sesamum on the ashes, and, to quench the spirit's thirst, pours water

over the *ashma* or stone of life. The rest of the mourners follow the chief mourner and throw water over the stone, They start for home. Before starting, to allay the fear caused by burning the body, each picks a pebble and throws it towards the nearest mountain or hill. At the house of mourning the spot on which the dead breathed his last is smeared with cowdung and a lighted lamp is set on it. As the mourners come, to cool their eyes which have been heated by the fire, they look at the lamp and go to their houses. The chief mourner bathes, puts on a fresh waist-cloth, and lays in some safe place the waistcloth and shouldercloth he wore at the burning ground, the water-pot and cup, and the *asthma* or lifestone. As no fire is kindled in the house relations and caste-fellows send cooked food. If the chief mourner has brothers, before dining they rub butter on their right hands, make a ball of rice, set it in front of their leaf-plates, and pour water over it. The family of the deceased keeps in mourning for ten days, during which they eat no betel or sugar and drink no milk. They are also not allowed to rub their brows with sandal or red-powder, to anoint their bodies, to shave their heads, or to wear shoes or turbans. Every day for ten days a sacred book, the *Garud Puran* or Vulture Scripture, is read to the family and the bearers are not allowed to dine until they have seen a star in the heavens. Generally on the third day comes the bone-gathering or *asthi-sanchayan*, when the chief mourner, accompanied by the Karta, goes to the burning ground with the waistcloth and shouldercloth he wore at the burning, the lifestone, and the water-pot and cup, and after washing the two cloths spreads them to dry. He bathes, puts on the fresh-washed waistcloth, and ties the shoulder cloth along with his sacred thread. He takes a little cow's urine sprinkles it on the ashes of the dead, picks out the pieces of unburnt bone, and heaps them on one side. When he has picked all the bones he pats them in a basket and throws them and the ashes into some neighbouring pond or stream. [If he has to take the bones to Nasik, Benares, or some other sacred spot, the chief mourner puts them in an earthen jar and buries the jar near his house in some lonely place where they are not likely to be touched. After a year he goes on pilgrimage and at the place of pilgrimage throws the bones into water.] When he has thrown the ashes into the water, he sits on the spot where the deceased's feet lay and raises a three-cornered altar or *vedi*. He sets an earthen jar in each corner of the altar and one in the middle, fills them with water, and throws a few grains of sesamum into each. Close to the jars he lays the stone of life. Near the four earthen jars he places four small yellow flags and in the mouth of each jar sets a rice ball. He makes eight dough balls shaping them like umbrellas and footprints and four cakes which he lays near the jars. The cake near the middle jar and the water in the middle jar are meant to appease the hunger and thirst of the dead, the dough umbrella is to shade him from the sun, and the shoes are to guard his

feet from the thorns on the way to heaven. The cakes laid close to the corner jars are offered to Rudra, Yama, and the ancestors of the dead. He sprinkles sesamum and pours water over each of the balls and touches them with lampblack and butter. He dips the end of the shouldercloth into water, and lets a little water drop over each ball. He smells them, and, except the stone of life, throws the whole into water. Thus for ten days he performs like ceremonies that the deceased may gain a new body. On the first day the dead gets his head, on the second his ears eyes and nose, on the third his hands breast and neck, on the fourth his middle parts, on the fifth his legs and feet, on the sixth his vitals, on the seventh his bones marrow veins and arteries, on the eighth his nails hair and teeth, on the ninth all remaining limbs organs and strength, and on the tenth hunger and thirst for the renewed body. On this tenth day a three-cornered earthen altar is made as usual, and the chief mourner sprinkles cowdung and water over it. Then, strewing turmeric powder, he places five earthen pots on five blades of sacred grass, three in one line and two at right angles. He fills the pots with water and a few grains of sesamum seed and over the seed sets a wheaten cake and a rice ball. He plants small yellow flags in the ground, and setting up the lifestone lays flowers before it, and waving burning frankincense and lighted lamps, prays the dead to accept the offering. If a crow comes and takes the right-side ball the deceased died happy. If no crow comes the deceased had some trouble on his mind. The chief mourner bows low to the lifestone, and tells the dead not to fret, his family and goods will be taken care of, or if the funeral ceremony has not been rightly done, the fault will be mended. In spite of these assurances, if for a couple of hours no crow takes the rice, the chief mourner himself touches the ball with a blade of sacred grass. Then, taking the stone, and rubbing it with sesamum oil, to satisfy the hunger and thirst of the dead, he offers it a rice ball and water, and standing with it near water, facing the east, throws it over his back into the water. This ends the tenth-day ceremony. On the morning of the eleventh day the whole house is cowdunged and the chief mourner and all other members of the family bathe. The priest kindles the sacred fire on an earthen altar and heaps firewood over it, feeds the fire with a mixture of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, and butter, and that all the uncleanness caused by the death may vanish and the house become pure, the chief mourner and his brothers drink what is left of the five cow-gifts or *panchagavya*. The chief mourner rubs a little ashes on his brow and throwing a few rice grains over the fire lets it die.

On this eleventh day a quieting or *shanti* is performed to turn aside any evil that may befall the family if a member of it dies under the constellation called *tripad* or under the five planets or *panchaks*. In the women's hall an altar of earth is made and the mourner sits in front of the altar. Close by he lays a leaf-cup with rice grains in it, and over the

rice a betelnut, and worships the betelnut as the god Ganesh. He empties a ladleful of water on the palm of his right hand, and pours the water on the ground saying ' I pour this water that the dead may go to heaven and no evil fall on his family.' He leaves his seat and asks the priest to begin the ceremony. The chief mourner sits somewhere close by and the priest sitting on the spot on which the chief mourner sat performs the worship. He takes mustard seed and sprinkles it all over the house, then cow's urine, and last of all cold water in which a blade of sacred grass has been steeped. Next he lays a couple of leaf-plates in front of the mound, spreads grains of rice over the leaves, and over the rice sets five water-pots or *kalashes*, one at each corner and one in the middle. He covers the pots with lids, and on each lid sets grains of rice, a betelnut, and a golden image, The image on the middle pot is Yam, on the east pot is Rudra, on the south Varun, on the west Vishnu, and on the north Indra. Each of the images and water-pots is worshipped. A second betelnut is laid on the lid of the middle water-pot in honour of Ashtavasus, on the east water-pot in honour of Varun, on the south water-pot in honour of Ajaikpad, on the west water-pot in honour of Ahvibradhna, and on the north water-pot in honour of Usha. Round the middle pot fourteen betelnuts are arranged in a ring in honour of Yam, Dharmaraj, Nirrut, Antak, Vaivasvat, Kal, Sarvabhutakshaya, Audumbar, Dadhna, Nil, Paramesh, Vrikodar, Chitra, and Chitrugupta, and all are worshipped. The priest kindles a sacred fire in honour of the nine planets or *navagraha*. Over the fire he cooks rice, and sprinkling sesamum over it feeds the sacred fire with butter. The priest takes a mango leaf, dips it into the water of the different pots, and from, the point of the leaf sprinkles water on the head of the mourner and his family. A metal cup is filled with boiled butter, the mourner and the rest of the family look at the reflection of their faces in the butter, and the cup is presented to a Brahman who walks, away with it. This ends the quieting or *shanti* ceremony. Except that three water-pots are set instead of five, the ceremony to quiet a *tripad* constellation is the same as the ceremony to quiet the planets. [A *tripad* constellation is one of which three-fourths are included under one sign of the zodiac, Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.]

On the same day, that is the eleventh day after a death, in the deceased's house, an earthen altar is made and a sacred fire kindled upon it. On the fire three metal pots are put, two of brass and the third of copper. The copper pot has rice and water, and one of the brass pots rice and milk and the other water and wheat flour. When the dishes are cooked, a water-pot is set in the middle of the platform, and on the pot a lid some grains of rice and three betelnuts and they are worshipped. The contents of the three pots are poured on three leaf-plates and with

them the chief mourner feeds the fire. A male calf of a five-year old cow and a female calf of a three-year old cow are brought, new waistcloths are put on their backs, sandal and redpowder are rubbed on their brows, garlands of sweet basil and flowers are thrown round their necks, and their tails are dipped in a ladle of water and shaken over the head of the chief mourner. Next two irons, one three-pointed called a *trishul* the other ending like a key handle in a ring and called *chupti*, are laid in burning cowdung cakes. The male calf is thrown down with its legs tied near the sacred fire and when the irons are red-hot ashes are rubbed above the joint of the calf's right forefoot and on the ashes the red-hot trident is pressed. Then the ringed iron is pressed on his hind quarters, and the calf is allowed to rise. The chief mourner walks round the calf, and looking to the four quarters of heaven tolls the animal that henceforth the four corners of the world are free to him and that he is at liberty to go wherever he pleases. He leads both the calves to the roadside at some distance from the house and sets them free. The lowing of the bullock when it is being branded is believed to carry the deceased to heaven, and his first cry opens the doors of heaven for the dead to enter. Poor people instead of a live ox make an ox of dough. After the bullock has been set free presents are made to Brahmans. One of the presents is a cow which is called the Vaitarni cow because the dead is believed to cross that river of blood and filth by holding the cow's tail. Presents of other articles, food, water-pots, shoes, an umbrella, a lamp, cloth, sesamum seed, betelnut, flowers, butter, a sacred thread, and bedding, are also made to Brahmans. At the time of presenting the bedding a cot is placed in front of the house steps, and fitted with mattresses, pillows, sheets, and curtains. On one side of the bed is laid a plate filled with metal boxes for keeping betel, lime, catechu, cloves, cardamums, almonds, nutmeg, nutmace, musk, and saffron. The Brahman who is to receive this present is dressed in the deceased's waistcloth, waistcoat, coat, shouldercloth, turban, handkerchief, and shoes, and, if the deceased was an old man, a walking stick is placed in his hands. He is seated on a low wooden stool with his back to the cot, an umbrella is held over his head, and a fan is placed in his hands. The mourner sits in front of him, marks his brow with sandal, and asks a Maratha woman or other middle class woman to wait on the Brahman. The chief mourner then rubs scented oils and powders on the Brahman's body and lays before him flowers and grains of rice, burns frankincense, and waves a lighted lamp and camphor before him, and says to him: 'I make you these gifts that the dead may 'be freed from his sins and reach heaven in safety, and that there all his lifelong he may have a cot to lie on, a packet of betel to eat, a maid to wait on him, an umbrella to shade him from the sun, and a stick to help him in walking.' The Brahman is seated on the cot with his feet resting on the ground, and the chief mourner washes his feet with water, rubs



sandal on his brow, and presents him with 2s. to £10 (Rs. 1 -100). The Brahman lies on his back in the bed, the maid who becomes his property shampoos his feet, and the chief mourner, helped by other male members of the family, lift the cot on their shoulders with the Brahman on it, and, followed by the maid, carry it some distances from the house, and set it on the roadside, and, throwing a little earth and cowdung at the Brahman, return home, wash their hands and feet, and sending some money as the price of the maid or *dasi* bring her back. The receiver of this present is considered the ghost or *pret* of the deceased. As it is most unlucky to meet a man who has taken such a present, the present is generally given to an outside Brahman who is not likely to come to the house or to be met in the streets. In some places the mourner and his friends sometimes carry the pelting of the present-taker with stones, earth, and dung so far that the police have to interfere. Like the Karta the cot-taking Brahman is not allowed to take part in lucky ceremonies or to join dinner parties. Besides the cot, several other articles, grain, pulse, and other necessities of life enough to feed a family for a whole year, clothes, houses, lands, fields, and sacred books including the Bhagvatgita, Bharat, Ramayan, Pandavaprataap, Bhaktivijaya, and Shivilamrit are given to Brahmans. The sacrificial fire is kindled, and a number of *shraddhs* or funeral ceremonies are performed. This ends the eleventh-day observances.

Though, if necessary, it may be delayed for a year, the *sapindi-shraddh* or memorial service in honour of seven generations of ancestors, generally takes place on the morning of the twelfth day after the death. As a rule, the ceremony is held in the cattle-shed where the dishes are cooked by some elderly woman. In the morning the chief mourner bathes and takes his seat in the stable, and the family priest, sitting near him on a low wooden stool, begins to repeat verses. The mourner takes three bits of plantain leaf or *chats* and lays them in a line facing north as the seat for his grandfather, great grandfather, and grandfather's grandfather, two leaf-seats facing east for the gods Kuldev and Kamdev, and a leaf-seat facing north-east for the deceased. Before the priest are a cup, a saucer, and a ladle full of water. He dips blades of the sacred *darbha* grass into the water and from the point of the blade sprinkles water over each of the leaf-seats. He takes two more blades of grass, twists them in rings, and draws them over his third right and left fingers. He ties a blade of the grass to his top-knot and another round his sacred thread. He takes a blade of the grass and a little barley and tucks them into the right side of his waistband, and a blade of the grass and a little sesamum seed into the left side of his waistband. Under his seat he lays four blades of grass, and joining his hands repeats the names of Kuldev and Kamdev. He changes his sacred



thread from the left to the right shoulder, repeats his father's name and family, and the names and family of his grandfather, great-grandfather, and grandfather's grandfather, and moves his sacred thread back to its usual place on his left and shoulder. He takes a bundle of *darbha* grass, six copper coins and some sesamum seed and barley, and leaving his seat goes round the six leaf-seats or sacred grass images representing Brahmans to pay the homage due to them. [If the mourner is well-to-do be has Brahmans to sit instead of the pieces of plantain leaf.] Then, standing and looking towards the grass images, he asks them if he is fit to perform the ceremony. He takes his seat and holding seven blades of *darbha* grass lays two on the leaf-seat of Kuldev, two on the leaf-seat of Kamdev, and three on the leaf-seat of the deceased. He sets before him two plates, half fills them with water, and throws in the one a little sesamum and in the other a little barley. In each plate he lays a blade of *darbha* grass, a betelnut, and a copper coin, and sprinkles water from the plates over his head. He leaves his seat, sprinkles water over the cooking dishes, and asks the cook whether the food is ready. When the food is ready the mourner again sits and throws grains of rice and sesamum on all four sides of him to guard himself and the ceremony from evil spirits. The chief mourner faces the grass images of Kuldev and Kamdev, throws sesamum and barley over them, and sprinkles the spot in front of the two images with water from the three plates, throws two blades of *darbha* grass over the two spots which he had sprinkled with water, and taking two plantain-leaf cups sets them on the blades of grass. He sprinkles water over the cups and lets them run over. He lays two blades of *darbha* grass across the cups, pours a ladleful of water into each, throws sandal paste, barley, and basil leaves into them, and asks the two gods to accept them. He takes four grains of barley, touches the grass images with his left hand, and drops some grains over them from his right hand. He covers them with his left hand, and, taking the two-blades from over the cups, lays them on the leaf-seat. He takes each cup and touching the leaf-seat with his right hand pours the contents over his right hand, and sprinkles more water from the three plates over the leaves. He shifts his thread to his left shoulder, repeats the name of his father and the family name, and throws a blade of *darbha* grass and a few sesamum seeds over the leaf seat of the deceased, and over the seats of the grandfather, great-grandfather, and grandfather's grandfather. He sits in front of the deceased's leaf, sprinkles water before it, turns the cup rim up, lays four blades of *darbha* grass across the rim, and pours into the cup a ladleful of water from the plate mixed with basil leaves, sandal powder, and sesamum seeds. He treats the leaf-seats of the grandfather the great-grandfather and the grandfather's grandfather in the same manner, lays three blades of *darbha* grass across the rim of each of the three cups, pours, a ladle of water into each, and taking in his hands

some grains of sesamum and repeating his father's name and his family name throws some sesamum into each of the four cups. He says, ' I unite my dead father with my grandfather, my great-grandfather, and my grandfather's grandfather.' He takes a ladle of water from his father's cup and a blade of *darbha* grass from each of the four cups and pours the water in front of one of the three cups and lays the blade near the cup. He treats the other two cups in the same way. Then, taking a ladle of water from each of the three cups, he sprinkles a little over the blades, and empties the other two cups over the leaf-seats. He gathers all the blades from the two cups and lays them on the first of the three cups and throws the cups in a corner along with his father's cup. He shifts his thread from the right to the left shoulder, drops sandal and flowers over the leaf-seats of Kuldev and Kamdev, and burns frankincense and camphor before them. He worships the father's and the ancestor's leaf-plates, makes a square of water in front of Kamdev's and of Kuldev's cups, shifts his thread to his right shoulder, and drops water in a ring in front of each of the three forefathers' plates, and in the form of a triangle in front of the father's plate. He spreads leaf-plates over all the water lines and draws lines of ashes round the four ancestral plates, and lines of flour or quartz powder round the two gods' plates. He rubs butter on the six leaf-plates beginning with Kuldev's and Kamdev's plates. Fire is brought and a little cooked rice is thrice thrown over the fire. If Brahmans are seated on the four leaf-seats of the deceased, and of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, the cooked rice is given to them and they swallow it, but, as rich presents are required before Brahmans will agree to eat the cooked rice, a blade of *darbha* grass is generally set to represent them and to receive the homage due to them. A leaf-plate filled with heaps of rice, vegetables, sugared milk, and cakes is laid before the leaf-seat of Kuldev and a second plate before the leaf-seat of Kamdev, and water from the three metal plates is sprinkled over them. A ring of water is poured round each of the plates, and the mourner, resting his right knee on the ground and pointing to the food with his right thumb, says, *Idam anam*, that is ' This is food.' He shifts his thread to his left shoulder, rests his left thigh on the ground, and points with his left thumb to the four leaf-plates, which are laid in front of the four ancestral leaf-seats. He drops a little honey on each of the four leaf-plates, and says to the ancestral spirits or *pitris*, ' Are you satisfied with the food.' He throws a little water in front of the six plates, and sprinkles some grains of rice over them. He lays down a blade of *darbha* grass and offer sugared milk as food to those of his family who may have died in the womb, been buried, or been burnt without due ceremony. The images are asked if they have had enough, and if they have had enough, what is to be done with the remaining cooked rice. The mourner is told to roll the rice into balls or *pinds*. He takes the

cooked rice and makes some of it into a rolling pin and of the rest he makes three rice balls. He sits facing the south-east, sprinkles a little water to the right in front of him, lays blades of *darbha* grass on the water, and lifting the pin from before him sets it on the grass. To his left he sprinkles a spot with water and on the spot lays three balls on blades of grass. These three balls represent the mourner's grandfather, his great-grandfather, and his grandfather's grandfather. He sprinkles water on the leaf-plate which represents his father's spirit and worships it with sandal paste, basil leaves, and sesamum, and prays it to be freed from its present state and to be gone for ever. He then takes a little water on the palm of his right hand and says, 'I now mix or join my dead father with his dead forefathers.' He takes nine blades of *darbha* grass, twists them into a cord, and ties the two ends by a knot. Catching the knotted string between the four fingers of both his hands, he sets it on the rice rolling pin, and closing his eyes, and repeating Vishnu's name, presses the string on the pin, and divides it into three equal parts. He takes the nearest part of the pin and makes a cup of it, and laying some honey and curds in the cup, drops one of the three balls into it and closes it repeating, 'I unite this first part of the dead or *pret* with my grandfather,' and lays the piece of the rice rolling pin on the spot from which he picked it. He takes the middle part of the rolling pin, forms it into a cup, and putting in the cup the ball which represents the great-grandfather, closes the mouth of the cup saying, 'I unite the dead with my great-grandfather.' He treats the third part of the pin in the same way as the first two parts saying 'I unite the dead with my grandfather's grandfather.' He pours a ladle of water over the first ball and says 'I offer water in the name of my father.' He pours water over the second and third balls saying, 'I offer water in the name of my grandfather and of my great-grandfather.' Up to this time the deceased has been a ghost or *pret*. The ghost now changes into a guardian spirit or *pitra* that is father, and unites with the mourner's *pitamaha* or grandfather, and his *prapitamaha* or great-grandfather. The grandfather's grandfather ceases as the relationship stops with every fourth person. The mourner rubs a little butter on the three balls, marks them with lampblack, puts a thread from his waistcloth over them, and lays round them the *utri* or cloth which was tied with his sacred thread on the day of his father's death. If the mourner is over eighty-five he plucks a few hairs from his breast and lays them on the balls. The cooking pots used during the ten days of mourning are presented to the priest, and in front of the three balls are laid flowers, holy basil, sandal paste, and grains of rice; frankincense and camphor are waved before the balls and they are offered cooked food. All members and near relations of the family, men women and children, draw near the three balls, bow before them, and ask their blessing. The grass figures or *chats* and the balls are asked to take their leave, the water from the

plates is thrown over the balls, and the Brahmans are presented with uncooked food and money. The mourner is now pure and free from taint. He gathers the balls and leaf-plates, puts them in a pot, cleans the place, and sprinkles barley and sesamum water on the spot where the balls were. He throws the whole into water. The priest touches the brow of the mourner with sandal paste and blesses him, saying: 'May you live long and gain as much merit from the ceremony as if it had been performed in Gaya itself.' Either on the same or on the following day another offering or *pathaya shraddh* is performed. The mourner sets two leaf-plates facing east and north and lays a blade of *darbha* grass on each. He sets before him a few blades of the sacred grass and over the grass three dough or rice balls in the name of his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, and worships them, presenting them with shoes, clothes, an umbrella, food, and a jar with cold water in it, to protect them in their journey to heaven from thorns and from cold, heat, hunger, and thirst. The presents are handed to begging Brahmans and the ceremony is over.

On the morning of the thirteenth day after a death, the mourner anoints his hair with oil and bathes. He rubs sandal paste on his brow, sits on a low wooden stool with the priest close to him, and, except that a lamp is kept burning near him, has all the fire and lights in the house put out. He sets a betelnut on a pinch of rice in a plate and worships the nut as the god Ganesh. He sets close to him a water jar called the Soothing Pot or *shanti kalash*, and puts into the pot water, mango leaves, bent grass, a betelnut, and four copper coins, and, taking a ladle of water in his right hand, says, 'I perform the ceremony for myself and my family to be made happy hereafter and not be troubled with like troubles.' Four Brahmans sit round the water-pot each with a blade of the sacred grass in his right hand and touch the water-pot repeating verses. The water is poured into a plate and the four Brahmans, dipping in mango leaves, sprinkle the water from the leaf-tips on the heads of the chief mourner, all members of the family and the entire household, and in every corner of the house and over the furniture. With the help of the lamp fire is kindled in the ovens. A money present is made to the four Brahmans varying according to the mourner's means, from a couple of shillings to five or ten pounds. The priest rubs redpowder on the mourner's brow, sticks rice grains on the powder, presents him with a new turban, and the relations and friends follow offering turbans. The mourner takes a whole betelnut, and with a stone breaks it on the threshold of the front door, a practice not allowed on any other occasion, and chews a little of it. The priest, laying a little sugar on a leaf, hands a morsel to the mourner and to each member of his family. A feast is held to which the four corpse-bearers are specially

asked, but people whose parents are living do not attend the feast. The mourner, dressed in a now turban, is taken to a temple, and after making a bow is brought back to his house and the guests take their leave. On the sixteenth day the mourner performs a ceremony that the dead may not suffer from hunger and thirst. After this the ceremony is repeated every month for a year and at least one Brahman is feasted. On the death-day and on All Souls' Night or *Mahapaksh* in *Bhadrapad* or August-September, when the dead are supposed to hover about their relation's houses looking for food, the service is repeated and Brahmans are fed.

The special rites practised at the marriage of a man who has lost two wives, and the special funeral services performed for an unmarried lad, for a woman who dies during her monthly sickness, for a pregnant woman, for a lying-in woman, for an heirless man, and for a child under two are given in the Appendix.

### DESHASTHS

**Deshasth** Brahmans are returned as numbering 32,749 and as found over the whole district. They take their name from *desk* or the country and are called Deshasths apparently in the sense of local Brahmans. They are generally dark, less fine-featured than Chitpavans, and vigorous. They speak pure and correct Marathi. The men dress in a waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, turban, shouldercloth, and shoes or sandals, and rub their brows with red or white sandal. They wear the top-knot and mustache, but not the whiskers or beard. The women wear the fullbacked bodice and the full Maratha robe with the skirt drawn back between the feet and the end tucked in at the waist behind. They generally mark their brow with a large red circle and braid the hair tying it so as to form a knot at the back of the head, and over the knot an open semicircular braid of hair. They are clean, neat, generous, hospitable, hardworking, and orderly. They are husbandmen, landholders, traders, shopkeepers, moneylenders and changers, Government servants, and beggars. They are either Smarts that is followers of Shankaracharya the apostle of the doctrine that the soul and the universe are one, or Bhagvats that is followers of the Bhagvat Puran who hold the doctrine that the soul and the universe are distinct. They worship all Brahmanic gods and goddesses and keep the ordinary fasts and festivals. Their priests belong to their own caste. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Jejuri, Nasik, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur; and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. A family of five spends £1 4s. to £2 (Rs. 12-20) a month on food, and £2 to £10 (Rs. 20-100) a year on clothes. A house costs £50 to £300 (Rs. 500-3000) to build, and 2s. to



£1 (Rs.1-10) a month to hire. The furniture and household goods are worth £10 to £200 (Rs. 100 - 2000). A birth costs 10s. to £3 (Rs. 5 - 30); a hair-clipping 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs.5-15); a thread-ceremony £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25-200); a boy's or a girl's marriage £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000); a girl's coming of age £2 to £5 (Rs.20 -50); and a pregnancy £1 10s. to £10 (Rs.15-100). Their customs are generally the same as those of Konkanasth Brahmans. [Fuller details of Deshasth Brahman customs are given in the Sholapur Statistical Account.] When a girl comes of age she is dressed in rich clothes and taken to her husband's accompanied by music and female relations. At his house she is seated for three days in a wooden frame and presented with cooked dishes by her near relations and friends. On the fourth day she is bathed and presented with new clothes, and joins her husband. On the birth of a child the father puts a couple of drops of honey and butter into its mouth in presence of his and his wife's relations. The mother's term of impurity lasts twelve days at the end of which she is bathed and becomes pure. On this day the child is laid in a cradle and is named. When four months old the child is taken out of the house to see the sun, and after it is five or six months old it is fed with cooked rice. When between one and three years of age, if the child is a boy, his head is shaved, and between his fifth and his eighth year he is girt with the sacred thread. They marry their girls before they are ten and their boys before they are twenty. The girl's father has to look out for a husband for his daughter. They burn their dead, do not allow widow marriage, and practise polygamy. They have caste councils, and along with Chitpavans, Devrukhes, and Karhadas, form the local community of Brahmans. They send their boys to school and are a well-to-do and rising class.

## DEVROUKHES

**Devrukhes**, or inhabitants of Devrukh in Ratnagiri, are returned as numbering 175 and as found all over the district. They say they are Deshasths and are called Devrukhes because they went to the Konkan and settled at Devrukh in Ratnagiri. They have no divisions, and their surnames are Bhole, Dange, Ghondse, Joshi, Junekar, Mule, Padvale, Shitup, and Sobalkar. Families bearing the same surname can intermarry. They look like Deshasths, and both the men and women are strong, stout, and healthy. In speech, house, food, and dress they do not differ from Deshasth Brahmans. They are neat and clean, hospitable, thrifty, and hardworking. They are writers, lawyers, moneylenders, and religious beggars. They hold a low position among Maratha Brahmans as neither Deshasths nor Karhadas dine with them. Some are Rigvedis and others Yajurvedis, and they have fifteen stocks



or *gotras* of which the chief are Atri, Bharadvaj, Gargya, Kashyap, Kaundinya, Kaushik, Jamadagni, Shandilya, Shavnak, and Vashishta. Their religious and social customs do not differ from those of Deshasth Brahmans. They marry only in their own class. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school and as a class are well-to-do.

## DRAVIDS

**Dravid** or South India Brahmans are returned as numbering thirty-seven and as found in Haveli, Khed, and Poona. They cannot tell when and from what part of the country they came to Poona. They look like Deshasth Brahmans and speak Marathi. In house, dress, and food, they resemble Deshasths. They are writers, moneychangers, and religious beggars. They are Smarts in religion and have house images of Bhavani, Ganpati, Krishna, Mahadev, Maruti, and Vishnu. Their high priest is Shankaracharya Svami of Shringeri in Maisur, the head of the sect of Smarts. They have no special ceremony on the fifth or the sixth day after the birth of a child, and do not make the boy eat from the same plate as his mother before he is girt with the sacred thread. With these two exceptions their religious and social customs do not differ from those of Maratha Brahmans. They have a caste council, send their boys to school, and are a steady class.

## GOVARDHANS

**Govardhans**, or people of Govardhan in Mathura, also called Golak or illegitimate and Gomukh or Cow-mouth Brahmans, are returned as numbering 600 and as found over the whole district except in Purandhar. [In the Nasik Statistical Account (Bombay Gazetteer, XVI, 41) reasons are given for suggesting that the Govardhan Brahmans of Nasik, Nagar, Poona, and the North Konkan are not illegitimate Brahmans, but are an old settlement of Brahmans at Govardhan near Nasik, who were ousted by Yajurvedis from Gujarat and Deshasths from the Deccan, and who perhaps continued to practise widow marriage after the later Brahmans had ceased to allow it,] They cannot tell when and whence they came, but believe they have been in the district upwards of two hundred years. They belong to three family stocks, Bharadvaj, Jamadagni, and Sankhayan. Families belonging to the same stock do not intermarry. Their commonest surnames are, Agyan, Bhope, Ghavi, Jvari, Lakde, Makhi, Murle, Range, Shet, and Tapare; families, bearing the same surname intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Balvant, Ganpatrao, Narahari, Rambhau, Vaman,

Vinoba, and Vithoba; and among women, Bhagirathi, Gangu, Kusha, Manubai, and Saibai. They look and speak like Deshasth Brahmans, They live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their goods include boxes, swings, cots, cradles, chairs, benches, carpets, pillows, bedding, blankets, glass globes and wallshades and metal lamps, and cooking and drinking vessels. They keep servants, cattle, and parrots. Apparently with truth they claim to be strict vegetarians. Other Brahmans do not drink water which a Golak has touched or eat food which he has cooked. A family of five spends 14s. to 18s. (Rs. 7-9) a month on food. They give gram ball or sweet cake feasts in honour of thread-girdings, marriages, and deaths which cost  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  (3-5 *as.*) a guest. They dress like Deshasth Brahmans, and the Govardhan women like Deshasth women do not deck their hair with flowers. Both men and women are untidy, but they are frugal and hardworking. They say they were formerly priests to Brahmans and other Hindus and had the right of marking the time at marriages and that their ancestors mortgaged the right to Deshasth Brahmans. They are husbandmen, moneylenders, moneychangers, and astrologers, and some act as priests to Kunbis and other poor people. They earn 12s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 6-25) a month. They consider themselves equal to other Maratha Brahmans, but other Brahmans treat them as Shudras and do not eat or drink with them. Among them a house costs £20 to £40 (Rs.200-400) to build and about 4s. (Rs.15) a month to rent. The value of their goods varies from £10 to £80 (Rs. 100-800), their servants' wages with food amount to 1s. to 4s. (8 *as.*-Rs.15) a month. Clothing costs £2 to £3 10s. (Rs.20-35) a year; a birth 16s. to £1 (Rs.8-10) ; a hair-clipping 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-15); a thread-girding £2 10s. to £7 10s. (Rs.25- 75); a boy's marriage £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200); a girl's marriage £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25 -50); a girl's coming of age costs her husband's father £1 to £2 10s. (Rs.10-25), and her own father £1 to £5 (Rs. 10 - 50); the pregnancy feast costs the boy's father 10s. to £1 (Rs.5-10); and the death of a man £1 to £1 4s. (Rs.10-115), of a married woman £1 to £1 10s. (Rs.10-15), and of a widow 12s. to £1 (Rs.6-10). They worship the ordinary Brahmanic gods and goddesses, especially Bhavani, Bhairoba, and Khandoba. They keep all Hindu fasts and feasts and call Deshasth Brahmans to officiate at their houses, but do not perform Vedic rites. They go on pilgrimage to Alandi, Benares, Jejuri, and Pandharpur. When a child is born *nimb* Azadirachta indica leaves are hung at the front and back doors of the house, and on the fifth day in the lying-in room four Indian millet or *jvari* stalks, tied together at the top and with the lower ends stretched apart, are set above the grindstone on which a stone lamp is kept burning all night. A metal image of Satvai or Mother Sixth is set in a piece of dry cocoa-kernel and laid on the grindstone with a small dough lamp before it. The husband worships the goddess and offers her

cooked food. Some elderly woman draws an image of Satvai near each of the four feet of the mother's cot and sets a dough lamp in front of each figure. Near where the bathwater goes she draws on the ground a coal figure of Satvai, and sets the fifth dough lamp in front of the figure and four more charcoal figures, each with its dough lamp, on either side of the front and back doors. Married women are asked to dine and the laps of the midwife and of other married women who keep awake the whole night are filled with grain. On the next day the stone lamp is cleared and fresh oil and wicks are put in it and lighted. Curds and cooked rice are offered to the lamp, and on the morning of the seventh day the whole is removed. On the eighth day the cot is washed and worshipped and molasses are laid before it. Then bed clothes are spread on the cot and the mother and child are laid on it. Govardkans gird their boys with the sacred thread before they are twelve years of age. They set eight instead of six earthen jars at each of the four corners of the altar, and when the thread-girding verse is over throw over the boy's head grains of Indian millet or *jvari* instead of rice. They raise a second altar about a span wide over the main altar and feast a Brahman with the rice cooked on the sacrificial fire. They marry their girls before they are twelve and their boys before they are thirty. Unlike Deshasths the first ceremony in their marriages is the *supari karayachi* or betelnut-giving. The boy's father goes to the girl's house with relations friends and music, bearing a tray with a bodice, some wheat, a cocoanut, and betelnut and leaves. At the girl's the boy's father is met by a party of her relations and friends. The boy's priest asks the girl's priest to bring the girl and she comes and sits near the boy's priest. The boy's father marks her brow with redpowder, and a woman of her family hands her the bodice and fills her lap with the wheat and cocoanut and betelnut which the boy's father has brought. The girl and her female relations go inside of the house and the dates for the marriage are settled. The boy's father hands the priest packets of betel, gives money to beggars, and retires. Then along with the dishes of cooked food or *rukhat* the girl's father goes and washes the boy's feet, marks his brow with redpowder, and presents him with a turban. They hold their marriages in the *majghar* or women's hall, and when the marriage verses are ended they throw grains of reddened millet over the boy and girl. After the ceremony is over a lighted lamp is set in a plate, and each guest waves a copper pice ( $\frac{1}{4}$ anna) over the boy's and girl's heads and throws it into the plate. At the maiden-giving or *kanyadan*, instead of pouring water over the girl's hands, the girl's father pours water over the boy's mother's hands repeating the words: 'Up to this time she was mine, now she is yours.' At the clothes-giving or *sadi* a bodice cloth is spread in a bamboo basket and over the cloth eleven lamps are set instead of either sixteen or eleven. The boy and girl are seated on the shoulders either of their maternal uncles or of

house-servants, and their bearers dance vigorously to the sound of music. When a Govardhan girl comes of age her mother goes to the boy's house with a plate of sugar and betel and tells them that her daughter is blessed with a son, and hands round the sugar and the betel to the boy's family. When a Govardhan is on the point of death five Brahmans are each given a pound of rice and a half-anna ( $\frac{3}{4}d.$ ). The warm water that is poured over the body is heated in a brass instead of in an earthen pot, and the body is laid on the bier wrapped in the wet waistcloth instead of in a new dry cloth. They shave the chief mourner's head and mustache at the burning ground near the corpse's feet, and pay the barber 3d. (2 as.). The body and the bier are dipped in water before they are laid on the pile, and when the body is nearly consumed they retire. The other details are the same as those observed by Deshasths. They have a caste council and settle their social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school and are a steady class.

## GUJARATIS

**Gujara't** Brahmans, numbering 282, are found in the city of Poona and in small numbers over the whole district. They seem to have come to the district within the last hundred years. The names in common use among men are, Balabhai, Balkrishna, Chimanlal, Chhaganlal, and Nanabhai; and among women, Amba, Bhagirathi, Lakshmi, and Sarasvati. Their chief divisions are Audich, Disaval, Khedaval, Modh, Nagar, Shrigod, and Shrimali. They speak Gujarati at home and Marathi abroad. Many of them live in houses of the better class, one or two storeys high, with brick walls and tiled roofs. They own cattle and employ house servants. Their staple food is rice, pulse, vegetables, wheat cakes, and clarified butter. They are strict vegetarians, and some of them take opium, drink hemp-flower or *bhang*, and smoke tobacco. Though the practice is usual in Gujarat, they do not eat food cooked by a Deccan Brahman. The men wear a waistcloth, shirt, coat, turban, shouldercloth or *uparna*, and shoes. The women plait their hair into braids and wear false hair but not flowers. They wear a petticoat, the short-sleeved open-backed bodice or *kancholi*, and the robe or *sari* falling from the hips without passing the skirt back between the feet. As a class they are clean, honest, hardworking, and thrifty, though hospitable and fond of show. They are bankers, moneylenders, cloth merchants, pearl merchants, clerks, and priests and cooks of Gujarat Vanis. Some are landowners who do not till the land themselves but let it to tenants who pay them half the Produce. On the whole they are a well-to-do class and free from debt.

Gujarat Brahmans are Smarts. They worship Balaji, Ganpati, Mahadev, Maruti, and Tulja Bhavani, and show special reverence to Balaji and Shankar. They make pilgrimages to Benares, Pandharpur, Rameshvar, and Tuljapur. They observe all Deccan Brahman holidays. They have a strong belief in witchcraft, soothsaying, and the power of evil spirits. Their women and children suffer from spirit-seizures. If one of them is attacked charmed ashes or *angara* is brought from an exorcist's or *devarishi's* and rubbed on the brow of the sick, or vows are made to the family gods and fulfilled after the patient recovers. Early marriages and polygamy are allowed and widow marriage is forbidden. A short time before a Gujarat Brahman woman's delivery a Maratha midwife or a woman of her own caste is called in. She cuts the child's navel cord and putting it in a pitcher buries it near the *mori* or bath-water pit in the lying-in room. The infant is bathed and the mother rubbed with cloths. For three days the babe is fed on water mixed with molasses, and on the fourth its mother begins to suckle it. The mother is generally fed on *harira*, that is wheat flour boiled in clarified butter mixed with molasses or sugar. On the fifth, the mother worships in the name of Satti or the spirit of the sixth, a sword, an arrow, a blank paper, and a reed pen placed on a low stool in her own room, and offers thorn *sira puris*, that is wheat cakes stuffed with wheat flour boiled in clarified butter and mixed with sugar. A light is left burning during the whole night before them and the women of the house sing songs and watch till morning. Next day the *satti*, worship is again performed and at the end the articles on the stool are thrown into a river. Ceremonial impurity continues for ten days. On the eleventh the mother is bathed, the house is cowdunged, and her clothes are washed. At noon on the twelfth, friends and relations are feasted and at night female relations name and cradle the child. Young children are asked to attend the naming, and each is given a piece of cocoanut. The mother does not leave her house for about forty days after her delivery. At the end of the forty days, she is dressed in a new robe and bodice, puts on new glass bangles, and is presented to a small company of female friends and relations who have been asked for the purpose. The child's hair is first cut at any time between the fifth month and the end of the fifth year. A lock of hair is sometimes dedicated to the gods and kept till the marriage day, when the vow is fulfilled and the lock cut off. The child is seated on the lap of its maternal uncle or its father, and the hair is cut by the barber who is paid 6d. to 10s. (4 as.-Rs.5). The child is bathed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the temple of Balaji, where it is made to bow to the image.

Before a thread-girding the father of the boy asks an astrologer who



fixes a lucky day. When everything is ready, the wall in front of the house is marked with seven lines of clarified butter and worshipped in the name of the *gotras* or family stocks. A leaf of the *palash* *Butea frondosa* tree, covered with betelnuts and wheat, is set before the seven family stocks and worshipped. The head of the boy is shaved and he is seated on a low stool. The Brahman priest kindles the sacred fire and the boy throws on the fire clarified butter, sacred fuel sticks or *samidha*, and boiled rice, and is given a cloth to wear. Members of both sexes come, give the boy alms which are a perquisite of the priest, and the friends and relations of the houseowner are feasted.

Boys are married between twelve and twenty-five, and girl between eight and fifteen. The offer comes from the father of the girl. If the boy's father approves, betelnuts and leaves are handed among friends and relations and the news of the betrothal is spread. This is called the asking or *magani*. The turmeric-rubbing lasts one to eleven days. The girl is bathed and seated on a low stool; five married women rub her body with turmeric paste and her feet with rice paste. One of the women carries her to the threshold, where they form a circle round her and sing songs. They do this every morning and evening, and retire after the usual betel-handing. The priest and some married women of the bride's family take the remains of the turmeric and rub it on the bridegroom singing songs. On the marriage day, in the centre of the booth, a square or *chavdi* is made by fixing four bamboos in the ground and drawing over the tops of the bamboos a white cloth and placing earthen pots round the square. Shortly before the marriage, the women or the bride's family go to the bridegroom's with a red pot full of water, and seating him on a low stool bathe him. The bride's father presents him with a shawl and a silk waistcloth and an upright line of sandal paste is drawn on his brow. Garlands are hung round his neck, nosegays are put in his hands, and a coronet of flowers is set on his head. He is made to take a rupee and a cocoanut, and is led in procession with country music to the bride's. On reaching the bride's her mother comes with a dish in which are a lamp and two balls of rice flour mixed with turmeric powder, and waves the dish round the bridegroom, who throws the rupee into it and retires. He is led into the booth and seated. The bride is dressed in a white robe and a backless bodice with short sleeves, her hands are adorned with new ivory bangles, and she is seated close to the boy's right. The priest repeats texts, the bridegroom holds the bride by her right hand and they are man and wife. Threads known as marriage' bracelets or *kankans* are passed through holes made in *ghela* fruits and fastened round the right wrists of the boy and girl. Then the daughter-giving or *kanyadan* is performed by the bride's parents giving a money-present to the



bridegroom, and the bridegroom fastens a lucky necklace or *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck, and her toes are adorned with silver *jodvis* or toe-rings. Then the boy and girl sit in the square or *chavdi*, and throw clarified butter into the sacred fire. They next walk round the sacred fire, the bride sometimes leading and at other times the bridegroom. Rice is boiled on the sacred fire and mixed with sugar and clarified butter. The bridegroom takes five handfuls of rice from the, bride and she takes five handfuls from him, and the mothers of both take five handfuls from both. Then the bride's mother serves the couple with sugar and clarified butter and both eat freely. After the meal *is* over, before washing his hands, the bridegroom catches his mother-in-law's skirt and she makes him a present. Friends of the bride and bridegroom give presents to both. The brows of the bride and of the bridegroom are marked with an upright line of sandal paste. They bow to the images of their gods in the house and play at odds and evens before the shrine. On the second or third day each unties the other's wedding bracelet or *kankan*, and the priest takes the bracelets away. The earthen pots that were arranged round the square or *chavdi* are distributed among the women of both families and their friends, and suits of clothes are presented to the bridegroom's party by the father of the bride. This is known as the robe-giving or *sada*. The couple are then taken to the bridegroom's on horseback or in a carriage. On reaching the house they both bow before the house gods and friends and relations are feasted.

No special ceremony is performed when a girl comes of age. When a girl is pregnant for the first time a sacred fire is kindled, and she is dressed in a new green robe, decked with ornaments, and taken in a palanquin to a temple, and her father feasts friends and relations on fried gram or *bundi* balls.

On signs of death, gifts are made to Brahman priests according to the man's means. When he has breathed his last the body is bathed, dressed in an old waistcloth, and laid on a place washed with cowdung and covered with *dharbha* or bent grass. All the caste-men are asked to attend the funeral. The chief mourner prepares three balls of wheat flour. The dead is laid on the bier and one of the three balls is laid beside him. The chief mourner, holding a firepot in his right hand, starts followed by the bearers. On the way the bearers stop and lay down the bier, leave a rice ball and one or two copper coins, and change places. When they reach the burning ground a pile is made ready, and the body is laid on the pile with a rice ball at its side; the chief mourner's head

and face are shaved except the top-knot and eyebrows and the pile is set on fire. When it is nearly consumed the chief mourner sets an earthen jar filled with water on his shoulder and walks round the pile. Another man follows and with a small stone makes a hole in the jar at each round, so that the water trickles out. At the end of the third round the chief mourner throws the jar over his shoulder and calls aloud beating his mouth with his hand. The rest of the party bathe and return to the house of mourning, where they sit for a moment, and then go to their homes. On the third day, the five cow-gifts, milk curds clarified butter dung and urine, are poured over the ashes of the dead, and they are gathered and thrown into water. The mourning family remains impure for ten days on each of which ceremonies are performed. On the eleventh day gifts are made to Brahmans, and on the twelfth or on any day up to the fifteenth, a caste feast of fried gram balls is made. Gujarat Brahmans form a distinct and united community. Social disputes are settled at meetings of castemen, minor offences being punished by fines of 2s. to £10 (Its. 1-100), the sum collected being spent in caste-feasts. They send their boys and girls to school and take to new pursuits. On the whole they are a rising class.

## JAVALS

**Javals**, who take their name from, the village of Javalkhor in Ratnagiri and who are also known as *khots* or village revenue farmers, are returned as numbering eleven and as found only in Poona city. They are said to be the descendants of a shipwrecked crew who landed at Javalkhor half-way between Harnai and Dabhol in Ratnagiri. Their name is said to come from the word *jaul* a storm. According to the common story the people of Burondi gave them leave to settle in Devakea, a hamlet near their village, and told them to supply flowers to Taleshvar, the village god. They afterwards became the medical attendants of the Phadke family, who, under the Peshwa, held that part of the Konkan and who succeeded in having the Javals' claim to be Brahmans acknowledged. All are laymen or *grahasths* and they have no subdivisions. They look like Kunbis, are dark, less carefully clean than other Brahmans, and at home speak a rough Kunbi-Marathi. They use double *n* and *l* instead of single *n* and *l*, and have a curious way of pronouncing certain words. They eat fish but no other animal food and refrain from liquor. They dress like Deccan Brahmans and in family matters copy the Chitpavans. Other Brahmans neither eat nor marry with them. They are frugal, orderly, and hardworking, earning their living as husbandmen and writers. None of them are *bhikshuk* or begging Brahmans. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and their family goddess is Kalkadevi. They keep the usual fasts and feasts, and

as none of them belong to the priestly class their household priests are Chitpavans. They say that their customs are the same as those of Chitpavans. Social disputes are settled at meetings of castemen. They do not send their boys to school, are poor, and show no signs of rising.

## KANOJS

**Kanoj** Brahmans, who take their name from Kanoj in the North. West Provinces, number 700 and are found in the city of Poona and all over the district. They are said to have come into the district within the last 150 years. They claim to belong to the Angiras, Barhaspaty, Bharadvaj, Kashyap, Kattyayan, and Vashisth *gotras* or families. Persons of the same family stock and with the same *pravar* or founder cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Balprasad, Bhavadiga, Devidin, Deviprasad, Gopinath, Jagannath, Ramnath, Shankardin, Shankarprasad and Shivaprasad; and among women, Jamana, Janki, Lachhimi, and Sundar. Their common surnames are Agnihotri, Bachape, Bal, Chanbe, Chhaga, Dikshit, Hari, Kibe, Mishra, Pathak, Shakta, Tivari, Tribedi, and Vaikar. Persons having the same surnames cannot intermarry. They speak the Brij language at home and Hindustani out of doors. They have two main divisions, Kans that is Kanoja Brahmans, and Kubjas that is Sarvariya Brahmans. The two divisions practically form one class as they formerly intermarried freely and still intermarry to some extent. They profess to look with suspicion on such of their castemen as come from Upper India, as they say many of them were forced to adopt Islam and are reverts to Hinduism. They are stronger, stouter, and fairer than Deccan Brahmans. Their face-hair is long, thick, and black. Soldiers, besides the top-knot, wear a tuft of hair over each ear, and grow full beards. Others shave the head except the top-knot and shave the chin. They live in houses of the better class, one or two storeys high, with walls of brick or stone and tiled roofs. They are moderate eaters with a fondness for both sweet and sour dishes. They never boil their vegetables with salt, but leave the eater to add salt and chopped chillies when the dish is served. Their staple food includes rice, wheat cakes, vegetables, clarified butter, and sugar or molasses. A family of five spends £1 4s. to £1 16s. (Rs. 12 -18) a month on food, and in feeding a hundred guests spend £2 10s. to £3 (Rs. 25 -30). They usually bathe and worship their family gods before they eat. The use of flesh and liquor is forbidden. The men usually wear a waistcloth in Deccan Brahman fashion, a coat, shouldercloth, turban, and shoes; and the women wear a petticoat and robe and a backless bodice. They plait their hair in braids which they draw back and tie together at the top of the neck. They are fond of wearing flowers in their hair especially on holidays. Both men and women keep rich clothes

in store for holiday use. Their ornaments are the same as those worn by Maratha Brahmans. Kanojs as a rule are clean, hardworking, and sober, easily provoked, hospitable, and frugal though vain and fond of show. At present their chief calling is *sipahigiri* or service as soldiers and messengers. Some have taken to husbandry, to moneychanging, and to the priesthood, acting as house-priests chiefly among the Pardeshi or Upper Indian section of the people. The priest trains his son from his boyhood, and the son begins to practise his calling after he is fifteen. As priests they are well employed and well paid earning about £2 (Rs. 20) a month. Their women do nothing but house work. Kanoj Brahmans rank with Deccan Brahmans; each professes to look down on the other. They are a religious people and their family gods are Bitarajdevi of Upper India, Ganpati, Mata of Calcutta, and Shankar. Their priests belong to their own caste. They make pilgrimages to Allahabad, Benares, and Jagannath. Their chief holidays are *Basant Panchami* or *Simaga* in March; *Dasara* in September, and *Divali* in October; they fast on *Ekadashis* or lunar elevenths, *Shivratra* in January, *Rama-navami* in April, and *Gokul-ashtami* in August. They believe that the spirit of a man who dies with some unfulfilled wish wanders after death as a ghost and troubles the living. They believe in witchcraft and soothsaying, and their women and children suffer from the attacks of spirits. Spirit-attacks are cured either by making vows to the family god for the recovery of the possessed, or by the help of an exorcist or *devrishi*. When a woman is in labour a midwife is called in. She cuts the navel-cord and lays the mother and child on a cot. The child is made to suck honey for the first three days, and its mother for twelve days is fed on boiled wheat flour mixed with butter and molasses. From the fourth day she begins to suckle the child. On the sixth day the women of the house wash their hands in a mixture of water, turmeric, and redpowder, and press the palms five times against the walls of the lying-in room. In front of the palm marks a golden image of Satvai is set on a stone slab, with a pomegranate, a sheet of blank paper, a reed pen, a piece of three edged prickly-pear or *nivadung*, and some grains of river sand, and is worshipped by the women of the house who lay before them cakes, curds, and flowers. They wave lamps round the image and remain awake during the whole night singing songs. The uncleanness caused by birth lasts ten days. On the eleventh the house is cowdunged and the mother's clothes are washed. On the twelfth the mother worships the sun and shows it to the child. Some men of the caste are asked to dine and the female relations and friends of the house are called at night to name and cradle the child. Packets of sugar betel leaves and nuts, are handed round and the naming is over. They spend on a birth 16s. to £1 (Rs.8-10). Between the beginning of a child's sixth month and the end of its second year its hair is cut. The child is seated on its mother's lap and its

hair is cut by the barber who is paid 3d. (2 as.). The child is bathed and each of its mother's female relations and friends waves a copper coin round its head and drops the coin into a dish and the sum so collected goes to the barber. A hair-cutting costs 8s. to 10s. (Rs.4-5). When a Kanoj Brahman boy is to be girt with the sacred thread, the father of the boy asks an astrologer to choose a lucky day and pays him 3d. (2 as.). A porch is built in front of the house and friends and relations are asked to come. Five married women are called, and, at a lucky hour, are made to grind wheat. The houseowner gives them turmeric and redpowder and fills their laps with rice. When these preparations have been made they bring from the potter's an earthen hearth or *chula* and place a jar or *dera* on the hearth, plaster the jar with cowdung, and stick wheat grains round it. The priest repeats verses and drops rice grains over the jar; the women sing songs and cover the jar with an earthen lid. A second jar is brought, filled with water and plastered with cowdung, wheat grains are stuck round it, and it is set near the lucky pole or *muhurta medh* in the porch on a small heap of earth strewn with wheat. In a day or two the wheat sprouts and these sprouts are said to be the guardian or *devak*. The boy is seated on a low stool near the lucky pole set on an altar or *bahule* which is surrounded by lines of quartz powder or *rangoli*. The women of the house sing songs and rub the boy with turmeric paste; each waves a copper coin round him and drops it into a dish where it is kept for the barber. The turmeric-rubbing lasts two or three days, the boy being rubbed each day morning and evening. On the thread-girding day the boy's head is shaved. He is bathed and for the last time eats from his mother's plate sitting on her lap. His head is shaved after the dinner is over and he is again bathed. The boy is stripped naked, and he and his father are made to stand face to face on low stools placed in a quartz square with a piece of cloth drawn between them. The priest repeats texts, the guests throw red-tinted rice on the boy, the curtain is drawn aside, and the priest hands the boy a sacred thread or *janava* and a loincloth. The father sets the boy on his lap and whispers in his right ear the sacred Gayatri verse. The priest kindles a sacred fire and pours clarified butter over it. The boy is now a Brahmachari or begging-Brahman and the guests make him presents, a coat, a cap, a waistcloth, or a pair of wooden sandals. The Brahmans are feasted and the women sing songs. Next day the priest throws rice on the guardian earthen pot. Friends and relations are fed on wheat-cakes or *puris*, and boiled rice milk and sugar called *khir*, and to each a money present is made.

Boys are married between fifteen and thirty, and girls between five and fifteen. The men of the caste meet and propose an alliance between two families, who, in order not to displease their caste-fellows,



agree. Though they agree they are not bound to go on with the wedding at once. During the year before the wedding, the girl's father visits the boy with music and kinspeople, worships him with sandal and flowers, and presents him with a turban whose end is marked with circles of turmeric and redpowder. Betelnut and leaves are handed, and the girl's father places a cocoanut in the boy's hands and withdraws. On a lucky day the boy's father presents the girl with silver anklets, and instals a guardian or *devak* as at a thread-girding. Two or three days after the guardians have been set in her house, the women of her family rub the girl with turmeric powder, and some married women with music take what is left to the boy's and are given a right-hand gold bracelet called *patali* and a bodice. The bride is dressed in the clothes and her lap is filled with rice and a cocoanut. Next day the boy is dressed in a fine suit of clothes and with a peacock-feather coronet on his brow is seated on horseback and is led with music in procession to the girl's house. On reaching the marriage porch betel is handed among the guests, and the bridegroom steps into the booth, and is carried to a seat round which lines of quartz have been traced. The girl is led out of the house and is made to stand in front of the bridegroom on a low stool, behind a curtain or *antarpāt*. The priest repeats marriage texts and throws rice grains over the couple. The curtain is drawn on one side and the couple are man and wife. The priest kindles the sacred fire, and the girl and boy throw into the fire clarified butter and parched rice. They walk six times round the fire, the bride taking the lead and the bridegroom following. At the end of the sixth turn the bride goes into the house and with much weeping and lamenting takes leave of her home. When she again comes out her father mentions his own and the bridegroom's family stock or *gotra* and birth-place, and, after asking leave of the guests, the bridegroom takes the seventh turn round the fire, followed by the bride, and the marriage is complete. A silken thread is passed through an iron ring and fastened to the boy's right hand, and another to the bride's left hand, and the skirts of their garments are knotted together. They go and bow before the girl's family gods and the ceremonies end with a feast in which the bride and bridegroom join. The bridegroom spends a day or two at the bride's. When these days are over the bride and bridegroom throw yellow and red rice over the marriage guardian or *devak* and are sent on horseback to the bridegroom's. On reaching the house a wood or iron *sher* measure filled with rice is set on the threshold and the bride overturns it with her foot as she enters the house. They enter the house and bow before the boy's family gods. The guests are feasted and the wedding festivities are over.

When a girl comes of age she is unclean for four days. On the sixth



day she and her husband are bathed together and the priest kindles a sacred fire and pours clarified butter over it. The girl's lap is filled with a cocoanut, dates, almonds, and sweetmeats; bent grass is pounded and her husband pours some drops of the juice down her right nostril. Friends and relations are feasted on wheat cakes and curds, and, at any time after this, the girl may go and live with her husband as his wife. On some lucky day during the seventh month of her first pregnancy the woman is dressed in a new robe and bodice and her female relations meet at her house and sing songs.

When the sick is beyond hope of recovery, he is made to give grain and 1½d. to 3d. (1-2 as.) in cash to the Brahman family priest and is laid on a white blanket. When he has breathed his last the body is bathed in cold water and laid on a bier. When the body is fastened on the bier the chief mourner starts carrying a firepot by a string, and the bearers follow. On their way they set down the bier, change places, and pick up a stone which is called *ashma* or spirit. On reaching the burning ground the chief mourner has his head and face shaved except the top-knot and eyebrows, and the dead is laid on a pile and burned. When the body is nearly consumed the chief mourner lifts on his shoulders an earthen pot full of water. When he stands a man beside him makes a hole in the pot with the life-stone which was picked up at the place where the body was rested. The chief mourner makes three rounds and at each round a fresh hole is made. At the end of the third round he throws the jar over his head, beats his mouth with his hand, and calls aloud. The funeral party bathe, go to the house of the deceased where cow's urine is poured over their hands, and return to their homes. On the third day they bathe, gather the ashes of the dead, and throw them into water. Three dough balls or *pinds* are made, worshipped, and wheat cakes and curds are laid before them. On the tenth, ten dough balls are made at the burning ground, nine are thrown into the river and the tenth is offered to cows. The chief mourner bathes and returns home. The ceremonial uncleanness caused by a death lasts ten days. On the eleventh the mourners put on new sacred threads and a memorial or *shradha*, is performed in the name of the dead. On the twelfth *sapindis* or balls of rice are offered to the dead, and, on the thirteenth, friends and relations are asked to dine at the house of mourning, when they present the chief mourner with a turban; Every year in the month of *Shravan* or August a memorial or *shraddha* is performed on the day of the month corresponding to the deceased's death-day, and, on All Soul's Day or *Mahalaya Paksha* in the dark half of *Bhadrapad* or September, an offering is made in his name. The Kanoj Brahmans have a council and settle social disputes at caste-meetings. They send their boys to school, readily take to new pursuits, and are

likely to prosper.

## KARHADAS

**Karha'da's**, or people of Karhad in Satara, are returned as numbering 1576 and as found all over the district. They probably represent one of the early Brahman settlers who made his abode at the sacred meeting of the Krishna and Koyna rivers, about fifteen miles south of Satara. According to the Sahyadri Khand the Karhadas are descended from asses' or camels' bones which a magician formed into a man and endowed with life. This story is apparently a play on the words *kar* an ass and *had* a bone. They say that their ancestors lived in the Konkan and came to Poona to earn a living about a hundred and fifty years ago. They have no subdivisions and marry among themselves, and occasionally with Deshasths and Konkanasths. Their family stocks are the same as those of the Chitpavans; the chief of them are Atri, Jamadagni, Kashyapa, Kutsa, and Naidhava. Families belonging to the same stock do not intermarry. Their surnames are Dhavle, Gune, Gurjar, Kakirde, Karmarkar, Kibe, Shahane, and Shevle; sameness of surname is no bar to marriage. The names in common use among men are, Baba, Dajiba, Hari, Nilkanth, and Tatya; and among women, Anandi, Gopika, Janki, and Saguna. They look like Chitpavans but are somewhat darker, and none of them have blue or gray eyes. They speak like Chitpavans. Their houses are of the better sort one or two storeys high with brick walls and tiled roofs. The furniture includes cots, bedding, chairs, tables, benches, boxes, carpets, picture-frames, glass hanging lamps, and metal drinking and cooking vessels. They keep servants, cattle, and parrots. They are vegetarians, their staple food being rice, split pulse, and vegetables. A family of five spends on food £1 10s. to £1 18s. (Rs.15-19) a month; and their feasts of sweet cakes and gram balls cost 4½d. to 7½d. (3-5 as.) a head. They dress like Chitpavans, and their women wear false hair and deck their heads with flowers. They are clean, neat, hospitable, and orderly. They are writers in Government offices, husbandmen, moneychangers, astrologers, and beggars, earning £1 to £5 (Rs. 10-50) a month. Their houses cost £50 to £200 (Rs. 500-2000) to build, and 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) a month to rent. A servant's wages are 4s. to 6s. (Rs.2-3) a month with food; and the feed of a cow or a she buffalo costs 16s. to 18s. (Rs. 8-9) a month. Their clothes cost £2 10s. to £8 (Rs. 25-30) a year, and their furniture is worth £10 to £1000 (Rs. 100-10,000). A birth costs 16s. to £1 (Rs. 8-10); a hair-clipping 14s. to 18s. (Rs. 7-9); a thread ceremony £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100); a boy's marriage £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500); a girl's marriage £10 to £30 (Rs. 100-300); a girl's coming of age £5 (Rs. 50); a pregnancy feast £2 10s. (Rs. 25); and death £7 10s. (Rs. 75).

They, are Rigvedis and their family goddesses are Vijayadurga and Aryadurga in Ratnagiri and Mahalakshmi in Kolhapur. Their family priests belong to their own caste. They keep the regular Brahmanic fasts and feasts and their chief Teacher or *guru* is the Shankaracharya of Shringeri in Maisur. They hold the nine nights or *navaratra* in September-October very sacred. Their customs are the same as those of Chitpavans. Under the early Peshwas Karhada Brahman s are said to have offered human sacrifices to their house goddess Mahalakskmi. The victim was generally a stranger, but the most pleasing victim was said to be a son-in-law. The death was caused by cutting the victim's throat or by poisoning him. [Sir John Malcolm, 1799. Transactions Literary Society Bombay (New Edition), III. 93-95: compare, under the names Carwarrees, the account by Sir James Mackintosh (1811) Life, II. 83.] The practice was severely punished by the third Peshwa Balaji Bajirao (1740-1761). No cases are known to have occurred for many years. Karhadas with Deshasths, Konkanasths, and Devrukhes, form the local Brahman community and settle social disputes at meetings of the men of all four classes. They send their boys to school and are well-to-do.

## KASTHS

**Ka'sth** Brahmans, numbering 178, are found in Bhimthadi, Junnar, Maval, and Poona. They claim descent from Kattyayani, the eldest among the fifteen sons of the sage Yadnavalkya by his wife Kattya, and call themselves Kattyayani Sakhi Brahmans, that is Brahmans of the Kattyayan branch. They say that they formerly dwelt in Nasik and Khandesh and came to Poona within the last hundred and fifty years. They have no subdivisions. The commonest names among men are, Appa, Bapu, Gambaji, Govind, and Yadneshvar; and among women, Chandrabhaga, Ganga, Janki, and Yamuna. Their surnames are Nagnath, Pandit, Pathak, and Vaidya; persons having the same surnames cannot intermarry. Their family stocks are Bharadvaj with three divisions, Angiras, Barhaspatya, and Bharadvaj; Kaushik with three divisions, Aghamarshan, Kaushik, and Vishvamitra; Kashyapa with three divisions, Avatsar, Kashyapa, and Naidhrivi; Kattyayan with three divisions, Kattyayan, Kilak, and Vishvamitra; Vashishth with three divisions, Parashar, Shakti, and Vashishth; and Vatsa with five divisions, Apnavan, Bhargava, Chavana, Jamadagni, and Vatsa. Persons having the same family stock and the same founder or *pravar* cannot intermarry. Their home tongue is Marathi. Kasths are like Deshasth Brahmans in appearance. As rule they are dark, strong, and well-made. Except the top-knot, the men shave the head-hair which is long and black and the face-hair except the mustache and eyebrows. Their home tongue is a corrupt Marathi and they live in clean and neat middle-class

houses, costing to build £50 to £150 (Rs. 500-1500), two storeys high, with walls of stone or brick and tiled roof. The furniture, which is worth £ 15 to £100 (Rs. 150-1000), includes cots, boxes, tables, chairs, glass lamps, mirrors, mixed wool and cotton rugs, carpets, blankets, beds, and shawls. They employ house servants and own cattle. They are moderate eaters and good cooks, and are fond of sweet dishes. Their staple food is rice, pulse, millet bread, and whey-curry or *amti*. A family of five spends £1 4s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 12-15) a month on food. They bathe regularly, say twilight prayers or *sandya*, and lay before their family gods offerings of flowers, sandal paste, frankincense, and food. They are in theory strict vegetarians and the use of animal food and liquor is forbidden on pain of loss of caste. They smoke hemp and tobacco. They dress like Deshasth Brahmans and have a store of clothes for holiday wear. They are clean, neat, hardworking, and mild, often showy and hospitable. Their hereditary calling is moneychanging and priestship, by which they earn £2 to £5 (Rs. 20 - 50) a month. Some are shopkeepers and some are in Government service. Women mind the house and never help the men in their work. As a class they are well-to-do. They rank themselves with Maratha Brahmans, but Deshasths look down on Kasths and never eat with them. Their women mind the house and their children go to school. The men are always busy and do not close their shops on any day of the year.

Kasths are a religious people. Their family gods are Bhavani of Tulajpur, Dattatraya, Khandoba of Ambadgam near Paithan, Lakshmi, Magapur, Saptashringi, and Vyankatesh. Their family priest belongs to their own caste and officiates at the sixteen sacraments or *sanskars*. They claim to belong to the Shakt sect, and treat their family gods with special reverence. Some worship Mahadev and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Nasik, Pandharpur, and Rameshvar. They keep the same holidays as Deshasth Brahmans, and fast on *Ekadashis* or lunar elevenths, *Shivaratra* in February-March, *Ram-navami* in April, and *Janmashtami* in August. They believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, and in the power of spirits. They perform the sixteen sacraments and their customs do not differ from those of Deshasths. They form a separate community but have little social organization and seldom meet to settle disputes. In theory a man who eats flesh should humble himself before their high priest Shankaracharya and take the five cow-gifts; in practise breaches of caste rules are common and penance is rare. They send their boys to school and college till they are twenty-five, and their girls to school till they are twelve. They are a pushing class well-to-do and ready to take to new pursuits.

## MARWARIS

**Ma'rwa'r** Brahmans are returned as numbering 200 and as found over the whole district except in Junnar. They say they are called Chhanyati Brahmans, because they are sprung from six Rishis or seers, Dadhichya, Gautam, Khande, Parashar, and Shringi; the name of the sixth they do not know. Those of them who are sprung from Dadhichya Rishi are called Dadhyavas; those from Gautam Gujar-Gauds; those from Khande Khandelvals; those from Parasar Pariks; those from Shringi Shikhvals; and those from the nameless sixth Sarasvats. All eat together, and, though they do not intermarry in appearance, speech, religion, and customs they form one class. The different divisions seem to have come into the district, if not at the same time, at least from the same parts of India and under similar circumstances, and they do not differ in calling or in condition. They say that they came into the district from Jodhpur in Marwar during the Peshwas' supremacy. Their Ved is the Yajurved, their *shakha* or branch the Madhyanjan, then family stocks Shyandil and Vachhas, and their surnames Joshi, Soti, Twadi, and Upadhe. Families of the same surname and stock cannot intermarry. The men wear the mustache, whiskers, and beard, and besides the ordinary top-knot a tuft of hair over each ear. Their home tongue is Marwari and they live in hired houses paying 1s. to 4s. (8 as. - Rs. 15) rent a month. They generally own vessels, bedding, carpets, and boxes. They are vegetarians and of vegetables eschew onions and garlic. Their staple food is wheat, split pulse, butter, and sometimes vegetables. Their feasts cost 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a head. They smoke tobacco, hemp, and opium, and drink a preparation of hemp or *sabji*, but neither country nor foreign liquor. The men wear the small tightly rolled two-coloured Marwari turban, a long coat, a waistcloth and shoes, and the women a petticoat or *ghagara*, and an open-backed bodice or *kacholi*. They are thrifty and orderly, but dirty and grasping. They deal in cloth and grain, act as cooks and priests, and live on the alms of Marwar Vanis. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses, but their favourite god is Balaji. They say that their fasts and feasts are the same as those of Maratha Brahmans. Their priests are men of their own class. They make pilgrimages to Benares, Dwarka, and Jagannath, and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, lucky and unlucky days, and oracles. They keep the fifth day after the birth of a child and generally go to their native country for thread girdings and marriages. They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school and are a steady class.



## SHENVIS

**Shenvis**, a name of doubtful meaning, who also call themselves Sarasvats and Gaud Brahmans, are returned as numbering 445 and as found all over the district, except in Indapur. [The origin of the name Shenvi is disputed. According to one account it is *shahanav* or ninety-six from the number of the families of the original settlers. According to a second account it is *send* an army, because many Shenvis were warriors. A third derives it from *shahanbhog* the Kanarese term for village accountant. Of the three derivations the last seems to find most favour with the well-informed.] Except a few who are Shenvis proper they belong to the subdivision which takes its name from the village of Bhalaval in the Rajapur sub-division of Ratnagiri. Of the other subdivisions of the caste the Pednekaras are called after the Goa village of Pedne; the Bardeskaras after the Goa district of Bardesh; the Sashtikars after the Goa district of Sashti; and the Kudaldeshkaras from Kudal in Savantvadi. These subdivisions sometimes eat together but do not intermarry. [This is due to social exclusiveness rather than to any difference of origin or custom. The late Dr. Bhau Daji, who was himself a Shenvi, gave a dinner in Bombay to which men of all the subdivisions came, Since his death the old distinction has revived.] They claim to be a branch of the Sarasvat Panch Gaud Brahmans and are supposed to have come from Hindustan or Bengal. Their original Konkani settlement was Gomanchal the modern Goa. They have fourteen *gotras* or stocks, the names of some of which are Dhananjaya, Vasishth, Kaundinya, Bharadvaj, Kashyap, and Vatsa, Families bearing the same stock-name cannot intermarry. Their commonest surnames are, Aras, Banavalikar, Gharmode, Haldavnekar, Kamat, Kanvinde, Kavalkar, Kinre, Rapkar, Sakulkar, Shevade, Tendolkar, and Vaghle. Unless, which is seldom the case, they are of the same stock-name families bearing the same surname may intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Bhavani, Narayan, Pandurang, Rambhau, Shantaram, and Vishvanath; and among women, Rama, Sarasvati, and Varanasi. The men are generally well made, middle-sized, and dark; and the women rather taller and fairer with regular features. They speak Marathi like other high caste Hindus, but at home with many South Konkani peculiarities. They live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their house goods include boxes, cots, tables, chairs, benches, carpets, bedding, picture frames, glass lamps, metal pots and pans, and earthen jars for storing grain. They keep servants and have cattle and are fond of pungent dishes. They eat fish and mutton, but their staple food is rice, pulse, and vegetables. A family of five spends on food £1 to £5 (Rs. 10 - 50) a month. Caste-dinners are given at thread-girdings, marriages, and deaths, and the guests are asked the day before the dinner by one or more members of the host's household. Invitations are confined to the host's caste. Guests



belonging to other castes either dine after the host's castemen have dined or take the food home. These dinners are generally attended either by one member of each family asked or by all the members, the number depending on the form, of invitation. The host engages Brahman cooks who with the help of the host's family and relations both cook and serve the food. As a rule these caste-dinners are held during the day between ten and two. The men and women dine in separate rooms, the children and the grown up daughters with their mothers. Food is served either on metal or on leaf plates, and the guests wear silk waistcloths and robes. When dinner is over they wash their hands and mouths, and, putting on their upper garments, are served with betel and return to their homes. A caste-dinner costs 3d. to 1s. (3-8 as.) a guest. A Shenvi man's ordinary indoor dress is a waistcloth; out of doors it is a waistcloth, a coat, a waistcoat, a loosely rolled headscarf or a Maratha Brahman turban, and shoes. The women wear the full Maratha robe and a short-sleeved bodice and on festive occasions throw a scarf over the head. The ceremonial dress of both men and women is the same as their ordinary dress only it is more costly. The Shenvis are hospitable and intelligent, but untidy and fond of show. They are husbandmen, religious beggars, moneychangers, and Government servants. To build a house costs £50 to £150 (Rs. 500-1500) and to hire a house 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) a month, and their household goods are worth £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000), Servants' monthly wages cost 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4) with food; the keep of a cow or she-buffaloe 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5), and of a horse £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15). The yearly cost of clothes is £3 to £6 (Rs. 30-60); a birth costs 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5); a hair-clipping 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-5); a thread-girding £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100); a boy's marriage £10 to £100 (Rs. 100-1000), and a girl's marriage £20 to £30 (Rs. 200-300); a girl's coming of age £2 to £5 (Rs. 20-50); a pregnancy feast about £2 10s. (Rs. 25); and a death £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40). In religion Shenvis proper, Bhalavalkars, Kudaldeshkars, and Pednekars are Smarts that is their creed is that God and the soul are one and that the worship of all the gods, is equally effective. They generally wear the Smart brow-mark, a crescent of white sandal dust. Among the other subdivisions the Sashtikars and Bardeshkars are Bhagvats whose creed is that the soul and the universe are distinct and that the proper object of worship is Vishnu. They wear one black line between two upright white-clay brow lines. The family gods of the Shenvis proper are Mangesh, Shantadurga, and Mahalakshmi, whose shrines are within Goa limits; the shrine of Mangesh, who is a local Mahadev, is in a village of the same name, and the shrine of Shantadurga his spouse is in the village of Kavle. Bardeshkars, Kudaldeshkars, and Pednekars worship the gods of the village in which they happen to live. The family gods of the Sashtikars are Kamakshi, Malnath, Ramnath, Ravalnath, and Navadurga. Their

priests are the Karhada, Deshasth, and Konkanasth Brahmans who officiate at their houses, and in some cases men of their own class. On the birth of the first male child sugar is handed among friends and relations. Either on the fifth or the sixth day after a birth the goddess Satvai is worshipped and a dinner is given to near relations. Among the neighbours young mothers and pregnant women leave their houses and for eight days live elsewhere. On the twelfth day the child is named, the name being chosen by an elderly woman of the father's house, and on the same day a cocoanut and grains of rice are laid in the mother's lap. On the thirteenth day the young mother touches a well, friends and relations present the child with clothes, and the mother becomes pure. Boys are girt with the sacred thread at the age of eight or at ten if the father is poor. An earthen altar is built in a booth or porch in front of the house. On the day before the ceremony a party of the host's kinsmen with the family priest and musicians starts to call friends, relations, and castefellows. On reaching a house the family priest asks for the head of the house and lays in his hand a few red-coloured rice grains and asks him to come the next day to a thread-girding at the host's house. Relations and friends who live at a distance are invited by cards which are sprinkled with wet saffron. Next morning the boy and his mother bathe and for the last time dine from the same plate. Then the priests and guests arrive and the religious ceremony is performed, the father teaching the boy the sacred Gayatri verse. When this is over, if the host is well-to-do, dancing-girls dance and the guests are dismissed with rosewater and betel. An evening or two after comes the begging or *bhikshaval* when the mother of the boy with a few other women of the family goes to some temple close by. She is met by women relations and friends and is escorted with music back to her house. On arriving each of the women guests is offered a cocoanut with betelnut and leaves. On the evening of the eighth day the boy is dressed in a turban, coat, and silk waistcloth, and accompanied by kinspeople, friends, and musicians is taken on horseback to a temple close by his house. The guests sit with the boy in their midst, and his maternal uncle comes to him and advises him to give up the idea of leading the life of a recluse and offers to give him his daughter in marriage. After some feigned hesitation the boy agrees, and he and his friends return to his house. When his daughter is about eight years old a Shenvi makes inquiries among his castefellows to find her a husband. When a suitable match is found the boy's family priest generally compares his horoscope with the girl's, and, if the horoscopes agree, the girl's father, except when the boy is a widower, pays the boy's father a sum of money. Both families lay in stores of grain and pulse and buy ornaments. A marriage porch is built at both houses, and dinners are given to kinspeople and castepeople, invitations being issued with the same formalities as for a thread-girding. On the

marriage morning the girl's father goes to the boy's house, or to his lodgings if he has come from a distance, worships him, and presents him with a turban and waistcloth, and his sister with a robe and bodice. This ceremony is known as the boundary-worship or *simant-pujan*, a name which shows that the ceremony used to be performed when the boy crossed the border of the girl's village. Immediately after the girl's father leaves, the boy's father, with relations friends and musicians, goes to the girl's house and formally asks her father to give his daughter in marriage to his son. This ceremony is called *vagnischaya* or the troth-plighting. The fathers, according to their means, exchange turbans or cocoanuts. The boy's father presents the girl with ornaments, a robe, and a bodice, and her sister with a robe and bodice or a bodice only according to his means. The boy's mother lays rice and cocoanuts in the girl's lap, betel is handed, and the boy's friends return home. In the afternoon of the marriage day a party of women starts for the girl's house taking a robe, turmeric mixed with cocoanut oil, ornaments, and sweetmeats. This is called the robe and oil or *telsada* procession. When they reach the girl's house the women of her family are called, and in their presence the girl is dressed in the robe, decked with the ornaments, and rice and a cocoanut are laid in her lap as many times over as there are women present, and sweetmeats are handed. After reaching home they start a second time with a present of flowers and a robe. This, which is known as the flower and robe or *phulsada* ceremony, is the same as the last except that flowers take the place of the turmeric and oil. After this a procession of men and women accompanied by musicians starts for the girl's house to present refreshments or *rukhat*. On reaching the house sweetmeats are given to the boy and his companions and the party withdraws. When the *rukhat* or boy's feast is over, he is dressed in rich clothes, a marriage ornament is bound round his turban, and, after bowing before his house gods and his elders, he is taken to the bride's either in a palanquin or on horseback. In front of him march musicians and on either side of him walks a woman, one holding a lighted lamp and the other a copper pot filled with water on the top of which float mango leaves and a cocoanut. Every now and then the procession stops and fireworks are let off. When the procession reaches the girl's house, her father and mother come out dressed in silk, receive the boy, and lead him into the house. His feet are washed by his father-in-law and a married woman waves a lighted lamp before him. Then the girl's father gives him a cocoanut, and leads him to a seat in the marriage hall where the men guests are met. The girl who has been offering prayers to the goddess Gauri, is dressed in a robe and bodice of coarse yellow cloth called *ashtaputri*. After certain religious ceremonies are performed by the girl's father and the boy, the girl is brought her maternal uncle and placed by the side of her parents, a sheet or *antarpata* is held between

the boy and the girl, the priest repeats verses, and the guests drop red rice over the heads of the boy and girl. At the lucky moment the cloth is snatched to one side, the boy and girl throw garlands round each other's necks, and the musicians beat their drums. Nosegays and betel are handed and the guests go home with betel packets. Shortly after the boy's mother, who returns to her house as soon as the marriage hour is over, and her relations, with cloths spread for them to walk on, are brought to the girl's house to present her with ornaments and clothes. Then follow the sacred fire or *lajahom* and the seven steps or *saptapadi* which are the same as among Marathi Brahmans. On the same or on the next day, a ceremony called *sade* or *chauthdan* or the last marriage robe-giving is performed when cocoanuts are taken from the boy's father and distributed among the guests. Several games are played by the boy and the girl, the women and grown girls siding with the girl and the youths with the boy. A plate filled with coloured water is set between the boy and girl and they splash the water over each other. One of them hides a betelnut or other small article and the other tries to find it, or one of them holds in his teeth a roll of betel-leaf or a bit of cocoa-kernel and the other tries to bite it off, or they play at odds and evens. In the evening the girl's parents give a grand dinner to the boy's friends. The guests used not to come to this dinner at the proper time and used to ask for dishes that were not ready or which were difficult to get; this practice is falling into disuse. At the close of the dinner the members of the boy's household are served with sweetmeats and the girl sits in turn on the lap of each of the elderly members of her family each of whom puts a little sugar into her mouth. The house people sit to dine and the girl taking a cup of boiling butter pours it in a line over the dinner plates and waves a lighted lamp before the faces of the diners, each of whom lays a silver coin in the cup. After dinner the boy and girl leave for the boy's house when the boy carries off an image from the girl's god-room. There is great grief over the girl's leave-taking, the mother especially lamenting that her daughter is gone to a strange house. When they reach the boy's house his parents receive the couple at the entrance of the marriage hall. A wooden measure of unhusked rice is set that the girl may overturn it with her foot, a heavy lighted lamp is placed in her hands, and she and the boy are led into the house. A new name is given to the girl, and, in the presence of her father's relations, she is made to sit on the lap of each of the elder members of the boy's household who in turn drop a little sugar into her mouth. This ceremony is called *hatilavne* or committing the girl to the care of her new relations. The male guests who come with the return procession are seated in the marriage hall where a dancing-girl performs. The guests are told the girl's new name, and with a parting present of sugar and betel packets they return to their homes. Next day the boy's father treats castefellows and others to a dinner. At the end of



the dinner the deities who have been asked to be present at the marriage are prayed to withdraw. After a few months the boy and girl go to her father's house, stay there for a couple of days, and return home. This closes the marriage ceremonies. Shenvis allow and practise polygamy, polyandry is unknown, and widow marriage is forbidden. On the first signs of pregnancy a party of women are called, the young wife is richly dressed, crowned with flower garlands, and fed on sweet food. A few relations and friends present her with clothes. When a Shenvi is on the point of death part of the ground-floor of the sitting room near the entrance door is washed with cowdung and covered with sacred grass and the body is laid on the grass with the feet to the south. When life is gone the body is taken outside, washed, rubbed, bound on a bamboo bier, and covered with a cloth. Four near relations carry the body on their shoulders to the burning ground, the son or other chief mourner walking in front holding by a string an earthen pot with a burning cake of cowdung. As they go the bearers in a low voice repeat the words, Ram Ram, or Shri Ram Jay Ram, or they mutter Narayan Narayan till they reach the burning ground when they make a pyre of wood and lay the body on it. The chief mourner goes thrice round the pyre from right to left, and lights it. Then all retire to some distance and sit till the body is consumed, when they go to their homes. Meanwhile, at the deceased's house a lighted lamp is placed on the spot where he died, and, as his soul is supposed to hover about the house for ten days, a cotton thread is hung from a peg into a cup of milk which is placed near the lamp to enable the soul to pass down the, string and drink. In the house of mourning, during the next ten days, a Brahman reads sacred books every afternoon, and balls of rice are offered to help the soul to regain the different parts of its body. Friends and relations visit the mourners and send them presents of butter and pounded rice as nothing is cooked in the house. On the tenth day the chief mourner offers rice balls. If a crow touches one of the balls the soul of the dead is believed to have gone to heaven in peace; if the crow refuses the deceased is thought to have had some trouble on his mind. On the eleventh, under the belief that the deceased will have the use of them in heaven, the mourners present Brahmans with cows, money, earthen pots filled with water, rice, umbrellas, shoes, fans, and beds. On the twelfth and thirteenth water is offered and on the fourteenth the mourning family visit a temple near their house. They are then free to follow their every-day business. On the death day every month for a year rice balls are offered to the soul of the deceased. Shenvis are bound together as a body and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. Most Shenvis are well off. A few of them draw salaries of as much as £50 (Rs. 500) a month. On the whole they are a pushing and rising class who send their boys to school and readily take to any promising calling.

## TAILANGS

**Tailang** or **Telugu** Brahmans are returned as numbering 100 and as found in Bhimthadi, Haveli, Khed, and Poona. They are said to have come into the district about a hundred years ago; whence and why they cannot tell. Their head-quarters are in Kasba Peth in Poona city. They are divided into Kasalnadu, Murikinadu, Telaganya, Vegnadu, and Velnadu, who eat together but do not intermarry. Their family stocks are Atri, Bharadvaj, Gautam, Jamadagni, Kaundinya, Kashyap, Pustsasa, Shrivatchhya, and Vaghulas. Marriages cannot take place between persons of the same stock. Their surnames are Bhamidivaru, Ghanti, Gunipudivaru, Innuvaru, Kampuvaru, Kandalvaru, and Kotavaru; sameness of surname is no bar to marriage. They are tall, strong, and dark. All men wear the mustache, some wear the beard, but none whiskers. Their home tongue is Telugu; with others they speak an ungrammatical and ill-pronounced Marathi. They do not own houses. Their household goods are a white blanket and a sheet, a wooden box, earthen water jars, and metal vessels. They keep neither cattle nor servants. They are great caters and have a special fondness for sour or *ambat* dishes. They are vegetarians, their staple food including rice, whey, and a vegetable or two. They get the grain they eat by begging, and spend  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2} d.$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$  -1 *anna*) a day. Before dining, besides sprinkling water and throwing pinches of rice to the right side of the plate, they repeat the name of the god Govind. They give dinners of sweet cakes in honour of thread-girdings and marriages, a dinner to a hundred guests costing £3 to £5 (Rs.30-50) Except in the use of opium and snuff they indulge in no luxury. The men wear a short waistcloth, roll a scarf round the head or wear a Deccan Brahman turban, a coat or a waistcloth, a shouldercloth, and sometimes Brahman shoes. The women wear the full Maratha robe and bodice and draw the skirt of the robe back between the feet and tuck it into the waist behind. They mark their brows with redpowder, and tie their hair in a knot at the back of the head. They are clean, idle, hot-tempered, thrifty, and hospitable. They are beggars and make and sell sacred threads. Their begging months are February to July (*Magh* to *Jyeshtha*) and their sacred threads are sold in August or *Shravan* when they make considerable sums. Their houses are generally hired at 6d. to 1s. 6d. (4-12 *as.*) a month, and the furniture varies in value from £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). Their monthly food charges vary from 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-15). A birth costs 10s. to £1 (Rs.5-10); a hair-clipping 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5); a thread-girding £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30); a boy's marriage £10 to £30 (Rs. 100-300), and a girl's £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25-200); a girl's coming of age 14s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 7-15); and a death £1 10s. to £4 (Rs. 15-40). They are religious. Their chief objects of worship are Kanakdurga of



Bejvad in Telangan, the goddess of Pithapur and Vithoba of Jagannath. They also worship Ganpati, Mahadev, and the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. They are Smarts and their family priests are Brahmans of their own country. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts, but on feast days both men and women go begging for a meal. If they fail they come home, cook some rice, and eat it with whey and salt. They show their Teacher Shankaracharya Svami great respect, and when he visits them after every second or third year each house pays him 2s. (Re. 1). Women do not generally go to their mothers' to be confined, they stay with their husbands. When a child is born the navel cord is cut by the midwife who is generally a Maratha woman; she is paid 2s. (Re. 1) if the child is a boy and 1s. (8 as.) if the child is a girl. If the midwife is asked to remain with the mother till the twelfth day she is paid 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-15) more. The navel cord is not buried but is kept to dry in the lying-in room. The child is bathed and laid beside its mother. If a woman is confined at her mother's, word is sent to her husband and to other near relations, and if the child is a boy sugar is handed among relations friends and acquaintances and money is presented to Brahmans; if the child is a girl nothing is done. For the first two days the child is fed by sucking a piece of cloth soaked in coriander juice or honey; on the third day it is bathed and the mother suckles it for the first time. They keep the fifth-day ceremony. In the afternoon in the mother's room a grindstone or *pata* is laid on the floor, on the stone is set an image of Satvai and the child's navel cord, and these are worshipped by the midwife or by some elderly married woman of the family. In the evening they lay a blank sheet of paper, a pen, an inkpot, and a knife that the god Brahma may write the child's destiny. For the first twelve days the mother is fed on rice and butter. The members of the family are impure for ten days. On the eleventh they wash, change their sacred threads, and purify themselves by drinking and sprinkling the house with cow's urine. On the morning of the twelfth day the husband and the wife with the child in her arms worship the god Ganpati and Varun with the help of the family priest, and the priest gives the child a name he has found in his almanac. A sweet cake feast is held in the afternoon, and in the evening the child is laid in the cradle and given a second pet name, and wet gram and packets of betel are handed among the women and children. The boys' names in common use are, Bhimaya, Nagaya, Narsaya, Peharaya, Ramaya, Somaya, Suraya, and the girls', Gangama, Nagama, Narsama, Perama, Ramama, Singama, and Somama. When a child is six months old it is given solid food for the first time and Brahmans are feasted. If the child is a boy his head is shaved when he is three years old, leaving a tuft of hair over each ear and a forelock. Girls' heads are not shaved unless they are the subject of a vow. A boy is girt with the sacred thread between eight and eleven, The day before the girding an invitation is sent to the village

god accompanied by music. On the thread-girding day a sacrificial fire is kindled on the altar and the sacred thread is fastened round the boy's neck and his right arm. A dinner is given to relations, friends, and other Brahmans, and money is distributed among Brahman and other beggars. The Tailangs marry their girls between six and eight and their boys between twelve and twenty-five. The asking generally comes from the girl's side. When the parents agree Brahmans and other relations and friends are called to witness the settlement. Sweetmeats are given to the girl, packets of betel are handed to kinspeople and friends, and money is paid to begging Brahmans. On the marriage day the *devapratishta* or enshrining of the marriage-guardians takes place, and a dinner is given to relations and friends. The girl's father presents the boy with a new turban, sash, and waistcloth, and his mother with a robe. The boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their homes, and the boy is carried on horseback to the girl's in procession and he and the girl are made to stand facing each other on two low wooden stools. A piece of yellow cloth is held between them, marriage verses are repeated by the priest and other Brahmans, and the sacrificial fire is kindled on the altar, on the four corners of which, unlike other Hindus, they do not place earthen pots. A turban is presented to the girl's brother, betelnuts and leaves are handed to the relations and friends, and money is paid to religious beggars, the all retire. When the marriage ceremony is over the hems of the boy's and girl's robes are tied together and they are taken into the house to bow to the house gods. On the second and third day the boy's relations are taken to dine at the girl's house, and, on the fourth day the last marriage robe-giving or *sade* is performed, when the boy's relations go to the girl's house, and present the girl with ornaments and clothes and five married women with turmeric and redpowder, and fill their laps with pieces of cocoanut. The parents of the boy and girl exchange presents of clothes, and the boy, accompanied by relations and music, takes his bride to her new home. Here the goddess Lakshmi is worshipped, money is given to religious and other beggars, and betel packets are handed to the guests. When the procession returns to the boy's house the boy and girl are seated each on the shoulder of a man who dances to music.

When a Tailang Brahman is on the point of death part of the ground-floor of the house is cowdunged, *tulsi* leaves and sacred *darbha* grass are sprinkled over it, a white blanket is spread, and the dying man is laid on the blanket. The family priest dips his right toe into a spoon full of cold water and a near relation pours the water into the dying person's mouth, and money and grain are presented to the poor. When life is gone the body is brought out, washed, and wrapped in a white sheet. Sacred basil leaves are stuffed in the ears, and the body is laid

on a bier which is carried by four men to the burning ground, the bearers repeating Ram Ram. The chief mourner walks in front of the bier holding by a string an earthen pot with, burning cowdung cakes. When they reach the burning ground the bier is lowered near running water. Water and sacred grass are sprinkled on a piece of ground and a pile is built. The corpse is washed and laid on the pyre. If the deceased died at an unlucky moment wheaten figures of men are made and laid on the corpse. While the fire is being kindled verses are. repeated and the chief mourner lays some burning cowdung cakes under the pile. When the corpse is burnt the chief mourner thrice goes round the pyre holding in his hand an earthen pot full of water. At each turn a hole is bored in the pot with a pebble picked somewhere on the road and at the third round the pot is dashed on the ground. The pebble is kept as the stone of life or *ashma* and over it sesamum and water are daily poured. The ashes are thrown into water and they return home. On the second day a three-cornered earthen mound is raised on the spot where the body was burnt, and on it five earthen pots are placed, and cooked rice, rice balls, and wheat cakes are offered to the dead. The stone is taken to the river, washed, and carried to the house of mourning. From the third day to the ninth a rice ball is offered and the stone of life or *ashma* is taken to the burning ground and again brought back to the house of mourning. On the tenth day all the adult male members of the house go to the river, offer cakes and rice balls, and after setting up red flags six inches high, ask the crows to touch the chief ball of the five. As soon as the ball has been touched by a crow the mourners pour water and sesamum over the stone and throw it into the river. They then bathe and return home. On the eleventh day the mourning is over. A sacrificial fire is lit in the burning ground and money is distributed among beggars. On the twelfth day the offering of rice balls or *sapindis* is performed and Brahmans are feasted. On the thirteenth day the *shraddh* is performed and this is repeated at the end of each month for twelve months. At the end of the twelve months the first anniversary is held and is repeated every year so long as one of the deceased's sons remains alive. They hold meetings to decide their social disputes composed of learned Tailang, Deshasth, and other Maratha Brahmans. A man proved to have drunk liquor is fined 2s. to £1 (Rs. 1-10), and any one who forms a connection, with a woman of the Mhar, Mang, or other low class is turned out of caste without hope of forgiveness. If the woman is a Musalman the Brahman's mustache is shaved and he is allowed back to caste after drinking cow's urine. They send their boys to school and are a poor people.

## TIRGULS

**Tirguls** are returned as numbering 300 and as found over the whole district except Maval and Shirur. Their origin is not known; they are believed to have come into the district from Telangan about two hundred years ago. They have no subdivisions, and the commonest names among men are Atmaram, Martand, Ramchandra, and Vishnu; and among women Krishna, Lakshmi, Radha, and Savitri. Their surnames are Arankelle, Arole, Bhinge, Javalkar, Kodgule, Mahajane, Mahashabde, Maindarge, and Supekar. They have five family stocks or *gotras*, Bharadvaj, Kaushik, Kashyap, Lohit, and Napa, and persons having the same family stock cannot intermarry. They speak corrupt Marathi, live in houses of the better sort, and are vegetarians. Both men and women dress like Maratha Brahmans, and are clean, thrifty, hospitable, and hardworking. They are traders, bankers, landowners, writers, and betel-vine growers. As they kill insects they are considered impure. A family of five spends £1 4s. to £2 (Rs. 12 - 20) on food a month, and £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25 - 50) on clothes. A house costs £50 to £200 (Rs.500-2000) and 4s. to £1 (Rs.2-10) to rent. The value of their house goods is about £10 to £100 (Rs. 100 -1000). A birth costs 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10); a hair-clipping 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8); a thread ceremony £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25-200); a marriage £20 to £50 (Rs. 200-500); a puberty £3 10s. to £20 (Rs. 35-200); and a death £2 to £5 (Rs.20-50). They are Smarts and worship all the Brahmanic gods and goddesses and keep the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts. They go on pilgrimage to Allahabad, Benares, Nasik, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur. Their customs are the same as those of Deccan Brahmans. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. They send their boys to school and are well off.

## VIDURS

**Vidurs,** [The Vidurs tell the following story to explain the origin of their name. A king named Shantanu walking by a river saw and loved a beautiful maiden. He asked the girl to marry him and after some hesitation she agreed. She told him that she was the river Ganga and warned him that if he ever questioned her conduct she would at once disappear. The king promised to ask no questions and they lived together as husband and wife. Ganga bore him several children. No sooner Was a child born than the queen threw it into the river. The king endured the loss of his children in silence. At last when a child named Bhishma was born he complained to his wife of the loss of his children and begged her to spare Bhishma's life. No sooner had he spoken than Ganga turned to water and flowed off into the nearest river. After some time king Shantanu again walked by the river, saw a beautiful girl in a

boat, and she agreed to marry him on condition that her son should succeed. This the king promised as Bhishma, Ganga's son, said he had no wish to rule. A son named Chitrangad was born and succeeded his father. He married two wives but died childless. On his death his mother sent one of the wives to the sage Vyas to raise an heir to the throne. A blind child was born and could not succeed. The second wife was sent and a leprous child was born who too could not rule. The queen-dowager then sent one of her son's slave-girls and a boy was born and called Vidur because he was the son of a slave. He succeeded to the throne and from him all Vidur Brahmans are sprung.] that is the Illegitimate call themselves Brahmanjais. They are returned as numbering 100 and as found over the whole district excepting Khed, Maval, and Purandhar. They have no subdivisions and their surnames are Baraskar, Davare, Kalangade and Vaikar,; families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. Their staple food is millet, rice, and pulse, and a family of five spends £1 10s. to £2 (Rs 15-20) a month. They do not eat fish or flesh and drink no liquor. They dress either like Marathas or Brahmans, and are writers, printers, and messengers. They think themselves higher than Marathas, and a little lower than the ordinary Maratha Brahmans. Their family goddess is Bhavani of Tuljapur, and they also worship Khandoba and Bahiroba of Jejuri. They have house images of Ganpati, Mahadev, and Vishnu, and their priests are the ordinary Deshasth Brahmans. Their fasts and feasts do not differ from those of ordinary Brahmanic Hindus. Their boys are girt with the thread before they are ten. The priest pours a few drops of the *panchgavya* or five cow-gifts on the boy's right palm, and, after he has taken a sip, the priest repeats a sacred verse over the thread and puts it round the boy's neck. He is paid 6d. to 2s. (4as.-Re. 1). They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys between sixteen and twenty. The texts repeated at their marriages are from the Purans, not from the Veds. In other respects their ceremonies are like those of Deshasths. They burn their dead, and practise polygamy but not polyandry. They send their boys to school and are a poor people.



## POPULATION

### WRITERS

**Writers** included four classes with a strength of 1500 or 0.17 per cent of the Hindu population. Of these about thirty persons who are returned as Patane Prabhus in the census were Dhruv Prabhus, 832 were Kayasth Prabhus, 206 were Patane Prabhus, and 423 were Velhalis.

### DHRUV PRABHUS

**Dhruv Prabhus**, literally Lords descended from Dhruv, are found only in the city of Poona. According to tradition, Dhruv, from whom they claim descent, was the son of Uttanpat, a Kshatriya king of Oudh, whose name Uttanpat according to their story was the origin of the name Patane by which one of the two classes of Western India Prabhus is known, [Patane, according to Brahman accounts, is properly Patare or Fallen, because the Prabhus have fallen from being warriors to be writers. The Konkan traditions and to some extent the evidence of their home speech suggest that the Patane Prabhus of the Thana coast are descended from Rajputs of Anhilvada Pattan in North Gujarat, and may take their name from that town. Thana Statistical Account in Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 90.] Dhruv Prabhus claim to be the same as Patane Prabhus. Two or three years ago they applied to be readmitted into caste, but the Patanes refused on the ground that the two classes had been so long separate. The Dhruvs have many written statements from Poona Patane Prabhus stating that their ancestors had said the two classes were the same. The Dhruvs say they came as writers from Bombay and Thana to Poona during the time of the Peshwas and have since settled in the district. They have no subdivisions. Among their surnames are Kotker and Mankar. They are like Bombay Patane Prabhus in appearance. They speak an incorrect Marathi, using *n* for *ṇ* and *l* for *ḷ*. Their houses are of the better sort, one or two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. They are neat and clean, and are well supplied with metal vessels, cups, saucers, bedding, carpets, cots, boxes, chairs, tables, glass and brass hanging lamps, and

large earthen jars for storing grain. They have servants generally of the Kunbi caste, and keep cattle, ponies, and parrots. They are neither great eaters nor good cooks. There is nothing special or proverbial about their style of cooking or their favourite dishes. They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, hare and deer, but they eat neither domestic fowls nor eggs. Those who are careful to keep caste rules do not drink liquor. Their staple food is rice, split pulse, wheat bread, vegetables, spices, pickles and salt; and they drink tea, coffee, milk, and water. At their marriage and other feasts the chief dishes are, sugared rice, sweet, cakes, and pulse and wheat bails. They eat animal food on holidays and once or twice a week. It is the cost and not any religious scruple that prevents them regularly using animal food. They sacrifice a goat on *Dasara* Day in front of the goddess Durga and afterwards feast on the flesh. Both men and women dress like Deccan Brahmans, the women tie the hair in a knot behind the head and deck the hair with flowers. They keep rich clothes in store, shawls, gold-bordered silk robes and bodices, and silk waist-cloths shouldercloths and handkerchiefs, valued at £20 to £60 (Rs.200-600). They have ornaments of gold, silver, pearls, and diamonds for the head, ears, nose, neck, arms, and feet, valued at £50 to £100 (Rs. 500-1000). They are neat, clean, hardworking, sober, honest, even-tempered, hospitable, loyal, and orderly. They are English writers, moneylenders, and moneychangers. They claim to be Kshatriyas, eat from no one but Brahmans, and consider themselves higher than any caste except Brahmans. A house costs £100 to £200 (Rs. 1000 - 2000) to build, and 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) a month to hire. House goods vary in value from £20 to £40 (Rs. 200-400). They pay their servant's 4s. to 8s. (Rs.2-4) a month with food. The feed of a cow or buffaloe varies from 8s. to £1 (Rs.4-10) a month. A family of five spend £3 to £4 (Rs. 30 -40) a month on food, and £4 to £6 (Rs. 40-60) a year on clothes, The birth of a child costs £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40); a hair-clipping 4s. to 6s. (Rs.2-3); a thread-girding £10 to £20 (Rs.100-200) boy's marriage £50 (Rs.500) and a girl's marriage £20 to £30 (Rs. 200-300); a girl's coming of age £8 to £10 (Rs. 80-100) to both the boy's and the girl's father; a first pregnancy £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100); the death of a man £7 to £10 (Rs. 70-100), of a married woman £5 to £10 (Rs.50-100), and of a widow £5 to £7 (Rs.50-70). They are either Smarts or Bhagvats, and have house images of Ganpati, Mahadev, Vishnu, Ram, Krishna, and Annapurna. Their family deities are Indrayani at Alandi, Ekvira at Karli in Poona, Khandoba of Jejuri, and Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans whom

they greatly respect. They keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts, and make pilgrimages to Benares, Pandharpur, Jejuri and Vajreshvari in Thana. A woman always stays for her confinement at her husband's. After the child is born the mother is washed in brandy and hot water. On the evening of the third day they set a high wooden stool in the lying-in room near the mother's cot, and laying a handful of rice grains on the stool place a betelnut on the rice, and present the betelnut with balls of rice or *modaks*. This is called the third-day worship or *tinivichi puja*. Wet split gram and cocoanut scrapings are mixed and a handful is sent to the house of all the people of the caste. feast of rice balk is held in the evening when near relations are called. On the evening of the fifth day a high wooden stool or a winnowing fan is set in the mother's room, and on it is laid a *tak* that is a small square metal plate with an image of the goddess Satvai impressed upon it, and the Brahman family priest worships it. Sixteen dough lamps are set round the image and rice balls are offered to it. Relations and friends come to dine and the women keep awake till midnight talking. Next day, the sixth, rice balls are made ready and offered to the goddess, and, on the day after, the image is put in a box and kept there till the next child is born. The mother and her family are considered unclean for ten days. On the eleventh day the room is cowdunged, the cot washed, and the mother and child are dressed in fresh clothes. On the eleventh day the men change their sacred threads and name the child if it is a boy on the thirteenth and if it is a girl on the twelfth day. A feast is held when gram balls are prepared and relations and castepeople are asked to dine. In the evening female guests bring some grains of rice, a cocoanut, and a coat and cap or *kunchi* for the child. The child is laid in the cradle, songs are sung, and the child is given a name by some elderly woman in the house. The presents brought by the women are taken from them, and in return a cocoanut, some sugar, and a betel packet are given them, and they go home.

A boy's hair is first cut between his third and his fifth year, when the barber is presented with a new handkerchief, some grains of rice, a cocoanut, and 1s. to 2s. (8 *as.* - Re. 1) in money. On any day after this, without performing any ceremony, they shave the child's head except the top-knot. Their boys are girt with the sacred thread between eight and ten. Two days before the ceremony an altar is raised and on the same day the boy is seated on a high wooden stool with a

penknife and a cocoanut in his hands and is rubbed with wet turmeric powder. He is then bathed along with his father and mother. A day before the thread ceremony the father takes a pole called the lucky pole or *muhurt-medh*, and, tying to its top an umbrella, a handful of dry grass, a couple of cocoanuts, and a piece of yellow cloth with grains of Indian millet in it, fixes it on one side of the house when it is worshipped by the boy and his parents. Then the god Ganpati is worshipped in the first room or *osri* on entering the house. In the women's hall a red or yellow piece of cloth is spread in a bamboo basket or *padali*, and the image of the household family goddess or *kul-svamini* is laid in the basket and worshipped. An earthen pot is whitewashed and marked with yellow green and red, and in it are laid grains of wheat or rice, a betelnut, a piece of turmeric root, and a  $\frac{3}{8}$ d. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ anna) piece. The lid is closed and thread is wound round the jar and it is set near the basket. This pot is called the guardian or *devak*. A lighted stone lamp is set before it and fed with oil till the thread ceremony is over. They then come on the veranda or *oti*, lay a leaf-plate on the ground, and on the leaf lay some grains of rice and a gourd or *kohola*. The gourd is worshipped by the father, the mother, and the son. Then the father takes a sword, and while his wife stands with her fingers touching his arm, he cuts the gourd into four pieces two of which are set aside and the remaining two are sliced into small pieces, cooked, and eaten. Then the women take a frying pan or *kadhai*, pour oil into it, and put a ladle in each of its handles., From the ladle a gold neck ornament called *vajratik* is hang and worshipped by the women with sugar and a copper pice ( $\frac{1}{4}$  anna). When this is over they begin to make sweetmeats in the pan. Several other ceremonies are performed as preliminaries to the thread-girding. One of these rites is called *varun-puja* or water-worship, when they worship a pot or *kalash* full of water; a second rite is called *shiva-apah-santu*, literally may the waters be fortunate, when the Brahman drops cold water from a mango leaf on the heads of the boy and his parents; a third is *nandishraddh* or joyful-event ancestor-worship when ancestors are asked to the ceremony; a fourth is *bhumi-puja* or earth-worship; a fifth is *navagraha-puja* or nine-planet worship; a sixth is *rudrakalash-puja*, or Rudra's pot-worship when the Rudras are worshipped by taking a water-cup or *panchapatri*, filling it with water, setting it over a cocoanut, and lighting the sacrificial fire; a seventh is *balipradan* or offering-giving, when cooked rice is laid in a bamboo basket and over it is set a dough lamp with a wick of black cloth, and in it a piece of the gourd which was cut in four parts, the whole is

sprinkled with *udid* pulse and redpowder, and laid on the roadside by one of the house servants. The day ends with a feast. On the morning of the thread ceremony day the boy is seated in front of the Brahman priest who pours butter or *loni* and water in a cup and hands it to the family barber. Then a razor is taken from the barber, sprinkled with water, and with it a blade of the sacred grass is cut over the boy's right ear, then behind his head, and then on his left ear, and the razor is handed to the barber who rubs the butter and water on the boy's head and shaves it. The boy is bathed, his head is shaved a second time, and he is again bathed. He dines from the same plate with his mother; gold, silver, and pearl ornaments and flower garlands are fastened round his neck; lines of redpowder are drawn over his head; and he is made to stand near the altar on a low wooden stool covered with sack-cloth. His father sits before him facing him, and a cloth is held between them. The Brahmans chant verses and at the end throw grains of rice over the boy's head, the cloth is pulled on one side, and he bows before his father and sits in his lap. The boy is dressed in a loincloth, and the priest takes a sacred thread and fastens it from his left shoulder so that it hangs to his right hips. He also gives him a stick and a bag. The boy is told to look towards the sun, and the father taking him by his right hand asks him whose *brahmachari* or religious student he is. He answers, Indra's Brahmachari. Then the sacrificial fire is lit on the altar and the boy bows before it. The father takes a cup of queen's metal, fills it with grains of rice, and traces the letters of the sacred Gayatri verse on the rice, and the father tells the boy to repeat the verse. Then into the sacrificial ladle or *pali* a few grains of rice and a piece of sugarcandy are laid, and it is put in the boy's begging bag while he repeats the words *Bhiksham dehi bhavati* that is Give me alms. The father warns the boy to keep the sacred fire lighted, *agni-rakshane*; to guard the cow, *gau-palane*; and not to use the stick or *dand*. The guests present the boy with 1s. to 2s. (8 *as.* -Re. 1) in cash, and cocoanuts and betel packets are handed and the guests retire except a few near relations and friends who stay to dine. In the evening the boy is taken to his maternal uncle's house, a procession is formed, and he is brought home on horseback accompanied by relations, friends, and music. Before the boy enters the house rice and curds are waved round his head, and the guests retire with a betel packet and a cocoanut. Next day the thread-ceremony ends with a feast.



They marry their girls between nine and fourteen and their boys between twelve and twenty. The offer of marriage comes *from the girl's house*. The girl's father with some friends or relations goes to the boy's and in the presence of friends asks his father whether he will give his son in marriage to his daughter. If the father agrees the lucky days are chosen with the help of the family priest and the settlement or *tithi-nischaye* is performed. Then the marriage god or guardian is installed, and other preliminary customs are performed in the same detail as at the thread-girding. They rub the girl with turmeric, tie a piece of turmeric root and betelnut to her right wrist, and send the rest of the turmeric or *ushti halad* to the boy's house accompanied by music, married women, and a mango twig. At the girl's the women fix the twig in the ground and a pair of cocoanuts are tied to it. The boy is rubbed with turmeric and bathed, and a piece of turmeric and betelnut are tied with cotton thread to his right wrist. On the morning of the second or marriage day a party of men and women go from the girl's to the boy's with music and carrying a plate containing a turban, a sash, a pair of shoes, a cocoanut, and sweetmeats. The boy is seated on a high wooden stool, worshipped by the girl's father, and presented with the clothes; hanging garlands of flowers are hung round his head, and the party retire. Then the boy's relations go to the girl's with music and a plate containing a robe and bodice, sugarcandy, cocoanuts, flower garlands, the marriage coronet or *bashing*, grains of wheat, and five betelnuts dates almonds and pieces of turmeric and some ornaments. The girl is seated on a stool and presented with the robe, bodice, and ornaments, and her lap is filled with dates, wheat, betelnuts, almonds, and turmeric. The boy's father presents the girl's father with a turban and the boy's party retire. The girl's mother, with her female relations, music, and sweetmeats, goes to the boy's house and gives the sweetmeats in charge to his people. The boy's head is shaved and he is bathed and dressed in a waistcloth, coat, turban, and shoes; flower garlands are wound round his head, and the girl's mother ties round his turban the marriage coronet or *bashing*, and gives him sweetmeats and a betel packet. The boy's father places a penknife and a cocoanut in the boy's hand and he is taken to bow before the household gods. He is then seated on a horse and led in procession to the girl's with a party of kinspeople and friends. When he reaches the girl's, cooked rice and curds are waved round his head and thrown on one side. Then the girl's father and mother come to the boy, the father walks once round the horse, and the mother waves a lighted lamp round his face,

and they retire. The girl's brother comes forward and squeezes the boy's right ear, and he is presented with a turban. The boy is taken off the horse by some one near and is led into the marriage hall. His coat, shoes, and turban are taken off, and he is seated on the altar on a wooden stool covered with a blanket. The girl is by this time dressed in a white cloth with yellow borders, and seated near the marriage gods. The ceremony of honey-sipping or *madhupark* is performed, and the girl's mother washes the boy's sisters' feet and presents them with bodices. Then, after the boy's feet have been washed, the boy and girl are taken into the house and made to stand facing each other on two heaps of rice with a cloth held between them, Brahmans repeat the marriage verses, and at the end they are husband and wife. They are then seated face to face on two chairs and a married woman fastens the marriage string round the girl's neck. A cotton thread is passed round the pair five and seven times by the priest. Then the girl's father, holding the boy's hands below the girl's, pours water over the girl's hands, and it falls over the boy's and from that into a plate on the ground. The boy's and girl's fathers put 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) into their hands and it becomes the property of the boy. Besides this the boy is presented with metal vessels and lamps, and the threads passed five and seven times are tied round the right and left wrists of the boy and girl. The boy's father presents the girl with a robe and bodice and the silver anklets called *jodvis* and *viravlyas*. The girl's father takes the boy and girl by the hand and seats them on the altar, and the sacrificial fire is lighted and fed with butter and parched grain. The girl rises from the stool and the Brahman lays on it seven pinches of rice and the girl worships them. The boy takes the girl's right hand in his right hand and the *panigrahan* or hand-clasping is over. Except near relations who stay for dinner the guests take betel packets and retire. When dinner is over the boy and girl are seated in a carriage or on horseback, and, accompanied by kinspeople friends and music, go to the boy's. In the room where the marriage god has been set the boy and the girl sit before the god and worship, throw grains of rice over it, and retire. The guests withdraw with cocoanuts and a cup of sweet milk. On the morning of the second day the girl's kinswomen go to the boy's and bring the boy and girl and their parents and relations to their house to bathe. In the marriage porch the boy and girl mark one another with wet turmeric and they are bathed. The boy's relations now retire. In the evening the boy's parents and near relations come again. Then sixteen small dough lamps are arranged with large lamp in the middle. A betelnut is

worshipped by the girl's parents and the dough lamps are lighted. The boy and girl are now worshipped by the girl's parents and then by the boy's parents, and the bamboo basket is put over the heads of the boy and the girl, and the boy's parents and their near relations. The girl's father seats the girl on the lap of the boy's father and of his relations, and they return to the boy's house with the girl and the bamboo basket. The boy and girl are then seated near the marriage gods and the girl is called by a new name which is given her by her husband, Rice is thrown over the marriage gods with the object of inducing them to withdraw, and the wristlets or *kankans* and the marriage ornaments are tied in a piece of cloth and kept somewhere in the house. A feast at both houses is the last of the marriage ceremonies. When a Dhruv Prabhu dies, he is laid on a white woollen waistcloth or *dhabli*, and the toes of his feet are tied together with a string. The chief mourner's head and mustache are shaved, and he cooks rice and makes it into three balls or *pinds*, one he lays in the house at the corpse's head, a second is afterwards laid at the place where the body rested on the way to the burning ground, and the third is laid on the mouth of the corpse when it is placed on the pile. When the skull bursts with the heat each mourner throws a piece of sandalwood on the pyre and the chief mourner in addition throws a cocoanut. When all is burnt the chief mourner, carrying an earthen jar of water on his right shoulder walks round the pyre with his left hand towards it. When at the end of the first round he is near where the corpse's head lay one of the mourners makes a hole in the pot with a pebble called the *ashma* or spirit picked up near the place where the bier was rested, and the mourner lets the water stream from the hole as he walks round the pyre. At the end of the second round a second hole is made and a second stream runs out of the pot and at the end of the third round a third hole is made and the pot is dashed on the ground. The chief mourner cries aloud striking his hand on his mouth. Either on the same or on the next day, a three-cornered mound is made on the spot where the deceased was burnt. Sacred grass is spread on the mound and on the grass four small earthen jars are set filled with water, and over the jars four dough cakes and rice balls are laid. Flowers are strewn over the cakes and four small yellow flags are set in the ground and worshipped. The funeral party withdraw to some distance till a crow has touched one of the balls. After that they bathe and accompany the chief mourner to his house. When they reach the house of death they go inside, peep at the lamp which is burning on the spot where the dead

breathed his last, say same words of comfort to the mourners, and go to their homes. The family mourn ten days, and, on the tenth, offer ten rice and ten dough balls on the burning ground. They anoint the *ashma* or stone of life with cocoanut oil, worship it, and after a crow has touched it, throw it into a river. The priest returns home, and is presented with a blanket, an umbrella, a brass lamp, and a pair of shoes. On the eleventh day the chief mourner and a few near relations go to the burning ground and cook rice, spilt pulse, vegetables, pulse cakes or *vades*, and wheat cakes or *puran-polis*, and make three rice balls to which the several dishes are offered. The whole is mixed together into three balls, two of which are burnt and one is thrown into the water. After a bath they return home. On the twelfth day alms are given in the name of the deceased; on the thirteenth a memorial ceremony or *shraddh* is performed and the caste is feasted; and on the fourteenth fourteen earthen pots are filled with water and presented to fourteen Brahmans along with  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$  *anna*), and near relations are feasted chiefly on wheat cakes or *puran-polis*. Dhruv Prabhus are bound together as a body and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. English education of late has weakened the authority of caste. They send their boys to school and are a steady class.

### KAYASTH PRABHUS

**Ka'yasth Prabhus** are returned as numbering 830 and as fond over the whole district except Junnar. They claim to be Kshatriyas. According to their story, after Parashuram had killed Sahasrarjun and king Chandrasen, he discovered that Chandrasen's wife had taken refuge with the seer Dalabhya and that she was with child. To complete his vow to kill the whole of the Kshatriyas Parashuram went to the sage, who received him kindly, asked him why he had come, and promised to grant his wishes. Parashuram replied that he wished to kill Chandrasen's wife. The sage produced the lady, and Parashuram, pleased with the success of his scheme, promised to grant the sage whatever he asked for. Dalabhya asked for the unborn child, and Parashuram, bound by his promise, agreed to spare the mother's life on condition that the child should be bred a writer, not a soldier, and that instead of Kshatriyas his descendants should be called Kayasths because the child was saved in his mother's body or *kaya*. The boy was married to Chitrugupta's daughter, and was given the title of Prabhu or lord. Kayasths

are divided into Chitragupt Kayasths, Chandraseni Kayasths, and Sankar Kayasths. The Chandrasenis have no subdivision except Damani Prabhus who in no way differ from the rest and have a special name only because they lived for a time at Daman in the North Konkan. Kayasths have *gotras* or family stocks and *pravars* or founders, and forty-two surnames. People bearing the same surname and belonging to the same family stock do not intermarry. In appearance Kayasths closely resemble Konknasth Brahmans. They are fair and middle-sized, with regular features and thick black hair. The men wear the top-knot and mustache, but neither beard nor whiskers. The women are fairer than the men and handsome. They wear the hair tied in a knot at the back of the head, use false hair, and deck their hair with flowers. Their home speech is Marathi, which both men and women speak correctly. Their houses are well stocked with furniture, copper brass iron and tin vessels, boxes, cots, bedding, glass hanging and brass lamps. Each family has a servant, and most have cattle, horses, dogs, parrots, and bullock carts. Their houses vary in value from £50 to £2000 (Rs. 500 - 20,000); their furniture from £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000); a man's stock of clothes from £7 to £50 (Rs. 70 - 500); a woman's and a child's from £10 to £200 (Rs. 100-2000); their ornaments are worth £30 to £500 (Rs. 300 - 5000). They eat fish and the flesh of goats and sheep, but secretly as they prefer to be considered vegetarians, and drink both country and foreign liquor. Their daily food is rice pulse, vegetable fish or pulse curry, milk, curds, and whey. They drink tea or coffee, are fond of good living, and their pet dishes are gram oil-cakes and wheat and sugar semicircular cakes or *karanjas*. A family of five spend every month on their food, if rich £5 to £7 10s. (Rs.50-75) if fairly off £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40), and if poor £2 10s. to £3 (Rs. 25-30). Their feasts cost 6d. to 1s. (4 - 8 as.) a guest. Both men and women dress like Maratha Brahmans, and it is often hard to tell a Kayasth Prabhu from a Brahman. They are generally richly and most carefully and neatly dressed. Of ornaments well-to-do men wear gold necklaces and finger rings, and the women the same ornaments as Brahman women. They are hardworking, hospitable, orderly, and loyal; but extravagant and fond of show. They are writers, husbandmen, moneylenders, and moneychangers. They are generally Bhagvats or followers of Vishnu, and are termed Deviputras or Goddess' Children because they worship the early local mothers more than the regular Brahman gods. They have house images of Annapurna, Vishnu, Balkrishna, Bhavani, Ganpati, Khandoba, and Mahadev. Their priests are Deshasth



Brahmans whom they treat with great respect. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. On the sixth day after a child is born they worship the goddess Sathi and name the child on the twelfth. They gird their boys with the sacred thread before they are ten. They marry their girls before they are twelve, and their boys before they are twenty. The details of their birth, thread-girding, and marriage ceremonies differ little from those of Patane Prabhus. A thread ceremony costs them £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500) and a marriage £50 to £500 (Rs. 500-5000). They burn their dead and do not allow widow marriage. They send their children to school and hold their own as writers in spite of the competition of Brahmans and other non-writer classes.

### **PATANE PRABHUS**

**Pa'ta'ne Prabhus** are returned as numbering 200 and as found only in the city of Poona. Only a few have been long settled in Poona. These, they say, came from Bombay about sixty years ago as clerks in Government offices, and after retiring from service settled in Poona with their families. The rest appear to have come also from Bombay as clerks within the last eighteen years and are not permanently settled in Poona. Poona Patane Prabhus have no subdivisions and deny that the Dhruv Prabhus belong to their caste. They say that they formerly had no surnames and that the fashion of using surnames has been introduced with the last twenty-five years. Their chief *gotras* of family-stocks are Bharadvaj, Brahma-Janardan, Gargya, Gautam, Jamadagni, Mudgal, and Vashishth. The names in common use among men are Dhvarkanath, Moreshvar, Moroba, Sadanand, and Vishvanath; and among women, Hirabai, Nanibai, Sokarabai, and Sundarabai. The men are generally stoutly made and in height above the middle size with regular features; and the women are about the same size as the men, fair, and goodlooking. They speak purer Marathi than the Bombay Prabhus owing to their intercourse with Deccan Brahmans. The older residents own houses two storeys high with brick walls and tiled roofs, clean and well kept. They have servants, carriages, and horses as well as cows, parrots, or pigeons. Besides the ordinary Hindu cushions, carpets, and pillows, they keep in European style tables, benches, couches, chairs, chests of drawers, brass or wooden bedsteads, wardrobes, cabinets with ornamental knick-knacks, wall pictures, lamps, and chandeliers. Their cooking pots and eating

and drinking vessels are generally metal. Their usual food is rice, wheat cakes, pulse, vegetables, fish, and mutton. Besides mutton the only animals they have no scruple in eating are the wild hog, deer, and hare, and of birds the wood-pigeon, partridge, quail, and water-fowl. Their caste rules are against the use of any other animals. Their drink is milk, coffee, and the, liquor being forbidden them. They have two principal daily meals, one between nine and twelve in the morning, the other between seven and ten in the evening. A family of five living in comfort spend £5 to £10 (Rs. 50 -100) a month; the poorer families live on £2 to £3 (Rs. 20 - 30). The men dress in a waistcloth, waistcoat or coat, and the Maratha Brahman turban, and English or Marathi shoes. The women dress in a full Maratha robe with the skirt drawn back between the feet and a tight-fitting bodice with a back and short sleeves. Out of doors and on ceremonial occasions they draw a shawl over the shoulders or head.

Most Poona Patane Prabhus are clerks in Government offices. One is a teacher of drawing and plan-making in the Poona College of Science, and another is a High Court pleader qualified to practise as a solicitor in Bombay; a third is a retired broker. Their boys attend the Government schools and colleges; some of them are matriculated and one has taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws. Some of them own houses and land, but most live in hired houses paying monthly rents varying from 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 5-25). Their house furniture is worth £50 to £100 (Rs.500-1000). Besides their every-day clothes they keep a store of rich garments and of jewels worth £100 to £500 (Rs. 1000-5000). A birth costs £10 to £40 (Rs. 100-400); a thread-girding £20 to £50 (Rs.200-500); the marriage of a son £150 to £400 (Rs.1500-4000), the marriage of a daughter £100 to £500 (Rs. 1000-5000); a girl's coming of age £10 to £20 (Rs. 100 - 200); a pregnancy £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150); the death of an adult £10 to £30 (Rs. 100-800), and the death of a child 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10). Prabhu customs come under the six heads of marriage, pregnancy birth, infancy, thread-girding, and death.

### *Marriage.*

[Marriage, in Sanskrit, is technically called *panigrahan* or hand-holding, the popular Sanskrit word for marriage is *vivaha* or

mutual taking, and the common Marathi word is *lagin* that is union. Among Prabhus the wedding months are *Magh* or January-February, *Falgun* or February-March, *Vaishakh* or April-May, *Jeshtha* or May -June, and *Margashirsha* or November-December. If either the boy's or the girl's birthday falls in *Jeshtha* or May- June marriage in that month is risky and if it is the birth-month of both the marriage cannot take place. Marriage cannot be held when the planets Jupiter and Venus are hid, on any amavasya or no-moon, at the *sankrants* when the Dim passes from one zodiacal sign to another, or during the *shinhast* once in twelve years, when the planet Jupiter is in the constellation Leo.]

A child's marriage occupies its parents' thoughts from its earliest days. The choice is limited to families of the same caste and among castefellows to families of a different stock or *gotra*. Boys generally marry between ten and sixteen; girls between four and eight. The only form of marriage now in use is *Brahma-vivaha* or the Braham wedding according to which, besides giving a dower, the bridegroom receives presents with his wife. The ceremonies connected with marriage last over many months, and involve the spending of the savings of years. They may be brought under three groups, those before, those on, and those after the wedding day. The first group includes eleven heads, offer of marriage, comparison of horoscopes, goat-offering, day-naming, guest-asking, gift-making, booth and altar-building, pot-buying, god-pleasing, and gift-making.

*offer.*

In families, who have a young daughter, the women of the house fix on some boy as a good match. The family priest is sent for and the girl's father, handing him her horoscope and naming the boy's father, asks the priest to go to his house and offer the girl in marriage. If he approves of the offer the boy's father gives the priest one to two shillings, a cocoanut, and sugar, telling him to say that he has kept the horoscope without waiting to see if it agrees with his boy's. If not rich enough to meet the cost of his son's marriage, the father says the times are unsuitable. The priest asks if he would wish the girl's family to help. The father says help would be welcome, and between them they agree on the sum the father wishes to have. These are unusual cases. The common practice is for the boy's father,

without opening it, to place the horoscope either before the family gods, or in some other safe place.

### *Horoscopes.*

After a day or two the father hands his boy's and the girl's horoscopes to his family priest to take to an astrologer. The astrologer compares their details and tells the priest whether or not they agree. The priest returns and tells the boy's father. A few days more and the girl's family priest comes to learn the boy's father's answer. If the horoscopes do not agree the girl's is sent back, and the priest is told to say that the horoscopes do not agree. If the horoscopes agree, the priest leaves with a coconut and a handful of sugar.

### *Betrothal.*

There is no betrothal. In most cases, after the boy's father has accepted the proposal and the horoscopes are found to agree, the first ceremony is the goat-offering.

### *Goat-offering.*

A day or so before the astrologer has fixed the wedding day a child, escorted by a servant, is sent to ask a few married women relations to a feast in honour of the family goddess, and on the evening of the same day a young he-goat is bought. Early in the morning of the feast day a room on the ground-floor is smeared with cowdung, and on a high wooden stool, in a square marked off by lines of white quartz powder, the image of the family goddess is set and worshipped by the oldest man in the family. The goat is brought into the room and made to stand in front of the goddess. One of the married women of the family comes forward, washes the goat's feet and sprinkles redpowder on his head, and, after waving a lighted lamp round his face, retires. The eldest man in the family lays a bamboo winnowing fan with a handful or two of rice in it before the goat, and taking a sword stands on one side, and, while the goat is eating the rice, with one stroke cuts off its head, and holding it up lets a few drops of blood trickle over the goddess, and then places the head in a metal plate under the goddess's stool. Except the head, which is left till the next day, the flesh of the

goat is cooked and eaten. [In some families the goat-offering ceremony takes place at midnight on the day before the marriage and the goat's head is laid on the top of the marriage hall. In other families it is offered at the time of the planet-propitiation, when the blood is allowed to trickle on the cooked rice before it is left in the corner of the street. In some families the flesh is eaten on the first, and the head and feet on the second day. Again in some families, instead of a goat, a cock is offered, its neck cut, and the blood dropped on the goddess. As Prabhus do not eat domestic fowls the cock is given to a married woman of the Maratha Kunbi caste, who dresses it at her house, and eats some of it at the host's house with liquor. In other families no animal is sacrificed. The guests being feasted on sweet dishes either at the host's house or at a temple.]

Some day, about the same time as the goat-offering, the girl's parents send to the boy's house a present of fruit, sugar cakes, and other eatables. Like gifts are in return sent to the girl. [The details are: Twenty-five to fifty cocoanuts, twenty-five to fifty sugar-cakes eight or nine inches across, two or more legs of mutton, and ten or fifteen fish sprinkled with redpowder and turmeric.]

#### *Day-naming.*

The day-naming ceremony has two parts, a general fixing of the day and a special religious rite. Two or three days after the exchange of presents the boy's parents send for their family priest and ask him to find out lucky days and months. This he learns from astrologers or other Brahmans, and partly on the priest's advice partly on family grounds, the boy's father and mother, after consulting the girl's family, fix one of two days.

One of these days, if the father of the girl approves, is chosen by the boy's father for the day-fixing or *tithi-nishchchaya*. The day before, the boy's family priest calls on the astrologer, and, on the morning of the day, boys from both families are sent to ask near relations. At the boy's home, about eight or nine in the evening when the guests have come, the boy's father takes a basket or two full of cocoanuts and sugar-cakes, and, with his guests the astrologer the family priest and other Brahmans, goes to the girl's house. Here they are met by the girl's father



or some other elder and led into the hall. The astrologer is seated in the midst of the company with a lighted brass lamp, a slate and pencil, two blank sheets of paper, pens, an inkstand, a ruler, a few grains of rice, and some redpowder. He reads over both the horoscopes, sees under what constellations the boy and girl were born, and by calculations on the slate finds out the lucky days and hours. He then tells the elders of both families the result, and with their consent fixes the marriage day or *tithi*. When the day is fixed the astrologer draws up a marriage paper, writing, after an invocation to Ganesh, the names of the boy's grandfather father and mother, then in like order the names of the girl and her relations, their family, the date of the boy's and girl's birth, and the day fixed for the marriage, finishing the paper with tables taken from their horoscopes. The whole is read aloud, spotted with redpowder, and a copy is given to the elders of each house with a blessing and marking of redpowder. Each family gives the astrologer 1s. to 2s. (8 as.-Re.1), cocoanuts and of sugar-cakes are handed, and, according to their rank, silver or copper coins are given to the other Brahmans. This ceremony costs each of the families £1 to £3 (Es.10-30). [The details are: Cocoanuts Rs. 5 to Rs. 15, sugar-cakes Rs. 1½ to Rs. 5, gifts to Brahmans Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, total £ 3s. to £3.]

#### *Guest-asking.*

Three classes of guests are asked each in a different way. Friends and caste fellows are asked by children, women relations by the women of the house, and men relations by letter. A fortnight or so before the wedding day, about noon, both families send four or five boys and girls, with one or two servants and drummers, to bid friends and caste people to the wedding. When they reach a house the girls hurry in and give their invitation to the women of the family in four words, *Somvari navagraha Mangalvari lagna*, that is, Monday the nine planets' worship Tuesday the wedding. [Monday and Tuesday are used vaguely; the actual days are generally found out from the family priest.] Then, without an answer, they leave, delighting in hurrying from house to house and if asked for particulars shouting back answers from the street. When the girls go inside, the boys stand in the doorway and call out, 'Is any man at home.' If no one comes they either shout that so and so has asked them to a marriage or chalk a message on the front door. If one of the men of the house comes out, the boys

stand before him with folded hands and repeat a very courteous and elaborate invitation, including the whole family and any guests that may be with them. Of late the practice has been introduced of asking male friends and caste fellows one or two days before the wedding by cards distributed by a Brahman or a house servant in the name of an elder of each family.

A few days later, about a week before the marriage, the girl's mother, with two or three other women and one or two children and servants, goes in the afternoon to the house of the boy's parents. From the boy's house she takes his mother and two or three other women, one or two children, and servants with empty bags to hold cocoanuts, and they start in horse carriages to ask their kinswomen. When they come to a house they alight, go in, and give the invitation. Low wooden stools are set and they are asked to sit down, and, if they are near relations, they are offered sweetmeats on English plates. After eating a little and washing their hands, betel is handed, and at parting the boy's and the girl's mothers are each given a cocoanut. If the people called on are not near relations, they offer the mothers nothing but a cocoanut each. The women of some families are asked only for the marriage day. Others are asked to stay for five days while the ceremonies are going on, and the mother of one of the sons-in-law is asked to send her boy to take part in the gourd-cutting ceremony. The work of asking the female relations of both families takes four or five hours a day for three or four days.

### *Gifts.*

Four days before the marriage the boy's mother sends a servant to the girl's house to ask her to come the next day for the flower-giving. Next day, in the afternoon, a child dressed and seated in a Palanquin or carriage is sent with music to fetch the girl to the boy's house. The girl, who is dressed in velvet and decked with ornaments, goes with the child. When she reaches the boy's house she is met by the women of the family and seated on a wooden stool. After dining, she is dressed in a rich petticoat or *parkar*, or in a gold-embroidered robe and bodice, and decked with jewels and flowers. She is shown to the older men of the family and given five to ten dishes of fruit and sweetmeats. [This practice is becoming uncommon; instead of sweetmeats and fruit the girl gets a money present of £1 to

£2.] Then she is sent to the nearest relations of both families, the women asking her what her mother-in-law has given her. This round of visits generally lasts all about nine in the evening when the girl goes home.

Next day, like the girl, the boy goes to the house of the girl's parents in a carriage, where, if of age, he is met by the men, and if under twelve by the women, and seated on a chair in the hall. After an hour or so he dines, and is given a new suit of clothes, a turban, a waistcoat and coat, a handkerchief, and a waistcloth, and in some families a pair of patent leather English shoes and silk stockings and garters. Long flower garlands are hung round his neck, a garland is tied to each wrist, and a nosegay is placed in his hand, and like the girl he gets a money present of £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30).

#### *Booth-building.*

During this interchange of gifts, at both houses stores of ornaments, and dress, supplies of rice, pulse, oil, butter, sugar, fruit, spices, betel, bamboo winnowing fans, and earthen pots are laid in, and a wedding booth or hall is built.

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#### *Altar-raising.*

In the bride's house, after the booth has been some days ready, a bricklayer is called, given earth and bricks, and told to make an altar or *bahule* near the house-steps. Measured by the bride's arm this altar is three cubits long, three broad, and one high. In front is a step about a span square, and behind the back rises about eighteen inches above the altar in three six-inch tiers each narrower than the tier below it. When finished the whole is whitewashed, For this, besides a rupee; the bricklayer is given a handkerchief, some rice and betel, and a cocoanut.

#### *Pot -buying*

The day before the wedding a set of forty-six earthen pots white washed and marked with red, green, and yellow lines, are piled four or five high at each side of the marriage god, of the

house, and of the altar.

### *Turmeric-rubbing.*

The next ceremony is the turmeric-rubbing. One or two day before the wedding day, at the houses of both families a large wooden mortar and five long wooden pestles are washed and placed in the women's hall. Early next morning a girl is sent to ask the nearest kinswomen and a second message is sent them about nine. About ten or eleven, the guests meet in the women's hall and sit chatting on the ground-floor till noon or later. Then in the Women's hall the women of the house or the guests trace two squares opposite each other with white powdered quartz or *rangoli*. In one square is set a low wooden stool and in the other square a two-feet high wooden mortar or *ukhli*, hung with garlands of bachelor's-button flowers or *roje*. The boy is called in dressed in his waist cloth, and set on the low wooden stool in front of the mortar. A few pieces of turmeric are put in the mortar, and five married girls, each with a pestle, pound the turmeric and sing. After a few strokes four of the girls leave, and one, a sister or other near relation of the boy, goes on pounding till the turmeric is powdered. She takes out the powder, puts it in a metal cup or *vati*, and mixing it with water rubs it over the boy's body. Then the four other girls come back, and each of the five rubs some turmeric powder on her own hands and eats some grains of coriander or *dhane* and molasses. Next, at one end of the marriage hall, one of the girls traces afresh white powder square, setting in it a low wooden stool. The others bring four metal water-pots or *tambes* filled with cold water and set them one at each corner of the square with a mango leaf floating in each and a cotton thread passed, once round *them*, and a servant brings a bathing pot filled with warm water and sets it near the low wooden stool, When this is ready the girls go into the house, bring the boy, and seat him on the stool. Then each girl lifts a water-pot, and, while the drummers beat their drums, the girls sing and let water trickle from the point of the mango leaf on the boy's head. When the singing is over four of the girls leave, and the girl who rubbed the boy with the turmeric powder bathes him in warm water. When he is bathed the boy is dressed in a fresh waistcloth and decked with a chaplet of bachelor's-button flowers. Red lines or *nand* are drawn on the upper part of his feet, a lighted lamp is waved round his face, and he is led into the house. At the girl's house, with the same ceremonies, the girl is rubbed with

turmeric powder and bathed. The boy and girl are now sacred. They are called bridal gods or *navardevs*, and may not leave the house till the four wedding days are over.

### *God-calling.*

A number of rites, calling Ganesh, the marriage-booth spirit, the water goddess, ancestors, and the planets, and the sacrifice of a gourd, and a fig branch, are performed with the same detail at both the bride's and the bridegroom's. In the afternoon, when the turmeric rubbing is over, to call the god Ganesh, the women guests, with lines of white powdered quartz, trace a square in the inner part of the marriage hall in front of the house steps. In the square four stools are set, three in a line and the fourth close by at right angles to the three, and in front of the three stools matting is spread. The family priest and other Brahmans seat themselves, the family priest on the fourth stool, and the other Brahmans on the mats. The family priest's assistant goes into the house and brings a silver plate, a cup, a ladle, a pot, a bamboo basket, a gourd, and a tray filled with flowers, fruit, and scented powders. [The details are Cocoanuts, betel, flowers, basil or *tulsi* leaves, plantains, rice, cotton wicks, camphor, frankincense, sandal-powder, clarified butter, milk, curds, honey, sugar turmeric powder, redlead, yellow, red, and scented powders.] When all is ready the family priest goes into the house and calls the parents. They come, the father wearing a silk turban and a waistcloth and a shawl thrown either round his shoulders or tacked under his arm; the mother in a silk bodice robe and shawl; and the child in a cotton Waistcloth and a handkerchief tied to the neck and hanging down the back. Laying a cocoanut before the house gods and bowing to the older men and women, they seat themselves on the three stools, the father next the priest, the mother on his right, and the boy or girl beyond her. The priest touches with redpowder the child's and the parents' brows, and repeats texts, and the father thrice sips water and sits bowing till the priest has repeated the names of the twenty-four gods. The father takes a round bamboo basket, and, spreading a yellow cloth over it, sets on the cloth a handful of wheat, and on the wheat sixteen betelnuts and six mango leaves rolled into cigar form, with a knife stuck into one of them, and tied with thread. Next, on a metal plate, the father lays half a pound of rice, and on the rice sets four betelnuts, three in a line and the fourth in front, representing the god Ganesh, his two wives Siddhi and Buddhi



and the family goddess. Then, raising his joined hands, he calls on the god and the goddesses to come and stay in the nuts till the marriage is over. He then sets the nuts in another metal plate, pours on the top of each a drop or two of milk, some curds, clarified butter, honey, sugar, and water, mixed with sandal powder, and holding over them a metal water-pot with a hole in it lets water drop on them. He wipes them dry, sets them on the rice as before, marks them with sandal powder, and throws over them a few grains of rice, some dark red and yellow powder and flowers waves burning frankincense and lighted butter lamps round them and lays before them a little sugar, a cocoanut, a plantain, two betel leaves and one nut, and a small copper and silver coin. Again he waves lighted camphor, and, taking a flower in both his hand after the priest has recited texts over it throws it on the god's head. The whole ends with a prayer that the gods may continue kind till the marriage rites are over. All this time the mother sits still now and then touching her husband's right elbow with the tip of the first finger of her right hand. The child has nothing to do.

### *Booth Spirit.*

After the worship of Ganesh comes the calling of the booth-spirit. While the child and its parents are seated on their stools, a married woman draws red lines and lays a wreath of flowers on a gourd, and close by the priest places a forked mango post and a pair of cocoanuts tied together by their fibre. A servant brings a long pole, and laying it down ties to its top an open umbrella, a pair of cocoanuts fastened by the fibre, and a bunch of mango leaves. Four married girls, singing songs, wave rice over the gourd, the forked mango post, and the pole. As they sing they hold a mango leaf cup filled with oil over the gourd, the mango post, the pole, and lastly over the head of the boy. Then leaving their seats the father, mother, boy, and priest go to a corner in the marriage hall where a hole has been dug, and standing in the order in which they sat, worship the hole, dropping into it a few grains of wheat a copper coin, and a little water. A servant now sets the pole in the hole, fixing it in its place by filling in earth and stones, and plasters the ground round it with cowdung. A married woman draws lines with quartz powder, and the father, passing a cotton thread three or four times round the pole, worships it. When this is done all go back and sit on their stools as before.

## *Water Gods.*

Then Ganesh is called and two brass water-pots filled with cold water are placed on a few grains of rice in front of the father. In the water is put a little turmeric and sandal powder, a few grains of rice, small silver and copper coins, bunches of mango leaves, a few blades of bent grass or *durva*, and cocoanuts on the top. A cotton thread is thrice passed round the whole, and with the middle finger of the right hand the father draws four lines of sandal powder on the outside of the pots, and with open hands prays Varun the water-god to be kindly. As the father sits with his legs doubled under him resting on his toes, he takes one of the two pots in his open hands and with the pot thrice touches his brow and right shoulder and the brows of his wife and child. He next pours water from the hands on the palms of the Brahman assistants, throwing on the water sandal powder, a few grains of rice and some flowers and betel, and finishes with a copper pice ( $\frac{1}{4}$  *anna*), which he dips in water before laying it on the Brahman's hand, [Money or *dakshana* given to a Brahman is dipped in water that it may not be consumed by the fire that burns in a Brahman's hand.] Lifting the water-pots one in each hand and crossing hands he pours water from both together in one unbroken stream into the metal plate. The parents change places, the father taking the mother's seat and the mother the father's, and the priest standing up with three other Brahmans and dipping a blade of bent grass into the metal plate sprinkles water over the parents' heads. Then the parents sit as at first on their low stools and the Brahmans also take their seats. The priest next lays the metal plate before the parents, who dip in their forefingers and touch their eyelids with the water. A married woman coming from the house waves a lighted lamp first before the god Ganesh, then before the family goddess, then before the two water-pots, the priest, the father, the mother, and the child. The priest lays in the mother's lap a cocoanut, two leaves and a betelnut, and with a prayer that she may have eight sons this part of the ceremony closes. [Either in the case of the bride or of the bridegroom, if the father and mother are dead their place is taken by some near relations, a brother and his wife or an uncle and aunt. Where there are no near relation any member of the same stock or *gotra* may sit. The only exception to this rule is that when the father is a widower he sits alone with a betelnut tucked to his waist in place of his wife.]

### *Ancestore.*

Next to keep the house free from uncleanness and to call the spirits of forefathers, the father, taking four blades of bent grass between the fingers of his right hand, with the left hand pours water on his right palm, and prays the gods goddesses and ancestors to be present during the marriage and the next four days. Then striking a copper coin against the metal plate he opens the fingers of his right hand and lets the blades of grass fall.

### *Ganesh Worship.*

The father then takes an earthen jar called the *avighna-kalash* or hinderance-removing-jar and fills it with rice. On the rice he sets a betelnut, a piece of turmeric, and a silver coin. He spreads mango leaves over the top, and on the leaves lays a cocoanut and winds cotton thread round the whole. On the outside of the jar he draws five lines of sandal powder, worships the jar, bows to it with joined hands, and pulls the round bamboo basket before him. The boy's mother puts the six rolled mango leaves into a metal plate, waves a few grains of rice thrice round the leaves, and taking in her hand the sixth leaf in which is the penknife, crushes a few grains of rice on the floor, and replaces the leaves in the basket. The father places a cotton bodice, a cocoanut, betelnut and leaves, a plantain, and a silver coin in the basket, and prays the water-goddesses or *jalamatrikas* to stay in his house till the ceremony is over.

### *Gourd-offering.*

A gourd is brought in and laid on a wooden stool close to the altar. A son-in-law of the family, holding a shawl under his arm, and behind him his wife also covered with a shawl and with a metal pot of turmeric powder in her hands, come into the marriage hall. One of the married women of the family ties together the skirts of the two shawls, and with a sword given him by the priest the son-in-law cuts the gourd in two, The wife rubs the two pieces with turmeric and steps back. Then with two more strokes the son-in-law quarters the gourd. The wife as before rubs turmeric powder, and Wave a lighted lamp in front of her husband, who receives from his father-in-law either a shawl, a turban, or a waistcloth, and withdraws.

### *Gods-installing.*

When the presence and the goodwill of the gods are secured, the next step is to set them in some part of the house where they will be comfortable and safe. While the parents, the child, and the priest are seated as before, a married woman comes holding an earthen water jar, and after standing before the worshippers moves towards the house scattering drops of water as she goes. After her the mother walks with the earthen water-pot in her hands; the father with the round bamboo basket, and the six rolled mango leaf goddesses or *matrikas*; the son-in-law with the drawn sword, the forked mango post, and the pair of cocoanuts; the priest with a pot containing a few grains of rice and sandal powder; and last of all the child and a few under-priests. They enter the house and in this order go to one of the ground-floor rooms, where, some days before, a high wooden stool has been placed with two heaps of rice piled on it and the walls adorned with pictures of gods and in the centre with the picture of a fruit-laden mango tree. On the stool on one of the heaps of rice, the mother sets the earthen pot, and on the other the father sets the bamboo basket. In a hole dug on *one* side of the stool, after throwing in a few grains of wheat, a nut a copper and a little water, the mango post is planted, the cocoanuts are hung over the post, and the ground is smoothed. Then the father mother and child sit on stools, and the father worships the pot and the basket. Next, out of respect to the ancestors and as there are no images of them to instal, the father repeats the names of his own and of the priest's forefathers. When this is finished, the father gives the priest and eight other Brahmans a copper coin and a betel nut each.

### *Planet Worship.*

After the marriage-gods are installed the goodwill of the planets has to be secured. The priest goes into the marriage booth, takes a copper plate, puts nine pounds of rice in it, and on the rice sets about seventy betelnuts. A servant brings a basket full of earth and the priest makes a flat raised square altar. The mother fetches fire from the house in a tile, and the priest, rubbing a few grains of rice on her forehead and throwing some rice on the fire, spreads the hot cinders over the altar, purifies the firewood by sprinkling water over it, and then arranges it upon the fire. The priest worships the planets sitting

on the low stool on which the mother sat. He goes into the house and bringing a pound of cooked rice, a leaf-cup with half a pound of butter, and 108 nine-inch sticks, twelve of each of the nine pure plants and trees, sits with eight other Brahmans round the altar. [The nine pure trees and plants of which the sticks or *samidhas* are made, are: *Umbar* Ficus glomerata, *aghada* Achyranthes aspera, *rui* swallow-wort, *durva* bent grass, *darbha* sacred grass, *khair* Mimosa catechu, *palas* Butea frondosa, *pimpal* Ficus religiosa, and *shami* Mimosa suma.] One of the Brahmans holds in his hands the leaf-cup with butter in it, another the grains of rice, the priest the sticks, and two more repeat passages from the Veds. After the priest has kindled the fire more texts are repeated, and butter, grains of rice, and sticks are thrown on the fire. While the eight Brahmans are busy repeating texts and feeding *the* flame, the priest goes into the house, and, bringing seventeen rice-flour lamps, places them in pairs round the sacred fire and lights them. A married woman comes from the house, draws with white powder two squares in the marriage hall, and places in one square four low stools, three in a line and the fourth close by at right angles, and goes back into the house. The priest fetches from the house a round bamboo basket filled with cooked rice, and placing it in the other square, sprinkles it with curds and redpowder or goat's blood, and sets a lighted flour lamp and a lighted torch in the basket.

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### *Evil Spirits.*

The father mother and child again take their seats on the three Stools and the priest on the fourth. While the priest repeats texts the father lays in the basket two leaves and a nut and four copper coins. Then a servant, lifting the basket in both hands, waves it three times round the child's face, and taking it away without looking behind, is followed as far as the *marriage hall door by the child* and the parents; the father, as they walk, sprinkling water on the ground. On reaching the door the parents and the child wash their feet and again take their seats in front of the sacred fire. The servant, without looking behind, leaves the basket in a corner of the street, and taking the four copper coins returns and bathes. The child and the parents now stand, the father taking in his hand a leaf-cup with butter in it, a copper coin, two betel leaves and a nut, and walking once round the fire pours on it the contents on the sacred fire. Then the father holding out his open hands, the mother holding hers



below his, and the child holding its under the mother's, the priest pours three spoonfuls of water into each of their hands, and putting four nuts and a little more water into each, they all sip a little from their hands. [Of the four nuts, three are eaten by the parents of the boy and the fourth by the boy when he starts for the bride's house on the wedding day.] The father takes his seat, touches the brows of the eight Brahmans with sandal powder, and presents each with a silver coin. The priest touches the brows of the child and of the parents with redpowder and a few grains of rice, and taking a cocoanut plantain and two betel leaves and one betelnut presents them with a blessing to the father, who receives them in his shawl and passes them to his wife. A married woman waves a lighted lamp round the face of the child and the parents, and the father throws a few grains of rice over the sacred fires and with the mother and child goes into the house. Lastly the priest follows with the articles of worship and the day's religious rites are over. In the evening a dinner is given to the men friends of the house.

### *Gifts.*

About eight in the evening of the same day the kinswomen of the boy's family start for the girl's house [The details are: Sugar figures of men, animals, houses, temples, ships, fruit, flowers, and trees; twenty-one balls of pulse flour mixed with butter and sugar; about fifty cocoanuts; a miniature silver dinner and cooking set and another set of brass; English China and Indian glass ivory and wood toys; a set of miniature wooden articles of furniture; a chair and a pair of glass candle-shades; a looking glass; tumblers with oil and wicks ready to light; three robes and bodices; and wreaths of flowers; silver trays with a rosewater stand: a lighted lamp; a few grains of rice; sugar; and redpowder.] with music and about twenty metal trays filled with sweetmeats, toys, nick-nacks, clothes, house furniture, and cooking pots carried on the heads of servants. When they reach the girl's they stand on the threshold, and the girl's sister comes forward, and pouring water from an earthen jar or *kara*, and waving a lighted lamp before the face of the boy's sister, leads the way, and seats them on carpets in the women's hall, where the girl and the women of her family are assembled. The trays are laid down, and, after sprinkling a little water on the ground, a square is traced with white powdered quartz, and a chair set in the square facing the east. A few of the toys are

spread before the chair, the candles and oil lamps are lighted, and the clothes are unfolded and laid ready for wearing. The boy's sister, followed by the girl and sprinkling water as she walks seats the girl on the chair. One of the women of the boy's family combs and braids the girl's hair and puts garlands of flowers on her head. She is dressed in a robe and bodice and a lighted lamp is waved round her face. After eating a little sugar she goes with a toy in her hand to show herself to her mother and other women. This is twice repeated and the third time she stays with her mother. Then cocoanuts are handed round, and the boy's sister is given about a pound of sugar on a leaf-plate. The party make over the gifts to the girl's mother or some other elderly woman, and return to the boy's. The same evening or the evening after the girl's family sends a return present to the boy. Except that a book, a desk, a chair, glass candle-shades, chess, marbles, slippers, an umbrella, a silver tea set, and writing things are sent instead of cooking pots, and that the boy does not go to show himself to the people of the house, the practice is the same as in making presents to the girl.

### *Wedding Day.*

The wedding day ceremonies come under eleven heads; gift-making, oil-pouring, shaving, bathing, feet-washing, fig-worship boy's procession, marriage, guest-worship, leave-taking, and return to the bridegroom's house.

### *Gift-making.*

Early on the morning of the marriage day one of the women of the boy's family is sent to call near kinswomen. The women guests begin to arrive about ten, and sit chatting on a carpet spread in the women's hall. The women of the house fill three silver salvers with silver and brass cups, clothes, ornaments, and fruit. [The details are: In the first salver a silver rosewater holder, silver cups with wet turmeric powder, wet sandal powder, redpowder, and powdered quartz, a silver lamp with five partitions; a lamp with five partitions containing redlead and red dark and yellow powder; twenty-five to thirty betelnuts and leaves and about a hundred cocoanuts. In the second salver, a high metal or wooden stool, a looking glass in a silver frame, an ivory comb, a silver cup for holding red and one for holding turmeric powder, a silver five-inch stick, a bag worked

in gold or silver holding five silver shells, a rupee, a gold necklace, a gold ring, a necklace of black beads, six glass bangles, a silk robe, a green cotton robe, a gold-bordered silk waistcloth, and a fine cotton robe. In the third salver, a bunch of five plantains, a cocoanut, two betelnuts and leaves, five almonds, five apricots, five dried dates, and a handful of wheat.] About one o'clock musicians, the women guests, the family priest, and the boy's married brother, with servants carrying the metal plates on their heads or shoulders start in procession for the girl's house. At the girl's house, except the boy's sister, all the women go in. The boy's sister stands in the doorway, and one of the women of the girl's family comes out with a lighted lamp, and waving it round her face, loads her into the house. Except the family priest and the boy's married brother who wait on the veranda, the guests are all seated on carpets spread in the women's hall. Then in the marriage hall in front of the house steps, one of the women of the bride's family draws a square with white quartz powder, and sets four stools, two facing the east in one line, a third in front of the two, and a fourth beside the third for the priest. Between the stools are set a water-pot, a lighted lamp, and a metal plate with rice, and on the rice a betelnut. The boy's sister takes an earthen jar full of water, and, followed by the bride, walks from the house to the stools, sprinkling water as she walks. On the two stools, facing the east, sit the girl and her father, on the stool in front sits the boy's brother, and on the stool on the other sits side the boy's family priest. Helped by the priest the boy's brother worships Ganpati in the betelnut placed on the rice, and the water god Varun in the water-pot. He offers the second tray filled with clothes and ornaments to the bride. She touches the tray and the priest makes it over to some elderly woman, who, taking the bride into the inner part of the house, dresses her in the new clothes and bringing her back seats her, as before, next her father. Then the girl's father and the boy's brother tie five pieces of tamarind and betelnuts in the corner of their handkerchiefs and leave their seats. Another square is traced with lines of white powder and a low stool is set in it. The girl is seated on the stool; her hair is for the first time divided with a silver stick or *bhangsal*, combed, braided and decked with flowers; a green robe is folded round her waist; a gold chain is hung round her neck; a gold ring is put on one of her right fingers; silver rings are put on her toes; and she is led into the marriage hall, and her lap filled with fruit and spices taken from the third salver. A married woman of the family brings a lighted lamp, waves it round the faces of all present, gives the girl's

brother a silk waistcloth, and withdraws. While this is going on in the marriage hall, two or three women of the boy's family go through the house with the first salver, and, wherever they find a married woman belonging to the girl's family, they sprinkle rosewater over her, rub wet turmeric powder on her hands, mark her brow with redpowder, and her throat with wet sandal powder, and giving her two betel leaves, a betelnut, and a cocoanut, again sprinkle water over her. After they have done this to almost all the women of the girl's family, cocoanuts are handed to all the women present, and the party form in procession and go home. About two or three in the afternoon, when the boy's people have left, the musicians meet at the girl's house, and her mother, dressed in a gold-embroidered robe and bodice and muffling herself in a long shawl, with a crowd of female relations friends and servants carrying five large copper and brass pots full of pulse and flour, goes to the boy's house. [The details are: Five large pots with rice, split peas, split gram, wheat, and wheat and *udid* flour; their turned-up lids are full of balls of sesamum seed, grain, *mug*, and wheat flour. Besides these five pots are a cask of oil, a box of sugar, bamboo baskets full of fruit and vegetables, and a salver with the following silver articles, a raised stool, two dining leaves, five silver cups, five baskets, a plate with two small boxes, a betelnut-cutter, a lime-holder, a tree with packets of betel leaves hanging from its branches, a looking glass with richly carved frame, a comb, two cups one for turmeric the other for redpowder, a robe and a bodice. Another salver contains two silk waistcloths, a rich gold-worked robe and bodice, eight or ten other robes and bodices, and sweetmeats.] At the house, a lighted lamp is waved round the daughter's face, and they all go in and seat themselves on carpets in the women's hall. At one end of the hall, one of the women of the bridegroom's family traces a square with lines of white quartz powder and within the square sets two low wooden stools. In front of the wooden stools is set a high silver stool, and on the stool five silver cups with five kinds of sweetmeats. Next to the silver stool two silver plantain leaf-plates are laid and sweetmeats served on them. When this is done the girl's sister, taking an earthen jar in her hand, seeks the boy, and, when she finds him, leads him to the women's hall, dropping water from the jar as she walks. He takes his seat on one of the two low stools, and soon after his mother, accompanied by some elderly married women, takes her seat on the second low stool, next her son, the elderly married women standing behind her. The girl's sister then comes to the boy and rubs turmeric powder on both his hands,

and four married girls, two from each family, wave rice over him, and the girl's sister presents him with a silk gold-bordered waistcloth. The girl's mother comes forward, washes the feet of both the boy and his mother and dries them. She then presents the boy and his mother with costly clothes. They take the clothes into the house and put them on, and coining back seat themselves as before. The elderly women are then given robes and bodices, and a lighted lamp is waved round their faces. While this is going on the boy's sister or some other woman of his family, as she moves about, slips into the boy's hand a ball of wet turmeric powder. The boy and his mother are then asked to eat some of the sweets. As they are eating the girl's mother offers the boy a cup of milk, and he, on pretence of reaching his hand to the cup, thrusts the turmeric ball into her mouth, or rubs it over her face. She tries to avoid the rubbing, and the trick causes much amusement. When this is over the women are presented with cocoanuts, one from each house, and the procession returns.

#### *Oil-offering.*

At about three in the afternoon eight married girls, four from each house, taking a metal plate with two betel leaves, one betelnut, a sweetmeat ball, redpowder, a little rice, a copper coin, a lighted lamp, and about a quarter of pound of cocoanut oil, go to Kalika's temple. Each waves rice and redpowder three times over the goddess, and the last girl lays the betel leaves and nut and the sweetmeat ball before her, waves the lighted lamp, pours oil into the lamp which is kept burning before the goddess, and withdraws.

#### *Shaving.*

When the women of the boy's family come back from making presents at the girl's house, a barber is called, a square is traced with lines of white powder, and a low stool is set in the square. On this stool the boy seats himself, and the barber shaves his head except the too-knot, and is paid eight pounds of rice, a rupee, a cocoanut, and betel. Then the boy is taken to a square traced in the marriage hall, where he is bathed and dried, and is led into the house with a lighted lamp waved in front of him.



### *Second Bath.*

Shortly after returning from Kalikadevi's temple four married girls, each with an earthen pot, a metal plate with a lighted lamp in it, a box of redpowder, and a sugar ball carried before them, start for the house well. They worship the well, offer it sweetmeats, and draw water only partly filling their pots. On coming back to the marriage hall they again trace a square, set the four water-pots one at each corner, pass a thread round them, and placing two low stools together go into the house. In the women's hall another square is traced, two stools are set, and the boy and his mother are seated on the stool. Turmeric powder is rubbed over them, and they are brought into the marriage hall and seated on the stools in the square. A rupee is tied in the skirt of the boy's waistcloth, and while the musicians play the four girls sing and let water drop from mango leaves on the boy and his mother. When the bathing is over, the mother stands in her wet clothes and pours a little water on the feet of her nearest kinswomen, each of them in return dropping a silver coin into the water-pot. Then the girl's mother, waving a lighted lamp round her face, gives her a gold-embroidered robe, which she takes and walking into the house puts on. When the boy is done bathing he is given a fresh waistcloth, a lighted lamp is waved round his face, and red lines are drawn on his feet. As he is putting on his new waistcloth his brother runs away with the old one, and puts it on keeping the rupee that was tied in its skirt. Next his maternal uncle throws a cotton sheet over the boy and lifting him sits with him on the threshold. Four elderly married women come with a shawl in their hands and a little rice, cumin seed, a rupee, a betelnut, and a winnowing fan, and stand holding the shawl over the boy and his uncle. They lay the rice and nuts on the fan, drop them into the shawl and then again taking them up put them back on the fan. This is done thrice by each of the women, and the rice, cumin seed, rupee, and betelnut are tied to the hems of the boy's and girl's clothes. After this is over his uncle takes the boy into the room where the marriage gods are worshipped, and dresses and adorns him. Except the shaving the ceremonies at the girl's house, after her mother has returned from taking gifts to the boy's house, are the same as at the boy's. Then the bride is taken to the room where the marriage gods are worshipped to be dressed and decked for the wedding.

### *Feet-washing.*

About half-past four in the afternoon the girl's kinsmen, with music and flowers milk and jewels, go to the boy's house to wash his feet before he starts for the girl's. On reaching the boy's house they are received by the boy's father and his relations, and seated some in the marriage hall and others in the house. The father of the girl goes into the house, and, seating the boy on a high carpet-covered stool set in a white powder square worships him with the help of his family priest. He washes his feet with milk and wipes them with his handkerchief; he marks his brow with sandal powder, puts a gold ring on one of the fingers of his right hand, offers him sugar-cake to eat, sprinkles rosewater over him, and placing a nosegay in his hands, withdraws bowing. When this is over, the girl's father and the other guests are each given a cocoanut and a nosegay, sandal powder is rubbed on their brows, and rosewater is sprinkled over them. They are asked to stay and join the procession to the girl's house. Some of them stay, but the girl's father and others have to go back at once to their own house. Meanwhile at their home the girl and her mother are bathed and rubbed with perfumes, and the girl is decked in her yellow silk wedding dress and jewelry.

#### *Fig Worship.*

When the feet-washing is over, at both houses the family priest brings a branch of *umbar* *Ficus glomerata*, and places it on one side of the marriage hall. A boy who has married into the family is asked to cut the branch. The boy walks into the marriage hall with a shawl under his left arm and a sword in his right hand followed by his wife with a lighted lamp and by another woman. The woman ties together the skirts of the boy's and his wife's shawls. When this is done three more married women come into the marriage hall, and the one who tied the knot joining the other women three of them wave rice, and the fourth waves a lighted lamp over the branch. Then the four married women withdraw, and the son-in-law, with one stroke of his sword, cuts the branch in two. After his wife has waved a lighted lamp round his face he takes one of the two pieces of the branch, and walking into the house, followed by his wife, lays the branch and the sword near the marriage gods.

### *Procession.*

After the girl's father has gone, the boy is rubbed with sandal and other fragrant spices and decked with jewels. His waistcloth is of silk, talc is sprinkled on his red turban, and three ornaments are tied to his brow, the wedding coronet or *bashing*, a plume or crest on the right side, and an aigrette of jewels in front. Next, he is clad in a long white robe hanging to his feet; his loins are girt with a sash, and another richly wrought sash is thrown across his shoulders; long wreaths of pearls or flowers fall over his chest and back down to his knees; on his feet are a pair of red gold-embroidered shoes with silk tassels, and a packet of betel leaves is given him to chew. His eyelids are blacked with antimony and a tinned cocoanut is put in his hand, and he thrice swallows a little curds placed on the palm of his right hand. With the family priest he goes to the household and marriage gods, and, bowing before them, offers them a cocoanut, and asks their blessing. Then, after bowing to the elders of the house, he is mounted on a richly dressed horse, and, besides the tinned cocoanut, holds a penknife [Among Prabhus the penknife has taken the place of the sword.] in his right hand. The order of the procession is: A bullock cart with a band of pipers and drummers; a row of carriages full of richly dressed children; buglers walking; a band of Muhammadan drummers; behind the drummers boys and men on foot; then dancing-girls walking in a line, and immediately behind them the boy-bridegroom on a horse with gold and silver trappings. On either side of the boy a couple of men wave fly-whisks or *chavris*, another couple fan him with silver fans, and a barber holds over him a long-handled big red silk umbrella. After the boy walks his mother and all the other women guests except widows. On either side of and behind the boy and the women are carried wooden frames called *vadis* or gardens with pots of artificial trees fruits and flowers. [Each frame-work which is about six feet long and one broad is borne on the heads of two carriers. Two of them are carried on each side of the boy and one behind, the space in front being left open.] Then comes a bullock cart with about a thousand cocoanuts, four bundles each of fifty sugarcanes, and one hundred round bamboo baskets strung on a rope. [Besides the cocoanuts sugarcane and baskets, the cart contains four bunches of plantains, 100 copper or brass round baskets, forty pounds of almonds, dry dates, turmeric, betelnut, sugar, twenty pounds of cumin and coriander seed, forty pounds of fine rice, and about eighty pounds of dry cocoa-kernel.] This closes the procession. Any women of the family who are too weak to walk follow the

bullock cart in horse carriages. On the way, should two processions meet, the barbers lower the umbrellas and that they may not see each other's marriage coronet or *bashing* literally brow-horn, hold them in front of the bridegrooms' faces. At each turn in the street, to please evil spirits, cocoanuts are dashed on the ground and thrown away.

### *Wedding.*

At the girl's house the party stops at the door of the marriage hall, where two female servants stand with an earthen water jug in their hands. The bridegroom stays on his horse and some of the men of the party enter the marriage hall and take the seats prepared for them, and the rest stand outside with the bridegroom. On the veranda the astrologer sets close together two silver water-pots filled with cold water, and in each floats a copper cup with a small hole in its bottom. In front of the water-pots surrounded by lighted brass lamps he places the marriage papers. The bride's maternal aunt, with a rice-flour lamp in her hand and a shawl held over her head at the four corners, going to the boy, who is still on horseback, waves the lamp round his face and gives him a little sugar to eat, and receiving a present of clothes from the boy's parents is led into the house under the shawl; then a young brother of the bride's or the son of some near relation is carried in like manner under a shawl to the bridegroom, and squeezing his right ear, receives a present of clothes, and is led back into the house. Next, the girl's father, dressed in a silk waistcloth, a shawl on his body, and a silk turban on his head, with a shawl held by the four corners over his head, lays a cocoanut near the forefeet of the bridegroom's horse, and walking round it offers the boy sugar, and lifting him from the saddle carries him to the altar in the centre of the hall. By this time the astrologer's copper cup fills with water and sinks and the astrologer and the bride and bridegroom's family priests begin to chant hymns. The bride's mother, with a few of her nearest relations, bringing some presents, comes to receive The women of the bridegroom's family. When she comes to the bridegroom's mother she touches her feet, bows to her, and, holding her by the right hand, respectfully leads her into the house the others follow, and are seated on carpets in the women's hall. The remaining male guests either take a seat in the marriage hall or in the house, or stand till the bridegroom and the bride are married. The barber also remains standing in the marriage hall with the

umbrella open. The girl's father and mother take their seats on low stools in front of the altar. The bridegroom standing on the altar takes off his long robe and turban and sits down with nothing on except his silk waistcloth.

#### *Honey sipping.*

Then the marriage service begins with its ten rites of honey-sipping feet-washing, rice-throwing, moment-naming, present-making clothes-worship, bride-giving, oath-taking, seven-steps, and feedings.

When all are in their places, some honey and curds are laid in the bridegroom's right palm, and the priest repeats in Sanskrit, the bridegroom saying the words after him: ' I see and take thee my bride with the eyes and strength of the sun; I mix thee with honey and take away all that is hurtful in feeding on thee; I eat that sweet nourishing form of honey, and may I thus be of choice sweet well-nourished temper.' Touching the several parts of his body he says: ' May there be speech in my mouth, breath in my nostrils sight in my eyeballs, hearing in my ears, strength in my thighs and may my whole body and soul keep sound.'

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#### *Feet washing.*

Then the bride's father washes the feet of his sons-in-law and their wives, and of the boy's married sisters, and a lighted lamp is waved round their faces. A little sugar is given them to eat and with the present of a silk waistcloth and robe they go back into the house. After this the bridegroom's feet are washed with milk and water and dried, and he is presented with a rich silk waistcloth with broad gold borders and jewelry.

#### *Rice-throwing.*

Then the bridegroom, putting on the new silk waistcloth and a silk turban, is led by the bride's father into the house at one side of the women's hall. Here, with his face to the west, he is made to stand on a large heap of rice. The bride, clad in her richest robes and covered with jewels, is carried in by her maternal uncle and with her face to the east, is made to stand



on a second rice heap facing the bridegroom. Between the bride and bridegroom, so that they cannot see one another, four men, if possible sons-in-law of the families, one of them with a drawn sword, hold a sheet of unbleached cloth with red lines drawn on it. Standing by the bride and bridegroom the family priests and the astrologer chant verses, at the end of each verse calling on the boy and girl to think how great a step they are taking. The girl's sister stands by with a lighted rice-flour lamp in a metal plate, and relations and others, clustering round the bride and bridegroom, at the end of each verse keep silently. throwing a few grains of rice over them. Now and then the father of the bridegroom, standing behind him with a long string of black glass beads with a gold button, [The gold button should be one *tola* in weight, but at the time of taking it from the goldsmith it is not weighed; he is paid at the bazar rate at so much per *tola* of pure gold.] asks him to look at the mystic figures on the sheet held between him and the bride and say over the names of the family gods. All this time the guests keep quiet and with the musicians wait for the lucky moment.

#### *Moment-naming.*

When the lucky time is come the priests cease chanting and the cloth is drawn to the north. A bugle sounds, and at the signal the musicians raise a blast of music, the guests clap their hands, the bridegroom's father puts the black bead necklace round the bride's neck, and the bride throws a garland of flowers round the bride-groom's neck. The astrologer touches the bride and bridegroom's eyelids with water, women wave lighted lamps round their faces, and they are seated on chairs face to face. The old women start their marriage songs, the dancing-girls dance, the barber shuts the umbrella, the parents and guests embrace or exchange greetings, and cocoanuts are handed to all present.

#### *Present-making.*

Then the bride and bridegroom receive money and jewelry from their friends and relations. Each present, as it is given, is noted down by the boy's and girl's brothers, who stand by with paper and pencil.

### *Clothes-worship.*

Immediately after, near to where the astrologer set the water-pots, are placed the jewelry box and other articles intended as presents for the bride. [Bunches of plantains, metal baskets, almonds, dried dates, turmeric, betelnut, sugar, cumin, coriander seed, and rice.] As soon as all friends and relations have given their presents the astrologer leads the bride from the house and seats her on a low wooden stool between her own and the bridegroom's brother. After a little worship the bridegroom's brother gives her two robes, two bodices, a sash, and a jewelry box. After touching these and handing them to her mother, the bride takes her seat on the chair opposite her husband, and the ceremony closes by the two brothers embracing.



### *Bridge-giving.*

An hour or so after the lucky moment, close to the bride and bridegroom's chairs, two low stools are set for the bride's father and mother, and in front a third for the priest. Between the stools are laid a cup, a ladle, and a plate, and close by another plate with fifty-one rupees. After the girl's parents and the priest have taken their seats, the girl's father sips water thrice and repeats the names of his twenty-four gods. Then he, his wife, and the priest leave their seats and go towards the bride and bridegroom's chairs. At the priest's request the bride and bridegroom stand facing each other. The boy holds out his open hands, the girl lays her's half open in his, he clasping her thumbs with his. Over their hands the girl's father holds his, open and slanting, and the mother pours cold water from a silver jug which running off her husband's hands passes through the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and, as it falls, is caught by the priest in a silver plate. While the mother pours, the priest says in Sanskrit: ' This is my daughter whom to this time I have nourished as a son, I now give her to your most sacred keeping, and solemnly pray you to centre in her your love as a husband and to treat her with kindness.' The priest then repeats the names of the bride and bridegroom, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and families. The girl's father dips fifty-one rupees in cold water and lays them in the bridegroom's open hands, and the ceremony closes by the priest giving to each old woman of the family three ladlefuls of the water that was poured over the bride and bridegroom's hands.

### *Oath-taking.*

Next at one end of the marriage hall the family priest kindles a sacrificial fire and sets the cocoa-kernel grindstone or *pata* before the fire with seven betelnuts on it, each betelnut lying on a little rice heap. Calling Indra, Varun, and Umamahesh to be present, the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride's father sit down, the bride's father saying: ' You should treat her as duty bids you and not cheat her in religion, wealth, or pleasure.' The bridegroom thrice, repeats: ' I will not deceive.'

### *Seven steps.*

Then the bride and bridegroom leaving their seats walk thrice round the fire, and, on coming towards the grindstone, the bride groom sitting down and repeating a Sanskrit text. [The substance of the text is: May Vishnu make thee take one step for food one step for strength, one step for cattle, one step for happiness, one step for priests to perform sacrifices, one step for wealth, and one step for religion.] lifts the great toe of his wife's left foot and draws it over the seven rice heaps. This, which is called the seven steps or *saptapadi* or the crossing of seven hills, is the chief of all marriage rites. No marriage is complete until the bride has taken the seventh step. Till the seventh step is taken the father of the girl may break off the match and marry his daughter to some one else. The rite ends by a married woman striking the bride's and bridegroom's brows together.

### *Feeding.*

After the marriage oath the bride and bridegroom feed one another, eating sweetmeats, vegetables, and rice from the same plate.

### *Guest-worship.*

They are then dressed and seated near each other in the hall and again rise and go round among the guests marking their brows with redpowder.

### *Leave-taking.*

At the same time the guests' brows are marked with sandal powder and each is given two cocoanuts. From the hall the bride and bridegroom are taken to the women's room and other places where the elder women are. Here each one, lifting the bride in her arms, kisses her, and with tears in her eyes speaks kindly to her and last of all the girl bids farewell to her parents. Meanwhile the party are getting ready to start for the bridegroom's house. The bride and bridegroom are seated either on the same horse on which the bridegroom rode in the evening, or in an open carriage; they are followed by a company of friends and kinspeople in the same order as they went to the bride's house. [The order is the same as in the evening, except that a servant walks in front of the bride and bridegroom's horse, sprinkling cooked rice to satisfy evil spirit, and that link-boys surround the party, each carrying at the end of a stick a grated open iron bowl with lighted pieces of dried cocoa-kernel.] As they go fireworks are let off.

The girl's father and some of his nearest relations follow for a few steps and then return home.

### *Home-coming.*

In some families when the procession reaches the door of the bride-groom's house two servants, the one taking the bride and the other the bridegroom on his shoulders, dance to the sound of music for about a quarter of an hour. Lines of white stone powder are drawn on the ground leading to the room where the marriage gods are worshipped and on both sides of the lines rows of lighted rice flour lamps are set. Between these the bride walks, her hands full of rice; the bridegroom follows bending over her, holding both her hands from behind, and with his thumbs from time to time forcing grains of rice out of them. As soon as the bridegroom comes near the house door his sister stops the way and does not let him pass till he promises her to give his daughter in marriage to her son. He then goes to the room where the marriage gods are worshipped, throwing the rice as before, and he and his wife are seated on low stools before the marriage gods.

### *Naming.*

After performing some short rites the bridegroom's sister and parents tell him the bride's new name and this he whispers in her right ear. Meanwhile in the reception hall guests are seated and served with sugared milk and a handful of sugar folded in paper. This closes the wedding day ceremonies. The bride retires and sleeps with the other girls in the women's hall, and the bridegroom with the men.

Each of the four days after the wedding is marked by some special rites.

### *After the Wedding.*

About nine or ten on the morning of the first day the bride is asked to serve food to the men of her husband's house. The five pots sent by the girl's parents are piled in the dining hall. In the highest is a gold necklace and in the four others are sweatmeats. Low stools and leaf-plates are laid out, and when the men are seated, the bride without letting the pots strike together uncovers them one after the other. She opens the first, and seeing a gold necklace, puts it round her neck; she opens the second and finding sweetmeats serves them to the guests uncovering each pot with great care and handing round its contents. She then takes a metal plate with a lighted lamp in it, and going to each guest waves the lamp round his face, each according to his means putting some silver in the plate. She then leaves the room and after the guests have eaten the sweet-meats they also leave.

### *Feeding.*

In the afternoon the bride and bridegroom eat from the same leaf-plate, feeding one another in the presence of the women and children of the house. When the meal is over small round betel-leaf parcels are given to the boy and girl. The bride holds one end of the rolled leaf in her teeth and the bride-groom bites off the other end. After this about fifty betelnuts are equally divided between the bride and bridegroom. A few girls side with the bride and some boys with the bridegroom, and for an hour or two play games of odds and evens called *eki-beki*. About four



in the afternoon the bride and bridegroom are asked to spend the night at the bride's house.

### *Visiting.*

Before the bride leaves the women . of the bridegroom's family make her presents of jewelry. Then the bride and bridegroom go to the nearest relations of both houses, the women asking the bride what presents have been given her, and elderly widows who have not been at the wedding give her 2s. to £5 (Rs. 1-50) in cash, or they give a cocoanut both to her and her husband. This round of visits generally lasts till about seven in the evening when the bride and bridegroom go to the bride's house. Here they play a game of odds and evens, and about nine they feed one another sitting down to dine with the men.

### *Second Day After.*

During the night the bridegroom steals his mother-in-law's bracelet, and early in the morning makes off to his father's house. When the bracelet is missed, the bride, her parents and friends, and the family priest go in procession to search the bridegroom's house. On hearing they are come the bridegroom hides, and the bride and one of her party start over the house searching for him, shouting that he has stolen a water-jug and an old pair of shoes. At last his hiding place is found and he is led by his wife into the hall and seated on a raised carpeted stool in the midst of the guests. Before him on the carpet sits the bride and her father. The father, placing before him a silver water-pot, a silver plate, and a silver cup and ladle worships the bridegroom, and with joined hands asks him to give his feet to be washed. He refuses unless they promise to give him whatever he asks. They agree, and he asks something whimsical, a cart with a pair of goats, his father-in-law's garden, or his house, or asks his father-in-law to give up smoking or snuffing. When all he asks is promised he lets his feet be washed with milk and water. He is then given a suit of clothes and taken to the bride's house.

### *Third Day After.*

On the third day, about ten at night, the bridegroom, the bride, and her parents and relations go with music to bring the bridegroom's parents and nearest relations to their house. On the way back they walk on cloths which are taken up as they pass and again laid in front. On entering the bride's house the guests are seated either in the receiving room or in the marriage hall. Before the altar lines are drawn and three low stools are set. The bride and bride-groom are seated on the altar, and the bride's parents and the priest on the low stools. The priest repeats texts and the bride's parents touch their eyelids with water. The bridegroom's married relations and their wives come in pairs. The husbands sit beside the bridegroom and the wives stand close by their husbands. Then the bride's mother pours water over the men's feet and the bride's father wipes them dry; and again the bride's father pours water over the women's feet and the mother wipes them dry. A married woman waves a lighted lamp round the faces of each pair, and then go back to their seats with a present of a silk waistcloth for that man and a robe and bodice for the woman. The feet of all the sons-in-law and their wives, and, last of all, the bride and bride-groom's feet are washed with the same ceremony.

When the feet-washing is over, in the marriage hall in front of the house steps a white powder square is traced, and, on one side facing the east, three low stools are set in a line and a fourth at right angles for the priest. In front of the three stools is placed a bamboo basket with five lighted rice-flour lamps, a sweetmeat ball, cooked rice, split peas, butter, vegetables, and cakes, a leaf-plate served with cooked rice, vegetables, split peas, and butter, and a few sweet cakes. On the other side the bridegroom and his relations sit on carpets. The bride and her parents dressed in silk seat themselves on the three stools and the priest on the fourth. The bride's father gives light Brahmins round bamboo baskets, with, in each basket, a silver two-anna piece, a cocoanut, a betelnut, and two almonds. Then the bride's father, taking the girl in his arms, seats her on the lap of each of the bridegroom's kinsmen, who in return put a little sugar into her mouth. The mother takes the bride in her arms, and seats her on the lap of each of the bride-groom's kinswomen who, like the men, put a little sugar into her mouth, and last of all she is seated by her father beside her husband. Then the girl's mother making a twisted cloth ring puts it on the

head of each of the bridegroom's kinsmen, and the father taking the square bamboo basket in both his hands touches with its bottom the twisted cloth ring. The bride's father then taking the ring in his hands places it on the head of all the women guests and the mother touches it with the bamboo basket. The fathers embrace, and the bride's father addressing the father of the bridegroom asks him to take care of their daughter whom they have nourished as their only fond child, whom they have always petted, and never allowed to leave her mother's side. Then the bridegroom's party taking the bride with them go back to his house.

#### *Fourth Day. After.*

About eleven on the morning of the fourth day, at the boy's house three squares are drawn, one in the women's room and two in the marriage hall one in the middle near the house steps and the other on one side. In the square drawn in the women's hall two low wooden stools are set in a line, and on them the bride and bridegroom are seated. The sister, or some other of the boy's kinswomen tightly ties his hair in a knot, and asks the bride to untie it with her left hand. The bride unties the knot, puts cocoanut milk on the bridegroom's hair, and rubs a mixture of turmeric and rice on his body. Then the bridegroom has to untie his wife's hair, to put on cocoanut milk, and rub her with a mixture of turmeric powder and rice flour. A married woman now goes to the marriage hall, sets a low stool in the corner square, and opposite to it the grinding stone. Between these she sets a metal plate with a mixture of lime and turmeric hiding in the mixture a gold finger ring, for which the boy and girl search and whoever finds keeps it; she also, at each corner of the square, sets a jar of cold water with a mango leaf floating in it and winds a thread round the jar. The bride and bridegroom are then led to the corner square in the marriage hall and seated face to face, the bridegroom on the low stool and the bride on the grindstone. Each is given a packet of betel leaves to chew; and while they chew four married women sprinkle water on their heads and sing songs. The drums beat and the bride and bridegroom squirt betelnut and leaf juice on each other and from the metal plate throw red paint over each other. After this they are bathed, dried, and dressed, the bridegroom in his turban, long robe, silk waistcloth, and shoes, and the bride in a silk robe and bodice. The marriage ornaments are exchanged, the bridegroom's being tied on the head of the

bride, and the bride's on the head of the bridegroom. A lighted lamp is waved round them, red lines are drawn on their feet, the silvered cocoanuts are exchanged, and the bridegroom raising his bride by the left hand follows his sister who walks before him sprinkling water from an earthen jar to where the third square is drawn in the middle of the marriage hall. Here, while the bridegroom and the bride are bathing, a bedstead with a large sugar-cake at each corner is brought in and the whole is covered with a sheet. In the middle of the bedstead is a grindstone muffled in cloth spotted with wet turmeric powder and at each corner an earthen jar. The bridegroom and bride are seated on the bed near the grindstone and each of four married women waves rice three times round their heads and touches their brows with the hems of the bride and bridegroom's clothes. Again, taking both the girl's hands in their own, each of the married women thrice waves a rupee, a piece of turmeric, and a few grains of cumin seed before the boy's face. Then taking the cumin seed, the turmeric, and the rupee from the hem of the bridegroom's robe they are waved before the bride. The bridegroom sits down and the bride rising takes the grindstone in her hands, and passes it to him saying: 'Take the baby, I am going to cook,' and again sits down. Then the bride-groom rising hands back the grindstone, saying: 'Take the baby I am going to office.' After this she leaves the child on the bedstead, and the bridegroom lifting his wife by the left hand leads her into the room where the marriage gods have been worshipped. Here he sits on a low stool before the gods, takes his wife on his lap, and, with a mango leaf, sprinkles the molasses and lime-water on the figure of the mango tree on the wall. Then, going into the women's hall where some married women are met, the bride and bridegroom feed one another. In the afternoon they are asked to go to the girl's house and start accompanied by the bridegroom's sister and music. Here in welcoming them a lighted lamp is waved round the faces of the three, and, except that the bedstead hangs from the roof and that before it is let down the bridegroom has to give the children of the bride's family 10s. to £1 10s, (Rs. 5- 15) the details are the same as at the bridegroom's house. When the baby-ceremony and the mango-tree worship are over, the boy is made to stand behind the girl, and each married woman, dipping the girl's hands in a mixture of molasses and lime, rubs them on the boy's long robe. The mother of the girl draws red lines on a wall close by the marriage gods, and places a grindstone below the lines. In the middle of this she sets a brass hanging lighted lamp surrounded by sweetmeats and

sweet cakes, and beyond them a row of lighted rice-flour lamps. The boy places five to fifteen rupees on the stone, and in presence of the women the bride and bridegroom feed one another.

In the evening the father and mother, and the bride and bride-groom, first at the bridegroom's and then at the bride's, sit in a line before the marriage gods, and worshipping them, throw a few grains of rice over them and over the floor of the marriage hall, and say: 'Depart ye gods and goddesses until such time as I may ask you to come again.' Last of all the priest, untying the six cigar-rolled mango leaves, sprinkles water over the heads of the four worshippers.

In the afternoon of the fourth day, comes the last of the marriage ceremonies, the rubbing of the bride and bridegroom with rice-flour at their own houses. The bridegroom is seated on a stool in the women's hall in a square of white powder, and some woman of the family rubs him with rice flour and takes him into the marriage hall, where he is seated on a low stool in a square of white powder, bathed with warm water, and has a lighted lamp waved round his face. He then goes into the house and is now free to go about as usual. After a few days the girl is presented with copper or brass miniature cooking and other house vessels filled with rice, pulse, flour, butter, and oil.

### *Parting Dinner.*

Next day, or a day or two after when the host wishes the guests to go, a sweet dish of pulse is cooked and served at dinner time. After eating the pulse the marriage guests leave.

After the marriage ceremonies are over the boy and girl, on feast and high days, are asked to one another's houses, and at least during the first year at each visit receive clothes and other gifts. Before one of these visits the sight of a servant from the father-in-law's house often sets the bride crying. Coaxing threatening and whipping are all sometimes in vain, and the little wife from the time she leaves her father's house till she comes back keeps on sobbing. She is now a part of her



husband's family. Her duty is entirely to her husband and his parents, who must support her through the wedded and if need be through the widowed state. To her husband's relations the young wife shows much respect. She stands up when they pass near her, and in talking to them uses not their names but some term of respect. She does not call her husband by any name, and whether in public or private should never be seen talking to him. The husband is generally kind to his wife, he thinks her his friend and his equal, and leaves her the full use of his goods.

In the case of the girl, between marriage and pregnancy, come three minor rites, lucky-dress wearing, skirt-weaving, and puberty.

#### *Lucky Dress.*

*Muhurt sada* or lucky-dress wearing may take place at any time after a girl's marriage and before she is twelve years old. The boy's father consults an astrologer, who examines the boy's and girl's horoscopes, and names a lucky day and hour. A day or two before a servant is sent to tell the girl's mother when the robe is to be given. On the day fixed, two boys and the family priest, with fifty to a hundred cocoanuts, sugar cakes, and fruit, a robe, a bodice, and music are sent to the girl's house. On the floor of the women's hall a square is drawn with white powder, and two low stools are placed opposite each other, one for the elder of the boys and the other for the girl. The family priest sits beside them on a third stool. Then the elder boy worships Ganpati and performs the holy-day blessing, and touching the hem of the robe with red-powder, presents it along with the bodice to the girl. The girl rises, and going into an inner room winds the robe round her waist, and coming back seats herself as before facing the boy, who lays in her lap five plantains, an orange, a lemon, a guava, betelnut and leaves, a few grains of wheat, and a silver coin. A married woman waves a lighted lamp round the faces of the priest, the girl, and the elder boy, and the priest blesses the girl, drops a few grains of rice over the Ganpati, and taking a rupee from the boy retires. The elder boy goes home, and the younger, taking the girl with him in a carriage starts, with music, for the husband's house. At her mother-in-law's the girl stays for two days and then goes home.

### *Breast robe.*

A few weeks after the lucky-dress wearing comes the *padar-sada* or breast-robs. The girl is taken to her father-in-law's house and for the first time wears her robe like a woman, drawing one end over her shoulders and letting it hang on the right side. In the afternoon of the second day, before leaving for her parents' home, the girl, seated on a low stool, has little children set opposite her, and her lap is filled with fruit as on, the first day. She throws the fruit to the children, and after a scramble, some elderly woman of the house divides them between the children and the girl. The customs are the same as at the lucky-robe wearing except that the girl sits by the side of her husband instead of by the side of a boy of his family.



### *Coming of Age.*

When a girl comes of age an elderly married woman fills her lap with rice, betelnut and leaves, and a cocoanut, and waving a lighted lamp round her face gives her sugar to eat. She is sent to her husband's house in a carriage, and her mother-in-law takes her and leaves her in a room by herself. Little girls are sent to ask kinswomen and friends. An elderly woman goes to invite the girl's mother, and when she comes, about three in the afternoon, she changes her dress, and going to her daughter, combs and braids her hair, dresses her in a rich robe and bodice, and decking her with ornaments, seats her in a wooden frame leaning forward, her hands resting on her knees. On each side of the frame two large brass lamps and a pair of glass candle-shades are placed, and on the floor in front, a silver plate with boxes for betelnut and leaves, and spices, and close by a silver tree, its branches hung with packets of betel leaves. The music plays, and the guests, all of whom are women keep dropping in from five to eight, each as she comes having sweet cakes given her. When the guests are gone her mother leads the girl to the inner room, and taking off her ornaments makes them over to the mother-in-law, and after bathing and taking sugar cakes goes home. This is done every day for four days. About four on the morning of the fifth day, the mother of the girl, going to her daughter's house, bathes her, and then herself bathing, both the daughter and the mother are presented with robes and bodices. The mother then goes home. In the afternoon, on one side of the dining hall, a square of white quartz powder is drawn and in the square low stools are set. On these stools the girl and her husband are seated and their

bodies are rubbed with rice-flour. Then in a square tracing, in the back part of the house, they are seated close to each other on low stools, and the boy loosens the knot of the girl's hair and the girl loosens his top-knot and they are bathed. Then, on a square traced on one side of the women's hall, three low stools are placed, two in a line, and the third at right angles. The boy and the girl seated on the two stools and the priest on the third, worship Ganpati, perform the holy-day blessing, worship the Matriks that is the seven goddesses Gauri, Padma, Shachi, Medha, Savitri, Vijaya, and Jaya, and perform the joyful-event spirit-worship. The boy and girl leave their seats, and the priest, helped by ten other Brahmans, kindles the sacred fire in honour of the nine planets and of Bhuvaneshvar, the god of the universe. When this is over the boy and girl sit as before, cooked rice is waved round them, and is laid by the roadside to please evil spirits. After washing their feet, they are given new clothes and have their bodies rubbed with sweet-scented powder, and seating them close to each other in a square tracing in the back part of the house, the priest pours over their heads water from a rice-washing metal-pot or *virolī*, and after bathing and dressing in new clothes they take their seats as before in the women's hall. An earthen altar is made, Ganpati is worshipped, and the sacred fire is lit. The boy touches the hem of a new robe which he gives to the girl and fills her lap with presents. A married woman hands the boy a small quantity of bent or *durva* grass, pounded wetted and tied in a piece of white cotton, and standing behind the girl and laying her head between his knees, he lifts her chin with his left hand and with his right squeezes into her right nostril a few drops of the juice of the bent grass. A lighted lamp is waved round their faces and the ceremony is at an end. In the evening the girl is seated in the frame richly dressed and decked with jewels. The mother and other kinswomen, and friends with music and trays of clothes and jewelry, go to the boy's house and take their seats on carpets spread in the women's hall. A square is traced near the frame, and on one of two low stools placed near each other, the boy sits, and the girl coming out of the frame sits on his right. The girl's mother goes to them, and waving a lighted lamp round their faces puts a shawl over the boy's shoulders and a rich suit of clothes and jewelry in the girl's hands. The other women follow giving presents according to their husband's means; sugar cakes and cocoanuts are handed, and, except the mother and her sister, the guests leave. [In handing sugar cakes and cocoanuts a married woman with a tray full of sugar cakes goes to each woman guest and, sitting in front of her,

asks from whose house she has come. The guest says from her parents or mother-in-law's as the case may be. The hostess takes in her hand two sugar cakes and goes on giving them two at a time till the guest stops her and will have no more. Some women take ten or twenty or even as many as fifty or 100 pairs of sugar cakes and afterwards sell them and buy ornaments with the money. in some houses women who are known to do this are watched and given just as many cakes as there are people in their houses. Lately, except among the rich, cakes are less freely given, each guest getting only two.] About nine at night the boy is seated in the frame and the girl rubs him with sweet-scented powder, and gives, him a cup of milk to drink. He drops a silver coin into the cup and drinks the milk, and kissing his wife lifts her in his arms, and carries her in to the nuptial room which is adorned with garlands of sweet-scented flowers. All this time the mothers and other relations, both male and female, surround the pair. The boy's mother sobs, ' We have brought you so far and now make you over to the toils of married life.'

### *Pregnancy.*

In the fifth month of a woman's pregnancy a few families perform a ceremony called the *panchangne* or fifth month. [Very few families perform this ceremony.] Ganpati is worshipped, sugar cakes distributed, and in the evening both the boy and the girl are presented with clothes. In the seventh or eighth month of a woman's pregnancy the priest is called to fix a day for the pregnancy ceremony. On the morning of the day little girls go to ask kinswomen and friends, and an elderly woman goes to invite the girl's mother. In the afternoon the husband and wife are seated on two low stools, and the priest on a third. After a sacred fire is kindled, Ganpati is worshipped, holyday-blessings performed and the planets worshipped, the boy squeezes a few drops of bent grass juice into the girl's right nostril, throws a garland of fig-tree leaves round her neck, and sticks a porcupine quill into her hair. He next gives her a ladleful of curds mixed with two grains of pulse and one of barley, and asks her thrice what she is sipping. She each time says in reply, ' That by which women are blessed with children.' When this is over some elderly married woman waves a lighted lamp round their faces. In the evening the girl's mother and other women go to the girl's house, and, seating the boy and the girl in a square traced on the floor, give them shawls, clothes, and

jewelry, and taking some sugar cakes, go home. A dinner is given by the boy's household to both men and women relations. Other dinners at relations and friends' houses follow, the young wife receives presents, and in every way meets with the greatest care and kindness. In the eighth or ninth month of her first pregnancy the young wife, who is often not more than fourteen, is seated in a palanquin and sent with music to her father's house. As she goes, at every corner of the street, to please evil spirits, cocoanuts are dashed on the ground and thrown away.

### *Birth.*

From the time the girl goes to her father's house she is fed daintily and decked with flowers. A midwife, generally one known to the mother's family, attends the girl, and when the girl's time comes is called in. The young wife is taken to a warm room and one or two of the older women of the family gather round her. Outside of the room the girl's father or some other of the older men of the house stands with a watch in one hand and with the other tells his beads, promising much to the gods and goddesses if they will grant the girl a safe delivery. Care is taken that the birth may happen at a lucky moment, and should the mother suffer severely, Brahmans are hired to read sacred books or to tell beads both in their houses and temples. As soon as the child is born the girl's father or some one of the older men of the house notes the time, and a metal dinner plate is beaten as a sign of joy, the women rejoicing over the mother as one brought back from death. Till the mother is washed and laid on a cot, the babe is put in a bamboo winnowing fan. It is then washed in warm water, its navel-cord cut, its head squeezed to give it a proper shape, its nose pulled to make it straight, and the cartilage of its ears bent. It is bound in swaddling clothes and laid beside its mother on the bed, and a bit of *karvi* *Strobilanthes grahamianus*, and a penknife are laid under the pillow to ward off evil spirits. Word is sent to the husband's family, sugar is handed, and the midwife is given four to ten shillings, rice, betel, a cocoanut, and a robe. The room-door is covered with a blanket, and an iron bar is thrust across it. A dim-shining brass lamp burns near the child's face. The mother is given a packet of betel leaves, myrrh or *bol*, a mixture of honey and butter, *sagargota*, that is the fruit of the *Guilandina bonduc* and butter, myrrh mixed with molasses, and myrobalan powder mixed with molasses. For forty days she



drinks nothing at water in which a red-hot iron has been cooled, boiled with cloves. For three days she eats a coarse wheat-flour paste mixed with molasses and butter. On the eleventh day she has wheat cakes boiled in butter, and, from the twelfth to the fortieth, rice mixed with black pepper and butter. After the fortieth day she takes her usual food, rice, vegetables, or fish, as suits her best. For forty days she does not leave her bedroom without a hood, a thick blanket thrown over her body, and slippers. Every evening the babe is rubbed with parched gram powder and the white of an egg, and bathed in hot water. Before drying the child, the midwife takes water in a metal pot, and waving it thrice round, that the child's misfortunes may be on her and no evil eye may look at it, stands up, pours water over her feet, and touches the child's brow with dust, Then she marks the child's brow and cheeks with soot, and taking a few grains of mustard seed waves them round the child and throws them into the fire. For the first three days, the child is fed by sucking a cloth soaked in coriander juice. For ten days after the birth both the wife's and husband's houses are unclean, and there is no worship and no prayers. That evil spirits may not choose this time to enter the house, a Brahman, every evening, holding in his hand a pinch of ashes, repeats charms and spells, and gives the ashes to some one in the house to rub on the child's brow and lay under its pillow. With the same object the midwife draws ash-lines at the house-door and at the door of the mother's room. Any one coming into the house must, as he enters, look round and drive off any spirit that may be following him, and wash his feet and hands. If he is not a member of the family he must bring some sugar cakes or clothes. It is unmannerly to go to a new-born babe empty-handed.

### *First Day.*

On the evening of the day of birth, or on the next day, the father of the child, the astrologer, the family priest, and kinspeople and friends go with music to the mother's house. They are met by the mother's parents and seated, the men guests in the hall and the women guests in the women's room. The astrologer is handed a slate and pencil and paper pen and ink. He takes from the wife's father a note of the time of birth and sits in the midst of the company calculating. When the horoscope is ready he reads it aloud, almost always foretelling for the child talent, comfort, success, and long life. Then touching the brow of the oldest man in the father's family, he

makes over the horoscope to him with a blessing. While this is going on, in the inner part of the house, the father of the child, sitting on a low stool in a square traced on the ground, worships Ganpati and performs the holy-day blessing. He rubs a little gold and honey on a stone, takes it in a silver cup, and going into the lying-in room, dips a gold finger ring into the cup, and in presence of some kinspeople lets a drop fall into the child's mouth. If the birth hour be unlucky the father has to undergo penances; and he does not see the child's face for fear he should loose his own or the child's life. When the lucky hour comes, he worships Ganpati and performs the holy-day blessing, kindles a sacred fire, and placing the child on a piece of red cloth in a winnowing fan, lays him before the face of a cow, and lets honey drop into his month. In honour of the birth a feast is given by the mother's father. Dancing-girls amuse the guests, milk, cocoanuts, and sweet cakes are handed round, the astrologer the priest and other Brahmans are paid, and the guests leave.

The third day After the birth the child and the mother are bathed, and the mother first suckles the child. [The practice of not suckling a child till the third day is dying out.] In the mother's room two. long lines of white powder are drawn and divided, if the child is a boy into eleven and if a girl into ten spaces. In each space is placed a betel leaf touched on the top with soot redpowder and turmeric, boiled gram, cooked horse-radish leaves, and cocoanut scrapings mixed with molasses. Close by a square is traced on the ground and a low stool is set in the square. In front of the stool are laid a metal plate with a lighted lamp, redpowder, a few grains of rice, a sugar cake, a cocoanut, and close by a full water-pot and ladle The mother is seated on the low stool, her hair is combed, and the child is laid in her arms. Then the brows of both the child and the mother are touched with redpowder and a few grains of rice Bits of sugar cake are put into their mouths, a cocoanut is laid in the mother's hand, and a lighted lamp is waved round their faces. Then placing the cocoanut on the ground, the mother silently raises the ladle from the water-pot, and taking a little water sprinkles it on the child's body, and throws a few grains of rice on the leaves. The guests, who are little boys and girls, are sent home after *eating* boiled gram and cocoanut scrapings.

### *Fifth Night.*

The fifth night is a time of much danger to the child. Sathi, the goddess of that night, is worshipped by some elderly married woman of the family with presents of fruit and is besought to take care of the babe. [In some families, along with the fruit, fried pulse, grain, a cock, and a tumbler of liquor are offered. All these are given to the midwife.] A blank sheet of paper with pen and ink is laid near the goddess that she may write the child's fate, and a drawn sword is left leaning against the wall. The father of the child, with some relations and friends, goes to his wife's house with presents. He worships Ganpati, gives the midwife two to ten shillings in cash, and receiving sugar cakes returns home. [The present consists of butter, sugar, betelnut and leaves, rice, cocoanuts, five suits of embroidered and plain clothes, an umbrella, a pair of English shoes, stockings, gold silver and pearl ornaments, wood and metal boxes for holding cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, and other articles.] That no evil spirit may steal in watchmen are set to guard the house and outside, till daybreak, servants sing by turns, and, according to the father's means, are paid two to ten shillings. The midwife is seated near the child, and that she may not sleep is closely watched by the elder women of the house.

### *Tenth Day.*

On the tenth day the mother and child are bathed, and their clothes washed, the whole house is cleaned, the floors are smeared with a mixture of cowdung and water, and cow's urine is sprinkled all over the house. After bathing and dressing in fresh clothes, to free them from impurity, each member of the household thrice drinks about a teaspoonful of the five cow gifts. [The five cow-gifts are clarified butter, curds, milk, cowdung and cow's urine.] Then the men of the father's family change their sacred threads and drink the five cow-gifts.

### *Infancy.*

Under the head Infancy come eight rites, naming, thirtieth day, fortieth day, ear-boring, vaccination, teething, hair-cutting, and birth-day.

### *Naming.*

On the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth day, but sometimes not till the hundred and first day after birth, the child is named. About four in the evening the women of the father's house go to the child with presents of clothes, and putting a large sugar-cake on each of the four corners of the cradle, lay the child in the cradle, and swing it, calling the child by a name chosen in its father's house. The mother's relations give the child another name; but a child is generally known by the name chosen for it by the father's family.

### *Thirtieth Day.*

'On any day between the twelfth and the thirtieth a servant brings into the house a copper pot full of cold water, and placing it in a square traced on the floor of the women's hall, the mother, who is seated on a low stool in another square, worships the water-pot. When the worship is over, she takes in her hand a piece of white cloth, and putting a little turmeric powder in it, is asked by an elderly married woman, who, at the same time waves a lighted lamp before her face, where she is going with the cloth. The mother answers: 'To the well to wash my child's clothes.'

### *Fortieth Day.*

On the fortieth day the mother is bathed, a necklace of new beads is tied round her neck, and new glass bracelets are put on her wrists. The bracelet-seller is given two shillings, eight pounds of rice, a cocoanut, and betelnut and leaves, and bowing low retires, praying that the woman may never be a widow and may be blessed with eight sons. The young mother is again pure, and her relations and friends come bringing presents of clothes and sugar cakes. With this ceremony the days of confinement end.

Two to five months after, on a lucky day, a boy, seated in a palanquin, is sent with music, from the husband to the mother with clothes, small silver pots, and gold and silver ornaments, toys, and about a hundred cocoanuts and sugar cakes. At the house the boy is seated on a stool, and the mother and babe

are dressed in new clothes and go to the father's house. On the way, to please evil spirits, at each turn of the street a cocoanut is broken, and on reaching the father's house the child's aunt or other kinswoman, lifting the child in her arms, stands with it on the veranda, and another woman waves a pot full of cold water round the child's head, throws the water away, and takes the child into the house, followed by the mother.

### *Ear-boring.*

When the child is between six and twelve months old comes the ear-boring or *kanvindane*. A girl's ear is bored in three places, in one part of the lobe and in two places in the upper cartilage. About a year after the ears are healed her nose is bored. The hole is generally made in the right nostril. But if the child is the subject of a vow, the left instead of the right nostril is bored, the nose-ring is worn in the left nostril, and the child is called by such names as, stone or *Dhondibai*, beggar or *Bhikubai*, sweepings or *Govarabai*. In such cases after marriage the mother-in-law bores the left nostril, and at the husband's expense puts in a rich new nose-ring. In a boy the lobe of both ears and sometimes the upper cartilage of the right ear are bored. If a woman, who has lost one or more sons, has another, that he may be thought to be a girl, she bores his right nostril, and puts a nose-ring into it sometimes giving him a silver anklet to wear, and calls him stone or *Dhondu*, or beggar *Bhiku* or *Fakir*. [These nose-rings and anklets are worn till the thread-girding time. They are then taken off and given in charity.] In boring the ears and nose the hole is made with a needle and black cotton thread tied like a little ring. The wound is fomented with boiled cocoanut oil and the child is dieted to guard against inflammation. When the wound is healed a gold ring is passed through each of the holes and afterwards a heavier ring is worn circled with pearls and precious stones. As a rule two holes are first made, and when the place is healed a third hole is bored. The borer, who is generally a goldsmith, is paid 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.) a. hole. For the first, boring he is given a rupee, about eight pounds of rice, a cocoanut, and betelnut and leaves.

### *Vaccination.*

When the child is five or six months old, some vaccinator who known to the family is sent for, and operates in three places on



the right arm and in two on the left. [Brahman vaccinators are most popular. They are paid 2s. to 4s. In some families children are not vaccinated, the parents waiting till they are attacked by the small-pox. Then ceremonies like the above are performed, and in addition, Hindu male or female devil-dancers are called in.] On the third day he again calls and examines the wounds. If the lymph has taken, the goddess Shitaladevi is supposed to have entered the child, who is sacred treated with respect and spoken to as *devi*, that is the goddess. A silver pot filled with cold water is set in some clean spot, English Chinese and Indian toys are laid round it, and at night the place is lighted. The mother dresses in white and does not wear the usual mark on her brow. Morning and evening she waves burning frankincense and a lighted lamp round the child's face, the swinging cot, and the water-pot, and bows before them. She touches nothing impure. Neither the men nor the women of the family eat fish or flesh, and go to no marriages, funerals, dinner parties, or processions. The husband sleeps apart from his wife, and none of the woman of the family, who may be ceremonially impure, walk about the house, or talk loud. Morning, noon, and dusk, the women seated on swinging cots, sing songs in praise of the small-pox goddess, and the whole care of the household is centered in the child. If a stranger comes into the house, he has to sprinkle cow's urine on his feet with a lime-tree twig, and speak to the child kindly and reverently as though addressing the goddess. On the mourning of the seventh day after the lymph took, a girl is sent round to ask female relations and friends, and a written invitation is sent to men to be present at the ash-rubbing or *vibhut*. About ten in the morning, in front of the water-pot, a square is traced with powdered quartz, and in it figures of men, animals, houses, and fruit-laden trees are drawn. In the square a low stool is placed and in front of the stool two silver plates are laid, one with scented powder or *abir*, the other with cowdung-ashes or *vibhut*. Lighted metal and glass lamps and burning frankincense-sticks are mounted on brass and silver stands. From four in the afternoon women begin to come, bringing trays of sweetmeats, flowers, and fruit. The mother, dressed in a rich suit of white, comes with her child in her arms, and seating it on the low stool, humbly, as if addressing the goddess, asks it to accept the offerings. Then rubbing the ashes and the scented powder on the sores, she again begs the child to accept the sweetmeats, fruit, and other offerings. Then the salvers are emptied, a little of each article being left in each salver, sugar-cakes are handed, and the women go home. About eight in the evening men begin to drop

in, and after fruit and a cup or two of spiced milk served in English dishes and on tables, sugar-cakes are handed and they leave. A fortnight after the vaccination day, the nearest relations are called, and at noon, with music playing, the child and its parents relations and friends go to the temple of the goddess Shitaladevi. Here the mother pouring pot after pot of cold water upon the image's head, sits with her husband and child before the image, the priest murmurs verses, and the mother throws rice, flowers, and redpowder on the goddess and bows low. They then fill the laps of married women and giving them pieces of watermelons go back to the child's house. Here they are served with a rich dinner, with a dish of spiced milk, and leave after throwing water from the water-pot into a well. In the evening a rich dinner is given to the men. After this, lest other children should be attacked with small-pox, no songs are sung in praise of the goddess.

### *Teething.*

When a child begins to cut its first tooth, it is dressed in trousers cap and shoes, and loaded with ornaments, and, accompanied by servants, is sent to the houses of relations, with either silver or brass cups and sweetmeats. At each house the servant puts a little sugared gram into a cup, goes in, and lays it before a married woman. Then the women gather round the child, smiling, and touching its cheeks. In this way the child goes from house to house till about seven or eight at night it is taken home. Only the well-to-do keep this custom.

### *Hair-cutting.*

For the hair-cutting the boy is made to sit either on his father's lap or on a low wooden stool, a new handkerchief is spread over his knees, and sometimes a silver water-cup is set beside him. The barber shaves the boy's head, leaving two tufts of hair, a top-knot and a forelock. When the shaving is over, the women of the family, as the barber's perquisite, let sugar-balls roll down the boy's head into the handkerchief, and the barber is given one rupee, eight pounds of rice, a cocoanut, betelnut and leaves, the handkerchief, and the silver cup. The forelock is from time to time cut and kept short and the top-knot is allowed to grow into a long lock or *shendi*.

In well-to-do families on their birthdays, boys are generally given a new suit of clothes and ornaments relations and friends are treated to a cup of spiced milk, and singing and dancing go on the whole night. The birthday is kept sometimes till the child is girt with the sacred thread, sometimes till he is married, and sometimes till he is a father.

### *Thread-girding.*

A boy's *munj* or thread-girding may take place at any time between four and ten. The parents ask the astrologer who sees the boy's horoscope, calculates, and fixes the day. On some lucky day about a week before the ceremony, a quarter of a pound of turmeric, of redpowder, of coriander seed, of molasses, and of thread are brought from the market and laid before the family gods. Two or three days after, from the house of the boy's father, a party of boys and girls with music go to ask the people of their caste to the ceremony. A booth or porch is built in front of the house, and the chief women of the family go to ask their kinswomen both for the thread-girding and for the dinner, begging the mother of one of the sons-in-law to send her son for the gourd-cutting. On the same day the head of the family asks men relations and friends by letter. Next day the boy is rubbed with turmeric and the same rites are gone through as before a marriage. About three in the afternoon, such of the guests as are married women are served with a rich dinner. At the head of the row of guests sit the boy and his mother in a square space traced with white powder on the threshold of the room. Before they begin to eat, a morsel from the plate of each guest is set before the boy and his mother and tasted. The mother is then served on a separate plate close by the boy. In the back yard of the house an altar is built, the same as the marriage altar except that it is measured by the boy's and not by the girl's arm. The same night male guests are entertained at dinner, musicians come, and a store of earthen pots is laid in. Early in the morning of the thread-girding day lines are drawn in the booth and two low stools are set within the lines. The boy and his mother sit on the stools and with songs and music are bathed by a band of young married girls. After they are bathed lighted lamps are waved round them and they go into the house. On one side of the entrance hall lines are drawn and the boy is seated on a low stool. The boy's mother's brother and his father's sister come to him. The mother's brother puts a gold ring on the boy's right little finger

and with a pair of silver scissors cuts some hair off his forelock, and the aunt catches the hair in a silver cup filled with milk. The barber sits in front of the boy and shaves his head except his top-knot. When the shaving is over, the women of the family roll sugar-balls and silver coins down the boy's head into a handkerchief spread over his knees. These are given to the barber, and also a new turban or a handkerchief, rice, betel and a cocoanut. The boy is a second time bathed in the booth, rubbed dry, and a lighted lamp is waved round his face. Then his maternal uncle, covering him with a white sheet, carries him in his arms to the veranda. Here again a lighted lamp is waved round his face and he is carried into the room where the goddesses have been worshipped. After a short time the boy eats from the same plate as his mother along with eight boys who wear the sacred thread but are not married. When the meal is over, presents are made to the eight companions, and the boy is washed and taken to the room where the goddesses have been worshipped, decked with ornaments, and led to the altar on one side of which his father sits with his face to the east. The guests begin to come and either sit in the hall or stand near the altar. The boy stands opposite his father on a heap of about eight pounds of rice facing him. An unbleached cloth marked with red lines is held between them, and, till the lucky moment comes, the astrologer, the family priest, and other Brahmans repeat texts. The boy's sister stands by with a lighted rice-flour lamp in a metal plate, and relations and others gather round the boy, and at the end of each verse keep silently throwing a few grains of rice over him. At the lucky moment the priest stops chanting and the cloth is pulled to the north, a bugle sounds, and at the signal musicians raise a blast of music and the guests clap their hands. A piece of silk cloth fastened to his waist-band is passed between the boy's thighs and tucked into the waist-band behind, the sacred thread is put over his left shoulder so as to fall on the right side, and a string of *munj* grass *Saccharum munja*, together with a piece of deer hide is bound round his middle. The boy is now ready to hear the Gayatri *mantra* or holy text. He bows to his father, is seated on his father's right knee, and, in an undertone, the words of the hymn are whispered in his right ear. Lest the words should be overheard by a woman or by a man of low caste, a shawl is thrown over the father's head and the guests talk together loudly or repeat a hymn in praise of the gods. After this kinspeople and friends present the boy with gold, pearl, or diamond rings, or money. The family priest takes away the rice heap and kindles the sacred fire in the middle of the altar. The

observance ought to last five days, the sacred fire being kept alight and the boy touching no one. But as few families can afford to spend five idle days, the fire is usually put out on the evening of the first day. In the afternoon the mother of the boy, with a number of kinswomen and friends, goes with music to her parents' house. She receives clothes and other presents, and leaves after sugar-cakes and cocoanuts have been handed round. [The presents are: Silver or brass plates, ladles, cups, looking glasses, silver brow-marks, cups for sandal powder, a gold or cotton sacred thread, a low wooden stool, a silk waistcloth, and a rupee in cash, the whole worth 8s. to £5.] On the mother's return comes the begging ceremony. The boy stands near the altar with a beggar's wallet round his shoulder and a staff in his hand, and begs, and each man and woman gives him a sugar-ball and a silver or copper coin. After this the kinsmen and kinswomen are served separately with a rich dinner. About eight or nine at night the boy starts on a pilgrimage nominally to Benares, but in practice to his mother's father's house. When he is gone the guests sit in the receiving hall, and about ten form a procession and with music follow the boy to his grandfather's.

On their arrival the boy is seated on a high carpeted stool, and his maternal uncle dresses him in a rich suit of clothes. Sugar-cakes and cocoanuts are served and the party returns with the boy to his father's. Then the guests take their leave after a parting cup or two of spiced milk and some betelnut and sugar. At night the guardian deities of the thread-girding are bowed out, and the next day the boy is rubbed with rice flour and goes back to his every-day duties. A day or two after the guests have gone special sweet dishes are cooked and five to a hundred Brahmans are fed. While taking their dinner the Brahmans by turn repeat hymns, joining in a chorus at the end of each hymn. When dinner is over, betelnut and leaves are served, and, except the family priest and one or two learned Brahmans who are paid one to two shillings, each is given 1½ *d.* to 3*d.* (1-2 *as.*) After distributing these gifts the host stands with his turban on his head and his shawl in his open hands before the seated Brahmans, who repeat the usual blessing for the gain of money, corn, cattle, children, and long life, and at the end throw grains of rice over the host's head and into the shawl held in his hands.



## Death.

A few hours before death the family priest brings in a cow with her calf, marks the cow's forehead with red and salutes it by bowing and raising his joined hands. The eldest son or other near kinsman of the dying man pours into the dying mouth a ladleful of water in which the end of the cow's tail is dipped. The priest is given 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 5-15) as the price of the cow, and a learned Brahman is called to read the sacred books or Gita. [No cow is given in the case of children.] In the name of the dying man rice pulse and money are given to Brahmans and other beggars, and a Spot in the women's hall is strewn with sacred grass and sweet basil leaves. On the grass and leaves the dying is laid the feet towards the outer door, and a few drops of Ganges water, a leaf of sweet basil, and a particle of gold are put in the mouth. The name of the god Ram is called aloud in the dying man's right ear and he is asked to repeat it. The eldest son sits on the ground and taking the dying man's head on his knee, comforts him till he draws his last breath, promising to care for the widow and children. The body is covered with a sheet, and the women sit round weeping and wailing. The men go out and sit bareheaded on the veranda, and servants start to tell relations of the death. About £2 is handed to friends, who go to the market and bring what is wanted for the funeral. [Things wanted for a funeral are always brought from the market; they are never taken from the house. The details are: For a woman's funeral, two bamboo poles, two split bamboos, 20 yards of fine cotton cloth, coir rope, date matting, basil leaves, a flower wreath, 1 large and 5 small earthen pots, sandalwood, 1200 cowdung cakes, clarified butter, six large wooden posts, 1 to 1½ *khandis* of wood, dry palm leaves, tobacco and country cigars, parched grain, a cocoanut, matches, two copper coins, one winnowing fan, a dish and a copper pot, wheat flour, pounded turmeric, red and scented powder, camphor, plantain leaf, white clay, dried clay, myrabolans, sesamum, rice, betelnut and tobacco, lime, five plantains, one cocoanut, a small looking glass, a comb, a small wooden box, bangles, wheat, and betel.

For a man the details are the same as for a woman, except that plantains and other fruits are not wanted, and that about ten yards less of cloth is used in the shroud. If a child's body is burned, its funeral costs about Rs. 3-5-0. Of this 4 *annas* go in cloth, ¼ *anna* in cowdung cakes, 1 *anna* for a clay pot, and

about Rs. 3 in firewood. To bury a child costs about Rs. 1½, Rs. 1¼ for digging the grave and 4 *annas* for salt.] When they come back, they busy themselves in making the body ready. Outside of the house the chief mourner and his brother, if he has brothers, are bathed one after the other, and their mustaches and except the top-knots their heads are shaved and their nails pared. The chief mourner is dressed in a new waistcloth, and a shouldercloth is twined with his sacred thread. Near the feet of the body rice is cooked, made into balls, and laid at its feet, and then taken and placed on the bier near the head. [The bier is made of two solid bamboos in the shape of a ladder, strongly bound with a coir string. On the ladder is laid a piece of date matting covered with a white sheet.] The nearest male relations followed by the women carry the body through the main door and lay it on the house steps on a small plank, the head resting on the steps. Round the head the women sit weeping, the men standing at some distance. A second rice ball is laid near the feet and the third is placed on the bier. A pot of cold water is brought from the well and poured over the body, which is hidden while it is being dressed. Elderly women dress a woman's body in a full suit of new every-day clothes. [A widow's body is dressed in a white robe, her brow is rubbed with white powder, and the body is laid on the bier covered with the winding sheet. A married woman's body is not covered with a winding sheet. A man's body is covered, except the face.] If the dead woman leaves a husband, her lap is filled with fruit and flowers, and a lighted hanging brass lamp is waved round her face, and without putting it out is thrown on one side upside down. Each married woman present takes a little redpowder from the dead brow and rubs it on her own brow, praying that like her she may die before her husband dies. A man's body, except the waistband, is left bare, yellow powder is rubbed on the brow, garlands of sweet basil leaves are thrown round the neck, and he is laid on the bier and covered with a sheet. If he leaves a widow of more than fifteen, old widows lead her into a room, her bodice is stripped, her glass bangles are broken on her wrists, her lucky necklace of black beads is torn from her neck, and her head is shaved. The hair, the broken bangles, and the lucky string of black beads are rolled *in* her bodice and laid near the head of the dead.

The bier is raised on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations, and is carried out feet first close after the chief mourner who walks with an earthen pot of burning cowdung

cakes hanging from his hand in a three-cornered bamboo sling. With the chief mourner walk two other men, one holding a metal pot with the rice which was cooked near the feet of the body, and the other a bamboo winnowing fan with parched pulse and small bits of cocoa-kernel, which, as he walks, he throws before him to please the evil spirits. Of the men who have come to the house some follow bareheaded, saying Ram Ram in a low tone; the rest go to their homes. The body is carried at a slow pace, the chief mourner keeping close in front that no one may pass between the fire and the body. No woman goes to the burning ground. The friends take the women and the children and bathe them, get the floor where the body was laid, the veranda, and, which is never done at any other time, the house steps washed with water and cowdung, arrange for the mourner's dinner, and go home. On nearing the burning ground a small stone called *ashma* or the soul is picked up. To this stone as a type of the dead funeral cakes and offerings are made. Further on, the litter is lowered, a ball of rice and a copper coin are laid on the ground, and, without looking back, the bearers change places, and for the rest of the way carry the bier in their hands.

At the burning ground, where the pile is to be raised, a small hole is made, and filled with water and in the hole blades of sacred grass and sesamum seed are laid. From the earthen pot fire is dropped on the ground, and, while the priest says texts, the chief mourner kindles the holy fire. When the pile is ready, the chief mourner draws three lines on the ground with a piece of firewood, and from the hole sprinkles water on the pile. The bearers pour water on the body, lift the litter three times, touch the pile, and lay the body on it with the head to the south. From a small stick butter is dropped into the mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears. Five small unbaked wheaten balls are laid, on the mouth, on each shoulder, on the brow, on the navel, and on the breast, and, if a person has died on an unlucky day, rice-flour figures of men are laid beside it. When this is done, each man lays on the breast a small piece of sandalwood. The chief mourner, taking a little water and few blades of sacred grass, walks round the pile. Layers of cakes are heaped over the body, and it is made ready for burning. The bier is turned upside down, thrown on one side, and taken to pieces. The winding sheet is carried off by some Mhar, the date mat is destroyed, and the bamboo poles are kept for stirring the fire. The chief mourner is called, a brand is put in his hand, and, going thrice

round the pile with his right hand towards it, shifts his sacred thread to his right shoulder, and, looking towards the north, applies the brand near the feet. He fans the fire with the hem of the shoulder cloth which is twined, with his sacred thread. Except a few who know how to burn the pile, the rest with the chief mourner sit some way off. When the fire bursts into flames, and the body begins to burn, the party withdraw still further, and, till the burning is over, talk, laugh, joke, smoke, a few even chewing betel. [During the last two or three years the chewing of betelnut and leaves at the burning ground has come into fashion, A few young Prabhus even go so far as to drink sodawater and lemonade.] When the skull bursts, which is known as *kapal moksh* or the skull-freeing the chief mourner goes near the pyre, and throws cocoa-milk over it to cool the body. When all is burnt and it is time to put out the fire, the chief mourner, carrying on his right shoulder an earthen pot filled with water, and starting from the west side with his left shoulder towards the pyre, begins to walk round it. When he comes to the south near where the head lay, one of the relations makes a small hole in the earthen pot with the life-stone or *ashma*, and as the chief mourner goes round the water trickles through the hole. At the end of the first round, on coming back to the south, a second hole is made with the stone and a second stream runs out. At the end of the second round a third hole is made, and after making a third turn, at the south end he turns his back to the pyre and drops the jar from his shoulder so that the jar dashes on the ground and the water spills over the ashes. The chief mourner strikes his mouth with the back of his right hand and cries aloud. After this, the rest of the party pour on the fire pot upon pot of water, and the ashes are carried away and thrown into the sea. [At some rich funerals the body is covered with a Kashmir shawl, sandalwood is mixed with other firewood, and the fire is quenched with milk instead of with water.]

A three-cornered earthen mound is raised in the centre of the spot where the body was burnt. On the mound cowdung and water are sprinkled, sacred grass is strewn, and on the grass are set five earthen pots full of water, a few bits of sacred grass, sesamum seed, rice rolled into balls and mixed with sesamum seed and barley, wheat cakes and butter, a thread from the chief mourner's waistcloth, a few flowers, sprigs of sweet basil, and small yellow flags. The chief mourner lights camphor and burns frankincense before the balls, and asks the

dead to accept the offering. Then, one after the other, the mourners shift the sacred thread to the right shoulder, and thrice offer water to the soul-stone saying: ' Since by burning you are heated and that the heat may cool we offer thee, naming the deceased and his family, water. May this offering reach you.'

Then the party start for the house of mourning, the chief mourner going first, carrying in his hand the soul-stone in a metal vessel wrapped in fragments of the shroud. When the mourners return the women in the house again burst into weeping. The chief mourner is bathed on the front steps of the house, and the others wash their hands feet and mouths and go inside. Then the relations quiet and comfort the women, and make the mourners take food. After the mourners have begun to eat, the friends bow to the lamp which is kept burning on the spot where life left the dead, and return to their homes.

#### *After Death.*

For ten days the spirit remains seated on the eaves of the house where it left the body. At sunset, that the spirit may bathe and drink, two plantain-leaf cups are placed on the eaves, one full of milk the other full of water. During the ten days when the spirit of the dead still rests on the house-top the mourners are bound by strict rules. Except to worship at the burning ground the chief mourner does not leave the house for thirteen days after the funeral. The members of the family eat no animal food, nor any food or drink in which sugar is mixed. Leaves are used instead of metal plates. They neither buy. nor cook, eating only fish, herbs, and things sent them by their relations and friends, and cooked by some one who stays with them to comfort them. They neither worship their family gods, nor say their prayers; and husbands sleep away from their wives, on blankets or mats, or on the bare ground. On the second day after the death, at the burning ground the chief mourner cooks or hires a Brahman to cook rice-balls and wheat cakes, offering them as he offered them on the first day that the dead may gain a new body. On the first day the dead gains his head, on the second day his ears eyes and nose, on the third his hands breast and neck, on the fourth his middle parts, on the fifth his legs and feet, on the sixth his vitals, on the seventh his bones marrow veins and arteries, on the eighth his nails hair and



teeth, on, the ninth all remaining limbs and organs and his manly strength, and on the tenth he begins to hunger and thirst for the renewed body. On this day the lamp, which has been kept lighted in the house since the mourners came back from the burning ground, is upset, the lighted wick is pulled in from below, and the wick is taken to the burning ground for the tenth day's ceremony. As the light goes out the soul of the dead leaves the house and the women raise a cry of sorrow. On reaching the; burning ground, the chief mourner makes a three-cornered mound of earth, and sprinkles cowdung and water on it. He strews turmeric powder, sets five earthen pots on five blades of sacred grass, three in one line and two at right angles. He fills these five pots with water, throws in a few grains of sesamum, and over their mouths lays a wheaten cake and a rice-ball. He plants small yellow flags in the ground, and, setting up the soul-stone, strews flowers before it, and waving burning frankincense and lighted lamps prays the dead to accept the offering. If a crow comes and takes the right-side ball the dead died happy. If no crow comes the dead had some trouble on his mind. With much bowing he is told not to fret, his family and goods will be cared for, or if the ceremony was not rightly done the fault will be mended. In spite of these appeals, if for a couple of hours the crow will not take the rice, the chief mourner touches the ball with a blade of sacred grass. He then takes the soul-stone and rubbing it with sesamum oil to quench the hunger and thirst of the dead, he offers it a rice ball and water, and standing with it near water, facing the east, throws it over his shoulder into the water. This ends the tenth day ceremony. During these ten days friends and relations grieve with the mourners staying with them daily till dusk. On the eleventh day the chief mourner goes to some charity-house or *dharmshala* to perform the *shraddh* or memorial service. in performing the *shraddh* the chief mourner [The chief mourner is the eldest or the only son. If there is no son there is no yearly *shraddh*.] smears a plot of ground with cowdung and water, and placing a few blades of the sacred *darbha* grass on one side, sits on them, and draws rings of sacred grass on the ring-fingers of both his hands. He sets before him a lighted metal lamp, a water-pot, a cap, a ladle, and a platter filled with flowers, grain, spices, and other articles. [The details are: Flowers, sweet basil leaves, sacred grass, barley, sesamum, rice, butter, curds, milk, sugar, scented powder, frankincense, cotton wicks dipped in butter, betel, plantains, and copper and silver coins.] He dips a sweet basil leaf in the water-cup, and sprinkles water from it over himself and the articles of worship. For the gods he sets

two blades of sacred grass on two spots in front of him and a little to the right; he then shifts [During the *shraddh* the mourner has to shift his sacred thread to his right Shoulder when offering to the spirit of the dead, and to his left when offering to the gods. When offering to the spirit of an ascetic or *sadhu* the thread is hung round the neck like a chain.] his sacred thread to his right shoulder and lays on his left six blades, three for paternal and three for maternal ancestors, praying both the gods and the ancestors to come and sit on the grass. He spreads sacred grass in front of the spots where the gods and the forefathers are seated, and sets leaf-cups on them. From another leaf-cup he sprinkles water on the cups from the point of a sacred grass leaf. He lays sacred grass on the rims of the cups, partly fills them with water, putting barley in the gods' cups and sesamum in the forefather's cups, and lays betel, plantains, and copper coins before them. One after another the cups are taken up, smelt, and laid down. The sacred grass that lay on the rim of the cups is laid on the priest's right palm, and the sacred grass that was under the cups is held by the mourner in his own hand, and from it he pours water from the cups on the priest's hand. He piles the cups in three sets. Then his cook or some other elderly woman hands him a pound of freshly cooked rice. In the rice he mixes a little butter and barley and a few sweet basil leaves, rolls them into balls, and lays them on a bed of sacred grass. Over the balls he sprinkles water, flowers, sweet basil leaves, and scented powder, and lays on the top a thread from his waistcloth, and offers the balls cooked rice, vegetables, cakes, sweet milk, betel, a cocoanut, and copper and silver coins, waves lighted cotton wicks and camphor, and makes a low bow. He takes the middle ball and smells it in the hope that it may lead to the blessing of a son. He pays the priest 1s. to 4s. (8 as.-Rs.2) and the priest retires. The chief mourner gathers the offerings, gives them to a cow, and closes the ceremony setting on the housetop a leaf-plate filled with several dishes. On the evening of the twelfth day the chief mourner is brought home by relations and friends. When he reaches home he washes his hands and feet, and, standing on the edge of the veranda, with joined hands, dismisses the company with low repeated bows. On the morning of the thirteenth day, to purify the spot on which the deceased died, it is made clean, a mound is raised over it, and a sacred fire is kindled. To raise the spirit of the dead from this world where it would roam with demons and evil spirits to a place among the shades of the guardian dead, the *shraddh* ceremony is again performed. When the second

*shraddh* is over part of the deceased's property is given to Brahmans. [During the *shraddh* the mourner has to shift his sacred thread to his right Shoulder when offering to the spirit of the dead, and to his left when offering to the gods. When offering to the spirit of an ascetic or *sadhu* the thread is hung round the neck like a chain.] If the dead was a man, his clothes, bedding and cot, snuff-box, walking stick, and sacred books are given; if the dead was a married woman her wearing apparel, ornaments, combs, lucky necklaces, and redpowder boxes are given to married Brahman women whose feet are washed with cocoanut Water. A certain uncleanness or dishonour attaches to the Brahmans who take these presents. In return the priest gives the mourner a little sugar to eat. Then, laying a little of each dish on the eaves to feed the crows, the guests and the chief mourner dine together, the guests now and then asking the chief mourner to taste the dishes prepared with sugar. The chief dish is milk boiled with sugar and spices. In the evening relations and friends come and present the mourner with snuff-coloured turbans, one of them being folded and placed on his head. Then the mourner, dressed in his usual clothes, leads the company to the nearest temple. At the temple he offers oil cocoanuts and money, and the others stand outside or come in and bow to the gods. When his offerings are over, the chief mourner leads the company back to his house, and dismisses them, and is free to follow his daily duties. This evening all the married women go to the houses of their parents, and the little married girls to the houses of their husbands, and not a particle of cooked food is left in the house. On the sixteenth day the mourner performs a ceremony for the dead that he may not suffer from hunger or thirst. Every month for a year this ceremony. is repeated, and after that on the death day and also on the corresponding day of the month in *Bhadrapad* or August-September, when the dead hover round their kinsmen's houses looking for food.

### *Corpse-less Funeral.*

Besides the regular funeral ceremonies when death takes place at home, special rites are sometimes performed when there is no body to burn. There may be no body to burn either because the deceased died in a distant land or was drowned at sea, or the burning may be symbolic, done while the person is alive, to show that he is dead to his family and caste. Sometimes when a wife has forsaken her husband and will not

return, he performs her funeral and from that day will never see her face again. Or if a Prabhu gives up his father's faith and turns Christian or Musalman, either at or after his change his parents perform his funeral rites. In these cases, the chief mourner with the family priest and one or two near relations go to the burning ground and spread the skin of a black antelope in a corner. On the antelope skin the chief mourner lays three hundred and sixty *palas* leaves, forty leaves for the head, ten for the neck, one hundred for both arms, ten for the ten fingers, twenty for the chest, forty for the belly, one hundred and thirty for the legs, and ten for the ten toes. Tying them by their stems with sacred grass in separate bunches and laying them on their former places, he spreads more grass on the leaves, and rolls the whole into a bundle a foot or eighteen inches long. He holds the bundle in front of him, mixes about a pound of wheat-flour honey and butter, and rubbing the mixture on the bundle draws a white cloth over it. At its top, for the head he places a cocoanut, for the brow a plantain leaf, for the teeth thirty-two pomegranate seeds, for the ears two pieces of shell, for the eyes two *kavdi* shells their corners marked with redlead, for the nose sesamum flower or seeds, for the navel a lotus flower, for the arm bones two carrots, for the thigh bones two brinjals, lemons and Abrus or *gunja* berries for the breasts, and sea shells or a carrot for the other parts. For the breath he puts arsenic, for the bile yellow pigment, for the phlegm sea foam, for the blood honey, for the urine and excrement cow's urine and dung, for the seminal fluids quicksilver, for the hair of the head the hair of a wild hog, for the hair of the body wool, and for the flesh he sprinkles on the figure wet barley-flour honey and butter. He sprinkles milk, curds, honey, butter, sugar, and water on the figure, and covers the lower part of it with a woollen cloth. He puts on its chest a sacred thread, round its neck a flower necklace, touches the forehead with sandal, and places on its stomach a lighted flour-lamp. The body is laid with its head to the south and is sprinkled with rice and the life of the dead is brought into it. When the lamp flickers and dies the mourner offers the gifts and performs the ceremonies which are usually performed to a dying man. When the lamp is out he raises a pile of wood, and burns the figure with full rites, mourning ten days and going through all the after-death or *shraddh* ceremonies. [The special expenses of such a funeral are:

*Corpse-less Funeral.*

ARTICLE.	Cost.			ARTICLE.	Cost.		
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	P.
Deer Skin	1	0	0	Cowdung	0	0	1
360 Butea Leaves	--	--	--	Limes, two	0	0	2
Two Cocoanuts	0	1	6	Brinjals, two	0	0	6
Plantains	0	2	0	Carrot, one	0	0	1
Plantain Leaf	0	0	3	Hog-hair	0	2	0
Pomegranate	0	1	0	Woollen Waistcloth	2	0	0
Bangles, two	0	0	2	Wheat Flour	0	1	0
Cowri Shells	0	0	1	Five Cow-Gifts	0	0	3
Sesamum Flower	0	0	3	Rice	0	0	2
Talc	0	0	2	Lotus Flower	0	0	1
Yellow Orpiment	0	0	3	Abrus Berries	0	0	2
Cuttle Fish Scale	0.	0	3	Wool	0	0	3
<i>Gorochan</i>	0	0	3	Barley Flour	0	1	0
Quicksilver	0	1	0	Sacred Thread	0	0	6
Red Sulphuret of Arsenic	0	0	3	Garland	0	1	0
Honey	0	0	3	Total	3	15	0
Cow's Urine	0	0	1				

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*Religion.*

A few Prabhus are of the Shaiv sect of Brahmanic Hindus, but most are followers of Shankaracharya (700-800) whose representative, the head of the Shringeri monastery in West Maisur, is the pontiff of all members of the Smart sect. The Smarts hold the *ekdvait* or single belief that the soul and the universe are one. Few Prabhus become ascetics or religious beggars. In childhood all are taught Sanskrit prayers and know the details of the ordinary worship. But, except the women and some of the older men, beyond marking feast days by specially good living, few attend to the worship of the gods or to the rules of their faith. Each day on waking the first thing a Prabhu looks at is a gold or diamond ring, a piece of sandalwood, a looking glass, or a drum. He rubs the palms of his hands together and looks at them for in them dwell the god Govind



and the goddesses Lakshmi and Sarasvati. Then he looks at the floor to which, as the house of the god Narayan and of his wife Lakshmi, he bows, setting on it first his right foot and then his left. Next with closed eyes, opening them only when before the object of his worship, he visits and bows to his house gods, his parents, his religious teacher, the sun, the basil plant, and the cow. About nine, after his bath, he goes to the god-room to worship the house gods. On entering the room he walks with measured steps so that his right foot may be the first to be set on the low stool in front of the gods. His house gods are small images of gold, silver, brass, and stone, generally a Ganpati, a Mahadev in the form of the *ban* or arrow-head stone *ling*, [The *ban* or arrow-headed brown stone is found in the Narbada,] a Vishnu in the form of the pierced *shaligram* [The *shaligram*. is a round black stone found in the Gandaki river in Nepal. It sometimes has holes in the shape of a cows foot or of a flower garland, and is believed to be bored by Vishnu in the form of a worm, and *in* specially sacred as the abode of Vishnu under the name of Lakshmi-Narayan.] the conch or *shankh*, and the *chakrankit* or discus marked stone, a sun or *surya* and other family gods and goddesses. These images are kept either in a dome-shaped wooden shrine called *devghara* or the gods' house or on a high wooden stool covered with a glass globe to save the gods and their offerings from rats. [Rats are troublesome in Hindu houses and are either poisoned or caught in traps, except on Ganesh's Birthday in August when balls of rice flour, cocoanut scrapings, and sugar are thrown to them.] In worshipping his house gods, the Prabhu seats himself before them on a low wooden stool, and, saying verses, lays ashes on the palm of his left hand, and, covering the ashes with life right hand, pours one or two ladlefuls of water on the ashes, rubs them between the palms of both hands, and, with the right thumb, draws a line from the tip of the nose to the middle of the brow, thence to the corner of the right temple, and then back to the corner of the left brow. He closes his hands so that the three middle fingers rub on each palm, opens them again, and draws lines on his brow, those from left to right with the right hand fingers, and those from right to left with the left hand fingers. He rubs ashes on his throat, navel, left arm, breast, right arm, shoulders, elbows, back, ears, eyes, and head, and washes his hands. He ties his top-knot, pours a ladleful of water on the palm of his right hand, and turns his hand round his head. He says his prayers or *sandhyas* [Sandhya, literally joining that is twilight, includes religious meditation and repeating of verses. It should be repeated thrice

a day, at sunrise, noon, and sunset. Most Prabhus say prayers in the morning, none at noon, and a few at night.] sips water, repeats the names of twenty-four gods, and, holding his left nostril with the first two fingers of his right hand, draws breath through his right nostril and closing that nostril with his thumb, holds his breath while he thinks the Gayatri verse. [This very holy and secret verse should every day be thought on. It runs; Om! Earth ! Sky ! Heaven ! let us think the adorable light, the sun; may it lighten our minds. Compare Descartes (1641) (Meditation III. The Existence of God); 'I will now close my eyes, stop my ears, call away my senses and linger over the thought of God, ponder his attributes, and gaze on the beauty of this marvellous light.' Rene Descartes by Richard Lowndes, 151 and 168.] He raises his fingers, breathes through his left nostril, and, with his sacred thread between his right thumb and first finger, holding his hand in a bag called *gomuki* that is cow's-mouth or in the folds of his waistcloth, he ten times says the sacred verse under his breath. He then sips water and filling a ladle mixes the water with sandal powder and a few grains of rice, and bowing to it spills it on the ground. He takes a water jar, sets it on his left side, pours a ladleful of water into it, covers its mouth with his right palm, rubs sandal powder and rice grains on the outside, and drops flowers on it. He worships a little brass bell, ringing it and putting sandal powder, rice, and flowers on it. He worships the conch shell and a small metal water-pot which he fills with water for the gods to drink. He takes the last day's flowers, smells them, and puts them in a basket so that they may be laid in a corner of his garden and not trampled under foot. He sets the gods in a copper plate, and bathes them with milk, curds, butter, honey, and sugar, and, touching them with sandal powder and rice, washes them in cold water, [During the *Divali* holidays the gods are rubbed with scented powder and bathed in warm water.] and dries them with a towel, and putting them back in their places, with the tip of the right ring-finger marks the *ling* with white sandal powder and Ganpati and Surya with red. He sprinkles the gods with turmeric, red and scented powder, and grains of rice. He sprinkles the *ling* with white flowers and Ganpati with red, the *ling* and *shaligram* with *bel* and sweet basil leaves, and Ganpati with bent grass or *durva*. He lays sugar or cooked food before them and rings a bell which he keeps on ringing at intervals during the whole service. He offers them sugar, covering it with a basil leaf and sprinkling water over the leaf, and drawing a towel over his face, waves his fingers before the gods, and prays them to accept the offering. Waving burning frankincense

a lighted butter lamp and camphor, and taking a few flowers in his open hands, he stands behind the low stool on which he had been sitting and repeating verses lays the flowers on the gods' heads, passes his open palms above the flames, rubs them over his face, and going round the dome where the gods' images are kept, or if there is no room turning himself round, bows to the ground and withdraws.

He goes to the stable, sits on a low wooden stool before the cow, throws a few grains of rice at her, pours water over her feet, touches her head with sandal and other powders, rice, and flowers, offers her sugar, waves a lighted lamp, and goes round her once, thrice, five, eleven, or one hundred and eight times, and, filling a ladle with water, dips the end of her tail in it and drinks. With the same details he worships the basil plant, [To Prabhus, 'Tulsi, Krishna's wife, is the holiest of plants. No Prabhu backyard is without its *tulsi* pot in an eight-cornered altar. Of its stalks and roots rosaries and necklaces are made. Mothers worship it praying for a blessing on their husbands and children.] and last of all the sun, before whom he stands on one foot resting the other foot against his heel, and looking toward the sun and holding out his hollowed hands begs the god to be kindly. Then taking an offering or *arghya*, of sesamum barley red sandal and water in a copper boat-shaped vessel, he holds it on his head and presents it to the deity. These rites are generally performed in the morning, either by the master of the house if he has the mind and the time, or by a Brahman, who is a different man from the family priest and is paid one or two shillings a month. [A hired Brahman in worshipping the family gods uses water not milk, and in some cases the master of the house bathes the gods in water. On great worships or *mahapujas*, the gods are bathed first in milk and then in water. In the evenings a Hindu does not bathe his gods but puts fresh flowers on them, offers them sugar to eat, and waves a lighted lamp before them.]

### *Fasts and Feasts.*

Before taking their morning meal the elder women of the house, especially widows, tell their beads [These rosaries or *malas* have one hundred and eight beads made either of rough brown berries called *rudraksha* or of light brown *tulsi* wood. While saying his prayers the devotee at each prayer drops a bead, and those whose devotions are silent hide their hand with the rosary in a bag of peculiar shape called the cow's mouth or

*gomukhi.*] sitting on the low stools in the god-room with rosaries in their hands. The other women worship the gods and the basil plant when their husbands have gone to office. At any time in the morning or evening, before taking their meals, the boys come into the god-room and say Sanskrit prayers.

### *Month Days.*

The Hindu month has two parts, the bright fortnight called the *shuddh* or *shukla paksha* that is the clean half, and the dark fortnight called the *vadya* or *krishna paksha* that is the dark half. Each fortnight has fifteen lunar days called *tithis*; the first *pratipada*, the second *dvitiya*, the third *tritiya*, the fourth *chaturthi*, the fifth *panchami*, the sixth *shashthi*, the seventh *saptami*, the eighth *ashtami*, the ninth *navami*, the tenth *dashami*, the eleventh *ekadashi*, the twelfth *dvadashi*, the thirteenth *trayodashi*, the fourteenth *chaturdashi*, the fifteenth in the bright half is *puṇnima* or full-moon, and in the dark half *amavasya*, literally with-living, that is when there is no moon because the sun and moon live together. Of these the first lunar day which is called *padva* both in the bright and dark fortnights is thought lucky for any, small ceremony. There are three leading first days *Gudi-padva* the banner-first in bright *Chaitra* or March-April, *Bali-pratipada* Bali's first in bright *Kartik* or October-November, and *Aje-padva* the grandfather's first in *Ashvin* or September-October. [*Ajepadva* is celebrated for the performance of *shraddhs* in the name of the grand-father by the daughter's son while his parents are alive.] Two second days are specially sacred, *Yamdvitiya* Yam's second in bright *Kartik* or October-November also called *Bhaubij* or the brother's second and *Mahabij* or the second. Two third days are important *Akskayatritiya* or the undying third in bright *Vaishakh* or April-May, and *Haritalika* or the bent-grass third in bright *Bhadrapad* October-November. Fourth day are of two kinds, *Vinayaki* or Ganpati's in the light half, and *Sankashti* or troublesome fourths in the dark halves. The *sankashti* are by some kept as evil-averting fasts. On all bright fourth and specially on the fourth of *Bhadrapad* or August - September Ganpati is worshipped, and at nine at night, after 'bowing to the moon, rice balls are eaten. Of fifth days, *Nagpanchami* or the cobra's fifth in bright *Shravan* or July-August, *Rishipanchami* or the seers' fifth in *Bhadrapad* or August-September, *Lalitapanchami* or Lalita's fifth in bright *Ashvin* or October-November, *Vasant panchami* the spring, and *Rangpanchami* the colour fifth in bright *Phalgun* or March -



April. Two-sixths are important *Varnashasthi* or the Pulse sixth in bright *Shravan* or July-August, and the *Champashasthi* or the Champa sixth in bright *Margashirh* or December-January. [On the *Champashasthi* day the worshippers of Khandoba hold a feast. Brinjals after a break of nearly five months, since *Ashadh* or June-July, again begin to be eaten.] Of the sevenths two are important *Shital* or the cold seventh in bright *Shravan* or July-August, and *Rath* or the car seventh in bright *Magh* or January-February. Of the eighths one is important *Janma* or the birth eighth, that is Krishna's birthday also called *Gokul* from Krishna's birthplace. Of the ninths one is important *Ram* or Ram's birthday in bright *Chaitra* or April-May. Of the tenths, all of which are holy and kept as fasts by the strict, the chief is *Vijaya* or Victory tenth the same as *Dasara* in bright *Ashvin* or September-October. Of the elevenths, all of which are holy and kept as fasts by the strict, two are important the *Ashadh* eleventh in bright *Ashadh* or June-July, and the *Kartik* eleventh in bright *Kartik* or October-November. Of the twelfths, all of which are holy and kept as fasts by the strict, two are important *Vaman* or the Dwarf Vishnu's Twelfth in bright *Bhadrapad* or August-September, and *Vagh* or the Tiger's Twelfth in dark *Ashvin* or October -November. Of the thirteenth called *Pradosh* or evening, because on that day food cannot be eaten before looking at the stars, all are sacred to Shiva, and one is specially sacred if the day falls on a Saturday. Of these the chief is *Dhan* or the Wealth Thirteenth in dark *Ashvin* or October-November. Of the light fourteenths two are held in honour *Anant* or Vishnu's Fourteenth in *Bhadrapad* or September-October, and *Vaikunt* or Vishnu's Heaven's Fourteenth in *Kartik* or November - December. All the dark fourteenths are named *Shivratri* or Shiv's nights. The chief are *Nark* or the demon Nark's Fourteenth in *Ashvin* or October-November and *Mahashivaratri* or the Great Shiv's night in *Magh* or February-March. Of the fifteenths the bright fifteenth as *Purnimas* or Full Moons are sacred. There are five chief full moons *Vata* or the Banyan Full Moon in *Jeshth* or May-June, *Narali* or the Coconut Full Moon in *Shravan* or July-August, *Kojagari* or the Waking Full Moon in *Ashvin* or October-November, the *Vyas* or Puran expounder also called the *Tripuri* or Three Demons' Full Moon in *Kartik* or November-December, and *Hutashani* or the Fire Full Moon also called *Holi* or *Shimga* in *Phalgun* or March-April. On the dark fifteenths called *Amavashyas* or together-dwellings cakes are offered to the spirits of the dead. Three together-dwellings or no-moon nights are specially holy, *Divali* or Lamp No-Moon, also called *Pithori* or Spirits No-Moon in *Shravan* or August-



September, *Sarvapitri* or All Spirits' No-Moon in *Bhadrapad* or September-October, and a second or greater *Divali* or Lamp No-Moon in *Ashvin* or October-November. If no-moon day falls on a Monday it is called *Somvati* or the Monday No-Moon. This is a specially holy day on which Prabhu men and women bathe early and give Brahmans money.

#### *Sunday.*

Of the days of the week Sunday or *Aditvar* is sacred to the sun. The sun is a red man seated in a car, with a quoit, and sometimes a lotus in his hand, driving a team of seven horses. The sun is the father of some of the heavenly beings, and among men of the Kshatriya or warrior race. He is the eye of God, or God himself; Brahma in the morning, Vishnu at noon, and Mahadev at night. Sunday is a good day for sowing seed, for beginning to build, for holding a fire; sacrifice, for planting a garden, for beginning to reign, for singing and playing, for starting on a journey, for serving a king, for buying or giving away a cow or an ox, for learning and teaching hymns, for taking and giving medicine, for buying weapons gold and copper articles and dress. It is unlucky for a girl to come of age on Sunday; she will die a widow. It is unlucky to travel west, and a lizard falling on one's body means loss of wealth. On Sunday nights a green robe should be worn.

#### *Monday.*

Monday or *Somvar* is sacred to the moon. The moon is a male deity, large gentle and kindly, young and sweet-faced, a warrior with four arms, a mace in one and a lotus in another, seated on a white antelope. Monday is good for beginning a war, mounting a new horse elephant or chariot; for buying flowers, clothes, hay, plants, trees, water, ornaments, conch-shells, pearls, silver, sugarcane, cows, and she-buffaloes. It is unlucky for a girl to come of age on a Monday; her children will die. A blow from a falling "lizard brings wealth. At night a parti-coloured robe should be worn.

#### *Tuesday.*

Tuesday called *Mangalvar* or the day of the planet Mars. The

planet Mars, who is sprung from the sweat of Mahadev's brow and the earth, is four-armed, short, and fire-coloured. He is a warrior, quick-tempered, overbearing, and fond of excitement. Tuesday is good to fight and to forge or work with fire, to steal, poison, burn, kill, tell lies, hire soldiers, dig a mine, and buy coral. If a girl comes of age on Tuesday she commits suicide. A blow from a falling lizard takes away wealth. On Tuesday nights a red robe should be worn.

#### *Wednesday.*

Wednesday is called *Budhvar* the planet Mercury's day. The planet Mercury is the son of the moon and a star. He is middle-sized, young, clever, pliable, and eloquent, in a warrior's dress, and seated in a lion-drawn car. Wednesday is good for becoming a craftsman, for study, for service, for writing, for painting, for selling metals, for making friends, and for arguing. It is unlucky for going north. If a girl comes of age on a Wednesday she bears daughters. A blow from a falling lizard brings wealth. On Wednesday night yellow should be worn.

#### *Thursday.*

Thursday, *Brihaspatvar*, the planet Jupiter's day, is sacred to Brihaspati the teacher of the gods. He is a wise old Brahman, large, yellow-skinned and four-armed, seated on a horse. Thursday is a good day to open a shop, to wear ornaments, to give charity, to worship the planets, to learn reading and writing. For a married woman it is good for such pious acts as will prolong her married life, for buying clothes, for house work, for going on pilgrimage, for sitting in a chariot or on a horse, for making new ornaments, and for taking medicine. It is a bad day for going south. Thursday is a good day for a girl to come of age she will bear sons. A blow from a falling lizard brings wealth. On Thursday nights white should be worn.

#### *Friday.*

Friday or *Shukravar*, the planet Venus' day, is sacred to Shukra the Brahman teacher of the giants, gentle, ease-loving, middle-aged, with four arms. He is seated on a horse. Friday is the proper day for worshipping Balaji. It is a great day for

eating parched gram. Clerks club together to lay in a store at their offices, and women, to free their husbands from debt, send presents of parched gram to Maratha schools. Friday is a good day for buying precious stones, sandalwood, clothes, a cow, treasure, for sowing seed, for making ornaments, and for a woman to sing or hear singing. It is a bad day to go west. A girl who comes of age on a Friday bears daughters. A blow from a falling lizard brings wealth. On Friday nights a white robe should be worn.

### *Saturday.*

Saturday, called *Shanvar* or the slow mover, is the planet Saturn's day. *Shanvar*, a Shudra some say a Chandal by caste, is four-armed, tall, thin, old, ugly, and lame, with long hair nails and teeth, riding on a black vulture. He is sour-tempered and bad, the patron of evil-doers, who on Saturdays make offerings at his shrine. Saturday is good to buy metal, swords, and slaves, to sin, to steal, to make poison, to enter a new house, to tie an elephant at one's door, and to preach. It is a bad day to travel east and to start on a journey. Children who eat gram on Saturdays bring poverty and become horses. A girl who comes of age on Saturday becomes a bad character. A blow from a falling lizard takes away wealth. On Saturday nights a black robe is worn.

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### *Months.*

The twelve Hindu months are, *Chaitra* or March-April, *Vaishakh* or April-May, *Jeshta* or May-June, *Ashadh* or June-July, *Shravan* or July-August, *Bhadrapad* or August - September, *Ashvin* or September - October, *Kartik* or October - November, *Margashirsh* or November-December, *Paush* or December-January, *Magh* or January-February, and *Falgun* or February - March. Of these months *Shravan* or July-August is the holiest. Almost every day in *Shravan* is either a fast or a feast. Its Mondays are holy to Shiv, its Tuesdays to Shiv's spouse Mangalagauri, its Fridays to Vishnu, and its Saturdays to Hanumant. Besides the regular months, extra or *adhik* months are occasionally added, and, sometimes, though more rarely, a month is dropped and called the *kshay mas* or dropped month. [Professor Keru Lakshman Chhatre has kindly given the following explanation of extra and suppressed months., As the

Hindu year is a lunar year fitted to solar periods it falls short of the solar year by eleven days, or in three years by a month and three days. To each of the twelve lunar months one of the twelve Zodiacal divisions or *sankrants* is allotted, and as the *sankrants* vary in length from twenty-nine to thirty-two and a half days, while the lunar months are all about twenty-nine and a half days, it sometimes happens that a lunar month passes without any *sankrant* and sometimes that two *sankrants* fall in the same lunar month. If no *sankrant* falls a month is put in and if two *sankrants* fall a month is suppressed. Extra months do not come at regular intervals, but in nineteen years seven of them occur. Suppressed months are rarer; the last was in 1823 (*Shak* 1744), the next will fall in 1964 (*Shak* 1885).]

### Holidays.

Of special fast and feast days there are altogether twenty-six. Of these three come in *Chaitra* or March-April, *Gudipadva* or the Banner-first the Shalivahan new year on the bright first, Ram's Birthday on the bright ninth, and Hanuman's Birthday on the bright fifteenth or full-moon; one in *Vaishakh* or April - May, *Akshay* or the Immortal Third of the bright half; one in *Jeshta* or May-June, the Banyan Full-Moon; one in *Ashadh* or June-July, the bright eleventh; four in *Shravan* or July-August, Cobra Day on the bright fifth, Coconut Day on the full-moon, Krishna's Birthday on the dark eighth, and Durga's Attendants Day on the no-moon; seven in *Bhadrapad* or August-September, Haritalika's Day on the bright third, Ganpati's Birthday on the bright fourth, the Seers' Day on the bright fifth, Gauri's Day on the bright eighth or ninth, Vaman's Day on the bright twelfth, Anant's Day on the bright fourteenth, and All Souls Day on the dark fourteenth; three in *Ashvi* or September-October, *Dasara* the bright tenth, *Kojagari* the full-moon and the first two *Divali* days the dark fourteenth and fifteenth; three in *Kartik* or October-November, the last two *Divali* days the first and second of the bright half, the last of which is also known as Yam's Second, the Basil Wedding-day on the bright eleventh, and the Lamp Full-Moon; one in *Paush* or December-January, a variable lunar day *Makar Sankranti* or the Sun's entry into Capricorn; one in *Magh* or January-February Shiv's Night on the dark fourteenth; and one in *Falgun* or February-March the *Holi* Full-Moon.

### *Gudipadva.*

*Gudipadva*, the Banner First, is the first day of *Chaitra* or March-April and the first day of the Shalivahan year. The day is sacred to the Deccan king Shalivahan whose nominal date is A.D. 78. The story is that in Pratishthan or Paithan on the Godavari, about forty miles north-east of Ahmadnagar, the daughter of a Brahman became with child by Shesh the serpent king, and was turned out of the city. She went to live among the potters and bore a son named Shalivahan. As a child Shalivahan martialled armies of clay figures, drilled his playfellows, and settled their quarrels showing surprising talent and wisdom. News of his talent came to Somkrant the king. He sent for the boy, but the boy would not come. The king brought troops to take him by force, and Shalivahan breathed life into his clay figures, defeated the king, and took his throne. On this day Prabhus bathe early in the morning, rub themselves with scented oil, and to secure sweets for the rest of the year eat a leaf of the bitter *nim*, *Azadirachta indica*. From one of the front windows of every Prabhu's house a bamboo pole is stretched, capped with a silver or brass water-cup, a silk waistcloth hanging to it as a flag, with a long garland of bachelor's button-flowers and mango leaves. Below the flag, in a square drawn by lines of quartz powder, is a high metal or wooden stool, and on the stool, in honour of the water-god, is a silver or brass pot full of fresh water on whose mouth are set some mango leaves and a cocoanut. After an hour or two the water-pot and stool are taken into the house, but the flag is left flying till evening. During the day a Brahman reads out Maratha almanacs, telling whether the season will be hot or wet, healthy or sickly, and for each person whether the year will go well or ill with him. In the evening every family has a specially rich dinner. New year's day is good for beginning a house, putting a boy to school, or starting a business.

### *Ram's Ninth.*

Eight days later on the ninth of *Chaitra*, or about the beginning of April, comes *Ramnavami* or Ram's Ninth, the birthday of the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, Ram, the hero of the Ramayan who became man to fight Ravan the giant-ruler of Ceylon. For eight days preparations have been made, Ram's temples are white washed, adorned with paintings and brightly lighted at night. Men and women throng them to hear Brahmans read the Ramayan, and Haridases or Ram's slaves



preach his praises. On the ninth or birthday before noon, Prabhus, especially men and children, flock in holiday dress to Ram's temple, and listen to a preacher telling how Ram was born, and to dancing-girls singing and dancing. At noon, the hour of birth, the preacher retires, and comes again bringing a cocoanut rolled in a shawl like a newborn babe, and showing it to the people lays it in a cradle. He tells the people that this is the god who became man to kill the wicked Ravan. The people rise, bow to the god, and full of joy toss red-powder, fire guns, and pass to each other *sunthvada* or presents of powdered dry ginger and sugar. Then all but the devout go home, and dine freely on wheat cakes, butter, sugar, milk, and fruit, rice fish and flesh being forbidden. In the evening they flock to the temples once more to hear Ram's praises.

#### *Hanuman's Birth.*

Six days after Ram's birthday, on the bright fifteenth or full-moon of *Chaitra*, generally early in April, comes the birthday of Ram's general Hanuman the monkey-god. In Hanuman's temples Brahman preachers tell Hanuman's exploits. Some old Prabhu women keep the day as a fast eating nothing but fruits and roots.

#### *Akshayatriya.*

About eighteen days later on the third of *Vaishakh*, generally about the beginning of May, comes the Undying Third or *Akshayatriya*. It gets its name because being the first day of the *Satya Yug* or the first cycle it is believed to secure the merit of permanency to any act performed on the day. For this reason gifts of earthen jars, fans, umbrellas, shoes, and money made to Brahmans have a lasting value both to the giver and to his dead friends. The day is not specially kept either as a feast or as a fast.

#### *Banyan Full-moon*

The *Vad Pornima* or Banyan Full-Moon falls about five weeks later on the *Jeshta* full-moon, generally early in June. On this day, to prolong their husbands' lives, Prabhu women hold a festival in honour of Savitri from which the day is also called

Vadsavitri or Savitri's Banyan. This lady, who was the daughter of king Ashvapati, chose as her husband Satyavan the son of king Dumatsen. Soon after Savitri made her choice the seer Narad came to Ashvapati and told him that Dumatsen had become blind and lost his kingdom, and was wandering in the forests with his wife and son. Ashvapati wished his daughter to change her choice, but she would not, and, though the seer told her that within a year of their marriage her husband would die, she refused to give him up. Seeing that she was not to be shaken, Ashvapati marched into the forest, and, giving his daughter a large dowry, married her to Satyavan. For a year she served her husband and his father and mother. Two days before the close of the year, when according to the seer's prophecy her husband must die, Savitri began to fast. On the second day, though she asked him to stay at home, Satyavan took his axe and went into the forest. Savitri followed and in spite of her prayers Satyavan went on and fell dead as he was hacking a fig tree. As Savitri sat by him weeping, Yama, the god of death, came and took Satyavan's soul. Savitri followed him and prayed him to give her back her husband's soul. Yam refused, but Savitri persisted, until he promised to give her anything short of her husband's life. She asked that her father-in-law might regain his sight and Yam granted this boon; Savitri still followed Yam and, refusing to let him go, gained from him her father-in-law's kingdom, a hundred sons for her father, and sons for herself. Then she once more pleaded, 'How can I have children if you take my husband,' and the god, pleased with her faith, granted, her prayer. She went back to the tree and touched her dead husband, and he rose, and they returned together to their home. She touched her father-in-law's eyes and brought back their sight, and with his sight he received his kingdom. On the morning of this day, after bathing and dressing in rich silk clothes, married Prabhu women worship the Indian fig tree or *vad*. In front of a wall where pictures of a *vad* and a *pipal* tree have been painted, the woman sets a high wooden stool with a *vad* twig on it, and sits on a low wooden stool and worships the twig. When the worship is over she gives the priest a present called *vahan*, and touching it with the end of her robe repeats verses. [The present includes a round bamboo basket with a bodicecloth, a looking glass, five glass bangles, a necklace of black glass beads with a gold button, a comb, small round redpowder boxes, lamp-black and turmeric, five mangoes, a cocoanut betel, sprouting pulse, a glass spangle, and a copper coin. The whole is covered with another bamboo basket rolled round with thread] She gives the priest one to two

shillings, and the priest touching her brow with redpowder and throwing a few grains of rice over her, blesses her saying, ' May you remain married till your life's end and may god bless you with eight sons.' The chief dish on this occasion is mango-juice and fine soft rice flour cakes called *pithpolis*. Some women in performing this ceremony live for three days on fruit, roots, and milk.

### *Ashadhi Ekadashi.*

About twenty-six days after the Banyan Full-Moon, generally about the beginning of July, the eleventh of *Ashad* or June-July is kept in honour of the Summer Solstice, that is the twenty-first of June. This is the beginning of the gods' night, when, leaning on Shesh the serpent king, the gods sleep for four months.

### *Cobra Day.*

About three weeks later on the bright fifth of *Shravan*, generally about the end of July, Prabhu women worship the *nag* or cobra. On a wooden stool nine snakes are drawn with sandalwood powder or redlead. Of the nine two are full grown and seven are young; one of the young snakes is crop-tailed. At the foot is drawn a tenth snake with seven small ones, a woman holding a lighted lamp a stone slab, and a well with a snake's hole close to it. All married women sit in front of the drawing and each throws over it parched grain, pulse, round pieces of plantains, cucumber, and cocoa kernel. Leaf-cups tilled with milk and pulse are placed close by redlead is sprinkled, and flowers are laid on the redlead. They pray the snakes to guard them and their families and withdraw. The eldest among them gathers the children of the house and tells them this story of the Nine Snakes and the Woman with the Lamp. A village headman had seven daughters-in-law. Six of them he liked and the seventh he hated, and, because she was an orphan, he made her do all the housework and live on scraps left in the cooking pots. One day, while the seven girls were at the house well, the six were boasting that their relations had come to take them home for feast; the seventh was silent, she had no home to go to. From their hole close by a male and female snake overheard the talk, and the male snake told his wife, who was then with young, that he would ask the seventh daughter-in-law

to their feast and keep her till his wife's confinement was over. In the afternoon, when the orphan went to graze the cattle, the male snake, in the form of a handsome youth, came to her and said; ' Sister, I am one day coming to take you home, so when I come be ready.' One day when the house people had dined, the orphan took the cooking pots to clean by the well side. She gathered the scraps in one pot and went to bathe on the other side of the well. While she was bathing the female snake came out of her hole and ate the scraps. The orphan came back to eat her dinner, and finding it gone, instead of cursing the thief, she blessed him, saying, ' May the stomach of the eater be cooled,' Hearing these words the female snake was overjoyed, and told her husband to lose no time in bringing the orphan home. The male snake, taking human form, went to the headman's house and told the orphan he was come to take her home. She asked no questions and went. As they went the snake told her who he was, and that on entering his hole he would turn into a snake. She was to hold him fast by the tail and follow. Trusting and obedient the girl followed the snake, and, at the bottom of the hole, found a beautiful gold house inlaid with gems, and in the middle, on a hanging swing of precious stones, a female snake big with young. While the orphan held a lighted lamp the snake gave birth to seven young ones. One of them climbed on to the girl and she in her fright let fall the lamp and it cut off part of the snake's tail. When the brood of snakes grew up they laughed at the crop-tailed snake, and he in anger, finding how he had been maimed, vowed to kill the headman's daughter. He made his way into the house on a day which chanced to be *Nagpanchami* Day. He found the girl worshipping snakes and laying out food for them. Pleased with her kindness the crop-tailed snake kept quiet till the girl left the room, ate the offering, and went back and told his parents of the girl's devotion. The old snakes rewarded her freely, making her rich and the mother of many children. When the story is over the children and the rest of the family have a good meal, chiefly of rice-flour balls. Bands of snake-charmers go about calling on people to worship their snakes, and the people worship them, offering parched pulse, grain, milk, and a copper coin. On the same day a fair is held in honour of snakes. Prabhu women fill leaf-cups with milk and pulse and place them in corners of the garden for snakes to feed on. As they are hurtful to snakes, no grinding baking or boiling are allowed in Prabhu houses on the Cobra's Fifth.

### *Cocoanut Day.*

About ten days later, generally early in August, on the full-moon of *Shravan*, comes Cocoanut Day or *Narli-pornima*. In the evening, after a hearty afternoon meal, Prabhu men and children go to the river side, and to win the favour of the water throw in cocoanuts. On going home the men and children are seated on low wooden stools, and the women of the house wave a lighted lamp round their faces, the men according to their means presenting them with 1s. to 12s. (8 as.- Rs. 6).

### *Janma and Gokul Ashtami.*

Eight days after, about the middle of August, comes a festival in honour of Krishna, either his birthday or the day after when he was taken to Gokul. The story is that Kansa, Krishna's uncle, hearing that Krishna would cause his death, tried to destroy him as a child but failed. This is the cowherds' great day. Covering themselves with dust and holding hands they dance in a circle, calling out Govinda, Gopala, Narayana, Hari. Curds, milk, and cold water are thrown over them, and they get presents of cocoanuts, plantains, and money. Those who keep the birthday observe it as a fast; those who keep the second or *Gokul* day observe it as a feast.

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### *Pithorya's No-Moon.*

About a week after, at the *Shravan* new-moon, generally towards the end of August, comes the worship of the *Pithorya's* or attends of the goddess Durga. Married women with children alive bathe in the early morning and fast. On a high stool or wall redlead pictures of Durga's sixty-four attendants are drawn and worshipped. Then the oldest woman of the family offers the goddess the leaves of sixteen kinds of trees and flowers and a bunch of five to twenty-one cocoanuts, and prays her to bless the children of house. Then, arranging dishes of prepared food round her, worshipper calls the children one by one, asking them in turn is worthy to eat the offerings. The child answers, I am worthy. This is thrice repeated and the worshipper touches the child's brow with redlead, and, throwing grains of rice over it, bless it and gives it the plate. The children and grown people sit down together and eat the food.



### *Alika's day.*

Three weeks later in *Bhadrapad* or August-September come fast in honour of the maid Alika. A king's daughter had vowed to wed none but Shiv. Her father, not knowing of her vow, offered her in marriage to Vishnu. Hearing this the king's daughter, with the help of her maid retired to a deep forest, refusing to move unless she was allowed to marry Shiv. In her honour, getting up early in the morning Prabhu women bathe, wash their hair and putting on a silk robe and bodice draw a quartz square and in it set a high wooden stool. Sitting before it on a low stool they lay a handful of sand in the middle of the high stool and with the sand make figures of Parvati and Sakhi, Shiv's wife and maid, and in front of them a *ling*. These three they worship with flowers and the leaves of sixteen kinds of trees, and as in the *Vadsavatri* fast present the Brahman priest with two round bamboo baskets and 1s. to 2s. (8 as.-Re. 1) in money On this day women drink no water and eat nothing but plantains and melon or *chibud*. Next morning they again worship the sand images, offering them cooked rice and curds and-cast them into the river, or into some out-of-the-way place.

### *Ganpati's Birthday.*

Next, on the fourth of *Bhadrapad*, generally late in August, comes the birthday of 'Ganesh or Ganpati, the god of wisdom and of beginnings, in figure a fat man, seated, with four hands, and an elephant's head. Of the stories of Ganpati's birth the commonest is that Parvati, Shiv's wife, from oil and turmeric rubbed off her own body, made a man and set him to guard her door. Shiv coming in, annoyed at being stopped by the watchman, cut off his head. Hearing this Parvati demanded that her son's life should be restored, and Shiv going into the forest cut off a one-tusked she-elephant's head and setting it on Ganpati's shoulders brought back his life, making him for his trustiness god of wisdom.

Some time before Ganpati's birthday the reception hall is whitewashed and painted, a wooden framework or other seat is made ready, and the room is filled with rich furniture and at night is brightly lit. On the morning of the feast day the head of the house and some children and servants, with music and a palanquin, go to the market and buying an image of the god,

[Ganpati's image is of gilt or painted clay, with four hands, a big belly, and an elephant's head. It is either made in the house or bought from men, chiefly of the Deccan Brahman caste, whose sole calling is the making of Ganpatis. The cost varies from a few pence to £15 or £20. Some do not buy clay Ganpatis but with rice grains on a plate trace an image of the god known as the pearl Ganpati.] seat it in the palanquin, and bring it home. At the house the mother of the family waves a lighted lamp before the god and it is laid down till the head of the house is ready to worship it. It is then set in the shrine and with the help of the family priest verses are recited that fill the image with the presence of the god. The image of a mouse, Ganpati's pet charger, is placed close to it. After the worship, the head of the house, with a lighted lamp in his hand and with his sons and relations round him, standing in front of the image, plays and sings hymns in praise of the god. This is done shortly in the morning and in the evening at greater length. At the end of the service sweetmeats are handed round among the guests and family. In the morning of the first day, at the end of the worship, the family feast on sweet-spiced rice-flour balls, and in the evening the mice are allowed to share in the feast. Ganpati, they say, one evening fell off his mouse. The moon laughed at the god's mishap, and to punish him Ganpati vowed that no one should ever look at the moon again. The moon prayed to be forgiven and the god agreed that the moon should be disgraced only one night in the year, Ganpati's birth-night. For this reason no one on that night will look at the moon.

According to the will and means of the family the image is kept in the house from one and a half to twenty-one days, in most cases about a week. So long as it is in the house the god is worshipped night and morning. When the time comes for the god to go, in the evening players and a palanquin are hired, and a priest is called in. After praying Ganpati to bless the family, to keep sorrow from its doors, and to give wisdom to its children, verses like those that brought the presence of the god into the image are said and its divinity is withdrawn. Then waving a lamp round its face, laying a little curds in one of its hands, and seating it in a flower-decked palanquin, calling out the god's name as they go, they carry him to the side of a lake or river. At the water's edge they take the image out of the palanquin and seat it on the ground, and waving a lighted lamp round its face carry it into the water sorrowing that for another year they will not see the god again.

*Bhadrapad* bright-fifth, the day after Ganesh's birthday, is kept in honour of the *Rishis* or Seers who sit in heaven as the seven stars in the Great Bear. The day is kept only by women. Their chief rule is to eat nothing that is not hand-grown. Anything in which the labour of cattle or other animals has been used in rearing or bringing to market is forbidden. So hand-grown fruit and vegetables are on that day sold at four times their usual price.

### *Gauri.*

On *Bhadrapad* bright-eighth or ninth, the third or fourth day after Ganesh's birthday, women hold a feast in honour of his mother Parvati or Gauri. In the morning ten or twelve balsam or *terda* plants are bought for an *anna* or so and hung on the eaves. About two in the afternoon, over the whole of the house, women draw quartz powder lines six inches apart and between them trace with sandal powder footsteps two in a line and four or five inches apart. An elderly married woman, taking one or two of the balsam plants, washes their roots and folds them in a silk waistcloth. [Prabhu women call the balsam roots Gauri's feet.]

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This representing the goddess Gauri is laid in a girl's arms, who carrying a metal plate with a lighted lamp, a few rice grains, a redpowder box, and some round pieces of plantains, and taking with her a boy with a bell, starts through the house, the boy ringing the bell as they go. In each room the woman seats the girl who carries the goddess on a raised stool, waves a lighted lamp round the faces of the girl and of the goddess, and, giving the girl and the boy a bit of plantain, calls 'Lakshmi, Lakshmi, have you come?' The girl says, 'I have come.' The woman asks, 'What have you brought;' the girl says, 'Horses, elephants, armies, and heaps of treasure enough to fill your house and the city.' Thus they go from one room to another, filling the house with treasure and bringing good luck. When they have been through the whole house, the goddess is seated on a high stool in the women's hall leaning against a wall, on which have been painted a Prabhu's house and all it holds. At lamplight the goddess is offered plantains, cakes, and milk, and at night she is richly dressed, decked with jewels, and with

lamps lighted before her is offered milk and sugar. The next day is a time of great rejoicing, when many dishes of sweetmeats, fish, and mutton are cooked, offered to the goddess and eaten. [The dish offered to the goddess varies in different families. Some offer vegetables, some pickles, some fish, some goat's flesh, and some a cock and liquor.] During the day Kunbi and Koli women and the house servants dance before the goddess and are well paid. On the third day the goddess is offered cooked food, and about three o'clock she is laid in a winnowing fan, stripped of her ornaments, except her nosering glass bangles and necklace of black glass beads, and with some cooked food tied to her apron and four copper coins is placed in a servant's arms. Without looking behind him, while an elderly woman sprinkles water on his footsteps, the servant walks straight out of the house to the river or lake side, and, leaving the goddess in the water, brings back the silk waistcloth, the winnowing fan, a little water, and five pebbles.

#### *Vaman Dvadashi.*

*Vaman Dvadashi* or Vaman's Twelfth falling on the twelfth of *Bhadrapad* generally in September, is sacred to Vaman, the black Brahman dwarf, the fifth incarnation of Vishnu. Vaman's story is that to keep the religious merit of the great king Bali from winning him the rule over the three worlds, Vishnu appeared at his court as a Brahman dwarf. He beat all other Brahmans in explaining the holy books and the king asked him what gift he would wish. Vaman said, 'As much space as I can-cover in three strides.' The king agreed, and the god, falling the earth with his first step and the air with his second, took his third step on the king's head and drove him into the bottomless pit. On Vaman's Day old Prabhu women fast and give Brahmans money presents.

Some Prabhus keep the day before All Hallows Day, that is the bright-fourteenth of *Bhadrapad* or August-September in honour of Anant or Vishnu. If a Prabhu by chance finds a silk string with fourteen knots he takes it home and lays it by. [The string worshipped by Prabhu women has one line with fourteen knots; those worshipped by men have two or three lines with the same number of knots as the women's.] On the fourteenth of *Bhadrapad* with his whole family he fasts, and in the evening places on a raised stool two metal pots filled with cold water,

representing the holy rivers Ganga and Jamna, and covering the water-pots with a metal plate, he lays in the plate a snake made of the sacred *darba* grass, and close by a string called *anant-dora* with fourteen bead-like round moveable knots, the whole generally worked with gold and silver lace. Then with the help of the priest he worships the gods Anant and Shesh, and the goddesses Ganga and Jamna, offering them fourteen kinds of flowers, leaves, fruits, and sweetmeats, and ending with a feast in honour of Vishnu. The thread is either worn or laid by for a year. At the end of the year a new thread is bought and worshipped and the old one is made over to the priest. The worship of this thread should be kept up for over fourteen years and should then cease. The practice is observed both by men and women, and begins only when a chance thread is found.



### *Pitripaksha.*

A day after Anant's Day, the second of the dark half of the month of *Bhadrapad* or August-September called *Pitripaksha* or the Spirits' Fortnight is sacred to the spirits of ancestors. In the name of each ancestor, both men and women, funeral rites or *shraddh* are 'performed on the day corresponding to the day of death. The ninth day known as *avidhva-navmi*, is kept for rites in honour of unwidowed mothers. And on the fourteenth day there is an All Hallows No-moon or *sarvapitriamavasya*, for any ancestors whose worship may have been left out. The *shraddh* is generally performed by the head of each family at midday on the ground-floor of the house. The object of the rite is to improve the ancestors' state in the spirit world. When the rite is over dishes of rice, milk, and sweetmeats are left on the tiles for the crows to feed on, and a rich dinner with spiced milk is given to relations and friends.

### *Navratra.*

A day or two after All Hallows are sacred to Durga the wife of Shiv. The first nine are known as the *Navratra* or nine nights, and the last as the *Dasara* or tenth. Some Prabhus fast during the nine days, living on fruits and roots. On the ninth the goddess Durga is worshipped, a sacred fire is lit, and fed with firewood and butter. During these days married women of the Konkan Vadval or oartkeeper caste with a hollow dried gourd wrapped in cloth hanging from their right arm, beg in Bhavani's



name from house to house. Each day they are given a handful of rice and on one of the nine days an elderly married woman of each household worships the hollow gourd. A Vadval woman and her husband are called; a quarts square is drawn, and the hollow gourd placed in it on a low stool. The worshipper rubs the outside of the gourd with turmeric and redpowder and a few grains of rice, fastens a spangle on it, and filling it with rice waves a lighted lamp before it. The Vadval's wife rubs her own hands with turmeric powder and fastens on her brow redpowder and a spangle, and before her and her gourd the worshipper waves a lighted lamp. The Vadval man is given some rice and oil, and blessing the worshipper, he blows the conch shell. [Only on this day does a Prabhu allow a conch-shell to be blown in his house. At any other time the sound of the conch is supposed to blow everything out of a Prabhu's house.] Married and unmarried girls and women go to one another's houses during these nine days. Seated on mats spread in the women's hall, their arms are rubbed with turmeric powder; their brows adorned with redpowder and glass spangles; their heads crowned with flowers, and their laps filled with parched rice, betelnut and leaves, and a few copper coins. [Some of these girls collect during these nine days one to two rupees at the rate of two or three pies ( $\frac{1}{4}d.$  -  $\frac{3}{8}d.$ ) from each house. The Poona Prabhus have given up this ceremony. It is still observed in Bombay.]

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

### *Durga's Tenth Dasara.*

Early in the morning of the tenth or *Dasara*, the day on which Durga slew the monster Mahishasur, Prabhus bathe and worship their house gods. In front of the house the women trace a quarts square [From this day, in different coloured powders, Prabhu women begin to trace pictures of trees and houses on the ground in front of their doors. They go on making these drawings for about six weeks.] and in honour of the five Pandavs set five cowdung balls on a leaf in the middle of the square and sprinkle flowers and redpowder or *gulal* over the balls. Those who own a horse have him brought in front of the house. Garlands of bachelor's button-flowers are thrown round his neck and tied round his feet, a shawl is laid on his back, and a married woman, coming out of the house holding a plate with a lighted lamp, a cocoanut, sugar-cake, redpowder, a few grains of rice, betelnut and leaves, and a silver coin, rubs his forehead with redpowder and rice, gives him sugar to eat, and laying the

betelnut, leaves, cocoanut and silver coin at his forefeet waves a lighted lamp before his face. [It is said that the horse-loving Arjun washed his horses' feet, threw garlands of flowers round their necks, and patted them.]

### *Dasara.*

Besides the coin offered to his horse, the groom gets a few shillings and a turban or a suit of clothes. In the evening, after a hearty meal of mutton and sweetmeats, Prabhus take their children and carrying branches of the *apta* tree *Bauhinia racemosa*, go to Devi's temple and offer her *apta* or *shami* *Mimosa suma* leaves and a *copper* coin. [On this day *apta* leaves are called gold apparently because on this day their power to scare spirits is as great as the spirit-scaring power of gold.] They then go visiting their friends and relations, greet each other, and offer an *apta* leaf and embrace. [On this day if a Brahman and a Prabhu meet they exchange leaves and the Prabhu bows to the Brahman and gives him  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to 1s. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -8 as.)] On his return home, his wife, standing in the doorway or seating her husband in the house on a low stool, touches his brow with red-powder and rice, and giving him sugar to eat and laying a cocoanut in his hands waves a lighted lamp before his face. The husband drops 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) in the plate, and washing his hands and feet sets a stool close to the house gods, and on the stool lays a sword, a gun, [Prabhus worship the sword and gun as they claim Khsatriya descent.] a sheet of paper with carefully written sentences in English Marathi and as many other languages as he knows, a pen, a ruler, a penknife, and inkpot and sacred books. He touches these with sandal and redpowder, lays on each an *apta* and a *shami* leaf, and asks them to keep his house safe during the year.

### *Kojagari Pornima.*

About five days after *Dasara* generally in *Ashvin* or September October comes the *Kojagari Pornima* feast. About eight in the evening Parvati Shiv's wife is worshipped. A supper is eaten of rice cooked in milk and sugar, and gram-flour cakes mixed with plantains, onions, brinjals, and potatoes and boiled either in butter or oil, and after supper men and women play chess till midnight. [People play chess on this night in the hope that Parvati will bring them cartloads of treasure.] A week later

comes the *Athvinda* or eighth day feast, when a servant draws a line of ashes, and lays castor-oil leaves on the veranda and other parts of the house.

### *Divali.*

This and the *Khojagari* festival in the week before lead to the great feast of *Divali*. This, the lamp or *diva* feast, in honour of the goddess Lakshmi and of Vishnu's victory over the demon Sariki, lasts four days, the two last days of *Ashvin* or September-October and the two first days of *Kartik* or October-November. The day before the feast large metal water-pots are filled and placed in the house. An elderly woman, taking an *aghada* *Achyranthes aspera* plant, cuts from it six one-inch pieces, and as many more as there are persons in the house including servants. These pieces she lays in a round bamboo basket, and near them the cut fruit of the *chirhati* creeper. She takes a castor-oil leaf, lays in it the bark of a plant called *takla*, used both for food and as a drug, and a few blades of fine grass, and folding the leaf lays it in the bamboo basket. In this way she prepares a packet for each of the household. Then taking a metal plate she makes as many rice-flour lamps as she has made packets, and putting two wicks and oil in each, dusts its rim in three places with redpowder and places the plate close to the bamboo basket. She then makes an extra rice-flour lamp and placing it by the house wall lights it in honour of the god Yam. She washes her hands and in another dish makes ready another five-wick lamp, and, with a cocoanut, a few rice grains, and a box of redpowder, lays it in the plate. Lastly she fills cups with sweet smelling spices, oil, and cocoa-milk. Then, as Vishnu promised him, in Narkasur's honour every nook and corner of the house is lighted. Till eight or nine at night children let off firework and then all feast on sweetmeats and other dainties. Next morning a married woman rises about three and drawing a square in the entrance room, places a low stool in the square and close to the stool sets the cups of spices and scented oil, and, on each side of the stool, sets a lighted brass lamp. The head of the house sits on the stool and the barber or some house servant rubs him with rice flour, spices, and oil, and his top-knot with cocoanut milk. He next sits facing the east on a high wooden stool in a square-traced in the yard in front of the house-door and bathes, and putting on a waist cloth and turban stands in front of the house door. As he stands his wife or some other married woman of the family takes the five-wick lamp and

a flour-lamp, places the flour-lamp at one side of the doorway, and marking his brow with redpowder and a few grains of rice, hands him a cocoanut, and waves the lighted lamp before his face. He gives back the cocoanut, touches the flour, lamp with the toe of his left foot, and enters the house. [This is done in memory of Vishnu's fight with the giant Narkasur. After killing the giant, Vishnu entered the city early in the morning. The people lighting up the city, received him with great joy, the women going out to meet him and waving lighted lamps before his face.] After the head of the house, the other men of the family bathe in turn, and when all are bathed feast on sweetmeats. Then they worship the house gods, dress in rich clothes, and either go visiting or sit on the veranda talking. The married women dine at noon, and sit tracing drawings before the house door, while an old woman makes ready sixteen lights and sets them on a high stool. At dusk an elderly married woman sets the stool with its sixteen lights in the middle of the square drawn in front of the house. [To make these sixteen lights, two one-inch pieces of *nilgut* are taken and about half an inch on the top is hollowed and tilled with oil and wicks.] Then placing near the stool a cocoanut, betelnut and leaves, a plantain, a sugar ball, and a copper coin, she bows to the lights and walks into the house. As the people of the house gather round the lamps, letting off fireworks and making merry, one of the servants takes a light from the stool and carrying it hid in his hands, goes to a neighbor's house and tries without being seen to place his master's light among their lights, saying, as he lays it down, 'Take this son-in-law, *javai ghya*.' Other servants are on the look-out for him and as he steals in, try without putting out his light to duck him with water. In this merrymaking and in letting off fireworks two hours are spent. Then the high stool is taken into the house with as many of the lights as are left on it. On the second day nothing special is done except bathing in the morning in front of the house. In the evening the head of the family worships Lakshmi the goddess of wealth. On the third day, a servant rises a one in the morning sweeps the house, and, gathering the sweepings into a bamboo basket, lays on the basket an old broom, a light, some betel, an four copper coins, and waving the basket in front of each room, says *Idapida javo Baliche raj yevo*, 'May evils go and Bali's kingdom come.' While the servant says this, a woman walks behind him as far as the house door, beating a winnowing fan with a stick and urging the servant to keep saying the verse without stopping. She drives him to the house door telling him not to look back, and he goes out, lays the sweepings by the

roadside, and brings back the coin. He then rubs himself with oil, and without touching any one bathes in warm water. When the servant's bath is over the house, people bathe one after another. Then, as Vishnu promised, the head of the house takes a metal image of king Bali on horseback, dresses it and sets it on a high stool with twenty-one brass lamps round it. [When Vishnu in the form of the dwarf Vaman stamped king Bali into hell, he promised that once a year his followers would worship the king. The story of Vaman and Bali is given at p. 249.] At dawn he sets the god in front of the house, and the household let off fireworks, play games of chance, and give money to Brahmans and other beggars who swarm in front of their houses. The last of the *Divali* days is *Yamadvitiya* or Yam's Second or *Bhaubij* also called the Brother's Second. On this day Yam, the lord of death, came to see his sister the river Jamna, and she won from him the promise that no man who on this day goes to his sister's house and gives and gets presents will be cast into hell. So on this day Prabhus go to their sisters' houses. The sister draws a square of quartz-powder lines, seats her brother in the square on a low stool, and waves a lighted lamp before his face. He gives her 2s. to £ 1 (Rs.1-10) and she gives him a waistcloth and a rich dinner of milk and sweetmeats.

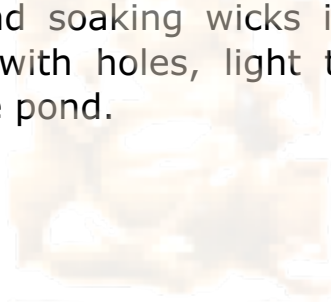
### *Basil Wedding.*

Nine days after Yam's Second, on the bright eleventh of *Kartik* generally in October, a day is kept in honour of the marriage of the holy basil or *tulsi* with the god Vishnu. The head of the house fasts in the early part of the day. At noon the basil-pot is coloured red and yellow and a square of quartz powder is drawn round it. After breaking his fast the head of the house, with the help of the family priest, worships the basil and an image of Vishnu. Then, with Vishnu's image in his hands, he stands in front of the plant, a shawl is drawn between the image and the plant and held by two married men, the priest repeating verses, and the house people, both men and women, at the end of each verse throwing grains of rice over the plant and the image. When the verses are done, the curtain is dropped, the guests clap their hands, the image is set in the flowerpot in front of the plant, fireworks are let off, sugarcane is handed round, and 1s. to 2s. (8 as.-Re. 1) are presented to the priest.



### *Lamp Full-Moon.*

Four days after the Basil-wedding on the bright fifteenth of *Kartik* or October-November comes *Dip-purnima* or the Lamp Full-Moon. On this day, in honour of Shiv's victory over the giant Tripurasur, Prabhu women present Brahmans with fruit, money, and lighted lamps, either silver lamps with gold wicks, brass lamps with silver wicks, or clay lamps with cotton wicks. [This demon, the lord of a golden a silver and an iron city, is said to have grown so mighty that beating almost all the gods he drove them out of their palaces. The gods crowded round Shiv and he, pitying their case, made the earth his car, the sun and moon its wheels, the Himalaya mountains his bow, Vasuki the serpent king his bowstring, and Vishnu his quiver. Thus armed, after a furious struggle, Shiv destroyed the mighty giant.] In the evening they fill the holes in the lamp-pillars or *dipmals* with lights, and soaking wicks in butter lay them in earthen pots, pierced with holes, light them and send them floating over the temple pond.



### *Makarsankrant.*

On the twelfth of January, a solar festival and therefore on an uncertain day in *Paush* comes the *Makarsankrant* that is the passage of the Sun into the sign of the Crocodile or Capricorn, the day when the sun's course turns northward. In honour of the sun's return devout Hindus make great rejoicings. From this day begin the six lucky northing or *uttarayani* months when light is large and heaven's gates are open, and when marriages should be held, and youths girt with the sacred thread. These are followed by the six spirit-haunted southing or *dakshanayani* months, when the days creep in and heaven's gates are shut, and the spirits of the dead have to wait without till *Makarsankrant* comes again. The Prabhus both men and women rise early, rub themselves with sesamum oil, bathe in warm water, worship the family gods, and present Brahmans with sesamum seed, money, clothes, pots, umbrellas, and even lands and houses. In the afternoon they feast on sweetmeats and in the evening dress in new clothes and taking packets of sesamum seed mixed with different coloured sugar, give them to their friends and relations, saying : 'Take the sesamum seed and speak sweetly'. [The Marathi runs ; *Tilisa ghya, godsa bola.*] Next day is an unlucky or *kar* day. On it married women bathe, and, dressing in rich clothes, deck their heads with flowers, and make merry going to their parents' houses and speaking no

unkind word. As they do this day, so will they do all the year. She who beats her children will go on ill-using them, she who weeps is entering on a year of sorrow.

### *Shiv's Night.*

About two weeks after the *Makrasankrant* on the bright fourteenth of *Magh* or January-February comes Shiv's great fourteenth or the *Mahashivaratri*. A wicked archer hunting in the forest followed a deer till night fell. To save himself from wild beasts he climbed a *bel* tree *Ægle marmelos*, and to keep himself awake kept plucking its leaves. By chance at the tree-foot was a shrine of Mahadev and the leaves falling on his shrine so pleased the god that he carried the hunter to heaven. Prabhush keep this day as a fast. In the evening they worship Shiv and in the hope of gaining the hunter's reward lay a thousand *bel* leaves on the *ling*. After worship they eat fruit and roots and drink milk, and, that they may not sleep, either read sacred books or play chess, a favourite game with both Shiv and his wife. Shiv's temples are lighted and alms are given to begging Brahmans and others.

### *Holi.*

About three days after the *Mahashivaratra* and fifteen before the full-moon of *Falgun* or February-March begins *Holi* or *Shimga*, apparently the opening feast of the husbandman's new year of work. On the first day little boys dig a pit in the middle of the street or yard and, beating drums and shouting the names of the organs of generation, go from house to house begging firewood. At night they burn the wood in the pit crying out and beating their mouths. This goes on for fifteen nights, and each night for three or four hours. On the eleventh night, dressed in white clothes, they go to the house of their high priest or to one of Vishnu's temples where red-coloured water is thrown over them. From this time till the full-moon the festival is at its height Young and old men shouting the names of the organs of generation, rub redpowder on each other's clothes and faces. On the last or full-moon day, in the afternoon, after feasting on mutton and sweetmeats, a plantain tree is set in the pit and heavy logs of wood are piled round it. About eight at night each householder who lives in the street with his family priest worships the pit, and gives sweetmeats. When this is over

one of them takes a brand and, lighting the pile, which is called *holi*, shouts' the names of the male and female organs of generation and beats his mouth. Next day is the dust or *dhul* day, when people go about in bands throwing dust and filth. At night men go to each other's houses and the head of the house marks the guests' brows with sweet-scented powder or *abir*, and gives them milk, coffee, fruit, and sweatmeats. Women have parties of their own, where dressed in white robes and green bodices, their heads decked with flowers and their brows marked with sweet-scented powder, they treat one another to fruit, coffee, and milk.

### *Eclipses.*

Eclipses or *grahans* caused by the giant Rahu swallowing the sun, or the giant Ketu swallowing the moon, are thought to foretell evil. Of the beginning of eclipses the story is that when Dhanvantra brought nectar from the churned ocean, the giants hoped to keep it to themselves. Seeing this, Vishnu, taking the form of Mohani, a handsome woman, ranged the gods on one side and the giants on the other. Struck with the woman's beauty, the giants sat at a distance from the gods waiting for the drink. When the woman began to give the nectar to the gods, Rahu slipped between the sun and the moon, and gaining a share drank it off. Mohani with her discus cut Rahu in two, the body being called Rahu and the head Ketu. The rest of the giants attacked the gods, but after a hard fight were beaten. In a solar eclipse twelve hours and in a lunar eclipse nine hours before any change is visible the influence or *vedh* of the eclipse begins. From this time Prabhus may neither eat nor drink; the water-pots have to be emptied and cooked food thrown away. The place swarms with evil spirits. An eclipse is the best time for using a charm or a spell, and mediums, sorcerers, and jugglers are busy repeating spells on river-banks and in waste places. To keep the giants from entering the house, blades of holy or *darbha* grass are laid on pickle-jars and wafer-biscuits and tied in the skirts of clothes. When the eclipse begins, Prabhus give rice, parched grain, old clothes, and money to Mhars and Mangs who go about carrying large bamboo baskets and shout, *De dan sute giran*, that is ' Give gifts and free the planet'. When the eclipse is over every Prabhu bathes, the cook-room is fresh cowdunged, cooking pots and pans are washed, jars are filled with fresh water, and fresh food is cooked and eaten.

Patane Prabhus have no headmen and no caste council. They are a prosperous and well-to-do class. Their monopoly of English clerkship has broken down, but they are pushing and successful as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and in the higher branches of Governments service.

## VELALIS

**Vela'lis** are returned as numbering 423 and as found in Khed and Maval, and in Poona city and cantonment. They say they are Vaishyas, and that they came to the district from Trichinopoly and Tanjor about seventy years ago to earn a living. They are divided into Pilles and Mudliars who eat together but do not intermarry. [Mudliar seems to be the Kanarese name for the Tamil people, the word meaning south-east men. Similarly they call the Telugu people Badages or northmen.] The following particulars belong to the Pilles. They are divided into Soliyavelali, Khudkyavelali, Mothevelalan, and Karikatvelalan, of whom the first three eat together and the first two intermarry. The Karikatvelalans do not eat, or marry with the other three clans as they consider themselves of higher rank, and unlike the rest do not eat fish or flesh or drink liquor. The names in common use among men are, Chimnaya, Devraj, Mutkarji, Periana, and Ramasvami, the title *pille* being added to each name as Devrajpille and Chinayapille. The names in common use among women are, Kamakshi, Minakshi Mariai, Murkai, Punama, and Virai. They are dusky coloured of various hues of brown. They are stoutly and gracefully made with jet black hair. Their home tongue is Tamil, but out of doors they speak Marathi. They live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. They keep cows, buffaloes, and she-goats, and have copper and brass vessels, cots, bedding, carpets, pillows, boxes, stools, and tables and chairs. They are not great eaters, and are fond of sour dishes and of tamarind. Their staple food is rice, millet, wheat, pulse, vegetables, butter, spices, fish, and mutton. They eat hare, deer, ducks, and domestic fowls, but not beef or pork. They drink both, country and English liquors, and smoke tobacco. They give dinners at marriages and on death anniversaries, when wheat cakes and sweet milk are prepared costing £2 10s. (Rs. 25) for a hundred guests. The men wear a waist cloth, coat, waistcoat, and shouldercloth, and fold a kerchiefs or *rumal* round the head. The women wear a bodice

with a back, and the skirt of the robe hanging like a petticoat without being drawn back between the feet. The men wear the top-knot, mustache and whiskers, but not the beard; and the women tie the hair in a knot behind the head. They have rich clothes in store for special occasions worth £5 to £50 (Rs. 50-500). The ornaments worn by women are gold earrings called *kamalos* worth £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100), the gold and pearl nose-ring called *nath* worth £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25-200), the gold necklace- called *adigi* worth £5 to £10 (Rs.50-100), and the gold or gilt bracelets called *patlis*, worth £2 to £5 (Rs. 20-50). The men wear the gold earrings called *kadkans* worth £1 10s. to £10 (Rs. 15-100), and those called *murugus* worth 10s. to £10 (Rs. 5-100). They are a hardworking, vigorous, and talkative people, clean, neat, sober, even-tempered, orderly, and hospitable almost to extravagance. They are husbandmen, trade shopkeepers, and brokers; the commissariat department is full of them. They say they are Vaishyas and higher than Mudliars with whom in their native country they do not eat. In Poona the two classes eat together but do not intermarry. A family of five living in fair comfort spend about £2 (Rs. 20) a month on food and £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100) a year on clothes. A house costs £30 to £100 (Rs.300-1000) to build and 3s. to 8s. (Rs.1½-4)a month to rent; their house goods vary in value from £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25,200), and they have servants on monthly wages of 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4). A birth costs £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50), a hair-clipping or *javal* £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100), a teaching or *palikudamvakya* £2 10s. to £5 (Rs.25-50), a thread-girding or *talapakalyanam* £5 to £15(Rs.50-150), a boy's marriage £20 to £50 (Rs.200-500), a girl's marriage £10 to £20 (Rs.100-200), and a death £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100). They are Smarts and their chief object of worship is Mahadev. Their family god is Kamathshama of Madras and Mariama of Trichinopoly. Their family priests are Shaiv Tailang Brahmans. They have house images of Mahadev, Vishnu, Ganpati, Krishna, and Surya Narayan, and go on pilgrimage to Benares, Madhura near Travankor, Rameshvar, and the Trivanna mountains near Madras. They fast on the *Shivaratras* or dark fourteenths, on *Pradoshs* or dark thirteenth, on *Ekadashis* or eleventh, and on all Mondays. Their holidays are *Sankrant* in January, *Holi* in March, *Varshabhya* or New Year's Day in April, *Nagarpanchmi* in August, *Ganesh-chaturthi* in September, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. Their women are impure for ten days after child-birth. On the fifth day they worship the knife with which the child's navel cord was cut, setting before it flowers, eggs, mutton, and plantains. On the tenth day the child is laid in a



cradle and named by an elderly woman of the house. The *mudi* or hair-clipping takes place at any suitable time before the child is three years old. In the morning they go to a garden some distance from the house, coudung a spot of ground, and raise a canopy of sugarcanes, and set a plantain tree at each corner of the sugarcane canopy. They take two pebbles in honour of the goddess Kamakshiana, daub them with redlead, and place them inside the canopy. They break twenty-five to fifty cocoanuts, and place them in front of the goddess together with fifty sugarcanes and fifty plantains. A goat is killed, and the child lying on its maternal uncle's knee has its hair clipped by a barber who retires with a present of uncooked food and 6d. (4 as.) in cash. The hair is gathered, shown to the goddess, and thrown into a river or pond. A feast is held, and, after presenting the child with clothes and money, the articles offered to the goddess are handed to the guests who retire to their homes. If the child is a boy, when it is five years old, the ceremony of teaching or *palikudamvakya*, is performed. A Brahman, teacher is called, and friends and relations are invited. The boy is seated in the middle of the guests, a turmeric image of Ganpati is made and placed in front of the boy on a low wooden stool, and he worships it, the priest repeating verses. A pair of waistcloths and some money are given to the Brahman teacher. The boy makes a low bow before him and he teaches the boy to repeat a few letters. Sweetmeats are served and the guests withdraw, unless the boy's parents are well off when they feast the guests before they leave. When a boy is ten to fourteen years old the thread-girding or *talapakalyanam* takes place. A sacrificial fire or *hom* is kindled and the boy is dressed in new clothes and seated on a wooden stool in front of the fire. A sacred thread of cotton silver or gold is put round his neck, money is handed to Brahmans, and they withdraw. The other guests are treated to a feast. They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty. A betrothal ceremony precedes marriage. In the morning the boy's father lays flowers close to a new robe and bodice, sprinkles red- powder over them, burns frankincense, and with a party of relations and friends and music goes to the girl's house. He carries with him plates filled with twenty-five to fifty cocoanuts, a bundle of sugarcanes, one hundred to two hundred plantains, the robe and bodice worth about £2 10s. (Rs. 25), and jewelry worth £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500). When the party reach the girl's house she is dressed in the bodice and robe, her brow is marked with red and turmeric powder, ornaments are put on her body, flower garlands are hung round

her neck, and the sugarcane and coconuts are presented to her. The girl's mother approaches the boy's mother, and throwing a flower garland round her neck, says, 'I have given my daughter in marriage to your son.' The boy's mother says to the girl's mother, 'I have given my son in marriage to your daughter and your son is to me as a son-in-law.' The betrothal ends with a dinner. Twice during each of the next three days parties of the boy's people go to the girl's house and of the girl's people to the boy's house, and at their homes rub the boy and the girl with a mixture of turmeric, gram flour, and oil. The day before the wedding at the boy's house a marriage hall is built and a lucky post is planted under which are laid a pearl, a piece of coral, and a bit of precious stone, together worth about 1s. 6d. (12 as.) ; to the top of the lucky post a handful of *darbha* grass is tied. In the marriage hall clay figures of a horse, a lion, and an elephant are piled one above the other, and over them three empty earthen jars one above another. This is their marriage god or *devak*. Close to the marriage god is set a wooden mortar and over the mortar an earthen lamp with water and oil covered with another broken jar. An earthen altar raised close by and four plantain posts are fixed one at each corner. On the marriage day, generally in the morning, the girl's parents taking the girl in a palanquin with music and accompanied by male and female relations and friends, go to the boy's house. Before they enter the marriage hall, one of the boy's female relations comes with a plate of water and a mixture of turmeric powder and lime, waves it round the girl's head, and throws it away. Another woman comes with a lighted dough lamp and waves it round the girl's head, and the girl walks in, and is given sugared milk to drink and a plantain to eat. The boy sits on the altar on a wooden stool and the girl is seated on a second stool to the boy's left. In front of them, in honour of Ganpati, a water-pot is set and a coconut is placed on its mouth and worshipped. The coconut is broken in two. In one of the pieces the lucky gold button necklace or *mangalsutra* is laid and sprinkled with flowers. It is laid in a plate and taken before each guest who bows to it, and when all have saluted it the boy fastens it round the girl's neck. A sacrificial fire is lit in front of the boy and girl, and about twenty pounds of rice and coconuts are placed near them. Elderly men approach, fill their hands with rice, and throw the rice on the heads of the boy and girl. They wave coconuts round the heads of the boy and girl, break them, and throw them on one side as a present to the washerman. The couple change places, the hems of their garments are tied, and elderly women sing marriage songs, and

at the end of each verse throw rice over the couple's heads. The boy catches the girl by her right little finger, and together they thrice go round the altar. An opening is made in the marriage hall towards the north, and the boy pointing to a star asks the girl if she sees the star. She says, I see it. She is then seated on a plantain leaf over which about a pound of salt is spread and in front of her is laid a grindstone or *pata*. The boy catches the girl by both her feet and thrice sets them on the stone. The couple are then taken inside the house and are offered sugared milk and plantains. Lucky songs are sung by elderly women and when the songs are over, the boy retires and sits outside in the marriage hall with the men. Betel is served, and, except those who have been asked to dine, the guests withdraw. The priest also retires with a present of a pair of waistcloths and 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼) in cash. Next day the girl cooks a plate of rice and split pulse or *khichadi* in the marriage hall and serves it in five plates and offers it to the marriage gods, burning frankincense and breaking a cocoanut. A dinner is given, and, in the evening, the boy is seated on horseback and the girl in a palanquin or carriage and they are taken in procession to Maruti's temple and then home. When they reach the house a mixture of turmeric and water is waved round their heads and thrown on one side and the guests present the girl with 6d. to 2s. (Re. ¼-1) in cash. The booth is pulled down, and a mixture of water and parched grain is boiled and thrown on the boy and girl. They are then seated in a carriage and taken to the river to bathe. After their return a feast is given of a variety of dishes and the marriage ceremony is at an end. They allow child marriage and polygamy, but neither widow marriage nor polyandry. When a Velali is on the point of death a booth is raised outside near the front door of the house, and the floor of the booth is strewn with *darbha* grass and the dying person is bathed and laid on the grass. Ashes are rubbed on his brow and alms are given in his name. A couple of women break two cocoanuts in four pieces and placing them in a brass plate along with flowers and a dough lamp, go a little distance from the house, and setting the plate on the ground, look towards heaven and ask God to give the dying person a seat near him. The plate is then brought home and kept near the dying person's head. When life is gone the chief mourner, with four others, go with water-pots to a well and fetch water, a Jangam or Lingayat; priest walking in front of them blowing a conch shell. One of the house doors is taken off its hinges and laid on the ground outside the house, and the body is laid on the door and bathed with water from the well. It is dressed in new clothes, a turban, waistcloth, and coat,

if it is a man; a robe and bodice if it is a married woman; and a robe alone if it is a widow. It is laid on a bamboo bier and covered with a shawl or silk waistcloth. Flowers, red and scented powder, and rosewater are sprinkled over the body. If the dead is married and leaves a husband or a wife betel is placed in the hands and again taken back by the husband or wife and thrown away. After this the survivor may marry again without angering the dead. The body is then raised on the shoulders of four men. In front walks the chief mourner with an earthen jar containing either burning cowdung cakes or live coal and beside him a Jangam or Lingayat priest blowing a conch shell. Parched grain is carried in a new winnowing fan and strewn as they walk till they reach the burning ground. When they have gone half-way the bier is laid on the ground, with the feet pointing south. A pound of rice and 2d. (1 2/3 anna) are given to a Mhar or Halalkhor, and the body is carried on to the burning ground. A pile of cowdung cakes is raised, the body is laid on the pile, and the bier is thrown on one side. The chief mourner's face is shaved including the mustache. He bathes, and with an earthen water vessel on his shoulder and a burning sandal log in his right hand thrice walks round the pile, and, standing with his face to the south and his back to the pile, dashes the jar on the ground and touches the pile with the burning sandalwood. Burning pieces of cowdung cakes are thrown round the pyre by the other mourners. The chief mourner is then taken to some distance from the pyre by two men who walk and seat themselves on either side of him. The rest of the mourners busy themselves with setting fire to the pyre. When it is half burnt, they give it in charge to the Mhar and go to where the chief mourner is sitting, and pay 6d. (4 as.) to the Jangam, 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼) to the Mhar, 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼) to the musicians if there are any, 6d. (4 as.) to the barber, and 6d. (4 as.) to the washerman. They then bathe in some stream or pool near the burning ground, each wearing a silk waistcloth or *pitambar*, and return to the mourner's house. Near the house door water is kept ready for the mourners to wash their hands and feet. When they have washed they enter the booth, where a lamp is kept burning on the spot where the dead breathed his last. They look at the lamp and return to their homes. Such as are new relations stay with the mourners and dine with them, the food being brought by the mourner's maternal uncle. On the second day the chief mourner, accompanied by a few relations, goes to the burning ground with a cocoanut, a piece of sugarcane, plantains red and sweet scented powder, frankincense, camphor, flowers, oil milk, and

*shikakai* pods, and throwing water over the ashes pick up the bones and makes them into a small heap. He sprinkle water over the bones, pours oil on them, drops *shikakai* and the red and sweet scented powders on them, lays plantains beside them breaks a cocoanut over them, and twisting a piece of sugar-cane lets a few drops of juice fall on them, and waves burning frankincense and camphor before them. He lays the bones in a earthen jar, and taking the jar on his shoulder goes to the river and throws it into the water. He bathes and returns home. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground with a few near relations. They rub powdered *avalkati* or pepper and milk on their bodies, bathe, and return to the house of mourning, where they dine on rice, vegetables, pulse, and butter. They then present the chief mourner with a turban, a coat, and a waistcloth, and in the evening take him to the temple of Ganpati or Mahadev, where he worships the god, breaks a cocoanut, and lighting camphor waves it before the god, bows, and returns home. On the night of the fifteenth they bring two new bricks and shape them like human beings, dress them, and lay them on a low wooden stool. A few of the deceased's clothes are washed and heaped in front of the images, and they are offered plantains, cocoanuts, parched rice or *pohe*, and frankincense is burnt before them. Female relations sit by weeping till next morning. On the morning of the sixteenth day the images and the offerings are tied in a bundle and placed in the hands of the chief mourner. He takes sixteen small and four large earthen jars, a handful of powdered coal, rice-flour, turmeric powder, brick powder, and green powder made of pounded leaves, oil, rice, salt, pulse, plantains, cocoanuts, and vegetables, and with a party of friends and Brahmans, goes to the river side or to the burning ground. Here the chief mourner is shaved and bathed, a new sacred thread is fastened round his neck, and he is dressed in fresh clothes. A platform of earth is made about eight feet square and at each corner one of the four earthen jars is set filled with water, and the sixteen small jars are also filled with water and arranged round the square. Mango leaves are laid in the mouth of each jar and a thread is passed round the necks of them all. The coloured powders are thrown over the platform. A miniature bamboo bier is prepared and two cloth dolls are made and laid on the bier, covered with dry leaves, and burnt. When the bier is consumed the chief mourner gathers the ashes and throws them into the river. He then bathes, sits near the square, and lights the sacrificial fire. The Tailang and other Maratha Brahmans are given uncooked food and money and retire, and



the jars and other articles are thrown into the water. Presents of clothes are made to the chief mourner, and when the party returns to the house of mourning the friends dine and retire. They have no caste council. They do not remember having ever met to settle a social dispute. They Bend their children to school and are a rising class.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

## POPULATION

### TRADERS

**Traders** include twelve classes with a strength of 20,736 or 2.44 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### POONA TRADERS.

CLASS.	Males.	Females	Total.	CLASS.	Males.	Females	Total.
Agarvals	64	57	121	Lohanas	3	3	6
Bangars	20	13	33	Tambolis	26	20	46
Bhatiyas	40	27	67	Vanis Gujarat	2283	1511	3844
Brahma-Kshatris	32	31	63	Marwar	5889	3748	9637
Kirads	114	122	236	Vaishya	408	425	893
Komtis	229	200	429	Total	11,877	8859	20,786
Lingayats	2709	2852	5361				

### AGARVALS

**Agarva'ls** are returned as numbering 121 and as found in Haveli, Maval, Sirur, Purandhar, and the city and cantonment of Poona. They claim descent from the sage Agarsen, whose seventeen sons married the seventeen daughters or *nagkanyas* of the serpent, Shesh. They have seventeen *gotras* or family stocks, of which the chief are Basal, Eran, Kasal, Garg, Goel, Mangal, and Mital. People of the same family stock or *gotra* cannot intermarry. They say that they originally came from Agra, and after living in Marwar for a time came to Poona about a hundred years ago. They are divided into Sache or pure Agarvals, Dasa and Visa Agarvals, and Maratha Agarvals who represent the illegitimate children of Sache Agarvals. The following details apply to the Sache. Dasa, and Visa Agarvals, who, though they neither eat together nor intermarry, differ little in religion or customs. The names in common use among men are, Ganpatlal, Girdharilal, Kanhailal, Narayandas, and Vithaldas; and among women, Bhagirathi, Ganga, Jamna,

Lachhmi, and Rhai. They look like Marwar Vanis, are middle-sized stout and fair, and their women are goodlooking. Their home tongue is Marwari, but most speak mixed Hindustani and Gujarati. They live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their house goods include metal vessels, bedding carpets, pillows, and boxes, and they have servants whom they pay 6s. to 8s. (Rs. 3-4) a month. They are strict vegetarians, and of vegetables do not eat onions, garlic, carrots, or *masur* pulse. The men dress like Deccan Brahmans in a coat, waistcoat, waistcloth, shouldercloth, and Brahman turban or headscarf, and wear either a sacred thread or a necklace of *tulsi* beads. They wear a top-knot and hair curling over each cheek, whiskers, and sometimes a beard. The women wear a bodice a petticoat and shoes, and muffle themselves from head to foot in a white sheet or *chadar*. They do not wear false hair or deck their heads with flower. They keep clothes in store. The women's ornaments are the gold hair ornament called *for* worth 10s. (Rs. 5), the gold earrings called *jhube* worth £2 (Rs. 20), the gold and pearl nosering called *nath* worth £5 (Rs. 50), the glass and gold bead necklace called *mangalsutra* worth £2 (Rs. 20), the bracelets called *bajubands* worth £2 (Rs. 20), and glass and lac bangles, and the silver anklets called *bichves* worth £1 (Rs. 10) and *kadis* worth £3 to £4 (Rs.30-40). Except the gold and silver finger rings called *angthia* the men wear no ornaments. They are vegetarians, and their staple food is rich, pulse, vegetables, wheat, butter, and spices. Their marriage and death feasts cost them about 9d. (6 *as.*) a head. They are hard-working, even-tempered, orderly, and miserly. They are merchant, traders, grocers, moneychangers, moneylenders, dealers in cloth and grain, makers and sellers of sweetmeats, cultivators, and landholders. They say they do not earn more than £3 to a £5 (Rs. 30-50) a month. A family of five spend £2 (Rs. 20) a month on food. A house costs £50 to £150 (Rs. 500-1500) to buy and 10s. (Rs. 5) a month to rent. The house goods, including clothes, furniture, and jewelry, are almost never worth more than £100 (Rs. 1000). They spend £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50) a year on clothes. A birth costs £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40); the first hair-cutting £5 (Rs. 50), a sacred thread or *tulsi* necklace-girding 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), a boy's or girl's marriage £50 to £100 (Rs.500-1000), and a death £50 (Rs.500). They are a religious people and their chief object of worship is Balaji. Their priests are Marwari Brahmans or in their absence Deshasth Brahmans. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Mathura, Nasik, Benares, Vrindavan, and Rameshvar. They fast on the

two elevenths of every Hindu month, on *Shivaratra* in February, on *Ram-navami* in April, and on *Gokulashtami* in August; and feast on *Holi* in March, on *Dasara* in October, and on *Diwali* in November. Their spiritual Teachers or *gurus* are either Ramanandis or Vallabhacharya Maharajas, to whom they show great respect. On the fifth day after a child is born they worship a mask or *tak* of the goddess Satvai which they place on a high wooden stool on wheat and arrange lemons round it. Children are named when they are a month old. At the naming ceremony four boys stand with a piece of cloth held on all four sides of the child and the child's paternal aunt names it. The aunt is presented with a bodice if the child is a girl and from 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) if the child is a boy, and the four boys are given pieces of dry cocoa-kernel and sixteen gram or *bundi* balls each. Eunuchs or *hijdes* dance and sing in the evening and are paid 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼). They shave the child's head between its fourth and fifth year. When a boy is eight or nine years old his parents take him to the spiritual Teacher or *guru* with music, relations, and friends, and a plate of betelnut and leaves, a cocoanut, flower garlands, nosegays, and 10s. (Rs. 5) in cash. The boy worships the Teacher or *guru*, offers him 10s. (Rs. 5), and falls before him. The Teacher or *guru* fastens a *tulsi* bead necklace round the boy's neck, whispers into his ears a sacred verse, and drops sugar into his mouth. They marry their girls between ten and twelve and their boys between fifteen and twenty. They do not allow widow marriage, and they burn their dead. They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school and are well-to-do.

## BANGARS

**Bangars** are returned as numbering thirty-three and as found in Poona city only. They say their origin is given in the Basvapuran, and that they came into the district about two hundred years ago. Whence and why they came they cannot tell, but some of their religious and social customs suggest that their former home was in the Bombay Karnatak. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Bhinkar, Buras, Jiresale, Khatavkar, Mhasurkar, phutane, Tambe, and Vaikar, and families bearing the same surname eat together but do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Ganapa, Irapa, Khandapa, Morapa, Rakhmaji, Ramapa, and Rudrapa; and among women, Ganga, Lakshmi, Sita, and Yamuna. They look and speak like Marathas, and own stone and mud built houses

with tiled roofs. Their household goods are metal and earthen vessels, bedding, carpets, and blankets; they keep no servants and own no cattle. They are vegetarians and their staple food is millet, split pulse, and vegetables. They eat rice twice a week on Saturdays and Mondays. The men dress like Brahmans in a coat, waistcoat, waistcloth, shouldercloth, and Brahman turban and shoes. They wear the *ling* and mark their brows with sandal and ashes. Their women dress in the full Maratha robe and bodice. They rub their brows with redpowder and do not use false hair, deck their heads with flowers, or care for gay colours. They are neat and clean, hardworking, frugal, hospitable, and orderly. They are shopkeepers and sellers of spices, turmeric, asafoetida, and dry coconut kernel, and hawk groundnuts, molasses, pulse, sweetmeats or *chiki*, and parched grain. Others serve as shopboys earning 10s. to 12s. (Rs. 5-6) a month without food. Their boys earn 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3) a month as shopboys. A family of five spends 14s. to £1 (Rs. 7-10) a month on food, and about £1 10s. (Rs. 15) a year on clothes. A house costs about £10 (Rs. 100) to build and 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a month to rent. Their house goods are not worth more than £5 (Rs. 50). A birth costs about 10s. (Rs. 5), a boy's marriage £2 10s. to £7 10s. (Rs. 25-75), a girl's marriage £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50), and a death £1 (Rs. 10). Their chief god is Mahadev and their priests are Jangams or Lingayat priests, who officiate at their births, marriages, and deaths. They make pilgrimages to Shrishailya Malikarjun in Signapur near Phaltan. Bangars worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after a child is born. In the middle of a bamboo winnowing fan they place a handful of wheat, and on the wheat set a dough lamp which they feed with butter. They offer the lamp molasses, wheat bread and *methi* or fenugreek, and ask it to be kindly. A feast to near relations and friends ends the day. On the seventh a Jangam is called, his feet are washed, and the water is drunk by the people of the house, and he presents the new-born child with a *lingam* laying it on the bed near the child's head. A present of 3d. (2 as.) satisfies the priest and he retires. On the twelfth evening the child is laid in the cradle, four dough lamps are lit under it, and five dough cakes are laid one on each corner of the cradle and the fifth under the child's pillow, and the child is named in the presence of female guests. Wet gram is presented to the guests and they retire except a few near relations who remain for dinner. They do not think their women unclean after child-birth, but they do not touch them during their monthly sickness. They do not mourn the dead and do not think that a death makes near relations impure. They marry



their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. The boy's father has to look out for a wife for his son. When he has found a suitable match she is presented with the silver feet ornaments called *sakhalyas* and *vales*, worth about £4 (Rs. 40). A marriage paper or *lagnachiti* is prepared and made over to the boy's father. The boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their homes, the girl first and then the boy, and presented with clothes, the girl with a green robe and bodice and the boy with a shouldercloth and a turban. In the evening two earthen pitchers are brought and broken into two equal parts. They are marked with fantastic colours and decked with gold and silver tinsel. The upper part of the jar is turned upside down and on it the lower part is set and filled with ashes. In the ashes, three torches four or five inches high, soaked in oil, are stuck and lighted with camphor. Round the torches are set fifteen flags about a foot and a half high and the whole is lifted and waved round the house gods. This called the *kuldharmachadip* that is the family god's lamp. The boy and his mother dress in yellow silk, and taking the two broken jars on their heads go to the temple of the village Mahadev accompanied by kinsmen and kinswomen and with a conch shell and other music. At the temple the lamp of the family god is waved round Mahadev's face, a betel packet is laid in front of the god, and the torches are put out by breaking two cocoanuts and pouring their water over the torches. The conch shell is brought back by a married couple the hems of whose robes are knotted together, and it is placed among the household gods as the marriage guardian or *devak*. This ceremony is repeated at the girl's house with the same details, except that instead of the boy's mother the girl's father takes the other jar upon his head. The day ends with a dinner. On the marriage evening the boy is seated on horseback and taken to the girl's house. On reaching the house, before he enters presents are exchanged, and rice, curds, and a cocoanut are waved round the boy's head. In the marriage porch he is made to stand face to face with the girl on a carpet and a cloth is held between them. Both a Jangam and a Brahman are present, and, after the marriage verse is repeated by the Brahman, the cloth is pulled on one side, grains of rice are thrown over their heads, and they are husband and wife. They are next seated facing each other on wheat with their maternal uncles standing behind them. In front of the boy five brass water-pots filled with cold water are placed, one at each corner of a square and the fifth in the middle, and with the help of the Jangam are worshipped by both the boy and the girl. A cotton thread is wound five times round the couple, cut in

two, and one-half with a turmeric root is tied to the right wrist of the boy and the other half to the right wrist of the girl. The boy pours water from the middle water-pot over the girl's hands, and the hems of their garments are tied by the Jangam, who leads them before the conch shell or marriage guardian. They make a low bow and return, and the knot is untied by the Jangam. The Jangam and Brahman priests are then given betel packets and about 3s. (Rs. 1½) in cash and retire. Next day a married woman fills the girl's lap with five betel nuts and leaves, five dry dates, five turmeric roots, pieces of cocoa-kernel, and grains of rice, and she goes to her husband's house with him and his relations and friends and music. A feast at both houses ends the marriage. They allow widow marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They bury the dead. They carry the body sitting in a blanket bag or *zoli* with a Lingayat priest walking in front blowing a conch shell. They bury the body sitting with its face to the east and the *ling* which he wore round his neck in his left hand covered with his right. The chief mourner brings water in a conch shell, drops some into the dead mouth, lays a few *bel* leaves on the hand and in the mouth, and the mourners fill the grave with earth repeating Har, Har, Mahadev. After the grave is filled the Jangam stands over it, repeats texts, and sprinkles a few *bel* leaves, and the mourners retire. The caste is feasted on the third or the fifth day after the death, and every year a mind-feast or *shraddh* is performed. The Bangars have a headman whom they style *shetya*, who settles social disputes in consultation with the men of the caste. They send their boys to school for a short time, They are a steady class.

## BHATYAS

**Bha'tya's**, or Bhati traders, are returned as numbering sixty-seven, and as found in Haveli, Bhimthadi, and Poona city. They have no subdivisions. They are short and sturdy with regular features. Their home speech is Gujarati, but with others they speak Marathi. Their usual food is rice, pulse, and butter in the morning, and rice bread in the evening. They are vegetarians and are careful to abstain from fish, flesh, or liquor. Except their special double-horned turban, the men's dress does not differ from that of high class Marathas; their women dress like Gujarati Vani women in a full petticoat, a short sleeved and open-backed bodice, and a robe or scarf which is drawn up from the back part of the waist of the petticoat across the face as

almost to form a veil, and is fastened in front in the left waist be of the petticoat. Their petticoats and robes are generally of hand printed cloth darker and less gay than the Maratha women's robes. As a class they are hardworking, sober, thrifty, and hospitable. They trade in molasses and *hirde* or myrobalans, which they buy and send to Bombay. They worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods, but their chief objects of worship are Gopal, Krishna, and Mahadev. They are well-to-do.

### **BRAHMA-KSHATRIS**

**Brahma-Kshatris** are returned as numbering sixty-three and as found only in Poona city. They are said to have come into the district from Aurangabad about sixty years ago in search of work. They are also called Thakurs, or lords, a name which in the Deccan is applied to several classes who have or who claim a straight of Kshatriya blood. Among their surnames are Bighe, Nagarkar and Sakre, and among their family stocks or *gotras* are Bharadvaj and Kaushik. Sameness of stock but not sameness of surname is a bar to marriage. The names in common use among men are Aparao, Anandrao, and Lakshman; and among women Ambabai, Jankibai, and Sonabai. They are a fair people and look like Gujarat Brahmans. Their home speech is Marathi. They live in houses of the better class two or more storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their houses are neat and clean, and they keep horses, cattle, and parrots. Their staple food is millet bread, vegetables, and spices. Their holiday dishes are pulse balls and sugared milk; a feast of these dishes costs about £4 (Rs. 40) for every hundred guests. They say they do not eat fish or flesh or drink liquor, and smoke nothing but tobacco. Both men and women dress like Maratha Brahmans, and the women wear false hair and deck their heads with flowers. They are neat and clean, hospitable, and orderly. They are bankers, money-changers, moneylenders, railway contractors, writers, cloth-dealers, and husbandmen. The average monthly food charge for a family of five is about £2 (Rs.20). Their houses cost £50 to £500 (Rs. 500-5000) to build and 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) a month to hire. Their furniture is worth £70 to £200 (Rs. 700-2000). Besides their food servants are paid 4s. to 8s. (Rs.2-4) a month. Their animals are worth £2 to £20 (Rs.20-200). They spend on clothes £3 to £20 (Rs. 30-200) a year. Their store of clothes is worth £5 to £50 (Rs.50-500), and their ornaments £250 to £500 (Rs. 2500-5000). A birth costs £1 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs.15-

25), a hair-clipping £1 to £2 (Rs.10-20), a thread-girding £7 to £12 10s. (Rs.70-125), the marriage of a son £50 to £100 (Rs.500-1000), the marriage of a daughter £20 to £80 (Rs.200-800), a girl's coming of age £5 to £7 10s. (Rs.50-75), a pregnancy £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30), and a death £6 to £7 (Rs. 60-70). They are religious, worshipping chiefly Mahadev and the Devi of Saptashringi hill about thirty miles north of Nasik. They employ Deshasth Brahmans as their priests and show them great respect. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses, keep the regular fasts and feasts, and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Saptashring, and Benares. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, and omens. When a child is born its navel cord is cut by a midwife and buried inside the house. On the fifth day they place a grindstone in the mother's room. A handful of wheat and a betelnut are laid on the stone and worshipped by one of the married women of the family. A dough lamp is set close by and the whole is left for twelve days in the mother's room. To each leg of the cot on which the mother and child are laid is tied a rod of iron as thick as a man's finger and they are left there ten days. The mother is held impure for ten days, when she is bathed and the cot is taken away. The house and part of the room is cowdunged and a fresh cot is laid for the mother and child. In the evening each of five Brahmans is presented with sweetmeats and a copper coin. On the twelfth day the grindstone is taken from the lying-in room and the child is named. Brahmans and married women are feasted, the chief dish being oil-cakes. The hair-clipping takes place when the child is three months to two years old, when the barber buries the hair in some lonely spot and is given a meal of uncooked food and 6d. (4 as.). They gird their boys with the sacred thread when they are between six and ten, the details of the ceremony being the same as among Maratha Brahmans. They marry their girls before they are twelve and their boys before they are twenty-five. Except that the bridegroom wears a silk or a Cotton waistcloth, a coat, and a turban, the ceremony is the same as among Deccan Brahmans. They burn their dead, mourn ten days, and end the mourning with a caste feast. Polygamy is practised and widow marriage forbidden. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school and are well-to-do.

## KIRADS

**Kira'ds** are returned as numbering 236, and as found in

Poona city only. They are said to have come from Gwalior since the beginning of British rule. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Jaradya, Khojarvajar, Menduri, Parsaya, and Sujemiya; people bearing the same surname intermarry. The names in common use among men are Baliram, Banduram, Chandulal, Kisandas, and Kushaji; and among women Hirabai, jesibai, Lalubai, Munyabai, and Subhadrabai. They look like Pardeshi Brahmans. The men wear the top-knot and whiskers but not the beard, and the women wear the hair in a roll at the back of the head. The men mark their brows with sandal paste and the women draw a cross line of redpowder. Their home tongue is Hindustani, but out of doors they speak Marathi. They live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high, and have metal and earthen vessels and bullocks and carts. Their staple food is millet Bread, split pulse, and vegetables, and they are fond of pungent dishes. They eat fish, eggs, and the flesh of goats sheep and fowls, and drink liquor. They give feasts of curds and rice sweet cakes and wheat bread. The men dress like Marathas, and the women wear either a petticoat or a Maratha robe, drawing the skirt back between the feet, and a bodice. The women wear ornaments in their hair and on their ears, nose, neck, arms, and feet. They are hardworking, sober, thrifty, clean, and neat, but hot-tempered and fond of show. They are contractors, supplying hay, thatch, bullocks, and carts. Their women help by making thatch, grinding grain, and selling firewood and coddung cakes. A house costs £20 to £50 (Rs. 200-500) to build and contains furniture and goods worth £5 to £50 (Rs. 50-500). They pay their servants 10s, to 18s. (Rs. 5-9) a month without food. A family of five spend £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month on food, and £1 16s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 18-25) a year on clothes. A birth costs 2s. to 10s (Rs. 4-5), a hair-clipping 2s, to 4s. (Rs. 1-2), a boy's marriage £5 to £15 (Rs. 50-150), a girl's marriage £5 to £6 (Rs. 50-60) and a death £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30). They are Brahmanic Hindus and worship goddesses or mothers more than gods and are termed *devi-upasaks* or goddess-worshippers. Their family deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Lakshmi-Narayan. Their priests all Kanoj Brahmans who officiate at their houses during marriages and deaths. They go on pilgrimage to Tuljapur, Pandharpur, and Alandi. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, and lucky and unlucky days. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they worship the goddess Satvai, and offer her brinjals or *gajre*, dry ginger, black pepper, split pulse or *revdi*, sweetmeats, dry bomalo fish, and dress the child in a coat and cap. On the twelfth the mother's impurity ends and her cot and



clothes are washed. On the thirteenth they lay the child in a cradle and name it. They clip a child's hair when it is one to five years old outside of the house or in a garden. They marry their girls before they are fifteen and their boys before they are twenty-five. The boy's father looks for a girl for his son, and when one is found he sends some of his kinsmen to settle the match. After a couple of days the kinsmen bring back all that the girl's father will let them know of his wishes regarding the match. On the third day the boy's father goes to the girl's. If the girl's father seats him on a cot it is understood that he is willing to give his daughter; if the girl's father seats him on a mat the boy's father goes home. Next day if the match is settled the boy's and girl's fathers go to the priest's and are told lucky days for the marriage and turmeric rubbing. The days are noted on two pieces of paper, which are handed to the two father's who lay them before their house gods. A post is set up near the house and a bundle of hay is tied to its top. On the following day wheat cakes and balls called *gulgule*, are prepared and ten to fifty are sent to the houses of all caste people. On the third day the boy is rubbed with turmeric, and what remains is sent to the girl with a petticoat, bodice, and robe. On the fourth day, a four feet long mango staff is planted in the marriage hall and an earthen jar coloured red and white and filled with cold water is set near the staff. Two copper coins are laid in the jar, it is covered with an earthen lid, and a dough lamp is kept burning close by. Four holes are made in the staff and four lighted lamps or *kodyas* are kept burning in ladles and the whole is worshipped by the boy's maternal uncle. This is called the marriage god or *devak*. The boy is seated on a low wooden stool, is anointed with oil from head to foot, is rubbed with turmeric, and a marriage ornament of wild date or *sindi* palm is tied to his brow. He is seated on a horse and taken in company with children to the marriage porch which has been built at the girl's house. When he draws near the hall he waits without dismounting till the girl's father comes and presents him with a turban and sash, and he goes back to his house. On the fifth day the boy is made to stand at his house on a low wooden stool, and a thread is passed seven times round his body. A couple of leaf-plates are filled with rice and an iron ring is tied with the thread that was passed seven times round his body. This ceremony takes place with the same details at the girl's house. The boy is seated on a horse, and, accompanied by relations friends and music, is taken in procession to the girl's. He is led to a neighbour's house where a feast is held, and after the dinner is over the guests withdraw leaving the boy and one

or two of his relations. Early next day the guests return. Two low wooden stools are set in front of the marriage god or *devak*, and the boy is taken to the girl's house, and he and the girl are seated the girl on his right. The priest kindles a sacrificial fire in front of them and the boy feeds it with clarified butter and grain. The priest holds a cloth between the marriage guardian or *devak* and the boy and girl and repeats marriage verses. When the verses are ended, the girl followed by the boy takes six turns round the *devak*. Before beginning to take the seventh turn, the boy asks his parents and the other guests whether they should take the seventh turn. They say, 'Take the seventh turn'; and he walks in front of the girl, and when the turn is completed they are husband and wife. A feast is held. In the evening the boy and girl are seated in a palanquin or carriage and are taken to the boy's house. Before he enters the house the boy's sister stands in the doorway and asks him to give her two silver wristlets or *kakne*. The boy hands her 4s. (Rs. 2) and she allows him to pass. On the following or seventh day the boy unlooses the girl's wristlet and the girl unlooses the boy's wristlet, and the marriage festivities end with a feast. When a girl comes of age, she is seated by herself for four days and on a lucky day her lap is filled with wheat and fruit. When a person dies the family barber goes to tell the caste people. When they come a bier is made, and, after water has been poured over the body where it lies in the house, it is brought out, laid on the bier, and carried to the burning ground on the shoulders of four men. When the body is half burnt the mourners bathe and go to the deceased's house, and the chief mourner standing before them asks their forgiveness for the trouble to which they have been put. The mourners reply, 'It is no trouble; we have helped you and you will help us,' and they retire. On the third day the chief mourner throws the ashes into water, and on the place where the body was burnt sets two earthen jars, one filled with water the other with milk, and after a bath returns home. The deceased's family mourns ten days. On the eleventh the men of the caste have their heads shaved at the chief mourner's house and at his expense, and after a feast they retire. On the thirteenth his near relations present the chief mourner with a turban and the mourner is free to attend to his business. They have a caste council who settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. Offences against caste are punished by fines varying from 6d. to £1 (Rs. ¼-10), which are spent either on liquor or on a caste feast. The Kirads send their boys to school until they are able to read and write and cast accounts. They are a steady well-to-do

class.

## KOMTIS

**Komtis** are returned as numbering 429 and as found over the whole district except in Maval. They are said to have come into the district fifty to seventy-five years ago from Telangan or the Nizam's country. They are of three divisions, Jains, Ryapols, and Vaishyas, who though they neither eat together nor intermarry differ little in appearance, speech, calling, or customs. They are dark, tall, and thin. Their home tongue is Telugu, but with others they speak Marathi. Many of them live in houses of the better sort two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. They are vegetarians and their staple food is millet, rice, pulse, and vegetables. Both men and women dress like Deccan Brahmans. As a class Komtis are hardworking, orderly, thrifty, and hospitable. Most of them are grocers, dealing in spices, grain, butter, oil, molasses, and sugar. A few are moneylenders, writers, husbandmen, and in Government service as messengers. They send their boys to school. [Fuller details of Komtis are given in the Sholapur Statistical Account.]

## LINGAYATS

**Linga'yats**, or Ling Worshippers, are returned as numbering 5361 and as found over the whole district. They originally belonged to the Karnatak and are said to have come to the district about a hundred years ago. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Gadkar, Hingmire, Jire, Jiresal, Kale, Mitkar, Parmale, Phutane, Vaikar, and Virkar Families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Mahadev Malikarjun, Shankar, and Virbhadrar; and among women Bhagirathi, Bhima, Ganga, Girja, Parvati, and Uma. They are generally tall, thin, and dark. Their home tongue is Kanarese, but out of doors they speak Marathi as fluently as Marathas. They live in houses of the better class and have servants and cattle. Their staple food is millet, rice, pulse, and vegetable, and they neither eat flesh nor drink liquor. They do not allow strangers to see their food or the sun to shine on their drinking water, and they are very careful that no scraps of a meal shall be left uneaten. The men wear a waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth, headscarf or Brahman turban, and Brahman shoes. The women dress in the full Maratha robe and

bodice, and both men and women mark their brows with ashes and carry the *ling* in a small box either tied to the upper left arm or hanging from the neck. They are thrifty, sober, hospitable, hardworking, and orderly. They are grain and cloth retail dealers, and peddlers, grocers, and spice sellers. They are Shaivs and have no images in their houses. If they pass any Hindu temple they bow to the image thinking it to be Mahadev, and in the same way they bow before mosque or a church thinking every object of worship is Shiv. Their priests are Jangams, to whom they show great respect and before whom they bow low. They profess not to believe in sorcery, witchcraft, or soothsaying, or to consult oracles. When a young wife's first confinement draws near she is generally taken to her mother's. When a child is born the midwife cuts the navel cord and lays the child beside its mother in the cot. Word is sent to the child's father, and he distributes sugar and betel-packets among relations, friends, and neighbours. Either on the first, third, or fifth day a *ling* is tied round the mother's neck or laid under the child's bed or pillow. On the evening of the fifth day, in the lying-in room, near the cot a square is traced on the ground with rice flour or quartz powder, and in the square is laid the knife with which the child's navel string was cut, together with a blank sheet of paper and a pen, and these are bowed to as Satvai. On the evening of the sixth day a silver image of the goddess Parvati worth  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  ( $\frac{1}{2}.1$  *anna*) is set on a low wooden stool, the midwife lays flowers, camphor, and frankincense before it, and the mother and child bow down to it. The Jangam comes and is seated on a low wooden stool. His feet are washed in a plate, and the water is sprinkled over the house, and given to the house people both men and women to drink. The priest retires with a dinner and a few coppers. They name their children, if a girl on the twelfth day and if a boy on the thirteenth. On the naming day five married women are asked to dine along with near kinsfolk and the child is laid in a cradle and named. Before beginning her house work the mother takes her child to a temple of Mahadev, bows to the god, and comes home. They feed a child on solid food for the first time after it is six months old. When it is a year old, if it is a girl, part of its forelock is clipped by its maternal uncle, and if it is a boy the head excepting the topknot is shaved by a barber. At five years old a boy is sent to school, and at twelve he is taught a sacred verse in honour of Shiv. Girls are also taught this verse, but not till they are sixteen. They marry their girls between eight and twelve and their boys between twelve and twenty-five. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's house, and

when the match is settled the boy's father, accompanied by a Jangam and a few near relations, goes to the girl's, presents her with a new robe and bodice, and puts a little sugar into her mouth. The girl's father hands betel-packets and the guests withdraw. Afterwards, the marriage day is settled in consultation with a Jangam 'or a Brahman astrologer. Marriage porches are raised both at the boy's and at the girl's and an earthen altar is made at the girl's. Round the altar twenty whitewashed earthen pots marked with red lines are piled in five pillars each of four pots. The boy is seated on horseback, and with a band of kinsmen and kinswomen and music goes to the girl's house. The boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric and the hems of their garments are knotted together and untied after the boy and girl have bowed before the god Mahadev. A quartz square is traced, and round it are arranged five metal water-pots filled with water. In the middle of the square two low wooden stools are set and the boy and girl take their seats on the stools. In front of them is set an image of Mahadev and of his carrier the bull Nandi, and these are worshipped with the help of the Jangam. The Jangam repeats the marriage verses and the guests keep throwing grains of rice over the heads of the boy and girl. When the verses are finished the boy and girl bow before Mahadev and Nandi and are man and wife. The boy and girl are seated on the altar and the girl's father presents the boy with a water-pot or *tambya* and a plate or *pitali*. A dinner follows and after dinner betel-packets are handed and the guests withdraw. Next day presents of clothes are exchanged, the boy goes in procession with his wife to his house, and the guests are given betel-packets and withdraw. When a Lingayat is on the point of death alms are given in his name. When he dies he is seated on a low wooden stool leaning against the wall and supported on each side by near kinspeople. A bamboo frame is built round a high wooden stool, a young plantain tree is tied to each corner of the stool, and a red cloth is folded on the three sides of the bamboo frames. The body is carried outside of the house, cold water is poured over it, and ashes are rubbed on the brow arms and chest. It is dressed in the usual clothes, and flower garlands are hung round the neck. A lighted lamp is waved round the face and the body is seated in the frame and carried on the shoulders of four men. In front walks a Jangam with a conch shell and a bell, constantly ringing the bell and every now and then blowing the shell. Both men and women follow repeating Har, Har, Mahadev. When they reach the burial ground the frame is lowered, water is sprinkled on the ground which is to be the grave, a hole six feet deep is dug,



and the body is lowered into the hole, and seated with the clothes on. The *ling* is untied from the neck, laid on the open hand and covered with *bel* leaves. As much salt as the mourners on afford is spread round the body and the grave is filled. A stone is laid over the grave, and on the stone the Jangam stands repeating verses. When the verses are ended *bel* leaves are thrown over the stone and the funeral party retire to the house of mourning and look at the burning lamp which was placed on the spot where the dead breathed his last. After they leave the lamp is allowed to go out. They show no signs of mourning, but, if able to meet the expenses raise a tomb with a *ling* and a bull carved on it. On the third day a feast is held. Nothing more is done till the yearly death-day when another feast is given. The Lingayats are bound together as a body, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen consultation with the headmen or *shettia's*. They send their boy to school for a short time, and are in easy circumstances.

**Loha'na's** are returned as numbering six and as found only in Poona. They have come to Poona from Bombay, where they muster strong. Their home tongue is Gujarati, but they speak Marathi like Brahmans. They are, thrifty, hospitable, and hardworking. They are traders, moneylenders, and dealers in gunny-bags or *bardans*.

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

### TAMBOLIS

**Ta'mbolis**, or Betel-leafsellers, are returned as numbering forty-six and as found only in the city and cantonment of Poona. They say they came from Satara and Ahmadnagar during the time of the Peshwas and took to selling betel leaves from which they get their name. They eat and marry with Maratha Kunbis. Their surnames and the names of men and women are the same as those of cultivating Marathas, and, as among Marathas, persons bearing the same surname do not intermarry. They look speak dress and eat like Marathas. They resemble Marathas in religion and customs, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They are retail sellers of betel leaves, of *apta* Bauhina racemosa and *temburni* Diospyros melanoxylon cigarettes, of betelnut, of catechu, and of tobacco. They buy the betel leaves from Tirgul Brahmans who grow them in gardens. Between *Magh* or February and *Jesht* or June they buy a *kudtan* of thirty-seven *kavlis*, each *kavli* containing four

hundred and fifty leaves, plucked from the tops of plants and worth 16s. to £1 6s. (Rs. 8-13) the *kudtan*. They sell twelve, fifteen, or twenty leaves for  $\frac{3}{8}d$ . ( $\frac{1}{4}anna$ ). From June to October they buy a *kudtan* of *navatichis* or tender leaves and *talpanes* or short-bottom leaves at 4s. to 12s. (Rs. 2-6) the *kudtan*. Between October and February they buy a *kudtan* of *gachis* or middle leaves costing 14s. to 18s. (Rs. 7-9) and sell them at twenty to twenty-five for  $\frac{3}{8}d$ . The ripe or *pakha* leaves are sold at eight to twelve for  $\frac{3}{8}d$ . The leaves have to be turned and aired every day and the ripe ones picked out. If not carefully picked and sifted the leaves rot. Tambolis make £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month. Their women do not help. Lads begin to serve as shopboys on 10s. to 14s. (Rs. 5-7) a month. They do not send their boys to school, and are a steady class.

## VANIS

Va'nis or Traders, with a strength of 14,374, belong to three main divisions, Gujarat Vanis, Marwar Vanis, and Vaishya Vanis, who neither dine together nor intermarry.

## Gujrat

**GUJARAT VANIS** or traders, numbering 3844, are found over the whole district. They are said to have come from Gujarat in search of work at different times during the last two hundred years. They are divided into Meshris or Brahmanic Vanis, followers of the vaishnav pontiff Vallabhacharya, and Shravaks or followers of the Jain religion. Meshris are divided into Kapols, Khadayats, Lads, Modhs, Nagars, Panchas, and Porvals. They rank next to Brahmans and eat only from the Gujarat Brahmans who officiate as their priests. The Jains are divided into Humbads, Porvals, and Shrimalis. The following details apply both to Meshri and to Jain Vanis. [Besides the Gujarat and Marwar Shravaks or Jains, there are a few Kanarese jains who do not differ from the Jains described in the Sholapur Statistical Account.] The names in common use among men are Ganpatdas, Lakhmidas, Manekchand, Narayandas, Raghunathdas, Ramdas, Shivchand, Shivdas, and Vithaldas [Meshri men's names end with *das* and Shravak men's names end with *chand*.]; and among women, Gulab, Godavari, Jadav, Jamna, Jasoda, Kaveri, Lakhmi, Manik, Radha, Rukhmini, and Reva. They have neither surnames nor family stocks. The

men add the word *shet* the Gujarati for merchant to their names. They speak Gujarati at home and like the Vanis of Gujarat, from whom they do not differ in appearance, they are fair and inclined to stoutness. Most of them live in houses two or three storeys high, with stone and brick walls and tiled roofs. Their houses cost £100 to £1000, (Rs. 1000-10,000) to build and 16s. to £2 (Rs. 8-20) a month to hire. The value of their furniture and house goods varies from £100 to £1000 (Rs. 1000-10,000). The furniture of the rich families of Poona Vanis includes couches, sofas, boxes, chairs, tables, globes, looking glasses, Indian carpets, Persian carpets, beds, pillows, cushions, large and small cooking and storing vessels and utensils, and useful and ornamental silver plates. Most of these employ servants to do the house work and pay them 8s. to 12s. (Rs. 4-6) a month. They keep cows, she-buffaloes, horses, and parrots. They are strict vegetarians and are famous for their fondness for sweet dishes. The daily meal includes four or five dishes, rice boiled and strained, split pulse turmeric powder and salt called *varan*, unleavened wheat cakes called *polis*, and vegetable. A family of five spends £1 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 15-25) a month on food. They give caste feasts on marriage and other occasions the chief dishes being a preparation of wheat flour, milk, sugar and clarified butter called *lapshi*; grains of gram flour passed through a sieve fried in clarified butter and seasoned with sugar called *bundis*; tubes containing boiled sugar, fried in clarified butter called *jilbis*; and raised wheaten cakes fried in clarified butter and rice seasoned with sugar, clarified butter and condiments called *puris*. They use no intoxicants except *bhang* a liquid preparation of Indian hemp flowers, and smoke tobacco. Though most families have a store of rich clothes they are neither careful nor neat in their dress, many of the men being slovenly and dirty. A family of five spends £4 to £7 (Rs. 40-70) a year on dress. The men wear the mustache and whiskers, but shave the chin. They dress like Maratha Brahmans, except that in passing the end of the waistcloth between the legs they draw it tight over the right shin. The men's ornaments are the earrings called *bhikbali* worth £5 to £15 (Rs. 50-150), the necklace of twisted chain called *gop* worth £10 to £80 (Rs. 100-800), the necklace called *kanthi* worth £10 to £100 (Rs. 100-1000), the bracelets called *todas* worth £5 to £15 (Rs. 50-150), and the bracelets called *kadis* worth £5 to £15 (Rs. 50-150). The women arrange the hair in a braid. Some have lately taken to decking their hair with flowers and mixing it with false hair. They dress like Gujarat Vani women. Some wear bodices with backs, and some bodices without backs. Almost all

wear the *lunga* or petticoat, over which they draw a rich robe, the lower the end of which is fastened into the waistband of the petticoat and the upper end drawn over the head and held in the hand near the waist in front, so as, when the wearer wishes, to form a veil. The petticoats and robes of the Gujarat Vani women are noticeable in the Deccan, because they are oftener of dark-tinted hand-printed calico than the light single colours worn by most Deccan Hindu women. Besides the luck-giving necklace worth 4s. to £1 (Rs.2-10), they have different neck ornaments, *hirakadichi sakhali* worth £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150), *kantha* worth £20 to £50 (Rs. 200-500) *putalyachi mal* worth £12 10s. to £50 (Rs. 125-500), *thusi* worth £10 to £12 10s. (Rs. 100-125), and *vajratika* worth £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40). Their bracelets include *bangdis* worth £10 to £12 10s. (Rs. 100-125), *gots* worth £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150), *patlis* worth £15 to £50 (Rs. 150- 500), and *todas* worth £20 to £25 (Rs. 200-250). The only feet ornaments are *sakhlis* and *todas*, each worth £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150); and toe ornaments, *jodvis* and *masolis*, each worth £1 to £1 12s. (Rs. 10-16). They are patient, hardworking, respectful, and thrifty. Most of them are grocers, cloth and siik sellers, bankers, and moneylenders, and a few are Government servants. When he reaches his sixteenth year a boy is placed as a clerk under some trader or shopkeeper for six months or a year, during which he manages to pick up the business. At the end of the time he begins to trade on his own account and makes £2 to £5 (Rs. 20- 50) a month. Most of their large purchases we made in Bombay. They work from early morning to noon, rest till two, and again work till eight in the evening. The opening of railways has increased competition and lowered profits. Many are rich and almost all are well-to-do and free from debt. The women do not help the men in their work, but mind the house and spend the rest of their time in embroidery.

A Gujarat Vani woman generally remains for her confinement at her husband's house. When a woman is in labour a midwife is sent for, who is generally a Kunbi. She delivers the woman, cuts the child's navel cord, and buries it either in the lying-in room or outside of the house. The woman and child are bathed in warm water and the woman is given molasses and clarified butter to eat and anise-seed water to drink. During the first three days the child is fed on honey and castor oil, and from the fourth day is given the breast. The mother from the fourth to the twelfth day is fed in *sanja*, that is the grit of wheat flour

boiled with sugar and clarified butter. On the sixth evening a blank sheet of paper, a pen, and an inkstand are laid near the mother's cot for the goddess Sati to write the child's fortune, and grains of parched grain coated with molasses are given to little children to eat. The mother is unclean for eleven days. The child is named when it is a month or five weeks old. On the naming day five or six married women are asked to dine, and the father gives the child feet and waist ornaments and the mother a robe and bodice. In the evening the child is laid in a robe folded in hammock fashion, and is named by an unmarried girl, who is given sugar, a piece of coa-kernel, and betel leaves. A birth costs £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30). The *java* or hair-cutting ceremony costs £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100). a vow is made on the child's behalf, its hair is not cut until the vow is paid. Sometimes the hair-cutting comes off during the marriage of one of the child's kinspeople, and sometimes on any good day between the sixth month and the fifth year of the child's age. The Barber who is to cut the hair clips a small lock with a silver pair of scissors worth 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5). The ceremony ends with a feast to friends kinspeople and Brahmans. They generally marry their daughters between eleven and fifteen spending £50 to £200 (Rs.500- 2000) on the marriage, and their boys between thirteen and twenty-five at a cost of £200 to £500 (Rs. 1000-5000). When the girl's father thinks of marrying his daughter, he takes some near kinsman and goes to a family who have a boy likely to make a suitable match. The kinsman sees the head of the boy's family and tells him why they have come. If the kinsman finds that the boy's father favour the match, he returns with the girl's father. Then the boy's father in presence of witnesses agrees to the offer and names the sum which he can afford to spend on ornaments for the girl. If the girl's father has no hope of securing a better or a richer husband for his daughter, he marks the boy's brow with vermilion and give cocoanuts, betel leaves, and dry dates to those who are present. The fathers go to an astrologer to fix the marriage day, and boy's father gives the astrologer a cocoanut and 3d. (2 as.) Marriage cards are sent to friends and relations, and in front of the girl's and the boy's houses a marriage porch is built. A Ganpati of brass or silver is set in a large earthen jar marked with lines of white and red, and the jar is placed in the house on a heap of wheat. The mouth of the jar is covered with a small earthen vessel and a lamp is kept burning before it. A month before the day fixed for the marriage the ceremony of rubbing the boy's face and feet with *pithi* or gram-paste begins. The boy is seated on a four-legged or *chaurang* stool and his



face and feet are rubbed by women, who afterwards sit round him and sing songs. Each of this women on leaving is every day given a handful of betelnut. This ceremony is called *Lahan Ganesh* or the Little Ganpati. Four days before the marriage day caste feasts begin. On the marriage day the bridegroom is decked with ornaments and garlands of flowers, dressed in rich clothes his turban being stuffed with pieces of green *kinkhab* or brocade, and carrying a cocoanut in his hand he is taken to the bride's on horseback with music and a company of friends. When the procession reaches the bride's, her mother comes out of the marriage booth, waves a drinking pot full of water round the face of the bridegroom, and pours the water over the horse's feet. The bridegroom is taken from the horse and seated on a four-legged stool. The bride is led into the booth and seated on a low stool facing the bridegroom. They hold each other's right hands and a piece of coloured cloth is drawn between them. The priest recites eight luck-giving verses. At the end of the verses the priest binds round the right wrists of the bride and the bridegroom a *kankan* or bracelet of cotton thread passed through a *gelphal* or *Vangueria spinosa* fruit, and the married couple pass fourteen times round a sacred fire or *hom* the bridegroom walking in front of the bride. On the fourth day after the marriage the bride's father presents the bridegroom with clothes and vessels as the bride's portion and the married pair go on horseback in procession to the bridegroom's. At the bridegroom's the priest worships and bows out the divinity who under the name of Ganpati was summoned at the beginning of the ceremonies. When the marriage guardian has been bowed out the bride and bridegroom fall at the feet of the priest, who blesses them. At the bridegroom's house, the castepeople are for several days feasted often at great expense.

When a girl comes of age she is held to be unclean and is made to sit by herself for four days. The event is not marked by any other ceremony. In the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy a caste feast is given, and her parents present her and her husband with new clothes. She is seated on a four-legged stool and her lap is filled with grain and fruit by women, who sing as they fill her lap. She is taken to the houses of friends and kinspeople to pay her respects in a palanquin or a carriage. This costs £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100).

A dying man is laid on a spot of ground which has been washed with cowdung, and wheat grains and copper or silver coins are distributed to begging Brahmans. When they hear of the death, the friends and kinspeople come to the house, and the women standing in a circle beat their breasts and wail and the men make a bier. A cocoanut is tied to the bier and a piece of sandalwood is fastened at its head. The body is bathed, robed in a waistcloth, laid on the bier, and covered with a shroud, sometimes a richly embroidered shawl. Unlike the Marathas they cover the face of the dead. When all is ready the chief mourner starts carrying the fire-pot in a sling. On the way to the burning ground the bearers set down the bier and change places and the son drops a copper coin on the spot. At the burning ground they lay the body on the pyre and kindle it. While the body is being consumed they thrice stir the pile with poles whose ends are smeared with clarified butter. The funeral party bathe and return to the house of the deceased, staying for a time, and trying to comfort the women who are weeping and wailing. Next day the mourners go to the burning ground, remove the ashes, and place on the spot a little rice and split *tur* pulse, a copper coin, and an earthen pot filled with water. The impurity caused by a death lasts ten days. Meshri or Brahmanic Vanis perform *shradh* ceremonies on the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth day after a death, and feed castepeople on the twelfth or thirteenth. Shravak or Jam vanis do not perform *shradhs*, but go to their temples or *apasras* on the twelfth day and offer scents and flowers to the Tirthankars. [Shravaks pay little attention to the Brahman rule that a death causes a ten day's impurity.]

Gujarat Vanis are scattered in small numbers over the district. They settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. Offences against caste are punished by fines ranging from 2s. to £2 10s. (Rs.1-25), and the amount is spent either in charity or on caste feasts. They send their boys and girls to school, keeping the boys at school till sixteen and the girls till nine. They teach the boys to read, write, and cast accounts. They do not confine themselves to any one branch of trade and are quick in taking advantage of new openings. As a class they are well-to-do.

## Marwar

MARWAR VANIS are returned as numbering 9637 and as found over the whole district. Most, if not all, have come into the district since the beginning of British rule. They are divided into Osvals and Porvals, who eat together but do not intermarry. The two divisions do not differ from each other in appearance, speech, religion, or customs. Their surnames are Chavan, Parmar, Pohanachavan, and Sakruju; families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Gavra, Hattaj, Khumaji, Khushal, Kusna, Ram, and Sada; and among women Bani, Devi, Dhande, Naju, Nopi, Padma, and Rakhma. They are rather tall dark and stout, as a rule with big faces and sharp eyes. The men generally shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the mustache and eyebrows. Some wear a lock of hair curling over each ear, and the back hair is mostly worn long with an upward curl at the tips. Their home tongue is Marwari, but with others they speak an incorrect Marathi. Most of them live in houses of the better class, two or more storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs, their furniture including metal vessels, boxes, carpets, beds, and pillows. Their staple food is wheat cakes, rice, pulse, vegetables, and butter. They are vegetarians, neither eating fish nor flesh, and drinking no liquor. They dress either like Marathi Brahmans or in small tightly wound particoloured turbans, generally yellow and red or pink and red. Their women wear the petticoat or *ghagra*, a short sleeved open-backed bodice, and a cloth rolled round the waist of the petticoat, passed over the head and face, and the end held in the hand in front. Their arms are covered with ivory bracelets and they do not deck their hair with flowers. They are hardworking, sober, and timid, but dirty, miserly, greedy, and unprincipled in their dealings. Besides in grain, cloth, and metal, they deal in condiments, spices, sugar, butter, flour, and oil. They are moneychangers and moneylenders. They make advances to almost any one and recover them by all sorts of devices. A family of five spends £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month on food and £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30) a year on clothes. They generally do not own houses, but rent them at 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) a month. They sometimes have clerks, whom they pay 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20) a month. Their furniture and household goods vary in value from £20 to £50 (Rs. 200-500). A birth costs £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30), a boy's marriage £30 to £50 (Rs. 300-500), a girl's £20 to £30 (Rs. 200-300), and a death £5 to £10 (Rs. 50 - 100). They are Shravaks or Jains by religion and their chief god is Kshetrapal whose chief shrine is near Mount

Abu. They also worship the usual Brahmanic or local gods and goddesses. Their priests are Shrimali Brahmans, who conduct their marriage and death ceremonies. They marry their girls before they are thirteen and their boys before they are twenty. They rub turmeric on the boy's and girl's bodies from three days to a month before the marriage and spend the time in feasts and make presents of clothes. On the marriage day the boy is seated on a horse, the marriage ornament is tied to his brow, and he is taken to the girl's with a dagger in his hand. Before he dismounts, a stick is handed to him and with it he touches the marriage porch. The girl's mother comes out carrying on her head two or three brass water-pots or *kalases* piled one on the other. The boy bows and drops 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) in the pots. She then goes back and comes with a plate in which are two cups, one filled with curds and the other with redpowder or *kunku*. She marks the boy's brow first with redpowder and then with curds and squeezes the boy's nose four times. The boy dismounts and takes his seat in a cot in the marriage hall, at each corner of which is piled a pillar of seven earthen jars. The girl is brought out and seated in front of the boy with grains of rice in her hand. A cloth is held between the boy and the girl. The girl throws the grains of rice over the boy's head and the cloth is withdrawn. She then takes her seat on the boy's right. The hems of their garments are tied together by a married woman, a thread necklace is fastened round their necks, and the sacrificial fire is lit, and barley sesamum and butter are thrown into it. The boy and girl walk thrice round the fire and before taking the fourth turn the girl walks in front of the boy and does not make the fourth turn until the elders have given her leave. All this while the priests keep reading lucky verses or *mangalashtaks*, and no sooner is the fourth turn finished than grains of rice are thrown over the heads of the boy and the girl and they are married. They burn their dead, have no headman, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen of each division. They send their boys to school and are well-to-do.

### **Vaishya**

VAISHYA VANIS are returned as numbering 893 and as found all over the district except in Junnar. They have no tradition of their origin and no remembrance of any former settlement or of their arrival in the district. They have no subdivisions. They are middle-sized and stout, and their women are fair. They speak Marathi and live in houses with mud and brick walls and tiled

roofs. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. They dress like Deccan Brahmans. They are thrifty, hardworking, sober, and orderly, and earn their living as traders, shopkeepers, and husbandmen. They worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods and goddesses, keep the regular fasts and feasts, and go on pilgrimage to the chief Brahmanic places of resort. They pay great respect to their priests who are Deshasth Brahmans. They have a caste council and send their boys to school. They are a steady people.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers



## POPULATION

### HUSBANDMEN

**Husbandmen** include five classes with a strength of 449,930 or 53.13 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### ***POONA HUSBANDMAN, 1881.***

CLASS.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Baris	38	30	68
Kachis	350	358	708
Kunbis	198,403	198,184	396,587
Malis	26,306	26,251	52,557
Pahadis	4	6	10
Total	225,101	224,829	449,930

### **Baris**

**Baris**, or Bari Tambolis, that is Bari betel-leafsellers, are returned as numbering sixty-eight. All are found in the city of Poona. They believe that they came to Poona about a hundred years ago from Barhanpur in West Berar. They are called Bari-Tambolis to distinguish them from Teli or Oilmen Tambolis, from Maratha Tambolis, and from Musalman Tambolis. The Baris surnames are Berad, Hage, Ikare, Makode, Musale, Povar, Panchod, and Tade, and persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Ganpati, Mittraji, and Shivram; and among women Ambu, Lahani, Shita, and Sundar. They look like Marathas, being middle-sized and dark. The men wear the top-knot, mustache and whiskers, but not the beard. They speak Marathi without any peculiarities. Most of them live in houses of the better class, two or more storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. They keep their houses clean and have copper brass and earthen vessels, blankets, and carpets. They own cows and buffaloes, but almost none have servants. They are neither

great eaters nor good cooks. There is nothing special or proverbial about their style of cooking or their pet dishes. Their staple food is millet, pulse, vegetables, and spices, and they eat rice, fish, and the flesh of goats, sheep, poultry, and occasionally eggs. They say they do not eat from the hands of any one but a Brahman. They drink both country and foreign liquor, smoke tobacco, and hemp flowers or *ganja*, and take opium. Their holiday dishes are oil-cakes and sugared milk. The men wear a waistcloth, shouldercloth, coat, waistcoat, Maratha turban, and shoes. The women wear a Maratha robe and bodice and glass bangles. They tie their *hair* in a knot behind the head, but do not deck it with flowers or use false hair. They have no special liking for gay colours. Their holiday dress does not differ from their every-day dress except that it is freshly washed. Except a brass, gilt, or gold ring for the ear called *bhikbali* worth 1s. 3d. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{5}{8}$ -1), the men seldom wear any ornaments. The women's ornaments are a gilt or gold buttoned lucky necklace or *mangalsutra* with glass beads worth 2s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1-1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ), queensmetal bracelets called *yella* and *got* worth 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2), and queensmetal anklets called *jodvi* and *viravlya* worth 3d. to 6d. (2- 4 *as.*)

They are hardworking, frugal, and orderly. They deal in betel leaves, buying them from Tirgul Brahmans, Malis, and Marathas at 2s. to £1 16s. (Rs. 1-18) for a *kudti* of about 16,500 leaves. Betel leaves are of four kinds: *navatis* worth 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) the *kudti* of 16,500 leaves; [The details are: In each *kudti* 37 *kavlis* and in each *kavli* 450 leaves, that is a total of 16,650.] *talachis* worth 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) the *kudti*; *gachis* worth 6s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 3-12) the *kudti*; and *shidis* worth 6s. to £1 16s. (Rs. 3-18) the *kudti*. They keep no holidays and work steadily without busy or slack seasons. They generally work from six in the morning to twelve, and from two to nine. The women help the men by turning the leaves. A family of five spends 10s. to £1 (Rs.8-10) a month on food and £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a year on clothes. They live in hired houses paying 9d. to 1s. 3d. (6-10 *as.*) a month. A birth, whether of a boy or of a girl, costs 10s. (Rs. 5); a marriage of a boy £5 to £7 10s. (Rs. 50 - 75), and of a girl £4 to £6 (Rs.40-60); and a death £1 to £1 4s. (Rs.10-12). They have house images of Ganpati, Mahadev, and Maruti, and their family goddess is the Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are generally Deshasths. Their fast days are *Mahashivaratra* in February, nine days of *Navratra* and *Ramnavmi* in April, *Ashadhi Ekadashi* in July, *Gokul-ashtami* in

August, and *Kartiki Ekadashi* in November, and their feasts are *Shimga* in March, *Padva* in April, *Nagar-panchami* in August, *Ganesh-chaturthi* in September, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November.

They have no *guru* or teacher and profess to disbelieve in witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and evil spirits. For cutting the child's navel cord they pay the midwife 7½*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* (5-10 *as.*), and feed the child for three days on honey and castor oil. On the evening of the third day the child takes the breast and the mother is fed on butter, wheat, and molasses. On the night of the fifth they draw redlead figures on the wall in the mother's room and in front of the figures place *methi*, that is fenugreek or Greek hay, and rice or millet bread, and the mother with the babe in her arm bows to the figures and retires. The same ceremony is repeated the next night in honour of the goddess Satvai. On the evening of the twelfth day the child is named and wet gram and packets of betelnut and leaves are presented to married women. The *javal* or hair-cutting takes place on any day after a child is four months old and before it is a year and a quarter old.

They marry their girls between five and nine and their boys between twelve and twenty-five. Their asking and betrothal ceremonies are the same as those of Maratha cultivators and their guardian or *devak* is their house goddess. On the day before a marriage they *give* their house gods to a goldsmith to clean at his house. When they are clean they bring the gods home with music and install them with much ceremony, worshipping them with great pomp, playing music, and offering them abundance of sweet-smelling flowers. Oil-cakes are prepared and a feast is held; The boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their houses. Either on the same day or on the day after relations and friends are feasted. On the marriage day the boy goes on horseback to the girl's house with kinsmen and kinswomen, friends, and music. At the girl's water and rice are waved round his head, he is taken into the house and made to stand either on a low wooden stool or in a new bamboo basket facing the bride, and a cloth is held between them. Brahmans repeat marriage verses and at the end throw grains of red rice over the heads of the boy and girl, and they are husband and wife. The skirts of the boy's and girl's robes are tied together, and they are seated in the marriage booth and the sacrificial fire is lighted. They are taken before the marriage gods and bow

low before them. Their garments are untied, and the boy and the girl repeat one another's names in couplets. On the following day presents of clothes are exchanged between the two houses, and, in addition, the boy is given a plate or *thala* of queensmetal, a brass or copper water-pot called *tambya*, and a brass lamp. The relations on both sides throw finger rings and copper and silver coins into the plate for the girl. The girl's parents take the girl in their arms, and saying to the boy's parents, ' All this while she was ours, now she is yours,' place her in the boy's arms. The boy's mother puts a little sugar in the girl's mouth, sticks a rupee on her brow, and looks in her face. The skirts of the boy's and girl's robes are tied and they are seated either on a horse or in a carriage, and, accompanied by kinspeople and friends, go in procession to the boy's house. Before entering the house the boy's mother waves cooked rice and bread over their heads and throws the rice and bread away. The boy and girl go into the house, throw grains of rice over the heads of the house and marriage gods, bow before them, and retire. On the following day, if well-to-do they give a feast of sweet cakes or *puran-polis*, or if poor distribute betel-nut and leaves. This ends the marriage ceremony. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for three days, bathed on the fourth, presented with a new bodice and robe, and her lap is filled with plantains, guavas, dates, pomegranates, oranges, and wheat or rice. In the evening the girl and afterwards the boy are taken to a room set apart for their use. This is done either at the boy's or the girl's. If at the girl's the boy stays for a couple of days and then goes home either with or without his wife.

When a Bari is on the point of death rice or wheat grains are distributed in his name to beggars and a *tulsi* leaf is laid in his mouth. When he dies, bamboos worth 6d. to 7½d. (4-5 as.), two earthen pots worth about 1½ d. (1 *anna*), a white cloth worth 2s. to 5s. (Rs. 1 -2½), and cowdung cakes worth 7s. to 14s. (Rs. 3½-7) are bought. The body is brought out of the house, hot water is poured over it, and it is wrapped in the new cloth, and laid on the bier. If the deceased is a widow her brow is marked with *abir* on sweet-scented powder. If her husband is alive she is dressed in new green robe and bodice, her brow is marked with redpowder and turmeric, glass bangles are put on her wrists, and her lap filled with grain dry cocoa-kernel and dates, and she is laid on the bier. The bier is carried on the shoulders of four near relations and the chief mourner walks in

front with an earthen pot containing burning cowdung cakes. Half-way to the burning ground the bier lowered, a few grains of rice and a copper are laid by the side of the road near the corpse's head, and each mourner drops two or three the pebbles over the copper. The bearers change places and carry the corpse to the burning ground, dip it in a stream river or pond, and the chief mourner dashes on the ground the pot containing the burning cowdung cakes. A few cowdung cakes are placed over the burning cakes, a pile is raised, and the dead body is laid on it. The chief mourner first sets fire to the pile and then the other mourner. When the skull splits the chief mourner takes another earthen jar full of water on his shoulder and walks thrice round the pyre beating his mouth with the back of his right hand. When the body is burnt to ashes they bathe and return to the chief mourner house carrying *nim* leaves. At the mourner's house, a lamp is kept burning on the spot where the deceased breathed his last. The mourners take a look at the lamp, sprinkle *nim* leaves round it, and return to their homes. On the third day, accompanied by a couple of near relations, the chief mourner goes to the burning ground, gathers the ashes, and throws them into the river or stream, sprinkles cow's urine, turmeric, redpowder, and flowers on the spot where the body was burnt, burns frankincense, and offers parched rice grain and sweetmeats to the spirit of the dead. He gathers the unburnt bones in an earthen jar, puts them somewhere in hiding, and returns home. The chief mourner is considered unclean for ten days. At the end of the ten days he either buries the bones in the jar or throws them into water. On the tenth day he feasts the four corpse-bearers with a dish of wheat and molasses called *thuli* and curry. A flower dipped in butter is drawn from the shoulders to the elbow of each of the corpse-bearers, and they retire. [This rite is called *khande utarne*, literally the shoulder taking-away, meaning apparently the taking away of the uncleanness, that is of the unclean spirit, which. settled on their shoulders in consequence of their having borne the body.] On the eleventh day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground, sets twelve or thirteen wheat balls in a row, drops redpowder and flowers over them, and throws them into water. On the twelfth day, the chief mourner and his family priest go to the burning ground and make a three-cornered mound and set three earthen jars on it. Over each jar is placed a small wheat cake and a rice ball and at each corner of the mound is planted a flag six or eight inches long. The mourner retires to some distance and waits for the crows to come, and when a crow has come and touched one of the balls he bathes



and goes home. The Brahman who accompanies him is presented with a pair of shoes, an umbrella, a dining plate or *tat*, and a water-pot or *tambya*, and 6d. to 1s. (4-8 *as.*) in cash. On the thirteenth day the chief mourner fills a plate with food and throws it in a stream or river. The caste is feasted and treated to a dish of sweet cakes or *puran-polis*. A near relation presents the chief mourner with a turban and the mourning or *dukhavta* is over. The Baris allow child-marriage, widow-marriage, and polygamy, but not polyandry. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school for a short time. They are a steady class.

### KACHIS

**Kachis** are returned as numbering 708 and as found in Khed, Sirur, Haveli, Bhimthadi, and Poona. They say their forefathers came from Gwalior and Aurangabad; when and why they do not know. They are divided into Marwari and Pardeshi Kachis. The following details apply to Marwari Kachis who are divided into Kalao-kachis, Dhimar-kachis, Karbhoi-kachis, and Bundele-kachis, who do not eat together or intermarry. Their surnames are Bundele, Elchya, Gwaliari, and Katkariya, and persons bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Dhanu, Jairam, Tukaram, and Tuljaram; and among women, Ganga, Jamna, and Kundi. The Kachis are strong and well made. The men wear the top-knot but neither whiskers nor beards, and their home tongue is Hindustani. Most of them live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, and domestic fowls, and drink liquor. Their staple food is millet, wheat, split pulse, and rice. They generally eat in the evening. A family of five spends £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month on food. The men wear a waistcoat, a coat, a waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a Maratha turban, and Brahman shoes; the women wear a bodice with a back and either the full Maratha robe passing the skirt back between, the feet and tucking it into the waist behind, or a petticoat and short upper robe the end of which they draw over the head. They are hardworking, thrifty, sober, and orderly. They are fruit-sellers, taking fruit; gardens on hire from their owners at £7 10s. to £20 (Rs. 75-200). They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses and keep the regular fasts and feasts. Of these the chief are *Holi* in March *Akshadtritiya* in May,

and *Rakhipornima* in August. Their priests are Pardeshi Brahmans whom they treat with great respect. Their customs are like those of Marathas. A birth costs £1 to £2 (Rs. 10- 20), and naming 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10). Their guardian or *devak* is an axe or *kurhad* and the *panchpallavs* or five leaves of the *Ficus religiosa pipal*, *F. glomerata umbar*, *F. indica vad*, *F. infectoria nandruk*, and the mango, which they tie to a post of the marriage hall at both the boy's and the girl's houses. They marry their children seated on carpets near each other, the girl to the left of the boy. When the marriage texts are finished the hems of their garments are tied together, and they make a bow before the house gods. The boy and girl are offered sugared milk and taken in procession on horseback to the boy's parents' house. Feasts are exchanged and the marriage is over. The ceremony costs the boy's father £1 to £15 (Rs.10-150), and the girl's father £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). They either bury or burn their dead and death costs them £1 to £2 (Rs. 10- 20). They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. The offending person is fined 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2), and when the amount is recovered it is generally spent on drink. They send their boys to school and as a rule are in easy circumstances.

## KUNBIS

**Kunbis** are returned as numbering nearly 400,000 and as found over the whole district. They seem to have a strong ear or pre-Aryan element. The term Kunbi includes two main classes Kunbis and Marathas, between whom it is difficult to draw a line. Marathas and Kunbis eat together and intermarry and do not differ in appearance, religion, or customs. Still these two names seem to represent, though in both cases with much intermixture the two main sources from which the bulk of the present peasantry are sprung. The Kunbis represent those in whom the local or early, and the Marathas those in whom the northern or later element is strongest. The Poona Kunbis, not content with calling themselves Marathas, go so far as to call themselves Kshatriyas and wear the sacred thread. [The Marathi accounts seem to show that the great Shivaji (1627-1680) never wore the sacred thread or *yajnopavit* till he was enthroned and raised to the rank Kshatriya. See Raygad in Bombay Gazetteer, XI. 369, 370 and note 1.] They include a traditional total of ninety-six clans which are said to be sprung from the rulers of fifty-six countries who are the descendants of Vikram of Ujain whose traditional date is B.C. 56, Shalivahan of

Paithan whose traditional date is A.D. 78, and Bhojraja of Malva whose traditional date is about the end of the tenth century. According to the traditional accounts, the Bhosles to whom Shivaji belonged are the descendants of Bhojraja; the descendants of Vikram are called Sukarrajas; and those of Shalivahan Rajakumars. All claim to belong to one of the four branches or *vanshas* of the Kshatriyas, Som-vansha or the Moon branch, Surya-vansha or the Sun branch, Sesh-vansha or the Snake branch, and Yadu-vansha or the Shepherd branch. The names of some of the families of these four branches are: Of the Sun branch, Aparadhe, bichare, Bhosle, Bhoval, Dalvi, Dharrao, Hendhe, Gavse, Ghad, Ghadke, Ghag, Ghorpade, Joshi, Kadam, Malap, Mulik, Nakase, Nalavde, Nayak, Palve, Pardhe, Patak, Patade, Povar, Rane, Rao, Raul, Sagvan, Salve, Sankpal, Shinde, Shisode, Shitole, Surne, and Vaghmare; of the Moon branch, Bhate, Chavhan, Dabhade, Dalpate, Darbare, Gaikavad, Ghadam, Ghadke, Insulkar, Jagtap, Kalpate, Kamble, Kambre, Kapvate, Kathe, Kesarkar, Man, Mhatre, Mohite, More, Nikam, Nimbalkar, Patankar, Randive, Savant, Shelar, and Varange; of the Snake branch, Bagve, Bhoir, Bogle, chirphule, Dhulap, Dhumal, Dhure, Divte, Gavli, Jamble, Kasle, Lendpoval, Mhadik, Mokari, Namjade, Parabh, Sangal, Tavde, and Thakur; and of the Shepherd branch, Bagvan, Bulke, Dhumak, Gavand, Gharat, Ghavad, Ghogale, Jadhav, Jagle, Jagpal, Jalindhare, Jare, Jasvant, Mokal, Malpovar, Patel, Phakade, Shelke, Shirgone, Shirke, Tambte, Tovar, and Yadav.

Each Kunbi has three personal names, a priestly name a house name and a pot name. The priestly name, which is known as the *ras nav* or star name, depends on the position of the stars at the time of the child's birth. The priestly names generally chosen for boys are Amritya, Ankorsa, Babaji, Dungarji, and Ravji, and for girls Saku, Bhagu, and Chimi. The house name is chosen by the elders of the house; the commonest are for men Khandu, Pandu, Raghu, and Vithu; and for women Kashi, Parvati, Rama, and Savitri. The pet or *avadate* name is generally given by the child's parents or the mother's relations. The commonest pet names for boys are Appa, Babu, Bala, and Nana; and for girls Abbi, Bai, Kaki, and Tai. His pet name sometimes clings to the bearer through life. When a boy grows up *ji* or *rao* is added to the name, and to girls' names *di* or *bai*. In addition to his personal name a man bears his father's name and surname, and a woman her husband's name and surname, thus Lakshman son of Khandu

Povar, and Bhagirathi wife of Shiva Bhosla.

As a class Kunbis are dark, of middle stature, with round faces, straight nose, thickish lips, and high bare and protruding cheekbones. They are strong, hardy, enduring, and muscular. The Kunbi women, like their husbands, are strong and hardy, but the veiled or *gosha* Maratha women are generally weak. Great numbers die in infancy. Those who survive are generally long-lived, few dying before the age of sixty or seventy. In the hilly west the Kunbis are generally weaker, thinner, and fairer than the Kunbis of eastern Poona. A Kunbi or Maratha girl is slender, dark-skinned, and generally graceful. She becomes a mother at fifteen or seventeen and is past her prime at twenty. Boys are generally active and clever, but at an early age the men grow dull and dreamy. [In 1819 Dr. Coates (Trans. Bombay Lit. Soc. III. 203) described the Poona Kunbis as rather low in stature and lean, the hands feet and bones small, the muscles prominent though not bulky, the limbs often well-shaped. Twenty men in a hundred averaged five feet four inches in height and 7 stone  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in weight. Five feet six inches was tall and eight and a half stone was heavy. The black straight hair was shorn except the mustache and the top-knot. The skin was of varying shades of bronze sometimes nearly black. The face was more round than oval, the brow short and retiring, the cheek-bones high, the eyes full and black, the nose straight and prominent, the teeth not remarkably good and stained black or red. The expression was sedate and good with little quickness and no ferocity. Children were often quick and and men of forty dull. With few exceptions the women had no pretensions to beauty. Still when young the round plump face, smooth clean skin, fine long black hair, large sparkling eyes, and sprightly gait made them interesting. Their bloom soon passed. They were old at eighteen and wrinkled and ugly at twenty-five (*Ditto*, 232). About half died as children (*Ditto*, 244). The survivors were long-lived, though as no registers were kept, the ages were doubtful. Out of 164 the twenty-five oldest men in the village of Loni were said to average about  $76\frac{1}{2}$  years and of 198 the twenty-five oldest women were said to average  $72\frac{1}{2}$  years.] The men shave the head except the mustache and in a few cases the whiskers. They speak Marathi both at home and abroad. Though it is surrounded by heaps of refuse, the inside of a Kunbi's house is always clean and tidy. The floors and walls are fresh-cowdunged every fortnight and the front veranda is always swept clean. They often keep their cattle under the

same roof as themselves either with or without any partition, or under a shed attached to the house. Besides their field tools, their household goods include earth and metal water-pots and plates, an iron or brass hanging lamp a frying pan, cooking pots, a grindstone and pin, a handmill, a mortar and pestles, baskets, network utensils, and a bedstead, the whole not varying in value more than from £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30) [Of the Poona Kunbi's house-gear in 1819, Dr. Coates (Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 209-210) gives the following details: A stone handmill worth Re. 1, two iron-tipped wooden pestles worth Re. ½, a large copper water-vessel worth Rs. 10, two three small drinking copper vessels worth Rs. 2 each, two or three round shallow eating dishes of copper or bell-metal each worth Rs. 1½ to Re. 1, an iron griddle worth Re. ¾ a frying pan worth Re. 1, four or five glazed and twenty to thirty unglazed earthen pots together worth Rs. 2½ to Rs.3, a large wooden kneading dish, several baskets, two iron cup-lamps, two rude couches each worth Re. 1, or a whole average value about Rs. 40. A rich Kunbi has more copper vessels, a copper lamp instead of an iron lamp, and his couches are laced with tape instead of with rope.] An ordinary house with room for a family of five does not cost more than £15 (Rs. 150) to build or 8s. to 12s. (Rs.4-6) a year to rent. The monthly keep of a milch cow comes to about 6s. (Rs. 3) and the keep of a she-buffalo varies from 8s. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5).

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

Kunbis are moderate eaters and are proverbially fond of pepper and other hot spices. Besides grain pulse fruits spices oils curds and butter, they eat fish fowls eggs sheep goats hare deer and wild hog, and besides water and milk they drink liquor. They do not eat flesh except on marriage and other family festivals and on a few leading holidays such as *Dasara* in October and *Diwali* in November. They sometimes vow to offer an animal to a god, and, after offering its life to the god, eat its flesh. They generally drink liquor about sunset, an hour or so before the evening meal. The use of liquor is not forbidden, but drinking is considered disreputable and is rare among men and almost unknown among women. Kunbis who indulge in liquor drink as much as possible in private and by stealth. Besides liquor their only stimulant or narcotic is tobacco. It is chiefly smoked, but is also chewed by men and sometimes by women. Most grown men and women and many youths of ten and over when hardworked depend much on their tobacco pipe. Their usual holiday fare is vermicelli or *shevaya* eaten with milk and



molasses. Their every-day fare consists of millet, rice, vegetables and fruit cut in pieces, split pulse, and *alan* that is gram flour boiled with cumin coriander pepper salt turmeric and onions. They take three meals a day. They generally breakfast on bread with some vegetable relish or a raw onion. About noon their wives bring their dinner of bread and vegetables and either fish, flesh, or split pulse. Their supper, of bread vegetables milk or some liquid preparation of pulse, is eaten about eight. The ordinary daily food of a husbandman, his wife, two children, and a dependant costs about 3d. (2 as.), but landholders are not actually put to this expense as all these articles, except tobacco, are the produce of their own fields.

Kunbis as a class are neat and clean in their dress. They are seldom rich enough to indulge their taste, but the well-to-do are fond of gay clothes, the men wearing generally red or white turbans and the women red robes. Indoors the Kunbi wears a handkerchief passed between his legs, the ends fastened behind to a waistcord. Out of doors he rolls a loincloth round his waist, covers his body with a waistcloth or armless jacket, and wears a turban on his head and sandals on his feet. In cold and wet weather he throws a coarse blanket over his shoulders or ties it in a hood and draws it over his head. Besides as articles of dress, the blanket and waistcloth are used as sleeping mats and as bags for carrying clothes and garden-stuff. The woman's dress is the full Maratha robe or *sadi* and the short-sleeved bodice reaching to the waist and covering both the back and chest, the ends being tied in front. [The Kunbi's dress seems to have improved since 1819. Dr. Coates wrote (Trans. Born. Lit. Soc. III. 208): A Kunbi in his every-day attire is a most wretched-looking being, and when first seen by a European can excite only feelings of pity and disgust. In the warm weather at home or afield he is naked except a dirty rag round the loins. He sometimes has a pair of short coarse cotton drawers and a dirty bandage round his loins. In cold and rainy weather he wears a coarse black blanket round his shoulders or over his head. His holiday dress is a turban white red or green sometimes with a flower and a smelling sprig. On the body a coarse white frock falls to the knee, a fine white cotton waistcloth or shouldercloth, coarse drawers, and shoes or sandals, The yearly cost was about Rs. 15¼ then equal to about £18. Of the Kunbi women's dress Dr. Coates (Ditto, 232-233) says: The dress is a robe or *sadi* twenty-four feet long by three wide. Three or four feet of one end are thrown over the head

and shoulder, in turn or two is passed round the loins, and the rest is puckered up and tucked in a bundle in front and the ends passed between the legs and fixed behind. The other Article of dress is the bodice or *choli*, a short jacket with sleeves to the elbow covering about half the body and tied by the corners in front over the bosom.] The man's ornaments for the ear are a pair of gold *rajkadya* valued at 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2- 4), a gold *bhikbali* valued at 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8), or a pair of gold *chaukada's* valued at £1 12s. to £4 (Rs. 16-40); for the wrist a *kade* valued at 12s. to £1 (Rs. 6-10), a *peti* valued at 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2), or a pair of *kadis* valued at £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40); for the fingers rings or *angthya* of silver valued at 2s. to 6s. (Rs. 1-3); and for the waist a silver girdle or *kargota* valued at £2 to £6 (Rs. 20-60). The woman's ornaments for the ear are *bugdya* worth 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-5), *balya* of brass worth 1½d. to 3d. (1-2 as.) and *rajkadya* worth 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5); for the nose a gold *moti* worth 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8); for the neck a silver *sari* worth 6s. to 12s. (Rs. 3-6), a gold *gathle* worth £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40), one to ten gold *putlyas* worth 8s. to £4. (Rs. 4-40), the *mangalsutra* or lucky necklace of glass beads worth 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3), and a *garsoli* of glass beads worth 1½d. to 3d. (1-2 as.) ; for the wrists glass bangles worth 1½d. to 3d. (1-2 as). glass *chudas* worth ¾d. (½ anna), a *got* worth 6d. (4 as.), a *vale* if of silver worth 4s. to 12s. (Rs. 2-6) and if of lead worth 4½d. to 7½ d. (3-5 as.), *kakan*, if of lead worth 4½d. to 7½ d. (3-5 as.), a silver *vela* worth £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40), and *vakya* worth 10s. to 12s. (Rs. 5-6).

Kunbis are hardworking, temperate, hospitable, fond of their children, and kind to strangers. At the same time they are cruel in revenge and seldom scruple to cheat either Government or their creditors. Among themselves disputes about land often split a village into factions and give rise to quarrels and fights. Otherwise in dealing with each other they are honest, just, and straight forward. They are frugal in every-day life, but spend large sums on marriage and other feasts. The women are generally chaste and fond mothers, and, except when they fall out with each other, they are modest in look and in words. They help their husbands in the field, and generally have the upper hand in the house. They have a private purse which they fill from the wages they earn and empty on ornaments and sometimes on dinners to neighbour women. [Of the character of the Deccan Kunbi Dr. Coates (Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III 204) wrote: They are temperate and hardworking, hardy and

enduring. Scarcely any can read or write. Though not particularly sharp they are minutely informed of everything relating to their calling; they are fond of talk and many have a fair knowledge of the history of their country. They are better informed and more orderly than the lower classes of Englishmen. They are wild-mannered, forgiving, seldom violent or cruel. They are indulgent to their women and most attached to their children. Except at marriages when they are lavish and profuse, they are frugal inclining to parsimony. As far as poverty allows they are hospitable. Among them no mannerly stranger will want a meal. They are just in dealing with each other, but unscrupulous in overreaching outsiders and Government. Theft is scarcely known and the voice of the community attaches weight to a virtuous life. They owe their vices to their Government, cunning, cheating, and lying. Their timidity makes them prefer stratagem to force. Still when roused they are not without courage and are by no means contemptible enemies. Love intrigues sometimes take place among the young, but as a rule the women are remarkably chaste. A first offence is punished by a beating; a second offence, especially if the man is a Musalman or a Mhar, may lead to the woman being put out of caste (Ditto, 231-232). Women are well treated, have much freedom, and often rule the house. Each has a private purse supplied by the wages of extra labour and by presents from kinspeople and sometimes from the husband. She spends her money on ornaments either for herself or her child, in feasts to her neighbours, or on sweetmeats. Some of the less scrupulous recruit an empty purse by pilferring grain (Ditto, 230-231).]

Most Kunbis earn their living by tilling the ground and are helped in their work by their women. They have not recovered what they lost in the 1876 and 1877 famine. Their credit is small; many have given up husbandry and taken to be messengers, constables, grooms, and day-labourers. [The daily round of the Poona Kunbi's life has changed little since 1819 when Dr. Coates (Trans. Bom. Lit Soc. III. 228-232) wrote: The Kunbi rises at cockcrow, washes his hands feet and face, repeats the names of some of his gods, and perhaps takes a whiff of his pipe or a quid of tobacco. He is ready to begin his labour. He loosens his oxen and drives them slowly afield letting them graze as they go. His breakfast is with him in a dirty cloth or it is sent after him by one of his children; it is a cake and some of the cookery of the day before, or an onion or two and some relish. He gets to his field between seven and eight, works

for an hour or two, and squats to his breakfast without loosing his cattle. He is at work again in a quarter of an hour and works on till twelve when his wife brings his dinner. He unyokes his oxen, drives them to drink, and lets them graze or gives them straw. He dines under some tree near a well or stream, his wife waiting on him. If others are near they come and talk and sleep for half an hour each on his blanket or cloth. The wife eats what the husband has left. He is at work again by two or half-past two, and works on till sunset when he moves slowly home, ties up and feeds his oxen, and either washes in a stream or gets his wife to douse him with hot water. After washing, or on holidays oiling with sandal oil, he prays before the house gods or visits the village temple. He then sups with the rest of the men of the family. Between supper and bed at nine or ten is his play-time. He fondles and plays with his children, visits his neighbours, talks about the crops and the village, asks after strangers, or seeks news from any one who has been in Poona. In the two or three months between January and April, when field work is light, he takes his meals at home and joins with other villagers in loafing in the shade and chatting, or he visits friends in neighbouring villages, or he goes on pilgrimage. During the busy season the Kunbi's wife rises between four and five, grinds the day's grain, sweeps the house, and clears out ashes and dung from the cow-house, burying part in the manure-pit and making fire-cakes of the rest. She fills the water jars with fresh water, cooks till about ten, and then with a child or perhaps two children starts for the field with her husband's dinner on her head in a basket. She weeds or reaps till noon, waits on her husband, and dines. After a short rest she is again at work and works till evening carrying home a bundle of grass. She makes ready and eats supper and goes to rest between nine and ten.]

Kunbis cannot tell whether they are Smarts or Bhagvats. They worship all Brahmanic gods and goddesses, but their chief objects of worship are Bhairav, Bhavani, Biroba, Jakhai, Janai, Jokhai, Kalkai, Khandoba, Maruti, Metisai, Mhasoba, Mukai, Navlai, Phringai, Satvai, Takai, Vaghoba, and Vetral, whom they greatly fear and whose images or *taks* they keep in their houses. BHAIRAV is the usual village guardian. He has two forms, Kal Bhairav and Bal Bhairav. Kal Bhairav is shown as a standing man with two hands, an hourglass-shaped drum or *damaru* in his right hand, and a trident in his left. He is encircled by a serpent. Bal Bhairav lives in an unhewn stone

covered with redlead or *shendur* mixed with oil. If kept pleased by a coating of oil and redlead and if he is given offerings of clarified butter Bhairav is kindly. He cures snake-bites and tells whether an undertaking will do well or will fail. In the chest of the rough figure of Bhairav are two small holes. The person who wishes to consult the oracle places a betelnut in each of the holes and explains to Bhairav that if the right betelnut falls first it will mean that the undertaking will prosper, and that if the left betelnut falls first it will mean that the undertaking will fail. He asks the god, according as the omen is to be, to let the lucky or the unlucky nut fall first. He tells the god that if he will drop the lucky nut and if his undertaking prospers he will give the god a cock or a goat. Twice a year before they begin to sow and before they begin to reap the villagers come in procession and worship Bhairav. BHAVANI, that is Parvati the wife of Shiv, has two local names, Phringi and Tukai. She shares with Bhairav the honour of being village guardian; she is generally shown as a rude image, either with two hands, a sword being in the right hand, or with eight hands holding a conch, a wheel, and other articles the same as Vishnu holds. Like Bhairav she is asked the cause of sickness or ill-luck and to advise regarding the future, and like him if she removes trouble or advises well she is given a goat or a cock. BIROBA is worshipped by Dhangars or Shepherds. He lives in an unhewn stone outside of the village. Like Mhasoba he is an unkindly spirit to whom people pray when they are anxious to plague or ruin their enemies. JAKHAI, JANAI, JOKHAI, KALKAI, METISAI, MUKAI and NAVLAI are all local mothers. According to the people's account they are unkindly forms of Bhavani. With the help of two attendants, Naikji and Birji, they do much mischief. They blast crops of grain, plague men with sickness, and carry off travellers. People who owe their neighbours a grudge pray to Janai, Mukai, or one of the other mothers to send them sickness, to kill their cattle, or to ruin their fields. KHANDOBA, literally sword-father, guards the country as Bhairav guards the village. Khandoba is the Ishvar Dev or guardian deity of the Deccan. As a guardian he is shown sometimes, as at his chief shrine at Jejuri, as a *ling*, the great protector, and more often as a horseman with a sword in his right hand, and his wife Mhalsabai sitting beside him. As a horseman he is Malhari, the form he took when he came to destroy the demons Mani and Malla. As an animal he is the dog who runs beside his horse and in the Deccan is generally called Khandi. As a plant he is turmeric-powder under the name Bhandar. He is the chief house god of all Poona Hindus from Brahmans to Mhars. His house image is always of metal, never



of wood or of stone. He drives away the evil which causes sickness. No class honour Khandoba so highly as the Ramoshis. If a Ramoshi makes a promise while laying his hand on turmeric-powder or *bhandar*, that is on Khandoba, nothing will bring him to break his promise. MARUTI also called Hanuman is the monkey god. No Poona village is without its Maruti, a rudely embossed monkey figure, sometimes within the village and sometimes without, but generally near the gate. He is a kindly god, the great saver of those into whom evil spirits have entered. He is fond of cocoanuts but does not care for blood-offerings. MHASOBA or MASKOBA IS perhaps the commonest and most widely feared of the local evil spirits. He lives in an unhewn stone coated with redlead. These stones are all old dwellings of Mhasoba. Some get forgotten. Then sickness falls on the village and the people go to the village guardian and ask him a series of questions which he answers by dropping a betelnut or by some other sign. In the end they find out from the guardian that there is an old neglected dwelling of Mhasoba. The villagers find the stone, cover it with oil and red-lead, and kill a goat or a fowl in front of it. Besides to prevent his working mischief Mhasoba is worshipped by men who have a grudge to clear off or a wrong to avenge. They go to Mhasoba name their enemy, and promise, if he ruins their enemy with sickness that they will give him a goat or a fowl. So much is he feared that when a man knows that some one whom he has ill-used has arranged to set Mhasoba on him, he makes such amends that the god is not forced to exert his powers. SATVAI, or Mother Sixth, is the goddess of pregnant and lying-in women. She is worshipped by barren women, and by lying-in woman on the fifth or sixth day after the child is born. Her image is an armless bust. VAGHOBA, or Father Tiger, lives in an unhewn stone. If he is cared for he guards the village herds from the attacks of tigers. VETAL is the leader of demons and evil spirits. He seems to be the earliest form of Shiv, the leader of spirits, and Ganesh, the lord of spirit troops. Vetel lives in an unhewn stone, three or four feet high, surrounded at a distance of a few yards by a circle of smaller stones in which his leading attendants live. Unlike most shrines the stones in which Vetel and his attendants live are covered both with white and red wash. Vetel and his guard are generally at some distance outside of the village. Vetel's great day is the *Mahashivratri* or great night of Shiv on the full-moon of *Magh* in February. On that night the villagers, each with a bundle of lighted straw in his hand, walk round the circle of stones howling and bawling. When a Kunbi or one of his family is possessed by an evil spirit he goes to Vetel

and promises, if he orders his spirit to give over troubling him, that he will give him a goat or a fowl. Vetāl is the patron of wrestlers and athletes. On one of the holidays the villagers go and wrestle at Vetāl's circle. Vetāl's sign is a cane called *bet* or *vet*, from which he seems to get his name. From his apparent sameness with the early forms of Shiv, and from the resemblance, of his circle of guards to a rude Buddhist rail, and to the circles of unhewn stones found in western Europe and in other parts of the world, the worship of Vetāl is specially interesting.

Kunbis believe in incantations, witchcraft, ghosts and evil spirits, oracles, and the evil eye. Partly perhaps because they are much more sober, partly perhaps because fever is much less common the Poona Kunbis are much less afraid of spirits than the Konkan Kunbis. [In 1819 Dr. Coates (Trans. Bom. Lit. Soe. III. 245) noticed that temperance and freedom from the use of narcotics saved the Poona Kunbi from the long and horrid train of nervous derangements from low Spirits to mania. It is these nervous derangements which in all countries have been specially believed to be spirit-caused. diseases.] Still the belief in spirits, witchcraft, and the evil eye has a great effect on the lives of Poona Kunbis. If a Kunbi is seized with uncommon sickness, or suffers from any calamity, he first finds out whether his misfortunes are due to natural causes, to the displeasure of the gods, to witchcraft, to the evil eye, or to an evil spirit. To find out the cause the sufferer and his friends make several experiments. A flower is stuck on the breast of an idol and its fall on one side or the other determines the cause of the misfortune, or a sacrificial vessel is hung by a string, and, as is agreed beforehand, the direction to which it points when it comes to rest settles the cause of the evil. If these trials are not satisfactory & *janta* or knowing man is asked. If the evil has come from the gods the knowing man says how the gods are to be pleased; if the cause is witchcraft, either the knowing man breaks the spell by counter charms, or the witch is caught and either forced to remove the spell or made to drink water from the hands of a cobbler which destroys her power, if the cause is the evil eye, either the knowing man breaks the spell, or the mother of the sick child throws salt and red pepper into the fire saying, *Drisht-misht ali gelichi, Bhut-khet papi chandalachi* that is, 'The evil eye of passers-by; Of evil sprites and filthy wights.' The evil eye is much feared. The owner of the eye is not thought to blame, but he is shunned and cattle are not driven

past his door. To draw the evil eye from the crops a whitewashed pot is stuck on a pole; the walls of houses are decked with figures and gaudy stripes; beautiful women and children wear necklaces, and cattle wear necklaces and anklets. A Kunbi never congratulates a friend on his prosperity, his fine oxen, or his handsome wife. If he does, Ill-luck will hear and carry away the excess of good fortune. Every place teems with ghosts and evil spirits, who are included under the general term *bhut*, literally a being. The male ghosts are called Keins or Jhotings, and the female ghosts Hadals. Among the worst female ghosts are the seven water-nymphs called Aija or Jaldevtas, who carry off handsome youths. There are distinct names for the ghosts of Brahmans, Musalmans, and outcastes. A ghost wanders and ill-uses the living either because he was murdered or ill-treated, or because he hankers after a house, a wife, or a treasure. Ghosts live in large trees, lonely places, empty houses, and old wells. They are generally seen or heard at noon and at mid-night. They take many shapes, a deer, a tall figure, or a strange ox or goat. If a person sleeps under a haunted tree, or cuts a branch of a haunted tree, or defiles the ghost's ruin or old wall, or jostles a ghost on a road, the person sickens or is unlucky. The ghosts of the murdered or the ill-used are chiefly dangerous to those who ill-treated them. The ghost enters into the culprit, maddens him, destroys his sleep, kills his family, and turns his joy to sorrow. Many people make a living by appeasing or casting out angry spirits. One plan is for the exerciser to take the possessed person in front of an idol, to seize him by the top-knot, scourge him, and abuse him till the spirit says what offering or penance will satisfy him. [These details are from Dr. Coates' Paper on the Village of Loni in 1819 (Trans Bom. Lit. Sec. III. 210-220). The account still truly represents the belief and practices of the Poona Kunbi.]

The Kunbis' chief holidays are *Holi* in March, *Nagpanchmi* in July, *Gauri* and *Pola* in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. *Holi*, also called *Shimga*, lasts five days. Both old and young look forward to it with delight. It is ushered in by boys and men making a loud bawling, broken at intervals by stopping the mouth with the back of the hand, and calling the names of the male and female organs. Cowdung cakes for the bonfire are stolen wherever they can be found. On the evening of the full-moon the men of the village form two gatherings, the Kunbis and the bulk of the people at the village office, and the Mhars and other men of low caste by themselves in their own

quarter. In front of the village office a spot is swept clean and sprinkled with water. In the centre the stem of a sugarcane and of a castor plant are stuck in the ground and round them dried cowdung cakes are piled six to seven feet high. The heap is called *Hutashani* or the offering-sater that is fire. The people sit round the heap in a ring and the headman with the help of the priest worships the heap and offers grain and flowers. The chief offering is a cake, the presenting of which is one of the chief headman's most prized rights. The pile is kindled from the Mhars' bonfire. Stealing the Mhars' fire is a work of some risk as the Mhars are on the look-out and throw burning brands at the thief. The fire is put into the headman's hands, who lights the pile and walks thrice round it calling out, *Phoda, phoda, jhavla*, that is the female organ is united. Then till morning follow songs and dances, in which boys dressed like dancing girls take the place of women. The favourite dance known as the *tipria* on baton-dance is performed by twenty to thirty young *men* moving in a circle to the sound of a drum and pipe, each armed with a piece of seasoned wood about a foot long which they clash against the sticks alternately of the dancers before and behind them. Besides dancing they play games, the Tiger and Sheep, the Fox and Dog, and Prisoner's Base. The next day is known as the *Dhulvadicha Divas* or the Dust Day, because the people throw dust on each other. This is the Kunbi's field new year's day. Each family of Kunbis goes to the village god with a metal plate on which rice is strewn. On the rice is a water-pot and at the mouth of the water-pot a cocoanut and betel leaves. The plate is held before the village god and the cocoanut is broken and the shell given to the god. During the three remaining days of the *Holi*, men and boys meet in groups, some in fantastic dresses throwing dust and mud. Women, who seldom appear, are saluted with obscene speeches and men of rank with coarse jests. Some go outside of the village to Vetal's stone, the patron of wrestlers, and there wrestle and perform feats of strength. About noon they bathe, feast, and sleep, and in the evening dance and play games. The *Holi* ends on the fifth, which is known as *Rangpanchmi* or Colour-fifth. The colour is pink. It is made by adding an alkaline salt to a decoction of *palas* *Butea frondosa* flowers, mixing them in water, and throwing the water over each other from pots and syringes. They also dust each other with a red flour. On this day women share in the fun. They carry branches of the castor plant and lay hold of the headman or other rich villagers and plague them till they give a *post* or present. [Trans. Bom. Lit, Soc, III. 221. 223.] *Nag-panchmi* or the Cobra's Fifth in July is the Kunbi

woman's festival. In the after, noon all the women, dressed in their best, go with music to a white ant-hill in which a cobra is believed to live, and lay milk and sugar near the ant-hill while the priest says prayers. The women take hands, dance round the ant-hill in a ring alternately rising and kneeling and keeping time to a song which they sing in chorus. At intervals they take parched rice in a clenched hand, and putting it on each other's heads ask their husband's name. As they may not answer directly they bring in his name in a rhyme. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III, 231.] At the *Gauri* festival in August the women paint on paper a figure of the goddess, who is the same as Lakshmi, worship the figure, and feast. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 231.] At the August *Pola* the oxen have a rest. Their horns are covered with tinsel or red, and *palas* fibre tassels are tied to their tips. Garlands of flowers are put round their necks, they are fed with sugar, and their owners fall at their feet and worship them. In the evening, after the headman's cattle, all the oxen are driven round Hanuman's temple. The day ends with a feast. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III 225.] *Dasara* falls on the bright tenth of *Ashvin*, generally in October. It is believed to mark Bhavani's defeat of the buffalo-demon Mahishasur. The first to the ninth are a time of mourning, during which the goddess is not disturbed by prayers or vows. On the first day with music the people go to Bhavani's temple and make offerings and the priest sows eighteen grains in front of the goddess. From the first to the tenth, both near the temple image and the house image of Bhavani, a garland is hung by some one who abstains from grain, batter, and animal food. The tenth is a day of rejoicing; all wear new clothes, dress in their gayest, and feast on mutton. In the forenoon all iron weapons and tools are brought out and worshipped. Horses are bathed and dressed with flowers, and a sheep is sacrificed to them and its blood sprinkled over them. In the evening all put in their turban some plants of the grain which was sown before the village Bhavani, and with music they go to the village boundary worship *the apta* tree *Bauhinia tomentosa*. They cross the boundary and pluck some stalks of grain, and on their return offer *apta* leaves, which are called gold, and ears of corn to the village gods and then exchange them among their friends. A male buffalo is sometimes sacrificed. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc; III. 224. Sir John Malcolm, in a letter from Poona 24th November 1799 (Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 79-96), gives some further details of the *Dasara* rites observed by the Poona Marathas and Brahmans. On the first night a *kalash* or jar, either of brass or earth, is set up as the symbol (or dwelling) of the goddess



Bhavani. Offerings are made to girls between two and nine years of age. On the first night combs are given; on the second sweet oil, mirrors, and glass; on the third turmeric, safflower, and henna; on the fourth day antimony, sweet cakes, and fruit; on the fifth sandal and other sweet oils and an image of Chandika, an early form of Bhavani, is put under a *tulsi* bush; on the seventh Sarasvati is worshipped; on the last day prayers are addressed to all things wanted for war, among others to the umbrella the horse, the flagstaff, the elephant, the sword, the bow and arrow the mother of arms, and guns and cannon. At the end of the ninth day Bhavani's jar is throw into water. On the tenth day all go north-east to a *shami* tree. Soldiers shoot arrows as the tree, and they put some leaves in their turban and come back. Kings and chiefs should lead their troops to the verge of the city and worship the *shami* tree. By this act small-pox, famine, and other evils are driven beyond the borders. The peshwas moved out to a camp near Poona with all his chiefs, each under his banner, on his beat horse and in his richest clothes. All the people of Poona joined and marched to the sacred tree. The Peshwa, after prayers and offerings, plucked some leaves, cannon and musketry fired a salute, the state accounts were produced and sealed, the Peshwa plucked a stalk of millet from a field, and the whole crowd firing guns or shoot ingarrows rushed into the field each striving to get a stalk of millet. All shout and spend the rest of the day in feasting and mirth. A buffalo decked with flowers and daubed with paint is brought before the chief's horse or elephant, and his head is struck off with one blow and his blood in sprinkled with great ceremony over the his head horses. In smaller towns the buffalo is led round the town, grain and and liquor are sprinkled as the procession goes and when the round is ended the buffalo's head is cut off, sheep are sacrificed, and the flesh is eaten by all but Brahmans.] *Divali* comes twenty days after *Dasara*. It lasts three days with feasting, lighting, and fireworks. Oil is burnt in earthen cups which are placed in front of village temples, public buildings, and houses. Boys let off crackers and the rich burn all kinds of fireworks. According to the story when Mahadev killed the demon Narkasur, he agreed that in his honour there should be a yearly light feast. It is the native bankers' and merchants' new year. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 225.] Besides these main festivals many field rites are practised by Poona Kunbis. About the end of April on the *Akshatritia*, literally the undying third, offerings are made to three generations of dead warriors and a fresh year of field work begins. [Dr. Coates in Tran. Bom, Lit. Soc. III. 256; Mr. J. G. Moore, C. S.] In the east of the district,

before beginning to plough waste land, cooked rice or fine millet or Indian millet cakes, curds, a cocoanut, and a he-goat or fowl are offered to the field spirit, Mhasoba, Navlai, or Satvai. This is not done in the west of the district. In the east, before beginning to sow, each of the village gods, Maruti, Bahiroba, and Ganpati, is given a handful of grain. This is not done in the west. In the west, when the rice seedlings are ready to plant, the villagers meet on a Sunday, anoint their village god, who is generally Bahiroba or Hanuman, with oil and redlead, sacrifice a he-goat and ten fowls, and offer five cocoanuts, frankincense, fifteen lemons, and camphor. They ask the god to give them good crops, and walk round the village calling the name of their god. A feast is prepared and the sacrifices are eaten near the temple. Each landholder on the Tuesday before he begins to plant his rice kills a fowl and sprinkles its blood over the field and offers the field spirit a cocoanut, some sweetmeats, and five lemons, and burns frankincense and camphor. Before beginning to make ready the threshing-floor some husbandmen offer Mhasoba, Mavlai, or Satvai millet-cakes, curds, a cocoanut, and a he-goat or fowl. Before setting up the *tivda* or central pole of the threshing-floor all ask an astrologer what wood they should use. Under the pole they bury *mango*, *jambhul*, *shami* Mimosa *shamu*, *arati* and *rui* Calotropis gigantea twigs and an *egg*. They set up as a shrine or *devsthan* an earthen pot and seven pebbles, five for the Pandavs and one each for Vandev or the forest god and Vanspatra or the forest lord. The pot and the pebbles are smeared with redlead and frankincense is burnt before them. Kunbis sacrifice a sheep or a he-goat; a Brahman or Gujarat Vani would offer five grains of wheat or five millet cakes and five each of betel, cloves, cardamums, turmeric roots, and pieces of cocoa-kernel. When the grain is thrashed some husbandmen offer a sheep, a goat, a fowl, or cakes. Before winnowing an animal or cakes and fruit are offered at the Pandav shrine. Rice is also offered and scattered over the threshing floor, a rite known as *raspuja*, that is the heap-worship. When an animal is offered the rice is steeped with blood before it is thrown. Before Measuring the grain the astrologer is asked which of the husband-man's family should measure, it. With a broom of early *jvari* stalks the grain is heaped round the central pole and incense is burned before it, a two-*sher* or *adholi* measure is held in the incense smoke and handed to the measurer, who offers the first measureful to the village god. If a crop is attacked by rust, in some parts of the district a fowl is sacrificed or a cocoanut is offered to the village deity. At all these rites the village priest is present,

recites texts and is given a cocoanut or a few coppers. [Mr. J. G. Moore, C. S.] Their priests are the ordinary Maratha Brahmans to whom they pay great respect. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Nasik and Pandharpur. [In 1819 Dr. Coates wrote: The Kunbis are sincere and devout. Their rules enjoin charity, benevolence, and reverence to parents, and have a wholesome influence on their conduct. They are nominally followers of Mahadev, but join in the worship of any sect that comes in their way. They constantly make vows at Musalmans and occasionally at Christian tombs. Their chief objects of worship are Khandu and Bairu local Mahadevs, and Jamni, Yamni, and Tukia local Parvatis. Every family has two or more gold or silver relief plates of these gods, about four inches high by two broad. They are the house gods and are kept in a stand in some safe part of the dwelling. Every morning one of the family, generally the grandmother, bathes and anoints the images, lays grain before them, and burns frankincense. Before starting on his day's work each member of the family comes and with a low bow prays for strength for the day's labour, safety for the family and cattle, and the day's bread. People who are too poor to marry, who are out of work, sick, or unlucky their friends and go to some temple and vow if the evil is removed to swing before the god with hooks in their black, to roll on the ground in front of the god, to come before him in chains, to offer him a sheep goat or fowl or sweetmeats or a cocoanut.]

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

The first five months of a woman's pregnancy are known as the months of longing or *dohole*. She longs to eat tamarinds, cakes bread, *ambada* or Spondias mangifera, pot-herbs, fish, and flesh. If she is refused the child is born with unhealthy ears. After delivery the position of the woman is not changed for some time. [In 1819 Dr. Coates (Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 245) described the Kunbi women at child-birth as shut in a close hole without air or light, and a lamp, generally a char-coal lamp, burning. She was fed with spices and other stimulating food and often suffered from fever and rheumatism,] If the child is a boy the midwife beats a metal-pot and is paid 3*d.* to 6*d.* (2-4 *as.*); if the child is a girl the father is told without any sign of rejoicing and the midwife is paid about 1½*d.* (1 *a.*). The father notes the time of birth that the Brahman astrologer may be able to choose a lucky name. The midwife cuts the child's navel cord with a knife and holding the cord in her left hand passes it through the child's mouth. She touches the spot where the navel cord was cut with ashes and rubs the mother and the

child with turmeric and oil, bathes them in hot water, and swathes the child in cloth bandages. The mother is given butter and myrrh pills and the child is dosed with three or four drops of castor oil. The mother is fumigated by burning *vavading* Embelia ribes, *ova* Ligusticum ajwaen, and *balantshep* Anethum graveolus in the room, and then, with her child beside her, is laid on a cot under which a small fire of live coal is set. The mother is fed on fine rice, butter, pepper, and warm water. Near the door of the room an earthen pot of cow's urine is set with a nim branch floating on it. That no evil spirit may come in with them all visitors sprinkle a few drops of cow's urine on their feet before entering the room. At noon the mother is bathed in hot water and elderly women begin to drop in and ask how she is. If the child is a boy they congratulate her warmly; if it is a girl, they say The first daughter is bread and butter, *pahili beti tup-roti*. If the child's aunt is present at the time of delivery she coudungs the threshold of the room, places a packet of betelnut and leaves near it, and says looking towards the child, ' This child is to be my son's wife.' The mother smiles, and if she has a son says, ' When you get a daughter she will become my daughter-in-law.' In the evening the mother is again bathed, *nim* juice is given her to drink, and she is fed as in the morning on rice, butter, and pepper, and is given some hot water to drink. The child as before is dosed with three or four drops of castor oil, and laid by the mother's side on the cot. A lamp is kept burning during the night, and next morning, after rubbing them with turmeric and oil, both mother and child are bathed, the mother is fumigated with, *vishesh* or frankincense, and the child is given a dose of castor oil. The mother takes some *nim* juice, has a meal of rice, butter, and pepper, and is given some hot water to drink. At noon women neighbours and kinswomen begin to drop in. As each comes she touches the soles of her feet as if taking a pinch of dust off them, waves it round the child, and blows the dust partly into the air and partly into the ground. Then cracking the finger joints of both her hands, she takes her seat, and is given turmeric and redpowder. Should she be unlucky enough not to crack all her finger joints, she is thought to have no friendly feelings to the mother and child, and is not given the powder. In the evening if the child takes to crying, frankincense is burnt in the names of Bahiroba and the goddess Satvai, and they are prayed to save the child and prolong its life. On the third and fourth days, except bathing the mother in hot water, nothing particular is done. On the morning of the fifth day the following articles are brought: A cocoanut, five pieces of cocoa-kernel, five dry dates, five grains of pepper,

dry ginger, poppy, cardamums, cloves, nutmeg, betelnut and leaves, catechu, scented and redpowders, tooth-powder, a coloured cord with a small parcel of red and scented powder or *nada-pudi*, frankincense, turmeric, and a small copper or brass image of Satvai. Dishes of mutton and rice flour balls are cooked and kinspeople and friends are asked to a feast. The women guests bring with them on a brass plate a few grains of rice, a cocoanut, and betel leaves, and set them before the goddess Satvai. Then the child's grandmother or some other elderly woman of the house sets a low wooden stool in the lying-in room and places the image of Satvai on the stool. She sprinkles redpowder on the image, burns frankincense, offers fruit and cooked food, and, wrapping the child in a cloth, lays it before the goddess and prays her to accept the offerings, to be kind to the child, and to overlook any shortcomings in the worship. The mother comes forward, bows before the image, and eats of all the dishes. The other women bow before the goddess, and after eating return to their homes. When the women have gone the men begin to drop in. As they come they are seated on blankets and dinner is served. After dinner a pipe of tobacco is handed round, first to the *patil*, then to the senior guest, and then to the rest, except to youths who must go out if they want to smoke. singing, smoking, and drinking go on till morning, when all go home. Next morning the mother and child are rubbed with cocoanut oil and bathed in warm water, and she goes back to her special diet of rice, butter, pepper, and hot water. On the morning of the seventh day the cot and the earthen water-pot are smeared with red-powder and turmeric, five lighted rice flour lamps are placed in the water-pot, and cooked food is offered. Five unmarried girls are rubbed with redpowder and turmeric and their laps are filled with wet gram, a piece of cocoa-kernel, betel leaves and nuts, and small balls of powdered ginger mixed with molasses. After the mother has prostrated herself five times and bowed thrice before the girls a dinner is served to one or two women neighbours. On the morning of the eighth day the mother and child are bathed, and after eating her usual special food she is given betel leaves and nut to chew and a dish of live coals is placed under her cot. Cocoa-kernel and dry date *kharik* are pounded together and mixed with molasses, and a little is given to the mother and the rest is distributed among the neighbours. On the ninth day, except that the mother is bathed with hot water, nothing particular is done. On the tenth day two or three women come and wash all the clothes and bedding and in return are given breakfast. All the house walls and floors get a fresh plaster of



cowdung, and, when the songsters come, cow's urine is sprinkled on their bodies and clothes. Then they, together with the house-people, feast on bread, relishes, white *shepu* or *Anethum foenicatum*, and green chillies. On the eleventh day preparations are made for the twelfth-day ceremony. Articles are laid in and the Brahman priest and guests are invited.

On the morning of the twelfth day the women of the house bathe the mother and again purify the walls and floor of the house with a plaster of cowdung. They bake some cakes and begin to cook dishes of rice, vegetables, and pulse. A goat is killed, and its blood is gathered in a metal plate and mixed with spices and boiling water. This dish is called *rakti*. The bones and flesh are cooked in two separate pots and the liver or *kaling* in the third. A girl goes to tell the neighbours that the feast is ready, and when a few women have come the mother goes along with them to a spot outside the village and makes offerings to Satvai. On their return a bangle-seller puts green bangles round the mother's and black bangles round the midwife's wrists. Men guests have by this time begun to drop in, and, as they come, are seated on blankets spread in the veranda. The Brahman priest next arrives with his almanac, and he too takes his seat in the veranda. The women of the house tell the Brahman the day and time at which the child was born, and he, spreading his almanac before him and counting his fingers, gives the child a name, and tells his fortune. The child is dressed in a new frock and cap. Soot is rubbed on his cheeks and eyelids, and he is set facing the east. The priest is given about two pounds (1 *sher*) of rice, and split pulse, a little molasses, and betelnut and leaves. A cradle is hung from the ceiling, and worshipped, turmeric and redpowder are thrown over it, cooked food is offered, and a blanket is spread in it with some wet grain and betelnut and leaves in the corners and a string tied in the middle. The mother sits near the cradle, and each of the neighbour women gives her redpowder and turmeric and presents the child with a frock, a cap, and a cocoanut. They dress the child and lay it in the cradle, and as they rock the cradle they sing songs. The mother lifts the child, and turning it thrice round the cradle they say, 'Take Harpal and give Gopal, take Govind and give Krishna, take Mahadev and give Ram, take Bharat and give Shatrughna.' The child is then laid in the cradle, and one of the women, the rest all the time slapping her on the back, pats her mouth close to the child's ear, and says, 'Quietly quietly receive pulse and take Somji, the name given to

the child, Patel to play'. [The Marathi runs: *Chup chup ghugarya ghya ani amche Somji Patlas khelayas*] Then the mother's lap is filled with a cocoanut, rice, glass beads, turmeric, pieces of cocoa-kernel, and betelnut, and she is taken to bow to the family gods. A piece of thread is tied round the child's loins and the guests are feasted, the men and the women in separate rooms. After they have done they are given betelnut and leaves, wet pulse, and rice cakes. When the guests begin to leave an old man and woman seat themselves in the doorway and refuse to let the women pass till each mentions her husband's name. After some coquetting the boldest of the women repeats some verses in which her husband's name occurs. The couplets are,

I was walking tinkling tinkling, I was looking through the window, Whose stately form is this, The son of Abaji my sister-in-law's younger brother. [The Marathi runs: *Jhunuk jhunuk jat hote, khidki vate pahat hote, ha daulkondcha, Abdjichya potcha, vhanjichya pathcha.*]

Or, Balu Patel of the big round turban he is my husband. [*Chakri munddsdche Balu Patel bhratar mhanje amche,*]

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Or, A golden winnowing fan brodered with pearls, the queen of Krishnaji Chavgula is at play. [*Sonynachi supli, motyane gumplai, Krishnaji Chaugulyachi rani khelayas guntli.*]

Or, A jar of molasses with a lid of clarified butter, Santu barber's wife is the fairest of gems. [*Guldchya ghagarila tupache lipan, Santu Nhavyachi bayako lai nami ratan.*]

Or, A red checkered robe with nine lakhs of strings, however many mistresses you may have there is none like the queen of Vithu carpenter. [*Tadpadari pasodi tila navu lakh dashi, kiti bhogilya bataki dani tari Vithu Sutarachi khashi.*]

Or, To a basil plant before the door handfuls of water, At first I was my parents' pet and then the queen of Bhiva Kumbhar. [*Dari hoti tulas tila vanjal vanjal pani, adhi hole dibapachi tanhi, mag jale Bhiva Kumbharachi rani.*]

If among the matrons an unmarried girl is stopped by mistake she says,

Behind the door was a niche and in the niche there was wheat; my parents have not married me, whose name can I take. [*Daramage hota kondda tyant hota gahu, dibdpani lagan kele nahi nav konache gheu?*]

On the thirteenth day the mother begins to go about the house, washing, cooking, and cleaning as usual. Except on the full and new moon the child is bathed every day. When two months old, as a safeguard against liver disease, the mother gives the child 'tooth-powder mixed with cow's milk and liquor, and rubs its stomach with black nut and ashes, while a sorcerer says a charm or a mystic verse. To increase her supply of milk the mother is given rice, butter, and split peas. When the child is three months old, to help it to hold up its head, the mother is given a cooked goat's head and round the child's neck is hung a black thread with two black nuts or *bajarbatus* and an image of the goddess Satvai. In this month a black thread is tied round the child's waist and copper rings are put on its feet, and to ward off the evil eye the eyelids of both the child and the mother are touched with soot. In the same month the mother and the child with other relations go to visit the shrine of the goddess Satvai, when a goat, tooth-powder, turmeric, redpowder, betelnut and leaves, soot, two cocoanuts, a robe and bodice, some grains of rice, dry cocoa-kernel, and frankincense are offered to the goddess and the goat is killed before her. The head is placed behind the goddess and the body is taken away, presented to the goddess, cooked, and eaten. The temple priest or ministrant tells the goddess the reason of the offering, and, taking a pinch of ashes, rubs them on the brow of the child and of its mother. After feasting on the flesh of the goat and on other dishes, the party pay back the goat's head paying 1½d to 6d. (1-4 as.), and go home. All the religious parts of this ceremony are performed by the temple

servant who is generally a Gurav by caste. On reaching the house the mother and child stand at the door, and a woman comes from the house and waves a piece of bread round them and pours water over the mother's feet.

When the child is four or five months old it is bathed outside of the house, and when it is about a year old and begins to walk, its head is shaved except a tuft on the crown, and the hair is offered to the goddess Satvai. The barber gets a present of a pair of scissors; and the mother gives a feast to a party of married women. Six months later, when the child begins to eat, any flow of saliva is stopped by the mother passing an aged live fish three or four times round its face. When four years old the child begins to run about the streets and lanes and plays at marbles, bat and ball, tops, and hide and seek. After about seven the child begins to be of use to his parents, taking the cattle to graze and bringing them home in the evening. When ten or twelve years old he is branded as a cowherd either on the right or left hand or on both hands. A few pellets of hare's dung are brought from a hill, pounded, and set in four or five places about the boy's wrist and burnt. The other boys hold the child so as to keep him quiet, and when he can no longer bear the pain the burning pellets are knocked off and the skin rubbed.

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At sixteen, the parents of the boy, if well-to-do, think of marrying him, or, as they say, tying a clog round his neck. The girl chosen for a wife is usually three to twelve years old. Among Kunbis it is not necessary that a girl should be married before she reaches womanhood, and among men though if well-to-do they may be married at sixteen, it often happens that in large or poor families the younger sons remain unmarried till well on in life. Before a marriage can be fixed it must be ascertained that the boy and the girl are not same clan or *cul*; they may both bear the same surname but the crest or *devak* must be different. Sameness of stock in the female line is no ground for objection. After talking the matter over and fixing on the most suitable girl, the boy's father goes to a Brahman, tell him of the object of his visit, and asks him to say when he ought to start to make his offer to the girl's parents. The Brahman gets his almanac from the house and sets it before him, and the boy's father, laying a betelnut and a copper coin

on the book and bowing to it, sits in front of the Brahman. The Brahman takes the betelnut and the coin, opens the almanac, counts his fingers, and tells the boy's father that the whole of that and the next day are lucky and that his errand will be successful. The father bows and withdraws. Next morning, he dresses in his best waistcloth, shouldercloth, turban, and sandals, ties together a few cakes and some vegetables, and with one or two kinspeople starts for the girl's house. Before leaving he looks about him. If he sees a married woman or a cow he thinks it lucky and starts, if a Brahman or a widow happens to pass he goes back and stops for some time on his veranda before he makes a fresh start. When the father and his companions reach the girl's, he makes over the bundle of refreshments to the women of the house. A blanket is spread and the guests are asked to sit. They are given a pipe of tobacco and water to wash their feet and are asked to dine. While dining the women from behind the door ask them why they have come. They say, 'We have come to sweeten your child's mouth; it rests with you to carry out our wishes.' They then take a nap. In the evening when the men come home they talk the matter over, the women joining in the talk from behind the door. The girl's father says, 'It is of no use marrying the girl, she is too young, she is still a child, and has never had small-pox. The women of your house may not like her, you better look out for a wife elsewhere; and names other houses. The boy's father presses him and after a time he agrees, and as a sign of agreement the two fathers dine from the same plate. Next morning the boy's father goes to the village astrologer, lays a betelnut and a copper coin on his almanac, and tells him the boy's and girl's names. The Brahman as before consults his almanac, counts his fingers, says that the stars favour the marriage, and fixes the next day for the sugar and rice or *gulbhat* feast. The boy's father sends word to the girl's house and goes home. Soon after the girl's father goes to the boy's father and asks him and his relations to come next day to a sugar and rice feast at his house. At the same time they settle what presents each is to make to the other's child; that the boy's father should not take more than five or six men to dine with him during marriage dinners; that 30s. (Rs. 15) should be paid as dowry or *dej* to the girl's father a month before the marriage day; and lastly that some of the girl's relations should be present when her wedding clothes are bought. When these points are settled the girl's father goes home. Next day the boy's father and some of his relations, taking earrings a robe and bodice a cocoanut and betel go to the girl's, and, before



dining, make over the presents to the women of the house, asking them to put the ornaments in the girl's ears, to dress her in the robe and bodice, and to lay the cocoanut and betel before the house gods. Then the sugar and rice dinner begins. When the guests are seated one of them asks the girl's father why the dinner is given. To this one of the leading guests, perhaps the *patil*, answers that the dinner is given because the host, naming him, has given his daughter to so-and-so's son. Then, after the girl's father has been asked and has answered that what the *patil* says is true, the boy's father is asked what ornaments he has given. He names them, adding that it has been settled that the robe should be worth 30s. (Rs. 15) and should be bought in presence of the girl's relations; that not more than five or six men should be taken to dinner; that at least one month before the marriage 30s. (Rs. 15) on account of dowry or *dej* should be sent to the girl's parents; and that the girls' parents are to give the boy a sash and a turban together worth 10s. (Rs.5), and 7s. (Rs.3½) on account of a metal bathing tub and pot. When all these points have been publicly settled they begin to eat, and at the end of the feast, after a pipe and betelnut, they go home. The boy's father before leaving asks the girl's father to dine next day at his house. When the girl's father and his friends arrive, the boy is brought forward and shown to the guests, one of the old women of the house remarking how fine-looking and healthy he is, and adding, ' We have shown our boy to you, but we have not yet, seen your girl. We hope your girl is as handsome as our boy. Then the boy is bathed and dressed, and his brow is marked with sandal, and the girl's father, who has brought a bodice, a cocoanut, and betelnut and leaves, gives them to the women of the house telling them to lay them before the house gods and to give the bodice to the boy's grandmother. Dinner is served, and just as at the girl's house, the form of naming the marriage presents is gone through. When dinner is over the guests leave, the boy's fathers being warned that little time is left, and that he should be ready, referring to the £1 10s. (Rs.15) he has to pay as purchase-money or dowry.

From this time the marriage preparations are pressed on. The boy's father pays the girl's father the £110s. (Rs. 15) in presence of a couple of witnesses and next morning both men and women go to the market and buy clothes. When they return the Brahman priest is sent for. When he comes he is seated on a blanket with his almanac spread before him and asked to fix a

lucky day for the wedding. After consulting his almanac and counting his fingers, the Brahman says, 'Wednesday morning is the best time for the turmeric-rubbing; an hour before sunset is the luckiest time for the wedding; and Thursday night for the marriage procession.' The boy's father sends a message to that effect to the girl's parents and send to ask kinspeople, friends, and castemen. The shoemaker is told to make a new pair of shoes for the boy, and the potter to bring earthen pots on the morning of the marriage day. The boy's fathal goes to his neighbours and asks them to help him to build a marriage booth in front of his house. He brings bunches of mango leave, and hangs them about the booth, keeping a bough for the lucky pillar or *muhurt-medh* which is planted on the marriage day. Except that an altar is built at the girl's house, the preparations at both houses are the same. In the evening, both at the boy's and at the girl's, wet pulse, turmeric, redpowder, betelnut and leave, cocoanuts, and dry cocoa-kernel, dry dates, and two bundles of thread, worth altogether 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼) are laid in. [The details are: Pulse, turmeric, and betelnut about 9d. (6 as.); cocoanuts and kernel, 1s. 9d. (14 as.); thread, 1½ (1 anna).] Musicians are called and for two days' playing are paid about 1s. 6d. (12 as.). Early on the wedding morning at the girl's house the millstones are washed and turmeric is ground into fine powder. A piece of cloth is dipped in turmeric, and a few grains of rice, a betelnut, and a tamarind root are laid in the cloth and tied to the neck of the millstone which is not used till the marriage ceremony is over. A low wooden stool is set in the doorway and round the stool five metal water-pots are arranged and a thread is passed five times round them. Some betelnuts and a few grains of rice are laid in the girl's hands, and a metal pot filled with cold water in the hands of the bridesmaid or *karavli*, and the two go round the pots five times. Then the bridesmaid, walking behind the girl, pours a little water on the low wooden stool, and the girl five times drops a few grains of rice on the water, and setting first her right foot and then her left foot on the stool sits on it. Her head is rubbed with oil and she is bathed. While this goes on the girl bathes a number of little children who stand in front of her and the musicians from time to time play their pipes. When all the children have been bathed the girl's mother comes forward, and, sitting close to her daughter on the low wooden stool, is bathed. When the bath is over the mother is presented with a robe and bodice, and, if she is not a widow, her arms are rubbed with turmeric and redpowder is rubbed on her brow and a cocoanut and rice are laid in her lap. The girl is dressed in a robe and green bodice

and her clothes are stained with wet turmeric, her forehead is daubed with redpowder and rice, her cheeks and the space between the eyebrows are marked with soot, and in her lap are laid a cocoanut, five dry cocoa-kernels, five betelnuts, five turmeric roots, and some grains of wheat. After this a chaplet, either of flowers or of tinsel, is tied round her brow, and her head is covered with a blanket. Without letting the cotton thread that encircles them touch the girl, four women stand with water-pots in their hands, and a fifth looses one end of the thread and ties it to the lucky pillar or *muhurt-medh*, and plants the post on one side of the doorway. By this time, at the boy's house, the Brahman priest has come, and is given a cocoanut, pieces of cocoa-kernel, thread, turmeric, a piece of yellow cloth, a winnowing fan, and rice. The priest sets two lighted lamps on a low wooden stool, and between the two lamps a bathing tub or *ghangal*. He picks up a winnowing fan, lays grains of rice in it, and filling a metal water-pot with cold water sets it on the rice. He spreads a few mango leaves on the water-pot or sets a cocoanut on it. He ties in a yellow cloth a few grains of rice, and some betelnut and turmeric. He daubs the bundle with redpowder and lays it in the winnowing fan beside the water-pot. The priest opens his almanac at a picture of Ganpati, tells the host to worship the picture, repeats verses, and the host sprinkles over the picture sandal rice and red and scented powder, lays betelnut and leaves and a copper coin before it, offers it sugar, and bows to it. When the worship of Ganpati is over the priest rolls up his almanac and lays it beside him. Then, after worshipping the winnowing fan and its contents and seeing that it is kept in a safe place, the priest goes home. A near relation of the girl, taking turmeric powder and accompanied by music, goes to the boy's house, makes over the turmeric to the people of the house and returns. The boy is seated on a low wooden stool in the midst of the five earthen pots, bathed, and dressed in a new waistcloth, a turban, and a shouldercloth. His forehead, like the girl's forehead, is marked with redpowder, and over the powder a few grains of rice are stuck. A tinsel chaplet is tied to his brow, and, as at the girl's house, the thread that was wound round the earthen pots is tied to the lucky pillar or *muhurt-medh*. The village barbers lay a cloth on the grinding stone or *pata*, and worship it by laying grains of rice before it. To the wooden pestle or *musal* are then tied a betel leaf, a millet stalk, and a needle, and it is set in the mortar. The women of the house seat the boy in front of the mortar on a low wooden stool, take cocoanut oil in a metal cup, and dipping mango leaves in the oil let it drop on his head. The

washerwoman, holding the pestle in her left hand, stands in front of the boy singing songs. A chaplet of flowers, a cocoanut, and a few grains of wet pulse are sent to the village god with the prayer that he may be kind, that the marriage ceremony may pass without mishap, and that he may give the marriage guests a safe return to their homes. When this is over the guests are treated to a dinner. After dinner the boy is seated either on a horse or a bullock, and, with about twice as many male and female relations and friends as he promised to bring, goes with music to the girl's village temple, where he lays a cocoanut before the village god and asks his blessing. After leaving the temple, the boy goes to the boundary of the girl's village.

On reaching the boundary a lemon is cut, waved round the boy's head, and thrown away, and his eyes are touched with cold water. One of the company going to the girl's house tells her father that the boy and his party are come. Then the girl's near relations and the chief men of the village go to meet the boy. At first the girl's brothers and uncles refuse to let him pass the village boundary. After a while they are given cocoanuts, betel nuts and leaves are handed round, they embrace, and while the musicians of both parties play their pipes, the boy and his friends are hurried to the village temple where he lays betelnut and leaves before the god and worships. He is then seated on a blanket spread outside of the temple. The village Mhar brings a horse and on it the boy is seated, and with music is led to the door of the girl's marriage hall. A ball of rice is waved over the boy's head and thrown on one side, and his eyelids are touched with water. Next the village barber comes, unrobes the boy, and bathes him in warm water. The girl's father dresses him in a new waistcloth, turban, and shouldercloth or *shela*, and the clothes the boy was wearing are given to the barber. Meanwhile three or four Brahmans draw red lines on the outer wall of the house near which the boy is seated, and the girl, dressed in a fine robe and her lap filled with a cocoanut a handful of wheat and a piece of cocoa-kernl, is taken outside and seated on the boy's left. The flower chaplets are taken off the boy and girl and thrown on the house-top or the roof of the marriage hall and new ones are tied to their brows. Toe-rings are put on the girl's feet and she is dressed in a bodice turned fore end backwards, *badishep* Anetham foenicatum is put in their mouths, yellow lines are drawn on a waistcloth, the boy and girl are set facing each

other, and the waistcloth with the yellow lines is held between them. The villagers hold drawn swords over their heads and the guests and relations who surround the pair are each given a few grains of rice and warned not to sneeze, talk, or cough. Behind the girl stands her sister with lighted lamp in her hand, and behind the boy his brother with a lemon stuck on the point of a dagger. The Brahman repeats verses and at the end of the verses asks the girl's father to whose house he has given his daughter and he names the boy's father. Then both fathers are asked, 'Have you both with free will given and received the girl;' and they reply, 'We have.' The guests throw rice over the couple, the musicians play, and the Brahmans are given money. The boy and girl are seated on the altar close to each other, the girl on the boy's left. Next the Brahman priest takes a metal plate and lays on it a lighted lamp and a handful of rice. A married woman takes some rice in both her hands and throws it on the knees, shoulders, and heads of the boy and girl, three times over the boy and twice over the girl. A copper coin is laid in the dish and the musicians play and sing songs. A new bathing tub or *ghangal* and water-pot or *tambya* are brought and filled with water and the girl's father pours water from the tub over the boy's feet. These pots, together with a turban, a waistcloth, and a bodice or robe are presented to the boy, and this concludes the ceremony. The Brahmans from both houses are presented with 5s. (Rs. 2½) and the guests with betelnut. The hems of the boy's and girl's clothes are tied together by the girl's sister, and they are led into the house. They bow before the family gods, and the boy takes one of the gods and hands it to his brother. On their return to the wedding booth they are seated on the altar, the girl to the left of the boy. The girl's mother brings a bathing tub or *ghangal* and cooked food and sets them before the boy. She covers the food with a new winnowing fan, and over the fan sets, a lighted lamp, a cocoanut, and betelnut and leaves. The boy's relations come with a bodice and lay it near the betelnut on the winnowing fan. The girl's mother removes the winnowing fan with its contents and asks the boy and girl to taste the food. If the boy is the first to taste the food it is well; if he is not he is laughed at and asked whether he is going to eat his wife's leavings. When the meal is over the guests are served with a dinner, and either stay over night or go to their homes. After the guests are gone, to the wrists of both the boy and the girl turmeric roots are tied and they go to bed, the boy sleeping with the men outside and the girl with the women in the house. On the second day the boy is seated on the altar, and the girl stands behind him with



turmeric powder in her hand, and tries to force some of it into his mouth. The boy keeps his mouth tight closed and tries to prevent her, and, if she succeeds in forcing some into his mouth he is laughed at and asked if he is hungry. Then the boy stands the girl, and tries with his left hand to force some turmeric into her mouth. He seldom succeeds, and is laughed at and called *hijda* or impotent. Next the boy holds a betelnut in his hand and naming the girl asks her to take it from him. They struggle and the girl generally manages to snatch it away. Then the girl hold a betelnut in her closed fist and naming the boy asks him to take it. He tries but generally fails. He then begs her to let him have the nut and she gives it to him.

After this five or six betelnuts are laid in a line and a little molasses is sprinkled over each. The boy and girl watch the nuts and each tries to be first in picking the nut on which fly first settles. The one who gathers the most nuts wins. When this trial of luck is over the boy and girl are seated face to face in the marriage hall on low wooden stools and a plate full of water is set between them. Redpowder is dropped into the water, and the girl holds her open hands over it at some distance. The boy spreads his hands and the girl's sister drops from her hand into the boy's hands a piece of turmeric, a betelnut, and a ring and he in turn lets them drop into the girl's hands and she into the plate. If the ring lies in the plate more towards the boy's side he takes it, if it falls towards the girl's side he asks her to make it over to him. Then the boy puts the remains of the pounded turmeric and cooked rice into the mouths of his sisters and brothers-in-law. Next both he and the girl are bathed, served with a light meal, and given warm water to wash their hands and feet. To counteract any attack of the evil eye, a Jangam or Lingayat priest breaks the tops off two new earthen jars, whitewashes the outside of the bottoms, and fills them with ashes. He takes two sticks, rolls round each a piece of cloth soaked in oil, and lighting the oiled cloths plants them in the ashes. He decks the jars with flower garlands, gives the boy and his mother whose hair hangs loose down her back a lemon to hold, and sets one of the brokes jars on the head of the boy's mother and the other on the boy's head, and with music playing before them, and followed by the Jangam, who carries a cocoanut and an offering of cooked food, they walk to the side of some stream or pond. At intervals, as they go, the jangam takes one of the broken jars on his head, dances, and again makes it over to the boy or to his mother. When they reach the

water-side the Jangam offers food to the broken jars, and with the point of the sword cuts off the burned part of the torches, and brings it home.

On their return the guests are- served with dinner. Before they begin to eat burning frankincense sticks are set in front of the boy's mother, scented powder is sprinkled over her hair, and a bathing tub or *ghangal* filled with cooked food is placed before her. the tub is covered with a winnowing fan, and a lighted lamp is placed over the fan. The mother's relations lay a bodice near the lamp is placed the girl's relations take away the winnowing fan which acts as to dine, to the bathing tub. In the place where the male guests are to dine, food is brought in a covered water-pot, and on the boy's father presenting 3d. to 1s. (2-8 as.) the cover is removed and the contents of both pots are distributed to the guests. When dinner is over betelnut is handed and the guests withdraw. The Jangam is paid 3d, (2 as.) and is presented with, some uncooked food and a cocoanut. On the third day at the boy's house a dinner is given to relations, friends, and villagers. On the fourth the turmeric that was tied to the hands of the boy and girl and the cocoanuts that were tied to the marriage hall to the right wrists of the boy and girl are unfastened. At two at night a procession starts, flower chaplets are tied, and the girl's lap is filled. The boy and girl are seated on horseback and taken to the village temple. The people of every house they pass present the boy with molasses and water, of which he eats and drinks a little and hands the rest to his wife, who eats and drinks a little and returns what remains. When he reaches his house-door a woman comes from the house, breaks a cocoanut, waves it over the boy and girl, and throws the pieces away. On entering his house the boy and girl are taken before the house gods, bow repeatedly before them, and retire. The girl stays for four days and on the fifth is sent back to her father's, the woman who came with her receiving a bodice. About four months after the marriage the boy's father consults a Brahman, and, on a lucky day, sends to the girl's house a couple of women and a man bearing a robe and bodice, some wheat, and a cocoanut. The girl's mother receives the present, dresses the girl in the robe and bodice, fills her lap with the wheat and cocoanut, and sends her to the boy's house in charge of an elderly woman with cooked rice, vegetables, and cakes. When these gifts reach the boy's house his parents distribute the cakes and food among the villagers, and the girl's companions are kept four to seven days. This is

called the house-filling or *gharbharne*. After this the girl is free to be brought at any time from her parents' to the boy's house. Widows are generally allowed to marry: but some families think widow-marriage disreputable and do not practise it. As a rule only widowers marry widows and the children do not get so large a share of the property as the children of the first marriage. Under the Peshwa, Kunbis rarely practised *sati* or widow-burning. [Trans, Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 215.]

When a Kunbi girl comes of age, she is seated in a room by herself, and for three days neighbours and relations bring her presents of cooked food. On the fourth day she is bathed and word is sent to her parents and a cocoanut and a few grains of wheat are laid in her lap. Near relations are asked to a dinner, and when they come they present the girl with a cocoanut. In the evening the girl is sent to sleep in a separate room and the wife's brother or Other near relation leads the boy to the room and shuts him in.

When a Kunbi is on the point of death his son or his wife lays the dying man's head on their right knee, and lets a few drops of water shall into his mouth. Money and grain are given to the poor, and a cow or from 1s. to 10s. (Rs. ½ -5) in cash is given to the family Brahman, to help the flight of the soul to heaven. When the dying man has, breathed his last the women of the house raise a loud cry and dishevel their hair. A small piece of gold is put into the dead mouth, and, after an hour or two, friends and neighbours come and mourn. A near relation is sent to buy three earthen jars, cloth, betel leaves, red-powder, and bamboos, and at the burning ground the village Mhar gathers 1000 to 1500 cowdung cakes. The barber shave the chief mourner's moustache and is paid 6d. (4 as.) A fire is lighted outside of the house and rice is cooked in one earthen pot and water heated in another. The body is carried out of the house and laid on the house steps with the feet towards the roadside. The head is rubbed with butter and washed with warm water. The body is covered with a sheet or a piece of cloth, laid on the bier, and shrouded from head to foot in another sheet. On the sheet red and scented powder are sprinkled and the chief mourner is given a piece of cloth or *uttri* to tie round his chest. He holds the jar of boiled rice in his left hand and a jar with burning live coal or cowdung cakes in his right hand and starts

walking from the house. Four near relations lift the bier and follow him calling, Shriram Jayram Jayjayram. Alongside of the body near the head the wife, mother's or other near kinswoman walks by the body fanning it. After the bearers a band of kinsmen and kinswomen, the men generally bareheaded and barefooted walk joining in the cry. [Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. III. 216] On the way near the burning ground the bearers change places, those in front going behind and those behind coming in front. On reaching the river near the burning ground the bier is lowered, and the chief mourner dashes the jar with the burning cakes or live coal on the ground, and beats his mouth with the back of his open hand. The mourners gather the burning cakes in a heap and cover them with some cowdung cakes. Then each takes a cowdung cake and lays it on the corpse's breast. The corpse's waiststring is cut. The chief mourner sets fire to the pile, and others help him in heaping the cakes round the body. They go a little distance and sit chatting and laughing till the body is half burnt, when they bathe and go home. While the funeral party are away women smear with cowdung the whole house of mourning, they spread rice flour over the spot where the deceased breathed his last, and set a lighted lamp on it and cover the lamp with a bamboo basket. On their return the funeral party examine the spot where the rice flour is strewn to see if there are any marks like the prints of an animal's foot. If the footprint of any animal, or if any mark which bears any resemblance to an animal's footprint is seen, it is believed that the spirit of the dead has passed into the animal to which the foot belongs. On the third day the chief mourner and other relations go to the burning ground, and the chief mourner sprinkles the ashes first with water and then with cow's urine, and gathering the bones and ashes throws them into the river. He makes an earthen *ling* on the spot where the deceased was burnt sets round it five hollow castor oil or *erand* stem s, and close by fixes five yellow-coloured flags and earthen pots. In the pots he puts milk and water and through hollow pipes lets the water drop on the ground, saying, 'Let us give the dead water to drink.' When all have poured out water they burn frankincense and offer cooked food and rice flour balls to the dead. They then bow to the offering and ask crows to come and feed on it. If the crows come and eat, the soul is believed to be happy and to have entered a new birth, If the crows refuse, their refusal to eat causes the mourners the greatest fear. The mourners call on the dead to know why he is unhappy and assure him that he has nothing to fear, and that they will take care of his family, his house, and his goods. Every means is

tried to persuade the crows to eat the food. If nothing succeeds, after waiting for a long time, one of them makes a clay figure of a crow and with it touches the offering, and the party go home. The crow's refusal to eat is believed to show that the soul of the dead remains at large and becomes a ghost or demon. For thirteen days after death the family is unclean and in mourning. The chief mourner lays aside his turban and shoes, sleeps on the ground, drinks no milk and eats nothing sweet, lets his hair grow, and stays at home giving up business and never visiting the temple. On the tenth day the whole house is cowdunged and on the eleventh and twelfth the friends and relations meet at the mourner's house and the nearest relations present the son and his mother with a turban, waistcloth, and robe, and calling a Brahman offer rice balls and ask the four bier bearers to dine. In the month of *Bhadrapad* or September on the day on which the deceased died, a feast is given to relations, friends, and castefellows.

In each village the Kunbis have a headman to whom they refer caste disputes which he settles at mass meetings of the castemen. Some send their boys to school. As a class Kunbis are poor.

## Maharashtra State Gazetteers

### Malis

**Ma'lis**, or Gardeners, are returned as numbering 52,557 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Haldi-malis or turmeric gardeners, Jire-malis, Kadu-malis, Lingayat-malis, and Phul-malis or flower-gardeners. Of these the Kadu and Phul malis eat together but none of the divisions intermarry. The following details apply to the Jire-malis. Their surnames are Barke, Dhevarkar, Dhole, Dhumne, Ghod, Ladkar, Lande, and Raikar. People with the same surname and guardian or *devak* do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Limbaji, Rakhmaji, Satvaji, Tukaram, and Vithu; and among women, Bhagn, Chandrabhaga, Ganga, Rai, and Rakhma. They look and speak like Marathas and do not differ from them in house, food, or dress. They are hardworking, sober, thrifty, even-tempered, hospitable, and orderly. They are husbandmen, gardeners, and day-labourers, and their women help them both in tilling and in selling flowers, fruit, and vegetables. A family of five spend 16s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 8-12) month on food, and £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30) a year on clothes. A



house costs £30 to £80 (Rs. 300-800) to build, and 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) month to hire. Their household goods and ornaments are worth £5 to £100 (Rs. 50 -1000). The birth of a child costs 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-5), a hair-cutting about 8s. (Rs. 4), the marriage of a boy £10 to £30 (Rs. 100 - 300), a girl's coming of age about £1 (Rs. 10), and a death £1 to £5 (Rs. 10-50). Like Marathas they keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their houses. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur, and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, lucky and unlucky days, and oracles. Their customs are the same as those of Marathas or Kunbis. They have a headman or *patil* who settles their social disputes in consultation with the castemen. They send their boys to school and are a steady class.

### PAHADIS

**Pa'ha'dis** or Hillmen, numbering ten, are found in the town of Poona. They are said to have come to Poona about the middle of the eighteenth century, but their origin is unknown. The names in common use among men are Babaji, Dhondi, Ganpati, Gyanu Kashiram, Kondaji, Rama, Vishnu, and Vithoba; and among women Chandrabhagabai, Gangabai, Parvatibai, Savitribai, and Sitabai. Their surnames are Dhandoshe, Galayat, Kavane, Made Malave, Paradhi, Rasal, Rasane, Shelavante, and Vaghe. Person having the same surnames cannot intermarry. Pahadis look like Marathas and as a rule are strong and well-built. Their skin is dark, and the men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. They speak a corrupt Marathi both at home and abroad and live in houses one or two storeys high with walls of brick and stone and tiled roofs. Their houses are generally clean and cost £20 to £80 (Rs. 200 - 800) to build and 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2 - 4) a year to hire. Their belongings include boxes, chairs, blankets, carpets, bedding, cushions, and earthen and metal vessels, altogether worth £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500). They own cattle and pet animals and spend on them 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5) a month. Their staple food is millet, rice, vegetables, and pulse. They use fish and the flesh of the goat, sheep, deer, hare, pigeon, and domestic fowl. They drink liquor to excess, especially on Sundays and Tuesdays. They smoke tobacco and hemp flows or *ganja*. Both men and women dress like Marathas and have clothes in store for holiday wear. They are hardworking

hospitable, and fond of show. They have a good name for honesty. They are husbandmen, labourers, and messengers, and deal in chillies, onions, asafoetida, cumin-seed, and black pepper. A family of five spends £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10 - 15) a month, and their clothing costs £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25) a year. The birth of a child costs 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5), a hair-cutting 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2 - 4), a marriage £2 to £20 (Rs. 20-200), a girl's coming of age 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), and a death £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15). They worship the usual Brahmanic and local goddesses, and their family deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Khandoba of Jejuri. Their family priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their marriages and deaths. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and in lucky and unlucky days and numbers. For her first confinement a girl generally goes to her parent's house. When her time comes a midwife is called, and after delivery the child's navel cord is cut, put in an earthen jar, and buried in the room. The mother and child are bathed. During the first three days the child is fed on honey and castor oil and the mother for ten days on rice and clarified butter. From the fourth day the mother suckles the babe. On the fifth the women of the house place some moss, a piece of three-edged prickly-pear or *nivdung*, river sand, and a silver image of Satti on a stone roller or *varavanta*, and lay before them pomegranate flowers, turmeric powder, and vermilion. Wheat flour lamps are lighted and one is placed before them, one at each of the four corners of the woman's cot, and one in the place where the mother and babe are bathed. Fish, wheat cakes, rice, pulse, sauce, and vegetables are offered to Satti and the members of the house are feasted. The women of the house remain awake the whole night talking and singing. The ceremonial impurity lasts ten days. On the eleventh the house is washed with cowdung, the mother is bathed, and her clothes are washed. On the twelfth she worships five stones laid in a row outside of the house-door, and from one to five married women are asked to dine in the name of Satti. In the evening or at night the neighbour women meet, and cradle and name the child. The nurse receives 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1 ¼) if the child is a boy and 2a. (Rs. 1) if it is a girl. Betel and boiled gram are served and the naming is over.

Between the second and twelfth month the child's hair is cut for the first time. A lucky day is chosen and the child is seated on its maternal uncle's knee and its head is shaved by the village barber; the house-people with a band of friends go to

some garden, slaughter goats in the name of Satti, and feast caste-people on the flesh of the victim. The barber is paid 1½ d. (1 *anna*) for his trouble and is asked to dine. The child is dressed in new clothes and the guests take their leave. Girls are marriable between three and fifteen and boys between four and twenty-five. The boy's father goes to the girl's father with some of his friends and proposes the match. If her parents agree, on a lucky day, a band of men and women go with music from the bridegroom's and present the bride with a robe, a bodice, some wheat rice betelnuts cocoanuts and plantains, and five lemons. Her brow is marked with vermilion and she is dressed in the new suit, her lap is filled by married women with wheat rice and fruit brought from the bridegroom's, and she bows before all present. Rolls of betel leaves are handed round and the priest is paid 1½. (1 *anna*). After some days the priest chooses a lucky day to hold the ceremony and preparations are made by both parents. The turmeric paste is rubbed on the bridegroom and what is left is taken to the bride by a band of married women with music. The bride is rubbed with the turmeric paste and again presented with a robe and bodice and the women return home. Next day two members of the bridegroom's family, a man and a woman are bathed. The man takes the leaves of five kinds of trees and an axe in his hand, and the woman carries some food in hers. With music and a band of male and female friends they visit Maruti's temple, lay flowers and food before the god, and return home. To the first pole or *muhurt-medh* of the marriage booth a bundle of hay, some turmeric, and some *jvuri* stalks are tied in a yellow cloth. To the pole are also fastened a pair of scales, and the axe tree leaves and food which have been brought back from Maruti's temple. All these are together known as the marriage *devaks* or guardians. In their honour goats are killed and five married women are asked to dine. In the same way marriage gods are set up at the bride's and five married women are feasted. Next day friends and relations are asked to be present at the bride's at the time of making the altar or *bahule*. The washerwoman sprinkles some drops of oil on the bridegroom and he is bathed; this is called the anointing or *telvan*. He is then dressed in fine clothes and his brow is decked with the marriage tinsel coronet or *bashing*. He is mounted on a horse and taken in procession with drums and pipes and a company of friends and relations and seated in the temple of Maruti. His brother goes to the bride's whose father gives him a suit of clothes to be handed to the bridegroom, who is dressed in the clothes and brought on horseback to the bride's. At the entrance to the booth the

bride's mother meets him and waves round him a cake of riceflour and a cocoanut which is cracked on the spot. He walks into the booth and is made to stand on a bamboo basket or *duradi* filled with wheat; and on the other side of a curtain the bride stands on a second bamboo basket filled with wheat. The priest repeats texts, the curtain is drawn aside, and the priest, and the guests throw over the bride and bridegroom handfuls of yellow rice called *mangalakshatas* or lucky rice. Cotton thread is wound seven times round the bridegroom and five times round the bride, and they are seated on the altar or *bahule*. The priest lights a sacred fire and the bride and bridegroom throw clarified butter and fried rice into the fire. The cotton threads that were wound round the bride and bridegroom are then twisted and each passed round piece of turmeric root. The thread that was round the bridegroom is tied to his left wrist and the thread that was round the bride is tied to her left wrist. Then the bride's father gives a copper pot and cup to the bridegroom and the girl-giving or *kanyadan* is over. Next a ceremony called *sesh* is performed, the brows of the bride and bridegroom are marked with circles of vermilion in which grains of rice are stuck and copper coins are waved round them both. The bride's lap is filled with rice, wheat, and fruit, and friends and relation are feasted at the bride's. Next day her parents dress the bride in a new robe and bodice and hand her to the bridegroom's parents asking them to care for her as if she was their own child. Then the couple are led in procession to the bridegroom's, where the sister of the bridegroom waves rice and curds and a light round them, and the maternal uncle of the bridegroom takes him and the maternal uncle of the bride takes her, and each setting his charge on hip dances in a circle to the sound of music. The couple then bow before the family gods and each unties the other's marriage wrist-threads or *Kankans*. Next day molasses is laid before the *devak* or marriage gods, and again taken away. Early marriage, widow marriage, and polygamy are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. When a girl comes of age she sits apart for three days. On the fourth day she is bathed and her lap is filled with wheat or rice, plantains, and a cocoanut, and from that night she enjoys the company of her husband. When a Pahadi breathes his last he is bathed in water heated in a new earthen pot. The caste-people are asked to attend the funeral. The dead is dressed in a new loincloth and a turban and is laid on the bier covered with a white sheet. The chief mourner, holding in his hand a firepot hanging from string, takes the lead followed by the bearers. A little distance from the burning ground the bearers lay down the bier and change

places. Some rice, a roll of betel leaves, a betelnut, and a copper coin are left on the ground, and redpowder or *gula* is thrown about. On reaching the burning ground the bier is laid down and the pile made ready. The chief mourner sits at the feet of the dead and has his head, except the top-knot, and his face shaved, paying the barber 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.). The body is laid on the pile and the pile is lighted. Meanwhile the chief mourner dips the dead man's turban in water, and squeezes it till some drops fall into the dead mouth. When the body is nearly consumed the chief mourner sets an earthen pot on his shoulder and stands at the feet of the dead, a second man tells him to move round the pile, and with a stone pierces a hole in the bottom of the pot. Three turns are made and three holes are pierced. The chief mourner then throws the jar over his shoulder, and, as it dashes to pieces on the ground, he beats his mouth with the back of his right hand and calls aloud. All the men bathe in the river and return to the house of mourning, look at the lamp which is set on the spot where the dead breathed his last, and go home. On the third day the ashes of the dead are gathered and the place is washed with water, millet cakes are laid close by, and the mourner returns home. The ceremonial impurity lasts for ten days. On the tenth ten balls of flour are worshipped and one of them is offered to the crows and the rest are thrown into the river. As soon as a crow picks the first ball the mourners leave, bathe in the river, and go home. On the twelfth or thirteenth, at the house of mourning friends and relations are feasted on wheat cakes or meat and present the chief mourner with a turban. A memorial or *shraddh* feast is held on the death day at the end of a year, and also on the corresponding day during the *Mahalayapaksha* or All Souls' fortnight in the latter half of *Bhadrapad* that is September-October. The Pahadis have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They punish breaches of caste rules by fines varying from 2½ d to 10s. (1¼ as.-Rs.5); the amount is spent on drink or on a caste feast. They send their boys to school. Their fondness for drink keeps them poor.



## POPULATION

### CRAFTSMEN

**Craftsmen** included thirty-one classes with a strength of 81,474 or 9.62 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### POONA CRAFTSMEN.

CLASS.	Males.	Females.	Total.	CLASS.	Males.	Females	Total.
Badhais	4983	4673	9656	Lohars	1333	1254	2587
Beldars	368	338	706	Lonaris	417	468	885
Bhadbhunjas	145	72	217	Niralis	75	87	162
Bhavsars	163	144	307	Otaris	54	55	109
Buruds	443	415	858	Patharvats	151	158	309
Chambhars	8766	8484	17,250	Rauis	188	189	377
Gaundis	173	174	347	Salis	1972	1830	3802
Ghisadis	251	247	444	Sangars	412	397	809
Halvais	41	26	67	Shimpis	4450	4429	8879
Jingars	351	299	650	Sonars	4632	4609	9241
Kocharis	28	37	65	Sultankars	39	50	89
Kasars	1369	1386	2755	Tambats	582	524	1106
Kataris	18	18	86	Telis	4360	4350	8710
Khatris	244	216	460	Zarekaris	8	12	20
Koshtis	1404	1309	2713	Total	41,283	40,191	81,474
Kumbhars	3835	3904	7739				
Lakheris	42	37	79				

### BADHAIS

**Badha'is**, or Carpenters, are returned as numbering 9656 and as found chiefly in Poona. They have no subdivisions. They say that they came into the district upwards of a hundred years ago from Jalna in the

Nizam's country and from Barhanpur in west Berar. They have no surnames, and are of five stocks or *gotras*, Jhadubanda, Mirchyavale, Purbhaya, Rajuvale, and Satnavale. Persons of the same stock cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bachuji, Chayatan, Manirarn, Narayan, Nhanu, Ramkisan, Sundar, and Tarachand; and among women Bayo, Jamna, Jasiyabai, Maina, and Nandu. They are Pardeshis from Upper India and look like Pardeshis and speak Hindustani both at home and abroad. They have a slang language in which five rupees is *hatujenu* and a  $\frac{1}{4}$  *anna* is *dhilor*. They live in middle class houses. Their staple food is wheat or millet pulse, and vegetables, and they eat fish and flesh when they can afford it. They are excessively fond both of country' and foreign liquor, and smoke both hemp and tobacco, but do not take opium. Their holiday dishes are cakes, sugared milk, and mutton. The men wear the three-cornered Maratha turban, a waistcloth, shouldercloth, and coat, and grow the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, all shaving the chin. Their women wear a petticoat or *lunga* and an open-backed bodice, and roll a robe or *lugde* round the waist and draw the upper end over the right shoulder and head, tucking the one end in front. Instead of tying the hair in a knot at the back of the head they plait it, and let it hang in a tail down the back. They do not use false hair or deck their hair with flowers. They keep clothes in store worth £2 10s. to £3 (Rs.25-30). The men wear the gold earrings called *antias* with chains worth 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20); and the women the earring called *utarna* of gold or silver worth 8s. to £1 (Rs. 4-10), the silver armlet called *toda* worth £1 to £1-10s. (Rs.10-15), and the gold brow-spangle called *tika* worth £1 is. to £2 (Rs. 12-20). They do not wear noserings because they say a woman of their caste wore a nosering when she was burnt with her husband. They are hardworking but given to drink. They are carpenters, and make boxes, and repair tables, cupboards, and stools, and also work as labourers, earning Is. to Is. 6d. (8-12 as.) a day. Boys of fifteen and over help their fathers in their calling and occasionally earn 3d. to 9d. (2-6 as.) a day. Their tools are, *randha* a plane worth Is. 6d. (12 as.), *vakas* an adze worth 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 -2), *daraj* a large plano worth 6d. to Is. (4-8 as.), *gunya* a square worth 6d. to 2s. 6d. (Rs.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ), *khatdvnis* measurer worth 3d.to 6d. (2-4 as-); *pilpil* a grooving plane worth 9d to Is. 6d. (6-12 as.), *patasi* a large chisel worth 1s.'3d. to Is.6d.(10-12 , as.), *chaurshi* a gimlet worth 3d. to Is. (2-8 as.), *samta*, an auger worth 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (3-5 as.), *sandas* or pincers worth 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (8-6 as.), *hatodi* or hammer worth 6d. to Is. (4-8 as.), and a pair of *karvats* or saws worth Is. to 8s. (Rs. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). A house costs £10 to £25 (Rs.100-250) to build and Is. to 4s. (Rs. $\frac{1}{2}$ -1) a month to rent, and their vessels and other furniture are worth £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). A family of five spends £1 4s. to £2 (Rs. 12-20) a month on food, and £1 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 15-25) a year on clothes. A birth costs about £2 (Rs. 20), the marriage of a boy

£10 to £15 (Rs. 100 -150), and of a girl £5 to £6 (Rs. 50-60). A girl's coming of age costs about 6s. (Rs. 3) and a death about £6 (Rs. 60). Their chief god is Mahadev, but they worship the usual Hindu gods and goddesses, and keep images in their houses. Their priests are Pardeshi Brahmans and they make pilgrimages to Tuljapur in the Nizam's country and to Saptashringi in Nasik. Their fast days are the *ekadashis* or lunar elevenths of every month and the Mondays of *Shravan* or July-August, *Ram-navami* in March-April, and *Gokul-ashtami* in July-August. Their feast days are *Sankrant* in December-January, *Shimga* in February-March, *Dasara* in September-October, and *Divali* in October-November. During the first five days after childbirth, a castor oil lamp is kept burning in the lying-in room, and the child is laid in a winnowing fan, and, in presence of a few caste-people, is named by the priest who is paid 2s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1-1¼). Near relations or friends wave a copper coin over the child's head and give it to the priest, who in this way sometimes makes 3d. to 1s. (2-8 as.). The guests are treated to balls of wheat flour and sugar, and large quantities of liquor are drunk. On the sixth day they worship six small brass plates or *taks* with an image of the goddess Satvai. They hang one round the neck of the child, a second round the mother's neck, and the other four round the necks of four married women. Women are feasted on the sixth and again on the seventh. On the twelfth they go some distance from the house to a garden or grave and worship seven pebbles offering them flowers and feasting on sugared milk or cakes. They clip a child's hair, whether it is a boy or a girl, when it is three months old, and offer a goat in the name of Ransatvai or the Forest-Sixth, and spend £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20) on the feast. They marry their boys between fifteen and twenty and their girls between seven and boys twelve. A day before the marriage the boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their own houses and marriage booths are built. Their *devak* or marriage guardian is the goddess Chatarshingi or Nagarkoti, whose image they keep in their houses, and whom they worship, offering goats and feasting near relations. On the marriage day, pieces of turmeric root are tied with a yellow thread to the right and left wrists of the boy and girl, and, at the girl's house, in addition, a mango-leaf garland is hung on the door of the marriage hall. The boy is either seated on horseback or carried on foot to the girl's house accompanied by male and female relations and friends. Before dismounting the boy touches the mango wreath either with a sword or a rod and is given a turban and scarf. The boy then dismounts, walks into the marriage hall, and is seated on a low wooden stool. The girl is brought and seated on another stool close to the boy and in the same line with him. The sacrificial fire or *hom* is lit and fed with parched grain and butter. The boy and the girl stand on the stools and a cloth is held between the fire and the couple and yellow rice grains are thrown over their heads while the priest repeats verses. At the end of the verses the cloth is pulled on

one side and the boy and girl are husband and wife. Then the boy and girl go round the fire seven times. When the sixth turn is completed the priest asks the parents and relations of the boy and girl if he can allow them to take the seventh turn, and the friends say. You may allow them; and the couple take the turn and sit on the stools as before. The hems of their clothes are tied together and they bow before the household gods. The boy begs the girl's mother to untie the knot and after she has looseaed it he presents her with 1s. 3d. (10 as.). A feast is then given in the house of the bride. After the feast is over the boy and girl, with music and followed by relations and friends, ride in procession to the boy's house. When they enter tile house a queensmetal plate is set before them filled with water and in it 10s. (Rs. 5) and a ring are dropped five times, and the bride and bridegroom try to pick them out, and whoever picks them out owns them. This contest is called *juva* or gambling. The day ends with a feast. When a girl comes Of age she sits by herself for four days and on the fifth is presented with a robe and bodice, and her lap is filled with rice, cocoanut, plantains, and a bodicecloth. The ceremony ends with a feast both to the girl's and the boy's relations. They burn their dead and mourn four days, when they shave the chief mourner's bead and moustache. The mourner's father-in-law or other near relation or his castemen present him with a new turban. A dinner of mutton and liquor is served and the castemen are presented with 4s. (Rs. 2) to be spent on liquor. On the fifth day they hold a remembrance or *shraddh* ceremony near the burning ground under the shade of some trees. Twenty-one rice balls are offered, and the chief mourner taking the balls and the deceased's bones, jumps twenty-one times into water and throws them into the river. A feast is held and the mourners return home. On the sixth day the four corpse-bearers and if the mourner can afford it relations and friends are feasted. Badhais are bound together as a body and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to Marathi schools for a short time. Their drunken habits are bringing them to poverty.

## BELDARS

**Belda'rs**, or Quarrymen, are returned as numbering 706 and as found all over the district. They say they take their name from the sacred *bel* tree, *AEgle marmelos*, but the probable origin of the name is the Persian *bel* a piekaxe. They are divided into Pardeshi Beldars and Marathi Beldars who do not eat together or intermarry. in appearance,, speech, dress, and customs, Marathi Beldars do not differ from Marathi Kunbis. The names in common use among the Pardeshni Beldars are for men, Bhavansing, Chimansing, Jairamsing, and Kisansing; and for women, Ganga, Jasoda, Mohan, Paru, Munya Rama, and Uma. Their surnames

are Bolde, Gondhli, Kadili; Navale, and Pando; people bearing the same surname eat together but cannot intermarry. They are tall, dark, dirty, sturdy, strong hot-tempered, and hardworking. The men wear the top-knot and whiskers, but not the beard. They speak incorrect. Hindustani, and live in dirty untidy thatched huts or poor houses. Their house goods include earthen vessels, blankets, and quilts or *vakals* together worth about £2 (Rs. 20). They eat fish and the flesh of the goat and sheep and drink liquor, and their staple food is millet bread, spilt pulse, and vegetables. Their feast dishes are *purawpolis* or sweet cakes and *shirapuris* that is cakes of wheat-flour butter and molasses the cost of a feast is about 4½d. (3 *as.*) a guest. A family of five spends £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15-20) a month on food and about £2 (Rs.20) a year on clothes. The men wear a pair of short light drawers or *chaddin* reaching to the knee, a jacket, a shouldercloth, and a turban folded in Maratha fashion. The women wear a petticoat or *lunga*, and an open-backed bodieo, and draw a piece of cloth over the head. The men mark their brows with sandal and the women with redpowder the women do not wear false hair or deck their heads with flowers. They do not wear hair or nose ornaments but the earrings called *balya*, the necklaces called *haslis* and *pots*, the silver wristlets called *dandohas*, and the silver toe-rings called *chutkyas*, the whole averaging £3 to £5 (Rs.30-50) in value. They are properly quaerymen but oome contract to square stones for builders; others are bricklayers and make clay walls; others labour or let donkies on hire at 2s. (Re. 1) a day for eight to twelve donkies. To build a house costs about £30 (Rs.800) and to rent a house about 4s. (Rs.2) a month. A birth costs 10s. (Rs. 5), a boy's marriage £5 to £8 (Rs. 50-80), a girl's marriage £4 to £6 (Rs. 40 - 60), and a death £2 (Rs. 20). They have house images of Mahadev, Krishna, Ganpati, and Ram. Their priests are ordinary Deshasth Brahmans, and they keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts such as *Mahashivratra* in February, *Holi* in March, *Gudipadva* in April, *Ashadhi Ekadashi* in July, *Nag-panchmi*, *Rakhdi-paurnima*, *Gokul-ashtami*, and all the Mondays of *Shravan* in August, *Ganeshh-chaturthi* and *Anant-chaturdashi* in September, *Vasara* in October, and *Divali* and *Kartiki Ekadashi* in November, When a child is born the midwife, who is generally a Maratha, sprinkles cold water over it, cuts its navel cord, and buries the cord either in the lying-in room, or outside of the house. The child and the mother are washed in hot water and laid on a blanket on the ground. On the fifth evening the mother worships the goddess Satvai and offers her millet and wheat bread, and an elder kills a goat in front of the woman. A dinner is given in the evening to near relations and friends and a little mutten and a piece of bread are sent to the houses of neighbours, relations, and friends, who, in return, give ¾d. (¼ anna). This ends the ceremony. After childbirth a woman remains unclean for a month and a quarter. The Beldars name the child if it is a girl on the ninth and if it is a boy on the twelfth day after birth. The



details are the same as those observed by Marathas. When a child, whether it is a boy or a girl, is between three months and three years old they cut its hair for the first time, and, laying the hair on a millet cake, offer it to the goddess Satvai along with cooked rice, vegetables, and bread. A goat is killed and its head is placed before the goddess. The barber is given uncooked food and 7½ d. (5 as.) in cash and the relations after feasting on cakes and mutton return to their homes. They marry their boys between nine and twenty-five and their girls before they come of age. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's house. When the marriage is settled, the boy's mother, with male and female relations and friends, goes to the girl's, marks her brow with red-powder, and presents her with 10s. (Rs. 5). Another 10s. (Rs. 5) are given to the caste, who buy sweetmeats, and distribute them among the caste-people. They rub the boy and the girl with turmeric at their homes three to five days before the marriage. They also tie a turmeric root and a betelnut in a piece of cloth and fasten it to the boy's and girl's wrists a couple of days before the marriage. A bamboo post is fixed in the ground in front of the house and covered with mango leaves and a square mound of earth is raised round it. On the mound is set an earthen jar whitewashed and marked with red green and yellow lines. A betelnut and a piece of turmeric root are put in the jar which is called the *devak* or guardian, and is worshipped by the boy and has a goat killed in front of it. The flesh of the goat is eaten by the guests. The same ceremony is performed at the girl's house. On the marriage day the boy is dressed in new clothes, a waistcloth, coat, turban, and shouldercloth, and with music kinspeople, and friends is taken on horseback to the girl's. On the way the guests every now and then throw grains of red rice over the boy's head. When they reach the village temple of Maruti they break a cocoanut, and lay it before the god with a packet of betelnut and leaves. When the procession reaches the girl's house the girl's sister approaches the boy with two metal water-pots; she is given 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.), and waves the water-pots round his head and throws the water away. When the boy walks into the marriage booth his father hands the Brahman priest the lucky wedding necklace or *mangalsutra* and he fastens it round the girl's neck. The boy is seated on a new sheet and on his right is the girl who is dressed in a white robe and bodice, the ends of both of which are dyed yellow. The girl covered with cloth and her parents who have fasted since the morning wash the boy's and girl's feet with cold water and drink the water. The priest kindles the sacrificial fire or *horn* in front of the guardian jar or *devak* and ties together the hems of the boy's and girl's garments. While the Brahman repeats texts the girl followed by the boy walks thrice round the guardian jar and the sacrificial fire; and then the boy followed by the girl walks four times round them. As soon as the seventh turn is completed the priest ceases to repeat texts and the boy and girl are husband and wife. They are taken before the house gods,

and, after bowing to them, the girl's mother unties their robes, a dinner is given, and the guests retire. Next evening the boy's party is feasted, and the boy and his parents are presented with turbans and a robe and bodice. Then the boy's parents, presenting the girl with new clothes and dressing her in them, take her in procession along with the boy to their house. Before entering the house the boy has to promise his sister to give his daughter in marriage to her son. After bowing before the house gods, the boy unties the girl's turmeric bracelet and the girl unties the boy's, and a feast to the girl's party ends the marriage. When a Pardeshi Beldar dies the body is bathed in cold water, covered in a sheet from head to foot, laid on a bier, and carried to the burial ground, the chief mourner walking in front with a jar containing burning cowdung cakes. When they reach the burial ground the fire is thrown on the side, the body is laid on its back in the grave, and the grave is filled. The mourners bathe and go to the deceased's house, and after peeping, at the lamp which is kept burning on the spot where the deceased breathed his last and eating a leaf of the *nimb* tree, they return to their homes. The family of mourners hold themselves impure for ten days; they offer no rice balls to the crows, do not shave their moustaches, and perform no mind-feast at the end of the year. A mutton feast on the twelfth day and the present of a turban to the chief mourner by a near relation ends the death ceremony. Pardeshi Beldars are bound together as a body and their social disputes are settled at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school or take to new callings. They say that their calling is not so good as it was, because limestone and sand are carried in carts instead of on donkey-back.

### **BHADBHUNJA'S**

**Bhadbhunja's**, or Grain-parchers, are returned as numbering 217 and as found over the whole district, except in Junnar, Khed, Sirur, and Purandhar. They are divided into Pardeshis and Marathas. The Maratha Bhadbhunjas do not differ from Maratha husbandmen in appearance, customs, or way of living. The Pardeshi Bhadbhunjas are said to have come to the district about fifty years ago from Cawnpur, Lucknow, Mathura, and Bareilly in Upper India. The surname of all of them is Kanojya and the family-stock Kashyap. They eat together and intermarry. The names in common use among men are Binda, Bejnath, Lakshman, Lals, Motiram, and Parag; and among women Batata, Bhaga, Janki, Lakshmi, Punya, and Radha. They are tall dark and strong. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers. Their home speech is Hindustani. They do not own houses but pay monthly rents of 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4). They use the front part of their houses as shops and keep cows and sheep and servants whom they pay 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4) a

month with food. Their staple food is wheat and millet bread, pulse, and vegetables except onions. They also eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, hare, and deer, but not poultry. They drink country and foreign liquor and offer goats to the small-pox goddess when they recover from an attack of small-pox. Their holiday dishes are sweet milk, pulse cakes or *vades*, wheat cakes or *puris*, and rice. The men wear a short waistcloth or *pancha*, a shouldercloth or *pichhodi*, and a Maratha turban or headscarf. The women wear a petticoat over which they fold a robe or waistcloth, and pass one end over the head and bodice. The ornaments worn by men are gold earrings or *kudkis* worth £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30), silver waistbands or *kargotas* worth £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30), and a gold coin or *mohar* necklace worth £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25). The women wear in the ears gold or silver *balis* worth 2s. to £1 16s. (Rs. 1-18) and silver *phuls* worth 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4), a nosering or *nath* of gold and pearls worth 16s. to £2 (Rs. 8-20), and gold necklaces called *panpots* and *vajratiks*, the *panpot* worth £1 16s. to £12 10s. (Rs. 18-35) and the *vajratik* worth £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20), and a silver necklace or *sari* worth 8s. to £1 12s. (Rs. 4-16); of bracelets they wear silver *tadiyas* worth 16s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 8-15), *gots* worth 16s. (Rs. 6-8), *pahuchis* worth 10s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 8-12), *chhands* worth 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8), and *mukare kangans* worth 16s. to £1 (Rs. 8-10); on the feet they wear *kades* and *todes* worth £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25) and *bichhvas* worth 16s. to £1 4s. (8-12). They are proverbially dirty but hardworking. They are parchers and sellers of parched grain and pulse. They buy the grain and pulse from Maratha or Vani grain-dealers and after parching it sell it at a profit of twelve to twenty per cent. Their women and their children from the age of ten or twelve help them in their calling, sitting in the shops and soaking and drying grain. In spite of their help a Bhadbhunja family does not earn more than £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month. Their appliances are an iron *pan* or *kadhui* for parching the grain worth 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5), a *chalan* or sieve of iron worth 1s. to 1s. 6d. (8-12 as.), a *darani* or scythe-like bar to stir up the grain worth 9d. to 1s. (6-8 as.) a *kalachha* or iron bar and hook to remove ashes worth about 1½ d. (7 as.), a stone mortar or *ukhali* worth 6d. to 9d. (4-6 as.), a wooden pestle or *musal* worth 1s. to 1s. 6d. (8-12 as.), a COPPER water-pot or *handi* for boiling the grain worth 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), a tab or *tip* worth 1s. 9d. to 2s. (Rs. 7/8-1), and a bag or *pola* for holding grain worth about 7½ d. (5 as.). A family of five spend 14s. to £1 (Rs. 7-10) a month on food and £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40) a year on clothes. Their house goods are not worth more than £2 10s. (Rs. 25). A birth costs 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20), a marriage £10 to £35 (Rs. 100-350), and a death £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25). They are Smarts and have house images of Bahiroba, Bhavani, Khandoba, and Mahadev. Their priests are Pardeshi Brahmans. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Kondanpur, Pandharpur and Tuljapur, and fast on *Shivaratra* in February, *Ashadhi Ekadashi* in July, *Gokul-*

*ashtami* in August, *Anant-chaturdashi* in September, *Kartiki Ekadashi* in November, on all *Pradoshs* that is the dark thirteenth of each month, and all Mondays. Their feasts are *Shimga* in March, *Nag-panchami* in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. Bhadbhunjas consider their women impure for twelve days after a birth. The child's navel cord is put in a small earthen jar, covered with another jar, and buried somewhere in the house. The child is named on the evening of the twelfth, the name being given by the priest. The child's hair is clipped on a lucky day when it is between one and seven years old they marry their girls' at any age but generally between twelve and sixteen, and their boys up to thirty. The girl's father goes to the boy's house and asks if he will take his daughter as a wife for his son. If the boy's father agrees a few castemen are called and a rupee or two are presented to the boy along with a packet of sugar. A day before the marriage a marriage hall is built with a post in the centre and the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric and oil at their houses by an unmarried girl. At the girl's house near the post in the marriage booth a stove is placed and over the stove an earthen jar, in which the girl's father throws grains of red rice while the priest repeats verses in the name of Agni, Indra, Narayan, Surya, and Vishnu. Another earthen jar is placed near with *mai* and *gulgule*, preparations of wheat-flour and molasses, which, at the end of the marriage, are served to the guests. On the marriage day a marriage ornament or *maur* of palmyrs palm leaves is tied to the boy's brow and he is taken to the girl's house on horseback accompanied by relations, friends, castefellows, and music. Some, instead of taking the boy to the girl's house bring the girl to the boy's house in a palanquin. In either case, before entering the marriage hall, bread and water are waved round the boy's or girl's head. In the hall the boy and girl are bathed separately and dressed in new clothes. A blacksmith is called and with cotton thread ties on the right and left wrists of the boy and girl around piece of iron called *kankan* about the size of a shilling and retires with is. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. ½ -1¼). The boy and girl are then made to stand on two low wooden stools face to face, a cloth is held between them, the Brahman priest repeats verses, and at the end throws grains of rice over their heads, and they are husband and wife. They are next seated on the stools in a line with joined hands. The girl's father comes and washes the boy's feet, worships him, and pours water over the girl's and boy's hands, and presents the boy with 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5). This ends the girl-giving or *kanyadan*. Wheat flour, turmeric, and redpowder drawings are traced on the ground, and over the drawings is placed an earthen pot filled with cold water and mango leaves and covered with an earthen plate. Over the plate is set a lighted earthen lamp and near the lamp the sacrificial fire is kindled. The hems of the boy's and girl's clothes are tied together and they walk seven times round the fire. A feast is given and after the feast is over the boy



rides with his wife on horseback to his house and the marriage ceremony is ended. The palm marriage coronet or *maur* is either thrown into a river or stream or is kept in the house for luck until some other ceremony takes place when it is thrown into some stream or pool. Bhadbhunjas burn their dead except victims of small-pox who are buried. When a person dies they pour hot water over the body and cover it if it is a man in a white *tapta*, if a widow in white cotton cloth, and if a married woman in a green robe and bodice. They strew flowers and ketel leaves over the body and bow to it in each of the corpse's hands they place a wheat ball the ball in the right hand having a copper coin in it. Half-way to the burning ground the bier is lowered, the ball containing the coin is laid on the ground, and each mourner sets five pebbles over it. The corpse-bearers change places, those in front going behind and those behind going in front. When they reach the burning ground the bier is placed near water in such a way that one end of the bier is in the water. The chief mourner dashes the fire-pot on the ground and has his head and face shaved by a barber. By this time the pile is half raised and the bearers lay the body on it. The chief mourner dips one end of his shouldercloth in the river and squeezes it into the dead mouth. After lighting the pile the chief mourner walks thrice round it with an earthen water-jar, and dashing the jar on the ground beats his mouth. When the skull has burst the chief mourner throws a little butter and a coddung cake over the pyre and the rest follow him throwing on small pieces of coddung cakes. All bathe and go home. On the third day the ashes are thrown into water, and the spot where the body was burnt is sprinkled with cow's urine and some parched grain or sweetmeats are left for the deceased to eat and depart in peace. They mourn the dead if a woman for nine days and if a man for ten days. At the end of the mourning the heads of the chief mourner and other near relations are shaved. On the thirteenth day they give a feast, and near relations or castemen subscribe to give the chief mourner a turban. They have a headman or *chaudhari* with whose consent the castemen settle dispute. They send their boys to school. Competition among the different classes of grain-parchers is said to be reducing their earnings.

## BHAVSARS

**Bha'vsa'rs**, or Dyers, are returned as numbering 307 and as found over the whole district. They say they came about seventy or eighty years ago from Mungi-Paithan about fifty miles north-east of Ahmadnagar. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Banchhod, Lale, Lokhande, Modgare, and Parpate; people bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Bhau, Rama, Sahkharam, Thamaji, and Vithoba; and among women,



Jita, Lhani, Rama, lambai, and Thaku. They are short, stout, and regular-featured. The men wear the top-knot and moustache, shaving the cheeks and chin. They speak Marathi. They live in middle-class houses with walls of mud and bricks and tiled roofs. A Bhavsar's house can be easily known from the straining bag or *zoli* and the turbans hung in the veranda to dry. Their daily food is Indian millet bread, split pulse, and vegetables. They eat rice about once a week, and fish and the flesh of goats and sheep when they can afford it. They do not object to eat hare and deer, but they do not eat poultry, pigeons, partridges, or geese. They drink both country and foreign liquor, smoke tobacco and hemp, and drink hemp. A family of five spend £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month on food and 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-5) on liquor. Their feasts of cakes cost £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25) for a hundred guests including women and children, £2 14s. to £3 10s. (Rs. 27-35) for a feast of gram or *bundi* balls, and £1 4s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 12-15) for a feast of wheat bread and split pulse. The men dress either like Marathas or Deccan Brahmans in the waistcloth, coat, waist-coat, shouldercloth, turban, and shoes. The women wear the backed-bodice and the robe hanging like a petticoat without drawing the skirt back between the feet. Their ornaments the same as those worn by Deccan Brahman women except that the older women wear a pearl or *moti* in the nose instead of the *nath* or nosering. A family of five spends £2 10s. to £3 10s. (Rs. 25-35) a year on clothes. They are hardworking, sober, thrifty, and orderly. They prepare colours and print and dye cloth charging 2s. to 8s. (Rs. 1-4) for dyeing a turban red or *abashdi*, orange or *narangi*, and scarlet or pomegranate *gulhenar*, and 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) for dyeing it *motiya* or blush. About one-fourth of the charge is profit they buy dyes from Gujarat Vanis at £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40) the *pala* of 240 pounds (120 *shers*). *Papadkhar* or impure carbonate of soda costs them 2s. (Rs. 1) for eight pounds; and lemons 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.) the hundred. Their appliances are earthen pots or *kundis*, two metal pots called *satals* or *tapelas* and a cloth bag or *jholi* hung on a four-legged wooden frame through which they strain their colours. They are in easy circumstances. They consider themselves Shudras and do not know whether they are Shaive or Vaishnavs. They have house images of the usual Deccan gods out their chief objects of worship are Balaji or Krishna and Hinglajmata. They keep the usual fasts and feasts and believe in the power of spirits and ghosts. Their priest is a Deshasth Brahman whom they greatly respect. On the evening of the fifth day after the birth of a child in the mother's room a grindstone or *pata* is laid near the mother's cot, and on the stone a picture of the goddess Satvai or Mother Sixth is traced with grains of rice, and a small silver or gold metal plate called *tak* with an image of Satvai impressed on it is set close by. A goat is killed in front of the plate and its head is laid beside the tracing of Satvai on the grindstone, and all are worshipped. A feast is held but no liquor is drunk. The house women watch the whole

night so that the goddess may not take the child away. Then till the eleventh day no ceremony is performed but the mother is considered unclean and is not touched. On the eleventh day the house is cowdunged, and the mother, child, cot, and clothes are washed and the uncleanness ceases. On the twelfth day either five or seven pebbles are set in a line in the house or on the roadside in front of the house and worshipped by the mother, who offers rice, curds, and wheat bread. Girls are named on the twelfth and boys on the thirteenth day after birth, the name being given by the women in the house. The expense during the thirteen days after a birth varies from £1 4s. to £4 10s. (Rs.12-45). They shave a boy's head when he is one to three months old, and girls who have a brother not more than three years old have their hair shaved along with the boy. If a girl is not born until after the brother next to her has been shaved only a few of her hairs are cut with scissors on her wedding day. On the hair-cutting day the child is seated on its father's or mother's knee, and the barber sits in front and shaves the head and is paid 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼). The hair-cutting ends with a dinner to near relations, the expenses varying from 6s. to £1 (Rs.3-10). Girls are married from the time they are in the cradle till they are ten or twelve, and boys from ten to twenty or twenty-five. The boy's father looks out for a wife for his son. When he has found a suitable match he takes with him a couple of near relations or friends and formally asks the girl's father if he will give his daughter in marriage to his boy. If the girl's father agrees the boy's father asks his family priest to name a lucky day, and on that day he goes to the girl's taking a few near relations and friends and his family priest. After they are seated the girl is called and takes her seat near the priest. The priest marks her brow with redpowder, presses her brow with a silver coin generally a rupee, and gives the coin into her hands. Sweetmeats worth 4s. to 8«. (Rs. 2-4) and betel packets are served and the guests retire. This is called the redpowder rubbing or *kunku-lavne*; it costs the boy's father 10s. to 14s. (Rs. 5-7). Their asking or *magni* is the same as the Kunbi asking and the turmeric-rubbing lasts five to seven days. The boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their homes. On the first day five married women grind turmeric and rub it on the boy's body, and, taking some to the girl's house with a new green robe and bodice, accompanied by kinswomen and music, rub the girl with it, dress her in the new clothes, and return with a present of a turban and sash for the boy. The turmeric rubbing is repeated both at the boy's and girl's during each of the next five or six days, and during those days no other ceremony is performed. Marriage booths are built at both the houses and an earthen altar is set up at the girl's with five earthen jars ranged round it. Their marriage guardian or *devak* is the leaves of four figs, *F. religiosa*, *F. glomerata*, *F. indica*, and *F. infectoria*, and of the mango. In the evening of the marriage day, accompanied by kinspeople and friends, the boy goes on horseback to

Maruti's temple in the girl's village and takes his seat on the veranda. The girl's party come to the temple, present the boy with a turban and sash, put new shoes on his feet, and bring him to the girl's. Before the boy enters the marriage hall an elderly woman waves rice and curds round his head and throws them on one side. The girl's father leads him into the marriage hall and makes him stand on a wooden stool, blanket, or carpet, in front of the girl, and a cloth is held between them. The priest repeats verses and at the end throws grains of rice over their heads, and the boy and girl are husband and wife. Their right wrists are tied with seven rounds of yellow cotton or *kankan* thread to which a piece of turmeric root is fastened. The sacred fire is lit on the altar by both the boy and girl, and fed with butter and parched rice. The boy's father presents the girl's brother with a turban. He ties together the skirt of the boy's and girl's robes and they are led to the village Maruti's temple, bow to him, and return. The day ends with a dinner. Next evening exchange presents of clothes are made between the two houses and the boy takes his wife in a procession accompanied by kinspeople, friends, and music, to his father's house. A marriage costs the boy's father £15 to £35 (Rs. 150-350), and the girl's father £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100) When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for four days. On the morning of the fifth she is bathed, presented with a new robe and bodice, and her lap is filled with betelnut and leaves, plantains, almonds, and rice or wheat. The girl's mother presents the boy with a turban and sash and the girl with a robe and bodice. The observance ends with a dinner to near relations and friends. A girl's coming of age costs her husband's father £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30) and her own father 16s. to £1 12s. (Rs. 8-16). They have no ceremony during a woman's first pregnancy. They try to keep her pleased and feed her on a variety of dishes. When a person dies, relations, friends, and castefellows are told, the body is brought out of the house and laid on the house steps, and warm water is poured over it. A piece of cloth is rolled round its loins; it is laid on a bier, and sweet flowers are strewn over the body. The bier is carried on the shoulders of four men, and the chief mourner walks in front carrying an earthen pot with burning cowdung cakes. On the way to the burning ground, the body is rested and pieces of bread are left for the evil spirits to eat. At the burning ground a pile is raised, the body is laid on the pile, and the pile is kindled by the chief mourner. When the pile is completely burnt the chief mourner walks thrice round it with an earthen jar full of water. At the end of the third turn he dashes the jar on the ground and cries aloud beating his mouth with the back of his right hand. The mourners return home. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground, removes the ashes, shaves his moustache, bathes, and sprinkles cow's urine and dung on the ashes. On the spot where the body was burned he sets three earthen jars filled with cooked rice curds honey and milk, and after bathing returns home. They mourn

ten days and on the eleventh the chief mourner goes to the river side, prepares ten wheatflour bails, offers one to the crows, and throws the rest into water. On the eleventh or twelfth day the memorial or *shraddh* ceremony is perforated at the mourner's house, and either on the twelfth or thirteenth day the caste is feasted chiefly on sweet, cakes or *puranpolis*. The whole ceremony costs £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40). They have a caste council and settle their social disputes at meetings of the castemen. The punishments vary from making a bow to the caste to giving them a feast. They send their boys to school, but do not keep them at school for any length of time. As a class they are fairly off.

## BURUDS

**Buruds**, or Bamboo workers, are returned as numbering 858 and as found all over the district, they say they came into the district upwards of two hundred years ago from Aurangabad, Nagar, and Satara. Their story is that they are Marathas who were put out of caste because they made a bamboo basket for Parvati's flowers and fruit when she was going to worship the *nad* tree on the June or *jyeshth* full-moon. They are divided into Jats, Kanadis, Lingayats, Maratha, Parvaris, and Tailanga, who do not eat together or intermarry. The following particulars apply to the Maratha Buruds. Their surnames are Bhovare, Chinchavle, Ghorpade, Jagtap, Kene, Mohite, More, Povar, Sanawle, Shelke, Shinde, and Vartab. People bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Bhanji, Bahiru, Govind, Ithu, Maruti, and Pandu; and among women Chandrabhaga, Ganga, Girja, Krishna, Rai, and Rama. They look like Marathas and speak Marathi. They live in poor houses and have metal and earthen vessels. They own cattle and sheep, goats, and fowls. They eat fish and mutton and drink liquor. Their staple food is rice, millet, and vegetables, and their feasts are of *puranpolis* or sweet cakes, and shirapuris wheat-flour and sugar cooked in butter and bread. The men dress like Marathas wearing the waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth, and Maratha turban; and the women in a backed bodice and the full. Maratha robe the end of which they draw back between the feet and tuck into the waist behind. They wear the same ornaments as Marathas. They are hardworking and orderly, but fond of drink. They live by making bamboo baskets, mats, fans, and sun-screens, the women doing as much work as the men. They sell their mats at 6s, (Rs. 3) the hundred square feet, their baskets at  $\frac{3}{4}d$ , to 6d. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -4 as.), and their sieves or *chaluyas* at  $\frac{3}{4}d$ . to 1 $\frac{1}{2}d$ . ( $\frac{1}{2}$ - 1 a.). They also make cane chairs which they sell at 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.). Their average earnings are 10s. to 14s. (Rs. 5-7) and most families have at least two or three wage-earning members. Their chief god is Mahadev but they worship Bhavani, Bahiroba, Khandoba, Krishna, Maruti, and Ram. They



keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts and show equal respect to Brahmana and Jangams and call both to their houses at marriages and deaths. They go on pilgrimage to Alaudi, Pandarpur, tuljapur and Kanoba in Ahmadnagar, On the fifth day after the birth of a child a silver image of the goddess Satvai is made, laid on a grindstone, and rubbed with redlead. Near it pieces of moss or *sheval* and prickly-pear or *nivdung* are laid, and worshipped by the house people. The goddess is offered bread and split pulse, and four plates filled with split pulse and bread are set one on each side of the grindstone and worshipped. A dough lamp is kept burning, and the women sing and talk the whole night. They hold a woman unclean for twelve days after childbirth. At the end of the twelve days the house is washed with cowdung, the clothes are cleaned, and the mother and child are bathed. Five pebbles are worshipped outside of the house, and in the evening the child is laid in a cradle and named, the name being given by the oldest person in the house. Sometimes when the child is between three months and two years old its hair is clipped either at home or at a distance from the village, a goat is killed, and a feast is given. They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys up to twenty-five. The proposal comes from the boy's side. His father goes to the girl's father and asks his daughter in marriage. Their betrothals are the same as Maratha betrothals. Their marriage guardian or *devak* is a mango twig which is brought and consecrated in the same way as the Maratha marriage guardian. During the marriages ceremony the boy and girl stand on four bamboo baskets, each resting a foot on a basket, and a cloth is drawn between them. The Jangam is present and the Brahman repeats marriage verses and throws grains of rice over their heads and when the verses are ended the boy and girl are husband and wife. The Brahman kindles the sacrificial fire and the boy followed by the girl passes five times round it. Then the hems of their garments are tied into a knod and they bow to the house gods. The boy carries off an image from the god-house, and the girl's father persuades him to give it up exchange for a cocoanut. The day ends with a dinner. Next day a feast is held and the villagers and the boy's relations are feasted. In the evening the boy walks with his bride to his village accompanied by kinspeople and music, and the festivities end by a feast at the boy's to the girl's parents kinspeople and friends and to his own villagers. When she comes of age a girl is seated by herself for ten days, when her lap is filled with fruit and rice or wheat. In the seventh month of a first pregnancy a dinner is given and five married women are feasted one each day. They either bury or burn the dead with the same observances as Maratha On the third day after burial the bearers are feasted and cooked rice is sprinkled over the spot where the deceased was buried or burnt On the tenth day rice balls are offered to the spirit of the deat, and on the thirteenth the Brahman priest is given uncooked food and money and the caste are dined. They allow widow marriage and polygamy, but



not polyandry. They have no headman, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They live in fair comfort but are poor. They say their craft is falling as baskets are now made of iron instead of bamboo. They do not send their boys to school and do not take to new pursuits.

## CHAMBHARS

**Cha'mbha'rs**, or Tanners, are returned as numbering 17,250 and as found over the whole district. There are five classes of Chambhars: Dakshanis, Konkanis, Katais, Bengalis, and *Mang* Mochis, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The following particulars apply to Dakshani or Deshi Chambhars. They say their ancestors came into the district during the supremacy of the Peshwas. Their surnames are Bhoale, Kale, Pote, Satpute, Shinde, and Sonavne, and persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bhagu, Dagdu, Gohivya, Gyanu, Kara, and Yamaji; and among women Ganga, Itha, Koyna, Rakhma, Vanarsi, and Yena. They are dark, and, except that they are dirtier and less well fed, resemble cultivating Marathas both in appearance and speech. They live in one-storied houses with mud walls and tiled roofs. They keep sheep, goats, and fowls. Their house goods, including earthen vessels and metal dining plates and drinking pots, are worth 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 5-15). Their staple food is Indian millet and millet bread, vegetables, salt, chillies, and pulse. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, fowls, hare, and deer, but not the flesh of the hog. Except the followers of a *pir* named Davalmani, all eat the dead bodies of cattle. They drink both country and foreign liquor and smoke tobacco and hemp-flower. Both men and women dress and wear ornaments like cultivating Marathas. They are hardworking, dirty, and drunken. They work in leather, cut and dye skins, and make shoes, sandals, and water-bags. Their women help them. They work from seven in the morning to twelve, and again from two to seven. Besides as leather-dressers they work as husbandmen and labourers. They sell shoes at 1«. to 8s. (Rs. ½-1½) the pair. Their appliances are the awl or *ari* worth about ¾ d (½ a.), the *rapi* or knife worth 3d. to 4½d. (2-3 as.), a pair of kalbuts or shoe lasts worth 3d. to 4½d. (2-3 as.), and *kolambes* or water-pots worth about ¾d. (½ a.). They buy sheep and goats' skins from Sultankars or Saktandars at 1s. to 3s. (Rs. ½-1½) the skin; and mend shoes at ¾d. to 3d. (¼-2 as.) a pair. Their deities are Mahadev of Shingnapur in Satara, Khandoba, Bahircba, and Bhavani of Tuljapur. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts, and make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Saptashringi, Nasik, and Benares. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans to whom they show great respect. They have a religious head, a Gosavi generally called *bava* belonging to their own

caste, who is greatly respected. They cannot tell where his head-quarters are, but he sometimes visits them, when they feast him and make him Presents of money varying from a penny to 6*d*. When a child is born they cut the navel cord and put it under the mother's pillow, along with a little sand and marsh grass. They keep a lamp burning in the mother's room and feed it for ten nights with costor oil and worship it for three days. They give the child honey and molasses mixed with water. After the third day the mother nurses it. On the fifth day they spread some grains of rice On a stone slab in the lying-in room and on the rice lay a silver or brass image of Satvai, and lay the navel cord before the image and the sand and sedge, and offer it rice, a piece of bread, and pulse. They sometimes kill a goat's in honour of the goddess. In the evening a feast is held and five unmarried girls are fed and given, packets of betelnut and leaves. On the seventh day they make charcoal drawings on the outer walls of the house and worship them with red and turmeric powder and flowers, and offer wet gram. On the twelfth day, outside of the house, they worship seven pebbles, kill a goat, and feast seven married women. They name their children when they are eleven or twelve days or six weeks old, and clip the child's hair at any time between the third month and the third year. They marry their boys between four and twenty-five and their girls before they are sixteen. On the occasion of betrothal, ornaments are exchanged between the two houses, the boy is presented with a turban and sash, and the girl with a robe and bodice On a lucky day, one to three days before the marriage, the boy is rubbed with turmeric at his house, and a little is taken to the girl's by kinswomen and friends, where she is rubbed with it and presented with a robe and bodice. Her lap is filled with grains of wheat, dry cocoa-kernel, dates, and a packet of betelnut and leaves. On the marriage day the boy is set on horseback and accompanied by kinspeople and friends goes with music to the temple of Maruti in the girl's village. Here the marriage coronet or *bashing* is tied on his brow and his father-in-law presents him with a turban, a sash, a waist cloth, and a pair of shoes, and takes him to his house. When he reaches the girl's house a piece of bread is waved round his head and thrown away. The boy and girl are made to stand face to face in two bamboo baskets, a cloth or *jamnika* is held between them, and the priest repeats verses and throws grains of rice and millet on the boy and girl. At the lucky moment the *cloth* is snatched away and the guests clap their hands and throw grains of rice over the heads of the bride and bridegroom who encircle each other's necks with garlands of flowers and with yellow threads. Then on the marriages altar or *bahule* the sacrificial fire or *lajahom* is kindled, and each near relation and friend waves a copper coin over the heads of the boy and girl and sticks grains of rice on their brows. Except near relations and friends, the guests retire with a betel packet and the day ends with a feast. Next day a goat is killed in honour of the goddess Janai and a feast of mutton and liquor is

mads. The boy, seated on horse-back with his bride and accompanied by relations and friends and music, goes to his house in procession. On the day after the boy returns to his house his father gives a feast to all his castefellows, the bride and bridegroom's yellow necklaces and turmeric wristlets are untied, they are rubbed with rice flour, and all traces of the turmeric are washed off. Deccan Charabhars allow widow marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They either bury or burn the dead. In either case the body is washed with warm water and carried on a bier on the shoulders of four men. Half-way to the burial ground the bier is lowered, a copper and few grains of rice are laid near the head, and each mourner drops five pebbles over the coin. The four bearers change places, and the body is carried to the burning ground. When they bury, the body is laid in the grave on its back and the chief mourner followed by the rest throws a handful of ashes over it and the grave is filled. When they burn, the chief mourner sets a fire to the pile, and going round it thrice with an earthen jar filled with cold water, dashes the jar on the ground and beats his mouth. The party bathes, return to the chief mourner's house, and each taking a *nim* leaf in his mouth retires to his home. On the third day the chief mourner levels the mound over the grave, or if the body has been burnt, the ashes are thrown into some stream or river. They mourn the dead for ten days. On the tenth day wheat or rice balls are offered to the deceased, one is left for the crows, and the rest are thrown into water. The mourning ceremonies end on the thirteenth day with a dinner to castemen, and the gift of a turban to the chief mourner. They have a caste council, and settle social disputes according to the opinion of the men of the caste. The faults against caste are eating pork, eating drinking or smoking out of the same pipe with a low-caste man or a Musalman, using abusive language towards the caste council, and having intercourse with a Mhar, Mang, or Bhangi woman. The punishments vary from asking pardon by bowing to the caste to the giving of a feast to the whole community. They send their boys to school till they are about twelve when they become useful in their calling. They complain that they are growing poor because people are taking to wearing English-shaped boots and shoes; still they are a steady if not a rising class.

PARDESHI CHAMBHARS, generally known as Mochis, are of several subdivisions. They claim descent from the saint Rohidas who flourished about the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Christian era. They are divided into Ahirva, Dhor, Jatve, Katai, Kulad, Madrasi, Bengali, Jangde, and Gujarati Mochis. Of these the Ahirva, Dhor, and Jatve Mochis eat together but do not intermarry. The surnames of the Ahir Chambhars are Chandere, Chhane, Korbhokre, Kuche, Phulmari, and Pole; people with the same surname cannot intermarry. The names in common use among

men are Beni, Dhansing, Jivan, Hanu, Lalman, Mansing, Mohan, and Narayan; and among women Devaka, Jarani, Hiriya, Kashi, Muuiya, and Puniya. They look like low-class Pardeshis and speak Hindustani. They live in houses with mud walls and tiled roofs. Their house goods generally include queensmetal cups and saucers and earthen cooking vessels, a blanket, a quilt, and a carpet, and a wooden box and cot worth altogether 10s. to £2 (Rs.5-20). They sometimes employ men of their caste in their shops as labourers, paying them 4½d. to 9d. (4-6 as.) a day. They sometimes keep sheep, goats, and fowls. Their stayle food is Indian millet or millet bread, pulse, vegetables, fish, and flesh, costing a family of five 16s. to £1 (Rs.8-10) a month. They give feasts of wheat cakes, rice, and vegetables at births, marriages, and deaths, a feast to a hundred guests costing about £1 (Rs. 10). They drink both country and foreign liquor and smoke hemp-flowers hand tobacco. The men wear Maratha turbans or headscarves, goats, waistcoats, short waistcloths, and English or native shoes the women dress in a petticoat and open-backed bodice, and wear an upper cloth drawn over the head. Women wear in the ears silver *balis* worth 1s. 6d. (12 as.), gold necklaces or *tiks* worth about 4s. (Rs. 2), bracelets or *todes* of silver or tin, queensmetal anklets also called *todes* worth about 4s. (Rs. 2), and toe-rings or *jodvis* worth about 3d. (2 as.). They keep in store spare clothes worth £1 to £1 4s. (Rs. 10-12). They are hardworking, dirty, drunken, and hospitable. They make and Bell boots with elastic sides at 3s. to 10s. (Rs.1½-5) the pair and shoes at 1s. 9d. to 3s. (Rs. ¾-1½)the pair. They buy hides from Dhors at 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d. (10-14 as.) the pound, a sheep or goat's skin for 1s. (8 as.), nails at 4½d. (3 as.) a pound, elastic at 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. (10-12 as.) the yard, thread at 9¾ d. (6½ as.) a pound, wax at 1s. 9d. (14 as.) the pound, and eight hundred rings for 7½.d (5 as.). They earn 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a day more than they spend. Their women help by twisting thread. Their boys are skilled workers at fifteen or sixteen and earn 3d. to 4½d. (2-3as.) a day. Pardeshi shoemakers sew a pair of shoes in a day and a pair of boots in a couple of days. Their working hours are eight in the morning to six in the evening They believe in sorcery and witchcraft. Their family deities are Balaji and Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are the ordinary Deshasth Brahmans, who conduct their birth, marriage, and death ceremonies. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Kondanpur, and Tuljapur. They fast during the *Navarattras* in April, *Janmashtami* in August, and *Ganesh-chaturthi* and *Anant-chaturdashi* in September, and feast on *Sankrant* in January, *Shimga* in March, *Rakhi'ap-purnima* and *Nag-panchmi* in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. They hold their women impure for five weeks after a birth and ever touch them during the whole of that time. The child's navel cord is cut by a Maratha or a Musalman midwife who is paid 7½d (5 a.). The midwife buries the navel cord in the lying-in room, and in the day of birth calls the child by a name which she is told by the



Brahman priest. After the child is born the mother is laid on a quilt, never on a cot. On the fifth day a lighted iron lamp, two very small copper or silver plates stamped with the image of the goddess Satvai, five wheat cakes, some mutton, dry fish, rice, cooked and raw vegetables, and two copper anklets or *vales* are laid in a winnowing fan and worshipped. One plate is hung round the child's neck and the other is hung round the mother's neck and the anklets are put on the child's feet. The winnowing fan is given to a Mang woman, and at night a feast is held. On the tenth day boiled gram and betel packets are served to married women. On some suitable day during the child's second year they shave a child's hair for the first time. For the first shaving she child's parents take it either to Tuljapur or Kondanpur, employ a barber at a cost of 3d. (2 as.) to shave it, while it sits on its maternal uncle's knee, and, when the shaving is over, they kill a goat and offer the goddess cooked mutton and liquor. They feast on sweet cakes mutton and liquor, present a goat's head and a cocoanut to the temple ministrant, throw the hair into the water, and return home. This ceremony costs about £1 4s. (Rs. 12). They marry their boys between ten and twenty and their girls between five and twelve. The families of the boy and girl do not interchange hospitalities and no flesh or liquor is used. They do not hold the cloth or *antrapat* between the boy and the girl during the marriage ceremony, but make them walk seven times round a square pillar with in front of each face a pile of twenty-one earthen jars whitewashed and marked with green yellow and red. They burn the dead and mourn ten days. They allow child and widow marriage, and practise polygamy but not polyandry. They have a headman or *chaudhari* who settles social disputes in consultation with five of the elders. They send their boys to school till they are about twelve years of age. They are said to be suffering from the importation of European shoes which are better and stronger than those they make.

## GAUNDIS

**Gaundis**, or Masons, are returned as numbering 347 and as found in Bhimthadi, Junnar, Indapur, Poona, and Purandhar. They are divided into Gujaratis, Jats, Kamathis, Lingayats, and Pardeshis, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The surnames of the Gujaratis, to whom the following details apply, are Devatval, Dhavare, Kundalval, and Telpure; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bhau, Mansaram, Nandaram, Sakharam, and Sundarji; and among women, Anandi, Godavari, Parvati, Rakhrna, and Shita. They are a well-made, tall, and fair people. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. Their home tongue is Marwari but with others they speak fairly correct Marathi. Most of them



live in houses of the better sort two or more stories high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Except two or three houses which are worth about £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) a Gaundi's house costs £20 to £200 (Rs. 200-2000) to build. Their furniture includes metal and earthen vessels, cots, blankets, glass hanging lamps, and picture-frames. They keep cows, buffaloes, horses, and parrots. Their every-day food is millet, rice, wheat, split pulse, fish, and the flesh of goats sheep and fowls. The men wear a big loose turban half-Marwari and half-Marathi, a coat, waistcoat, waistcloth, shouldercloth, and Deccan Brahman shoes; and the women a petticoat or *lunga*, a short-sleeved open-backed bodice, and an upper robe and scarf which they fasten into the band of the petticoat and draw over the head like a veil and hold the end in their hand in front. They do not tie their hair in a roll behind the head, but let it hang down the back in braids. They do not use false hair or deck their hair with flowers. They mark their brows with redpowder, wear glass bangles, silver anklets or *todes* and toe-rings or *jodvis* valued at £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40). They neither bore their noses nor tattoo their skins. They are hardworking, even tempered, sober, and thrifty. They are masons, contractors, dealers in grain and cloth, moneychangers, writers, husbandmen, and laborers. They also make clay images of Ganpati and other clay figures. They are Vaishnavs and worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. They have house images of Balaji, Balkrishna,, Bhavani, and Ganpati, and their priests are the ordinary Maratha Brahmans to whom they show great respect. Their fasts and feasts are the same as those of other Brahmanic Hindus. They make pilgrimages and believe in sorcery and witchcraft. They consider a woman impure for ten days after the birth of a child till which nothing is done in the house. On the twelfth male and female relations, friends, and castefellows meet at the mother's house, put the child in a cradle, and name it. Each of the male guests is given a couple of betel leaves and a small sweetmeat or *bundi* ball and each of the female guests a handful of wet gram. A birth costs £1 to £4 (Rs.30-40). At any time between a child's first and third year, whether it is a boy or a girl, the hair-clipping or *javal* is performed. In the case of a girl only a few hairs are cut with a pair of scissors by the people of the house; the boy is seated on the knee of some elder either male or female, married or widow, and the barber shaves his head except the topknot; and is presented with a cocoanut and 6d. to 9d. (4-6 as.) in cash. They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. The asking or *magni* is the same as the Marathas' asking. Their marriage guardian or *devak* is the god Ganpati and five bet apples which they place on a betel leaf on heap of rice. They make marriage porches at both the boy's and the girl's houses. Instead of an altar at the girl's house they plant in the middle of the marriage hall a mango post with on each face an earthen cup like a clay lamp or *kodi* and cover it with another CUP. On the marriage day the boy goes on horseback in

procession to the girl's accompanied by kinspeople and music, and sits in the house in front of the house gods on a carpet spread for him. The boy's father goes to where the girl is in the women's room, worships her, and presents her with clothes and ornaments. In these the women of the house dress her and the boy's father goes and takes his place in the marriage porch. The girl's father next comes to the boy, offers him clothes and ornaments, and loads him to the part of the marriage porch where the mango post is planted and seats him before the post on a carpet. The girl is now brought and seated to the right of the boy. The boy's priest on behalf of the boy says to the girl, 'Do not sit on my right but on my left.' She replies through her priest, 'If you promise to give me presents now and then and do not spend money without my leave, then I will do as you wish, otherwise I shall not'. The boy's priest promises that he will give her presents and not spend money, and the boy in confirmation says Yes. The girl takes her seat on the boy's left and the priest, holds a cloth between them and the mango post and repeats marriage verses. At the end of the verses the priest throws grains of rice over the heads of the boy and girl and they are man and wife. Packets of betel leaves and nut are handed round and the guests retire. That night the boy stays at the girl's house. Next day, after a feast and the exchange of presents of clothes, the boy goes in procession with the bride to his house, and the marriage ends with a feast. Among them a girl is considered impure for four days when she comes of age and on the fifth her lap is filled with a cocoanut and other fruit, and she joins her husband. When a Gaundi dies he is bathed in the house, dressed in a loincloth, laid on the bier and covered with a sheet. Near relations come with pieces of white cloth measuring three and a half feet long and spread them on the body. The bier is carried on the shoulders of four near relations, the usual halt is made on the way to the burning ground, and, at the burning ground, the body is burnt with the same details as at a Gujarat Vani's funeral. On the fourth day the chief mourner grinds a handful of wheat in a handmill from left to right that is contrary wise or *ulate*, and makes the flour into three small cakes. He takes the cakes and a water-pot and goes to the burning ground. On the way he leaves one cake on the spot where the halt was made and the bier was rested. In the burning ground he removes the ashes and throws them into water, and after sprinkling a little cowdung and water lays the two cakes on the spot, and after a crow has pecked them returns home. On the tenth day he goes to a stream, prepares rice balls, throws them to the spirit of the dead in the water, and returns home. On the eleventh day he feasts the caste. They hold caste councils and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. Few send their boys to school. Some of them are rich and the rest are well-to-do.

## GHISADIS

**Ghisa'dis**, literally Polishers or Tinkers, numbering 444, are returned as found in Indapur, Purandhar, and in the city of Poona. Their name seems to come from the Marathi *ghisne* to rub. According to their own story they are called after a certain Ghisadi who overcame and killed a famous gymnast. They say that they came to the Deccan from Gujarat in search of work. They have no subdivisions among them; all Ghisadis eat together and intermarry. Their surnames are Chavan, Charvase, Katkar, Padvalkar, Povar, Salunke, Selar, and Sinde; persons having the same surname cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Bhikaji, Kushaba, Mahaduba, Malhari, Manaji, Rakhmaji, Santu, Tukararn, and Vaghu; and among women Girjabai, Jankubai, Jayibai, Kusabai, Rakhmabai, and Taibai. They addji as' Ramji to men's names and *bdi* a Jankubai to women's names. Both at home and abroad they speak a corrupt Gujarati, a mixture of Gujarati Marathi and Hindustani. Both men and women dress in Marathi fashion and look like Kunbis except that they are a little shorter and sturdier. The men are strongly made and many of them are trained gymnasts. They wear top-knots and beards and their faces are generally covered with long thick hair. The head hair is lank. Most of them live in poor houses or huts one storey' high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Those of them who wander from place to place fix two forked polos in the ground, lay a third pole in the forks of the two uprights, and stretch a cloth or large blanket called *pal* over the horizontal pole so as to form a tent with sloping sides and open ends. The sides are pegged to the ground ' and the back is closed with blankets. In their tents are generally a cot cradle, blanket, quilt, carpet, one or two low wooden stools, and clay or metal cooking vessels. They sometimes have a few cattle, bullocks, goats, asses, or ponies, and occasionally keep a deer or a hare as a pet, and pigeons and poultry. Their staple food is millet, rice, pulse, and spices. They eat goats, sheep, deer, hare, poultry, and eggs on holidays and whenever they can afford it; they also drink liquor and indulge in many native intoxicating drugs. They are moderate eaters and good cooks being specially fond of pungent dishes. They wear a waistcloth or short breeches, a shouldercloth, a jacket, a *sadra* or loose shirt, a Maratha turban, and shoes. The women plait the hair in a braid and do not deck it with flowers. Out of doors they wear the ordinary Maratha robe and bodice, and at night a *lunga* or petticoat. As a class they are hardworking, quarrelsome, dirty, extravagant, and fond of drink. Their chief calling is working in iron. Youths begin to learn from their fathers or elders about ten or twelve, and when they have mastered the work they open shops of their own.

The men work from seven to twelve and again from two to eight. The women help in blowing the bellows. They also go about selling; the wares made by the men. They generally prepare articles for sale at their

own cost and risk. In spite of the competition of European hardware their articles are in good demand, though their profits have been reduced. They earn enough for their support, but several fall into difficulties by borrowing to meet marriage and other expenses. They rank themselves with Marathas and do not associate with the classes who are generally considered impure. Other classes look down on them and do not give them the position they claim. Their slack time is during the rains between June and October, and all the year round they close their shops on *lunavasya* or the last day of the month. The family deities of Ghisadis are. Bahiri, Balaji of Giri in the Madras Presidency, Bhavani, Khandoba, Satvai, and Yamnai, and they also worship village and boundary gods whom they offer milk and sugar without the help of a priest. Their family priest is a Deshasth Brahman who is called to officiate at marriages, lap-fillings, and deaths. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Dehu, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur. They fast on elevenths or *ekadashis* and on all Mondays and Saturdays. Their chief festival is the nine nights before *Dasara* in September-October, a They believe in and consult astrologers and soothsayers. They often suffer from spirit-possession. When a disease does not yield to the ordinary cures or when the symptoms are considered to point to spirit-possession a *devrishi* or exorcist is called. He takes ashes and waves them round the sick together with a cocoanut, a hen, and some lemons. If this does not drive away the spirit they pray to their family gods to help them and promise to reward their gods if they grant their prayers. When a woman is in child-birth a midwife is called in. When the child is born the midwife bathes the mother and child cuts the navel cord, and buries it in an earthen pot in the spot where the mother was bathed. The woman is laid on a cot and given balls of wheat flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar, and for three days the babe is given honey and castor oil. On the fifth day the mother and the child are purified and their clothes are washed. They cover the vessel in which the clothes were washed with a piece of new cloth. Five stones are laid on the cloth, and the mothers worships them as the abode of Satvai. Near the stones is placed as image of Satvai to which the mother offers turmeric, red powder sandal paste, and flowers. A goat is offered to the goddess and killed the head is cut off and laid before the image, and friends and relations are called to feed on the flesh. After dinner, the women of the house remain awake all night and keep a light in the room. Next day the head of the victim is cooked and eaten. On the fifth the child is clothed in a cap and a small armless frock or *kunchi* somewhat peaked at the top and drawn over the head like a cowl of hood. On the seventh the image of Satvai is laid at the door of the lying-in room and is worshipped with wet wheat and gram. On the day no outsider is asked to dinner. At night neighbouring women come and laying the child in the cradle name it and sing a cradle song to Ram or Krishna. When the song is over betel and boiled wheat are served and the women retire. Either



after the eleventh or after the twentieth the mother goes about the house as usual. The heads of all children, whether boys or girls, are shaved, between their ninth month and the end of their fourth year. The child is seated on the lap of its maternal uncle and its head is shaved by the barber who is paid about 2d. ( $\frac{1}{3}$  *anna*). Goats are killed and friends and relations feasted. They marry their girls between five and twenty-five and their boys between seven and thirty. When a father thinks it right that his son should be married he calls some of the castemen and asks if they know any suitable match. They discuss the different available girls and fix on one as the best match. The boy's father with some friends goes to the girl's father and asks if he will give his daughter in marriage. The girl's father consults his wife. If the wife agrees the fathers compare their surnames and mention their marriage connections, and if there is nothing to prevent the marriage they agree that it shall take place. The boy's father gives the castemen 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8) and the caste women 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3). These sums are spent in liquor which is drunk at a meeting of the caste. On the first holiday after the asking *or magni* the boy's parents present the girl with a new robe and bodice. Next June or *Jyeshth* a basket is filled with mangoes, uncooked rice, pulse flour, and two bodicecloths or *khans*, and taken to the girl's by the women of the boy's house. They present the girl and the women of her family with turmeric and redpowder, deck the girl's hair with flowers, and fill her lap with rice, betelnut, almonds, and cocoanuts, and give one bodicecloth to the girl and the other to her mother. In the following *Shravan* or August a *Shravan* basket, of toys two bodicecloths and uncooked rice and pulse, is made ready in the boy's house and taken to the girl's with pipes and drums. The girl is seated on a low stool, her lap is filled with the fruit, and her brow is marked with a circle of redpowder. Before the marriage the boy's father in presence of some of the caste has to pay the girl's father £2 10s. to £10 (Rs.25-100). The witnesses take £1 (Rs. 10) in the name of the caste and spend it on liquor which all drink together. Then the girl's father buys the marriage clothes, and marriage porches are set up at the boy's and girl's houses, the girl's porch having an altar or *bahule*. On the day before the marriage the bridegroom goes to the bride's with his friends and relations, where the girl's father has prepared some place for them to live in. The girl is first rubbed with two or three lines of turmeric, and the bridegroom is next bathed and rubbed with turmeric by the washerwoman. After being rubbed the bridegroom goes to a temple of Maruti with a party of friends, takes a small mango branch which has been cut and placed near the god, and makes it his marriage guardian or *devak* tying it to one of the poles in the marriage porch. Then the washerwoman of each of the houses ties, by a yellow string of five Strands, a piece of turmeric wrapped in cloth to the right wrist of the bride and of the bridegroom, and the day ends with a feast of *telchis* or



cakes and *gulkadhi* or molasses curry to friends and acquaintances. On the next or marriage day the bridegroom visits the temple of Maruti, where the father of the bride presents him with a shouldercloth, a turban, and a pair of shoes and fastens to his brow the marriage coronet or *bashing*. The bridegroom bows to the god and follows the bride's father to his house. At the door of the marriage porch a coconut is waved round the bridegroom and broken. He then enters the porch and stands on a low wooden stool. The bride is brought in and made to stand facing him separated by a cloth. The Brahman priest repeats marriage verses and when the verses are over the boy and girl are husband and wife. The boy then fastens the lucky string or *mangalsutra* round the girl's neck and at the same time his sister adorns her feet with silver toe-rings or *virudhyas*. Then the boy and girl are made to sit. The Brahman priest circles them ten times with a thread. He cuts into two the band of ten threads, and, passing each thread in each half of the band through a pierced betelnut and repeating texts, ties the ten betelnuts as a bracelet round the right wrist of the boy and the girl. They are then seated on the altar and the girl's father presents the boy with a copper water-pot or *tambya* and a tin cup or *rati* and some other articles. This part of the ceremony is called *kanyadan* or girl-giving. Next the Brahman priest kindles a sacred fire in front of the boy and girl who are seated side by side and the boy throws clarified butter over the fire. Then the boy and girl walk round the fire thrice, into the house, and bow before the gods. The day ends with a feast. On the day after the wedding the girl's father gives a caste-feast of mutton and cakes. In the evening the *varat* literally crowd starts, from the house of the girl, when she receives a new robe and bodice from the boy's father, and with drums and pipes is brought on horse-back with her husband to his house. At his house the boy and girl bow before the house gods, and in the presence of a party of married women each unties the other's betelnut bracelets. On the next day the boy's relations bathe him and his wife, and they dine from the same dish in company with the boy's parents, five married women, and the bridesmaids or *karavlis* who are generally the sisters of the boy and girl. At night the boy's father gives a mutton feast to the caste-people and the marriage guardian or *devak* is taken away. When a girl comes of age she is considered unclean and is made to sit by herself for four days. On the fifth day she is presented with a new robe and bodice, and her mother fills her lap with fruit and feasts her son-in-law's family. During the seventh month of her first pregnancy she is asked to dine at her mother's and presented with a green robe and bodice and glass bangles. When a death occurs in a house the caste people are told of it and the women sit weeping and wailing. When the mourners gather at the deceased's house one or two relations go and bring what is wanted for the burial. A bier is made ready outside of the door and an earthen vessel is filled with water and set on a fire. The body is taken out of the

house, washed with hot water, and laid on the bier. The face is kept uncovered. The body is covered with a cloth fastened to the bier with a string and a thread of five colours, and a roll of betel leaves is placed in the mouth. Then the chief mourner puts burning cowdung cakes into an earthen jar, and holding the fire-pot in a sling begins to walk and the bearers follow him. On the way, as they near the burning ground, the bearers stop and lay the bier on the ground and place on the ground some balls of wheat flour. The bearers change places and carry the bier to the burning ground. At the burning ground they heap the pile with dry cowdung cakes and lay the body on the heap. The chief mourner dips the turban of the deceased in water and squeezes some of the water into his mouth. A ball of wheat flour is laid under the corpse's head and the body is covered with dry cowdung cakes and set on fire. When the fire is kindled on all sides the chief mourner brings a pitcher of water on his head. Along with another man he stands for a few seconds at the feet of the dead. His companion makes a small hole in the bottom of the jar, and as the water begins to trickle out the mourner walks round the pyre. He walks thrice round, his companion each time piercing a fresh hole. At the end of the third round the chief mourner dashes the pot on the ground, cries aloud, and beats his mouth with the back of his right hand. The funeral party bathes and goes to the house of the dead, where a neighbour purifies them by pouring cow's urine over them, and they leave. On the third day kinswomen or the widow herself cuts off her lucky necklace and breaks her glass bangles, and, along with a winnowing fan in which two dough cakes are laid, the chief mourner and the bearers take the necklace and bangles and go to the burning ground. On the way the body is rested and the chief mourner leaves one of the cakes. At the burning ground when the body is consumed the ashes are gathered and thrown into water. The spot where the body was burned is cow-dunged and the necklace, the pieces of the bangles, and the second dough cake are laid on it. They go to the river where the chief mourner rubs the shoulders of the bearers with butter and they return to the chief mourner's house where they dine. They mourn for ten days. On the eleventh the chief mourner is taken to the river and is made to kindle a fire. A barber comes and shaves his head except the top-knot and his face except his eyebrows. All bathe in the river and return home. The chief mourner makes eleven dough balls and two cakes. The balls he worships and offers them the cakes and a little wet wheaten flour. He takes a ball eleven times in succession and places it at the bottom of the river or water and bathes, and a sacred fire is kindled by a Brahman priest. The chief mourner bows to the fire, throws clarified butter, dates, cocoa-kernel, sesamum, and barley upon the fire, walks round it, and salutes it. The rest of the party pour a potful of water on the burnt offering and go home. On this day the Brahman priest receives an umbrella, a pair of shoes, and a lanket. Caste-people are asked to dine

at the house of mourning but only a few come. On the twelfth the friends and relations of the chief mourner raise a sum of money, and, buying provisions, poinding mutton, feast on them in company with the chief mourner, and give him a cup of liquor, and some one of his relations resents him with a turban. On the death-day a memorial or *mraddh* ceremony is held. The Ghisadi community is very often disturbed by quarrels. They have no headman and their caste disputes are settled according to the opinions of the majority and their decisions are obeyed on pain of loss of caste. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fines varying from 2s. to £1 (Rs. 1-10). A woman who commits adultery is fined 9d. (6 as.) and a caste dinner is held to mark the event. Within the last eight years they have begun to send their boys to school, but they take them away from school and make them begin to work when they are They do not take to new callings and on the whole are well-to-do.

## HALVAIS

**Halva'is**, or Sweetmeat-sellers, are returned as numbering sixty seven and as found in Sirur, Purandhar, and Poona. They are divided into Ahirs, Jains, Lingayats, Marathas, Marwaris, Pardeshi Shimpis, and Telis. The Pardeshi Halvais have no surnames. The names in common use among men are Bihyari, Dagadu, Gangari Kisan, and Ramdads; and among women, Bhagu, Ganga, Jamu Lachhu, and Tulsia. They are Pardeshis and look and speak like them. They live in middle-class houses with walls of brick as mud and tiled roofs, and have metal and earthen vessels. They have servants whom they pay 14s. to 16s. (Rs. 7-8) a month. Their staple food is millet, rice, wheat, pulse, butter, spices, and vegetable but they eat fish and flesh, and drink liquor. The men wear waistcloth, a waistcoat, and a headscarf or Maratha turban, the women a petticoat and an open-backed bodice and draw piece of cloth over the head. They are hardworking, but hot-tempered and intemperate, drinking liquor and smoking opium and hemp. They make and sell sweetmeats at the following rates: Boiled milk made into paste two pounds the rupee, *pedhm* balls of boiled milk two to two and a half pounds, *barphi* or sqd pieces of boiled milk mixed with sugar and spices one and half two pounds, *khobaryachi barphi* or cocoa scrapings two and a to three pounds, the same mixed with saffron two to two and quarter pounds, sugar peas or *sakhar-phutane* mixed with sugar and sesamum two and a half to three pounds, *vehlode* or sugar cardamums two pounds, sugared *kaju* or cashewnuts two and a pounds, *sdbania* or sugar sticks two and a half pounds, *ready* sugar and sesamum cakes five and a half pounds, *bundi* or balls and quarter pounds, salt and sweet *shev* four pounds, and *guda* of molasses and groundnuts eight pounds. Their women do help the men. Their boys begin to learn their father's craft

twelve and are expert at twenty. A boy's marriage costs s £20 (Rs. 200), a girl's marriage about £10 (Rs. 100), and all about £2 10s. (Rs. 25). Their family deities are Khand Bhavani, Krishna, and the Devi of Chatarshringi. Their priest Kanoj Brahmans. They keep the regular local fasts and but the *Ashadhi* or June-July and the *Kartiki* or October-Novell *ekadashis* or lunar eleventh are their great fast days, and H February, *Nag-panchmi* in July, *Ganesh-chaturthi* in August *Dasara* and *Divali* in October are their great feast days make pilgrimages to Benares, Oudh, Jejuri, Pandharpur, shringi, and A'landi. They believe in sorcery and witch and consult oracles. On the fifth day after the birth of a they lay five millet stems on a stone slab with a cake stuck in point of each, worship them with turmeric and redpowder offer them cooked rice, curry, vegetables, and boiled grams mother is impure for eleven days. On the twelfth and thirteenth days she goes to some garden, worships five pebbles, feasts five married women, and returns home. In the evening the child is named in presence of near relations and friends, boiled gram betel packets and sugar are served and the guests retire. They clip a child's hair when it is five years old. They marry their girls between seven and twelve, and their boys before they are twenty. The day before the marriage the boy is rubbed with turmeric at his house and what is over is sent to the girl's. Then wristlets or *kankans* one a small iron ring the other a turmeric root rolled in a piece of new yellow cloth, are fastened to the wrists of the boy and girl and a feast is held at both houses. Their marriage guardians or *devaks* are their house deities whom they send to a goldsmith, and after being polished bring home accompanied with music. In the evening of the marriage day the boy is seated on a horse, a dagger is placed in his hands, and he is taken to the girl's accompanied by kinspeople, friends, and music. At the girl's a lemon, a cocoanut, and a piece of bread are waved round his head and thrown aside. The boy is taken into the house and seated on a low wooden stool and the girl on a second stool on his left. The sacrificial fire is lit and the boy kindles it with dry mango leaves and butter. The girl's father washes the boy's and girl's feet and touches his own eyes with the water. The girl is presented with a nosering and silver toe-rings and a cloth is held between the sacrificial fire and the boy and girl. Then the boy and girl together make seven turns round the sacrificial fire, stopping and taking the advice of the elders before they make the seventh turn. The priest repeats the marriage verses and when the verses are over throws grains of red rice over the heads of the boy and girl and they are man and wife. The hems of their garments are tied together and they go and bow before the house gods. The boy and girl are seated on a horse and taken in procession to the boy's house and next day the marriage festivities end with a feast. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. They allow widow marriage and polygamy. They have a caste council and send their boys to school. As a class they are



well-to-do.

## JINGARS

**Jingars**, a Persian term for saddle-makers whose Hindu name seems to be Chitrakars or Painters and who style themselves Arya Somvanshi Kshatris or Arian Moon-branch Kshatris, are returned as numbering 650 and as found over the whole district except in Purandhar. The local headquarters of the caste is the city of Poona where at their caste feasts between ten and eleven hundred plates are laid. They say that the Brahmand-puran has the following account of their origin. The gods and sages were once engaged in performing a sacrifice in Brihadaranya, when Janumandal, a giant, the grandson of Vritrasur, endowed with Brahmadev's blessing and made invincible, appeared with the object of obstructing the sacrifice. The gods and sages fled to Shiv. In Shiv's rage a drop of sweat fell from his brow into his mouth. It assumed human form and was called Mauktik or Mukhtadev. Mukhtadev fought with Janumandal and defeated him. The gods and sages, pleased with his prowess, enthroned him as their king and went to the forests. Mukhtadev married Prabhavati, the daughter of the sage Durvas, by whom he had eight sons, who married the daughters of eight other Rishis. He left the charge of his kingdom to his sons and with his wife withdrew to the forest to do penance. In the height of their power the sons one day slighted the sage Lomaharshan who cursed them saying that they would lose their royal power and their right to perform Vedic ceremonies and would wander in misery. Mukhtadev, on coming to know of the curse, implored Shiv to have mercy on his sons. Shiv could not recall the sage's curse, but to lessen its severity added that Mukhtadev's sons might perform the Vedic rites stealthily, that they would be known from that day forward as Aryakshatris, and would follow eight callings, *chitragars* or painters *suvarnagars* or goldsmiths, *shilpkars* or artists, *patakars* or weavers, *reshim karmi* and *patvekar*s or silk-workers, *lohars* or ironsmiths, and *mritikakars* and *dhatu-mritikakars* potters and metal and earth workers. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Chavan, Dhengle, Jadhav, Malodker, Kamble, Navgire, and Povar. The names in common use among men are Anantram Bapu, Ganpati, Namdev, and Sakharam; and among women Bhima, Lakshmi, Radha, Sakhu, and Savitri. They have eight family stocks or *gotras*, the names of six of which are Angiras, Bharadvaj, Gautam, Kanva, Kaundanya, and Vashishth. The men are generally dark with regular features; the women fair thin tall and proverbially handsome. The men wear the top-knot and moustache, and rub sandal on their brows. They shave their heads once a week. The local Hajams or barbers refuse to shave them, and they employ Paredeshi Hajams. The women mark the brow with redpowder,



and tie the hair in a knot behind. They do not use false hair or deck their head with flowers, as they hold these practices fit for prostitutes or dancing girls. They speak Marathi, and are hardworking, intelligent, clever self-reliant, even-tempered, hospitable, and orderly. Their skill as craftsmen was rewarded by the Peshwas with gifts of land and houses. They follow a variety of callings, casting metal, carving stonges painting, making figures of clay and cloth, carving wood, and repairing boxes padlo'cks and watches. From the calling they adopt they are sometimes called Sonars or goldsmiths, Tambats or coppersmiths, Lohars or blacksmiths, and Patvekars or silk-workers. Their houses are like those of other middle-class Hindus one or two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. The furniture includes metal and earthen vessels, boxes, carpets, glass globes, and picture frames. Some keep a cow or she-buffaloe, a pony, and parrots. Their staple food is rice, millet and Indian millet, split pulse, and vegetables. They do not object to eat the flesh of goats sheep, poultry, deer, hare, or partridges. They drink country liquour, but not openly. The men dress like Deccan Brahmans in a waist cloth and shouldercloth, a coat and waistcoat, a Brahman turban, and shoes. A Jingar rises at five, works from six or seven to eleven or twelve, and again from two to dusk. The women mind the house and sometimes help the men in their shops. Boys begin to help their fathers at twelve and are expert workers by sixteen or eighteen They are Vaishnavs in religion and have house images of Ganpati Vithoba, Bahiroba, Khandoba, and Bhavani. Their priests are the village Brahmans who officiate at their houses and whom they hold in great reverence. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts. On the morning of the fifth day after a birth the child is bathed and rolled from head to foot in a piece of cloth and laid on the bare ground. The mother bathes for the first time, and is seated on a low wooden stool, and the child is given into her arms covered with swaddling clothes. Either in the morning or evening the midwife places in the mother's room a grindstone or *pata* and lays on the stone a blank sheet of paper, an ink-pot, a pen, the knife with which the child's navel cord was cut, and healing herbs and roots. The midwife then worships these articles as the goddess Satvai, offering them grains of rice, flowers, and cooked food. The mother lays the child on the ground in front of the goddess, makes a low bow, and taking the child uncovers its face and rubs its brow with ashes. During the night the women of the house keep awake. On the seventh day, either in the mother's room or somewhere else in the house, seven lines each about three inches long are drawn on the wall with a piece of charcoal and worshipped as Satvai and wet gram is offered. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth day ceremonies are the same as those observed by Deccan Brahmans. For five months the child is not bathed on the day of the week on which it was born. If the child is a boy, on a lucky day, either within eleven months from its birth or in its third year, its hair is cut with scissors for

the first time. If the child is a girl, who is the subject of a vow, her hair is cut as if she were a boy and with the same ceremonies which Brahmans observe. At the age of three the boy's head is shaved for the first time. The Jingars strew part of the floor with grains of rice and on the rice spread a yellow-edged cloth, and seat the boy on the cloth in front of the barber who shaves the boy's head leaving only the top-knot. The boy is anointed with oil and bathed, and dressed in new clothes, and each of several married women waves a copper coin round his head and presents it to the barber with the yellow-edged cloth and the uncooked food. When a boy is five, seven, or nine, he is girt with the sacred thread in the month of *Shravan* or August-September when thread-wearing Hindus yearly change their threads a ceremony called *Shravanya*. The boy is seated with some men who are going to change their threads, and the officiating Brahman is told that the boy is to be given a sacred thread. The boy, along with the others, marks his brow from left to right with ashes or *vibhul*, rubs cowdung and cow's urine on his body, and worships seven betelnuts set on seven small heaps of rice as the seven scers or *sapta-rishis*. The sacrificial fire is lit and fed with butter and email *pipal* sticks by the boy and the others who are changing their threads. Those whose fathers are dead perform the memorial or *shraddh* ceremony, and when this is over, the priest presents each with a sacred thread which is put on and the old one is taken off and buried in a basil-pot. The ceremony costs the boy's father about 4s. (Rs. 2). They marry their girls before they are twelve, and allow their boys to remain unmarried till they are thirty. When a marriage is settled the first ceremony is the redpowder rubbing or *kunku*. The boy, his father, and a few near kinsmen go to the girl's with a coin or a necklace of coins, a packet of sugar or *sakharpuda*, and betelnut and leaves. At the girl's, when they have taken their seats, the girl's father calls the girl. When she comes the boy's father marks her brow with redpowder, fastens the necklace of gold coins round her neck, and puts the packet of sugar in her hands. She bows before each of the guests and retires. The guests are served with betel, and retire. From a day to a year after the redpowder rubbing comes the asking or *magni*, which is also called the sugar-packet or *sakharpuda*. The boy, his parents, and a few kinspeople go with music to the girl's house, and, after being seated, the girl is called by the boy's father and presented with a robe and bodice which she puts on. She is decked with ornaments and presented with a packet of sugar or *sakharpuda*. The girl's father worships the boy, and presents him with a sash, a turban, and sugar, and after betel packets have been served they retire. A week or two before the wedding the boy's and girl's fathers go to the village astrologer with the two horoscopes and settle the day and hour on which the marriage should take place. This the astrologer notes on two papers which he hands to the boy's father, who keeps one for himself and makes over the other to the girl's father. Each of the fathers

gives the astrologer  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}d.$  ( $1-1\frac{1}{4}$  as.) and they take him with them to the boy's house. Here some castemen are met and the astrologer reads the two papers to them. The brows of the guests are marked with sandal, the boy is presented with a sash and turban, and the guests retire with betel packets. Three days before the marriage, unlike Deccan Brahmans, the boy is rubbed with turmeric at his house, and married women, with music, take what remains to the girl's with a green robe and bodice and wet gram. The girl is rubbed with the turmeric, bathed and dressed in the new robe, and the boy's party retire with a present of a waistcloth, turban, and sash for the boy. Their marriage guardian or *devak* is their house goddess or *kuldevi*, on whom they throw a few gains of rice, and call her the marriage guardian. Their marriage hall lucky-post or *muhurt-medh* is a pole whose top is crowned with hay and a yellow cloth in which are tied a few grains of red rice, a betel packet, and a copper coin. The rest of their marriage, puberty, and pregnancy ceremonies are the same as those observed by Deccan Brahmans. They burn their dead, and, except that they make small heaps of rice, their death ceremonies do not differ from those of the Deccan Brahmans. On the spot where a funeral pile of cowdung cakes is to be raised the chief mourner sprinkles water and makes five heaps of grains of rice towards the south, thirteen towards the west, nine towards the north, and seven towards the east. In the middle he makes three heaps, and throws over them five cowdung cakes and the rest of the mourners raise a pile, lay the body on the pile, and set the pile on fire. They have a caste council and their social disputes are settled by meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school, but only till they are about eleven or twelve, when they begin to work in their fathers' shops. As a class they are well-to-do. The Jingars, or as they call themselves Somvanshi Kshatriyas, hold a peculiar position among Decan Hindus. Though their appearance seems to entitle them to a place among the upper classes the upper classes do not give them such a position. They are isolated and dialiked, by some even considered impure. A few years ago the Poona barbers refused to shave the Jingars on die ground that they were impure. This one of the Jingars resented and brought an action of libel against the barber, but the charge was thrown out. The reason alleged by the people of Poona for considering the Jingars impure is that in making saddles they have to touch leather. It is doubtful if this is the true explanation of their isolated position. Others say that the origin of the dislike to the Jingars is their skill as craftsmen and their readiness to take to any new craft which offers an opening. Their name of Panchals is generally explained as *panch chal* or five callings, namely working in silver and gold, in iron, in copper, in stone, and in silk. This derivation is doubtful, and in different districts the enumeration of the five callings seldom agrees. In 1869 Sir Walter Elliot gave an account of the Panchals of the Karnatak and South India.

[Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, I. 111 -112.] He notices the rivalry between the Panchals and Brahmans, and that the Panchals are the leaders of the left-hand castes as the Brahmans are the leaders of the right-hand castes. He thinks this division into left and right castes and the peculiarly isolated social position of the Panchals are due to the fact that they were they were once Buddhists, and perhaps in secret still practise Buddhism. Sir Walter Elliot learned from a Panchal, over whom he had influence, that though they professed the worship of the Brahmanic gods they had priests of their own and special religious books. The Panchal showed him an image which they worship. The image is seated crossed-legged like a Buddha, and Sir Walter Elliot thought it was Gautam Buddha. Still this cross-legged position, though Buddhist, is not solely Buddhist, and it seems insufficient to prove that the Panchals are Buddhists at heart. If they are Buddhists the name Panchal may originally have been *Panchashil* the Men of Five Rules, an old name for the Buddhists. Some accounts of the Konkan and Decern Panchals seem to show that as in the Karnatak they have special holy books. This the Poona Panchals deny, and attempts to gain further information regarding them have failed.

### KACHARIS

**Ka'cha'ris**, or Glass-Bangle Makers, are returned as numbering sixty-five and as found in Haveli, Purandhar, and Poona. Of their origin or of their coming into the district they know nothing. They are divided into Marathas and Lingayats who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Lingayat Kacharis are Bharte, Birje, Dokshete, Gandhi, Kadre, and Mai hare, and people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Khan do ba, Lakboba, Naroba, Shivba, and Sitaram; and among women Bhagu, Elma, Gaya, Savitri, and Yamna. They look like Lingayats and are dark and strong. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers. Their home tongue is Marathi They live in houses with mud walls and tiled roofs, containing cots, cradles, boxes, quilts, blankets, and metal and earthen vessels. They have no servants, but sometimes keep cows, buffaloes, and she-goats. Their staple food is millet, split pulse, and vegetables, and they are fond of pungent dishes. They neither eat fish or flesh nor do they drink liquor. They smoke tobacco and hemp or *ganja*. Both men and women dress like Marathi Brahmans, except that the women do not draw the skirt back between the feet and tuck the end into the waist behind. They do not deck their hair with flowers or wear false hair. They are sober, thrifty, hardworking, and hospitable. They make black and green glass bangles. They buy broken pieces of bangles from Marwar Vanis and other hawkers, melt them, and cast them afresh.



They sell ordinary bangles to wholesale dealers at four pounds for 2s. (Re. 1) and *lapeta* or bangles joined together with wires at 1s. or 1s. 6d. (8-12 *as.*) the thousand. Their working tools are earthen pots, a *mus* or pestle and an iron bar or *salai*. The women do not help the men. A man can make about a thousand bangles in a day. They earn 16s. to £1 (Rs.8-10) a month. A marriage costs £2 10s. to £20 (Rs.25- 200), and a death 10s. (Rs. 5). They are Lingayats and their teachers are Jangams. They settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school, and suffer from the competition of Chinese and other bangles.

## KASARS

**Ka'sa'rs** literally Brass-makers, now Glass-Bangle Hawkers, are returned as numbering 2755 and as found all over the district They say they came into the district from Ahmadnagar, Kolhapur, Sangli, Miraj, and Satara, during the Peshwas supremacy (1713-1817). They are divided into Maratha and Jain Kasars. The following details apply to the Maratha Kasars. They are dark, middle-sized, and thin. They speak Marathi and most of them live in houses of the better sort, one or two storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their staple food is millet, pulse, vegetables and occasionally rice; they also eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats poultry, hares, deer, and partridges, and drink both country and foreign liquor. They smoke tobacco and hemp. The men wear the waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth, and Maratha or Deccan Brahman turban and shoes. The women dress in a Maratha bodies and a robe whose skirt is drawn back between the feet and the end tucked in behind. The men wear the 'top-knot, the moustache, and sometimes the whiskers, but not the beard. The women tie the hair in a knot behind, but do not wear false hair or deck their hair with flowers. Their clothes are both country and Europe made and they have no special liking for gay colours. Like Marathas they wear ornaments of silver gold and queensmetal. They are hardworking thrifty, even-tempered, hospitable, and orderly. They deal in glass and wax bangles and make lac bracelets. In the morning and again about midday they move about with bundles of bracelets slung across their shoulders and in their hands, crying *Ghya bangdya*, Have bangles. The bangles are of many kinds, are sold single, and vary in price from 1d. to £1 (? *anna* - Rs.10) the dozen. The names of the chief sorts are *ambali, anar, anaras, asmani, bilori, chai, champa, dalambi, ducha, gajra, galas, gandaki, ghas, gulab, gulkhar, hirva, jaributi, jhirmi, kachekairi, kajli, kanji, kapiv, kathva, khula, dalimbi, khuldmotia, koldvatar, morchut, morpisi, motia, motikdapiv, nagmodi, narangi, nurirat, parvari, phulguldb, piroz, pistai, pivla, rajvargi, rashi, sakarka, soneri, tulshi, and valshet*. The bangles



are put on the buyer's wrists by the seller, and if a bangle breaks while the hawker is putting it on the loss is his. Women set great store on tight-fitting bracelets and some Kasars can work the hand in such a way as to force over them the most astonishingly small bracelets. Kasar women and children help the men in their calling, making and selling bangles and putting them on the buyers' wrists. These Kasars also make and sell copper and brass vessels. They are Brahmanic Hindus and have house images. Their family god is Khandoba and their chief goddess is Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are Deccan Brahmans. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Jejuri, and sometimes to Benares. *Mahashivratra* in February and the lunar elevenths or *ekadashis* of every month are their fast days. Their feasts are *Shimga* or *Holi* in March-April, New Year's Day or *Gudi-padva* in April, *Nag-panchmi* or the Cobra's Fifth in July, *Ganesh-chaturthi* or Ganpati's Fourth in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in October-November. They have no spiritual teacher or *guru*. When a Kasar's child sickens its parents set cooked rice, curds, an egg, redlead, a lemon, and needles on a bamboo basket or *padli*, and wave the basket round the child's face, and lay it at the street corner, a favourite spirit haunt. Or they wave a fowl round the sick child's head and set the fowl free. They worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after the birth of a child and name the child on the twelfth. They clip a boy's hair between one and five," marry their girls before they are twelve, and their boys between twelve and twenty-four. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. They allow widow marriage, and practise polygamy; polyandry is unknown. They have no headman and decide social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their children to school, keeping boys at school till they are twelve or thirteen and girls till they are married. They are a steady class.

## KATARIS

**Ka'ta'ris**, or Turners, numbering thirty-six, are found in the subdivisions of Poona, and Junnar. They are like Maratha Kunbis dark, strong, and middle-sized. They profess to be vegetarians and to avoid liquor, but many secretly eat flesh and drink. They dress like Brahmans and as a class are clean, orderly, hardworking, thrifty, and hospitable. They are hereditary carvers and wood-painters, but some of them are moneylenders and rich landholders. They worship all Brahmanic gods and keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts. They are Smarts, and their family gods are Bhavani, Khandoba, and Mahadev. Their priest is a Deshasth Brahman. Early marriage and polygamy are allowed and practised, polyandry is unknown, and widow marriage is forbidden on pain of loss of caste. On the fifth and twelfth days after the birth of a child the goddess Satvai is worshipped and the child is named on the

twelfth. the mother's impurity lasts ten days. The boys are girl with the sacred thread between eight and eleven and married between fifteen and twenty-five. The girls are married between eight and fifteen, and the offer of marriage comes from the boy's parents. On a girl's coming of age she sits apart for three days and on the fourth is bathed presented with a new robe and bodice, and the caste people are feasted. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. In social matters, they form a united community and settle disputes at their caste councils. They send their children to schools and are ready to take-advantage of any new openings.

## KHATRIS

**Khattris**, or Weavers, are returned as numbering 460 and as found over the whole district. They say they were originally Kshatriyas who to avoid Being slain by Parashuram were told by the goddess Hinglaj to assume the name of Khattris and to take to weaving. They cannot tell when and whence they came into the district. These are divided into Somvanshis, Surtis, and Suryavanshis, who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Somvanshis, to whom the following particulars belong, are Chavhan, Gopal, Jhare, Khode, Khosandar, Povar, and Valnekar; people bearing the same surname do not intermarry. Their leading family stocks or *gotras* are Bharadvaj, Jamadgani, Narad, Parashar, Valmik, and Vashishth; people having the same *gotra* cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Balkriskna, Pandu, Ramchandra, and Vithal; and among women Bhima, Lakshmi, Tuka, and Yamuna. They do not differ from Deshasth Brahmans in face, figure, or bearing. They speak Marathi but their home tongue is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati. Most of them live in houses of the better sort, mud and brick built, with one or two storeys and tiled roofs. Their house goods include metal and earthen vessels, cots, boxes, blankets, carpets, and bedding. Their staple food is millet, split pulse, vegetables, and a preparation of chillies or *tikhal*. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, and fowls, and drink liquor. Both men and women dress like Deccan Brahmans. They are clean, neat, thrifty, sober, and hardworking. They weave robes, waistcloths, and bodices. They sell the robes at £1 4s. to £5 (Rs. 12-50), and waist-cloths and *pitambars* at £1 2s. to £10 (Rs. 11 -100), and earn 16s. to £3 (Rs. 8-30) a month. Besides weaving they string on wire or thread gems and pearls, make fringes, threads for necklaces, tassels, netted work, and hand and waist ornaments. Their women and children help them in their calling. They work from seven to twelve and again from two to three or seven. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses and their family goddess is Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their

houses. They keep the regular fasts and feasts and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Kondanpur, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur. On the fifth day after the birth of a child some worship a grindstone and rolling-pin and others a clay horse with a rider. In front of the horse are placed five millet stems about six inches long wrapped in rags and the whole is worshipped by the midwife and offered sugared milk or *khir* and cakes or *telchya*. Five to seven dough lamps are placed near it and outside the mother's room on either side of the door are drawn ink or coal figures whose brows are daubed with redpowder. These also are worshipped. On the twelfth day five married women are asked to dine and the child is laid in the cradle and named. Female relations and friends make presents of clothes to the child and they leave with a present of wheat and gram boiled together and packets of betelnut and leaves. They clip a boy's hair when between one and five years old and gird him with the sacred thread before he is ten. They marry their girls before they are eleven and their boys before they are twenty-five. They burn their dead, and allow widow marriage and polygamy but not polyandry. They hold caste councils and send their boys to school. As a class they are well-to-do.

### KOSHTIS

**Koshtis**, or Weavers, are returned as numbering 2713 and as found over the whole district except in Maval. They say they were Brahmans who for refusing to give the Jain saint Parasnath a piece of cloth were cursed and told they would become weavers and never prosper. They cannot tell when or whence they came, but say they have been in the district for the last three generations. Their surnames are Avad, Bhandari, Gorpi, Kamble, and Phase. The names in common use among men are Bandoba, Grhanashsham, Jankiram, and Khandoji; and among women Bhima, Lakshmibai, Radha, and Rai. Their home tongue is Marathi. Their houses are like those of other middle-class Hindus except that they have unusually broad verandas. A weaver's house can be known by the *mag* or pit for working the pedals, and by pegs, called *dhorje* and *khute*, fixed in front of the house. Their house goods, besides one to three or four hand-loom, include earth and metal cooking vessels. Some look and dress like Marathas and others like high-caste Hindus in Deccan Brahman turbans and shoes; the younger men wrap scarves round their heads. Like the men the women dress like Maratha or Deccan Brahman women in a full robe and bodice, and pass the skirt of the robe back between the feet and tuck it into the waist behind. Their staple food includes millet bread, pulse, chillies, and vegetables, and occasionally rice, fish, and the flesh of sheep, goats, and *forris*. They are forbidden country or foreign liquor on pain of a fine of 6d. to 2s. 6d. (Re. ¼-1¼), but they smoke tobacco and hemp. They weave both cotton

and silk robes and bodicecloths. Some act as servants to weavers earning 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5) a month. Boys begin to weave about fifteen. They become apprentices to weavers and in two or three years are skilful workmen. The women help the men by disentangling or clearing threads drawn over the frame or *baili*, by sizing or *pajni*, by joining the threads *sandni*, and sorting the threads in the loom *popati* or *vali*. A Koshti earns 14\*. to £1 (Rs.7-10) a month. Their busy season is from September to June or from *Ashvin* to *Jyeshth*. During the rains most of them do little weaving and work in the fields. They suffer from the competition of Europe and Bombay machine-made goods and many of them are in debt. They have credit and borrow to meet birth, marriage, death, and other special expenses at one and a half to two per cent a month. They do not work on full-moons, no-moons, eclipses. *Dasara* in September-October, or *Divali* in October-November. They worship the usual Hindu gods and goddesses and their family gods are the goddess Chavandeshvari of Bhalavni in Sholapur, Khandoba, Bahiroba, and the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their family priest is a Deshasth Brahman who is highly respected. Their spiritual teacher, a Hatkar or Dhangar by caste, lives at Kolhapur. They call him *guru* and he is succeeded by one of his disciples. They keep the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts, and their chief holiday is the full-moon of the month of *Paimh* or December-January in honour of the goddess Chavandeshvari. On the fifth day after the birth of a childi they place a silver image of. Sotvai on a stone slab or *pata* along with sand, *rui* *calotropis gigantea* leaves, and a lighted stone lamp, worship it with redlead, turmeric, and red powder, and offer it boiled; gram, cooked bread, pulse, and vegetables. Five unmarried women are feasted in honour of the goddess, and, on the morning of the seventh day, the slab is removed and the lying-in room cowdunged and the cot washed. For ten days the mother remains impure. If the child is a girl she is named on the twelfth and if a boy on the thirteenth. The child's hair is clipped for the first time on a lucky day when the child is four months to a year old, and pieces of cocoa-kernel are served. They marry their boys between ten and twenty-five and their girls between five and eleven. Except in the following particulars, their marriage castes are the same as those of Decean Kunbis, Their marriage guardian or *devak* is the *jupane* are joiner, a tool which joins the threads of two pieces of cloth, and the *pacrhpallavs* or five leaves, of four figs *Ficus religiosa*, *gloracrata indica*, and *infeeteria*, and of the mango, which they tie to a post in the marriage hall. They marry their children standing in bamboos baskets in front of each other. The detail of the marriage ceremony the giving away of the bride, the kindling of the sacrificial fire, and the bridegroom's theft of one of the girl's family gods, are the same as among Marathi Kunbis. On the second day of the marriage the cowdung a spot of ground and lay a metal plate on it. The plate is covered with a second metal plate, and over the second plate is

set water-pot full of cold water and within the neck of the pot are five betel leaves and a cocoanut. Into the pot comes the goddess Chavaudeshvari and round her are arranged thirteen betel packet each packet with thirteen be tel leaves and an equal number of nuts and one copper coin. The packets are set aside fir the following men a distinction: The *Ramble* who spreads a blanket before the goddess the *Ghats* who sits fast or *ghat* in front of the goddess, the *Talkar* or metal cup boater, the *Divats* or torch-holder, the *Bhandari* or offerer of turmeric powder or *bhandar*, the *Chavre* or fly-searer, the *Dhole* or drum-beater, the *Dhavalshankhe* or conch-blower, the *Upre.* or incense-waver, the *Kitashe* or pot-setter, the *Jhade* or sweeper, the *Tatpurash* who lays out the two plates, and the *Gupta* or invisible. Each of these thirteen *mankharis* or honourables, who is present, takes a packet and the packets of those who have not come are distributed among the guests. In the evening the boy girl ride on horseback to Maruti's temple and from it are taken to the boy's house. Before entering the Louse curds and rice are waved round their heads and thrown away. When they enter a house the girl is given an old bodice with rice, wheat, and grains of pulse. She walks dropping the grain as far as the house gods, and the boy's brother follows picking it up. Near the gods cleven gram cakes or *puran-polis* are piled one on the other, and near the cakes are two brass water-pots containing molasses and water one of which is a *two-anna-* silver piece. 'The girl is asked to lift the water-pot in which the coin has been dropped. If she succeeds is well, but failure is considered ill-omened. Next day the marriage ceremony ends with a feast. Konhtia allow child marriage and polygamy but forbid widow marriage. When a girl comes of ago she is seated for four days by herself. On the, morning of the fifth day she is bathed, dressed, in a new robe and bodice, and for lap is filled with live kinds of Trent and with betel packets. A feast is given to near relations and the girl's parents present the boy and girl with new clothes. They either bury or burn the dead. The dead if a man or a widow is wrapt in s white sheet, and if a marriage woman in a green sheet. The body is laid on the bier and carried to the burning ground. The ether death ceremonies do not differ from those observed by Manttha Kunbia. They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They sand their boys to school for a short time. They do not take to new pursuits, and are said to be a falling people.

## KUMBHARS

**Kumbha'rs**, or Potters, are returned as numbering 7789 and as found other the whole district. They are divided into Marathas is and Pardeshis who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Maratha Kumbhars are Chavgule, Mheire, Sasvadkar, Urlekar, and Vagule.;



families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among the men are Dagdu, Mhadu, Naru, Ruoja, and Sambhu; and among the women Dagdi, Janki, Kondai, Rai, and Vithai. They are Marathas and look and speak like Marathi Kunbis. Their houses are the same as those of Marathas and can be known by pieces of broken jars,, heaps of ashes, and the wheel. Their staple food is millet but they eat fish, and flesh and drink liquor. The men wear the Maratha turban, waistcloth, and jacket; and the women the usual bodice and the full robe with the skirt drawn back between the feet. They are hardworking quiet and well-behaved. They make water-vessels called *gha deras* and *madkis*, flower-pots called *kundia*, great grain jars, called *ranjans*, and children's toys. These articles sell at 7 *d.* to 1s. ( $1\frac{1}{12}$ - 8 *as.*). They make tiles and sell them at to 10s. (Rs.3-5), and bricks at 10s. to 18s, (Rs.5-9) the thousand. They play on a tambourine at a Maratha's house on the thirteenth day after a death and at a Brahman's house after a marriage, when they are asked to a feast and are given 6*d.* to *it*: (Rs. $\frac{1}{4}$  -2). In religion they are the same as Marathas and their priests are Desnasth Brahmans. On the morning of the fifth day after the birth of a child, a twig of the three-cornered prickly-pear or *nivdung* is laid near each of the feet of the mother's cot. and in the evening near the mother's cot is placed a grind stono or *pata*, and over it are laid the prickly pear or *nivdung*, some river sand or *valu*, some river moss or *lavhala*, and some poniegrmiato or *dalimb* flowers, and the whole is worshipped by the mid wife. A goat is killed, dressed, and eaten by the people of the house and guests who are invited for the occasion. On the outer walls of the house near the front door some of the women trace seven black lines and Worship them with flowers, red and scented powders, and rice grains, and offer them wet gram and mutton. This ceremony costs 6*n.* to £1 (Rs. 3-10). The mother is considered unclean for eleven days. In the afternoon of the twelfth five pebbles are pointed red, laid in the street in front of the house, and worshipped by the mother with sandal, rice grains, red and scented powders, and flowers, frankincense and camphor are burnt, and wheat cakes, cooked rice and curds are offered at a cost of Is. to 2s. (Re.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  -1). From a month to six months later the goddess Ran-Satvai is worshipped in waste or bush land, three to twelve miles from the house. Five pebbles are painted with redlead, laid in a line, and worshipped Seven of each of the following articles are offered, dates, cocoanuts, betelnuts, almonds, turmeric roots, and plantains. A goat is killed before the five pebbles, dressed, cooked, and offered along with cooked rice wheat cakes and vegetables. They then dine and return home the ceremony costing 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-8). If the child is under a vow its hair is clipped in front of the Ran-goddess; if the child is not the subject of a vow it is shaved at home. The child whether it is a boy or a girl, is seated on the knee of its maternal uncle, and a few of its hairs are clipped by the uncle himself, and the

head is shaved by a barber who is given 3/4 d. (1/2 a.) and a cocoanut. Sometimes a goat is killed and a feast is held costing 4s. to 16s. (Rs. 2-8). They marry their girls before they are sixteen and *their* boys up to twenty-five. The boy's father has to give the girl's father £1 to £10 (Rs. 10 -100). When £1 to £3 (Rs. 10 - 30) are given the girl's father is expected to apply it to the girl's marriage expense only, and when £3 to £10 (Rs. 30 - 100) are given he is expected to pay what is spent both at the boy's and at the girl's houses. Their asking or *magni* is the same as the Maratha asking and costs them 6s. to £1 (Rs. 3-10). They rub the boy and girl with turmeric three to five days before the marriage. Their wedding guardian or *devak* is a wristlet of the creeping plant called *mareta* which grows by the sea side, the potter's wooden patten or *phal*, and a hoe or *kudal*. They make an earthen altar at the girl's and pile twenty earthen pots and make a marriage porch both at the boy's and at the girl's. They marry their children standing in bamboo baskets spread with wheat. After the marriage comes the *kanyadan* or girl-giving, when the girl's father puts a four-anna-piece on the girl's outstretched hands and the boy's father an eight *anna* piece, and the girl's mother pours water over them. The girl drops the contents of her hands into the boy's hands and he lets them fall into a metal plate. A cotton thread is passed ten times round the necks of both the boy and the girl. It is cut into two equal parts and tied to the right wrists of the boy and the girl. The sacrificial fire is kindled on the altar and fed with butter. The hems of both the boy's and the girl's clothes are knotted together, and after they have bowed to the house gods the knots are untied. The guests retire with betel packets and the day's proceedings are over. On the morning of the second day, the boy and girl bathe and are seated near each other, and the boy keeps standing in a water tub in his wet clothes until a new waistcloth is given him. In the evening the boy's parents present the girl *with* ornaments, and the girl's mother places on a high wooden stool a copper or brass plate, a wooden rolling-pin or *latne*, and a box with tooth-powder. She lifts the stool over the head of the girl father and mother and it becomes their property. A procession is formed and the boy walks with his bride to her new home accompanied by kinspeople and friends and music. The marriage festivities end with a feast which costs the boy's father about £5 (Rs. 50) and the girl's father about £3 (Rs. 30). The ceremony at a girl's coming of age is the same as among Marathas and costs 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10). They generally burn their dead, mourn them ten days, and feast the caste on sweet cakes. They allow widow marriage and practise polygamy but not polyandry. They have a headman or *mhetrya* who punishes breaches of caste rules by fines. The amount of the fine which seldom exceeds 2a. (Re. 1) is spent on clarified butter served at a feast in any castefellow's house. They do not send their boys to school and are poor.

## LAKHERIS

**Lakheris**, or Lac Bracelet Makers, are returned as numbering seventy-nine and as found only in Poona city. Their former home seems to have been in Marwar and they believe they came to Poona during the time of the Peshwas. They have no subdivisions and no surnames, and look and speak like Marwar Vanis. They live in hired houses with brick and mud walls and tiled roofs, and their staple food is millet and vegetables. They eat rice and wheat bread once a week, and are not put out of caste if they indulge in a glass of liquor or eat a dish of mutton or fish. They dress like Marwar Vanis and prepare lac bracelets for wholesale dealers by whom they are paid  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  a.) the hundred. They do not overlay glass bangles with lac. Some of them make bracelets on their own account and sell them at 6d, to 10  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (4-7 as.) the hundred. Their women and their children after the age of fifteen help in the work. They are Smarts, and have house images of Balaji, Bhavani, Ganpati, and Ram. They have nothing like Satvai worship on the fifth day after the birth of a child, and they name their children on any day between the ninth and the thirteenth. There is no feeling about ceremonial impurity and they touch the mother and child at any time after birth. They marry their children at any age up to twenty or twenty-five, but a girl is generally married at or before she is sixteen and a boy before he is twenty-four. They have no rite corresponding to the installation of the marriage guardian or *devak*; they say if they have any guardian or *devak* it is the house image of the god Ganpati. Among them the asking or *magni* comes either from the boy's or the girl's house. When a bridegroom goes to the bride's to be married the bride's mother waves a cocoanut round his head and dashes it on the ground. At the marriage time, the boy and girl are seated on carpets in a line, the hems of their garments are tied together, and they hold each other's hands. The priest kindles the sacrificial fire in front of them, repeats marriage verses, and at the end throws grains of rice over their heads, and they are husband and wife. Next day the bride's lap is filled with fruit and she along with the bridegroom is taken to the boy's house where a feast on the following day ends the ceremony. The Lakheris burn their dead and mourn twelve days. On the third day they go to the burning ground, remove the ashes, and place cooked rice and curds on the spot for the crows to eat. On the tenth day they again go to the burning ground and offer ten rice balls. On the twelfth day they place twelve earthen jars filled with water on the threshold of the front door of the house, worship them as they worship the house gods and cast them away. The death ceremonies end with a feast on the thirteenth day when the chief mourner is presented with a new turban either by relations or castefellows. They have no headman, and they settle social disputes at

meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school for a short time. They complain that of late years their craft has fallen owing to the cheapness of glass bangles. Formerly when glass bangles were sold at  $1\frac{1}{2}d$ , to  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . ( $1-1\frac{1}{2}as.$ ) each lac bracelets were much sought after. Now no one cares to buy lac bracelets and many Lakheris live chiefly by labour.

## LOHARS

**Lohars**, or Blacksmiths, are returned as numbering 258 and as found all over the district. They are divided into Maratha and Panchal Lohars who neither eat together nor intermarry. The Panchal Lohars do not differ from the other Panchals of whom an account is given under Jingars. The Maratha Lohars say that they came to the district during the Peshwa's supremacy from Ahmadnagar, Bombay, Khandesh, and Sholapur. Their surnames are Bhadke, Chavan, Gavli, Kamble, Malvadkar, Navngire, and Suryavanshi. Persons bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Lakshman, Narayan, Narsu, Ramkusha, Vishnu and Vithn; and among women Kashi, Lakshumi, Radha, and Rama. They look like Marathas, being dark, strong and regular-featured. Their home tongue is Marathi. The men wear the top-knot and the moustache and sometimes whiskers but never the beard. The women tie the hair in a knot behind, and mark their brow with redpowder. They live in middle-class houses with walls of mud and tiled roofs which they hire at 1s. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{2}$ -1) a month. Their goods include earthen vessels and they have neither cattle nor servants. Their working tools are the *hatodi* or hammer worth 6d. 10 4s. (Rs.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -2), the *sandsi* pincers worth 6d. to 1s. (as. 4-8), the *pogar* or carving tool worth *h anna*, the *kanas* or tile 3d. to 1s. (as. 2-8), the *airan* or anvil worth 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5), the bellows or *bhata* worth 1s. to 6s. (EF. 1-3), the *ghan* or sledge-hammer worth 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2), and the *shingada* or anvil worth 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20). Their staple food is millet or wheat bread, split pulse, and vegetable. They also eat rice and occasionally fish and flesh. They drink to excess. Both men and women dress like Marathas; the men in a three-cornered turban, a waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth and shoes; and the women in a full Maratha robe and bodice, the skirt of the robe being passed back between the feet and tucked in at the waist behind. They rub their brows with redpowder but do not wear false hair or deck their head with flowers. They are hardworking, but thriftless, quarrelsome, dirty, and drunken. They work as blacksmiths, make and mend the iron work of ploughs and carts, make brass-bound boxes, and cups and saucers, plates, cement boxes, and looking-glass frames. They work from morning to evening and are not helped by their women. Their boys begin



to learn at twelve and are expert workers at twenty. When learning the craft they blow the bellows and handle such tools as they can manage to work and are paid 1½d. to 6d. (57. (1-4 as.) a day. They worship the ordinary Hindu gods and have house images of Klumdoba, Bhavani, Babiroba, Mahadev, and Ganpati. Their priests are the ordinary Deshasth Brahmans, to whom they show great respect and whom they call to officiate at their houses during births, marriages, and deaths. They keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts, and go on pilgrimage to Jejuri, Kondanpur, Alandi, and Pandharpur. Except in the following particulars their customs do not differ from those of Marathas. Their guardian or *devak* is the hammer or *hatodi*. During the marriage ceremony the boy and girl are made to stand face to face in bamboo baskets. When a girl comes of age she is fed on sweet dishes for fifteen days and on the sixteenth her lap is filled with wheat and plantains and betel packets. When a Maratha Lobar is on the point of death he is seated on a blanket leaning against a wall, and is supported on both sides by near relations and the name of Ram is repeated in his ear. When he is dead the body is laid on a bamboo bier and carried either to burning or to burial. They have no head-man and settle social disputes at mass meetings of adult castemen. They send their boys to school for a short time. They suffer from the competition of European hardware. Some have taken to day labour and to field work.

## LONARIS

**Lona'ris**, or Lime-burners, are returned as numbering 885 and as found over the whole district. They say they have been in the district for more than a hundred years. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Dadare, Dhavakar, Dhone, and Gite. People bearing the same surname do not intermarry. They say they are Marathas, and eat and marry with them, and do not differ from them in appearance, language, dwelling, food, or dress. They are cement-makers, husbandmen, and labourers. They buy lime nodules from Hadapsar, Muhammadvadi, Phursangi, and Vadki at 1s. 6d. to 9s. (Re. 3/4-1) a cart. They burn the nodules mixing them with charcoal and cowdung cakes in a circular brick kiln which takes three to six days to burn. Their boys do not begin to help them till they are sixteen, as the work requires strength. Their religion is the same as that of the Marathas and their priests are Deshasth Brahmans. Except that at the time of marriage the boy and girl are made to stand in bamboo baskets or *shiptara*, their customs are the same as Maratha customs. Their headman, who is called *patil*, settles social disputes at meetings of the castemen and with their consent. They send their boys to school. They complain that their calling is failing from the competition of well-to-do Parsis and Brahmans and of Mhars and



Mangs.

## NIRALIS

**Niralis**, or Dyers, are returned as numbering 162 and as found *NIRALIS*. in Khed, Poona, and Junnar. They say they came into the district from Ahmadnagar seventy-five or a hundred years ago. They are divided into Chilivant or Lingayat Niralis and Maratha Niralis, who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Maratha Niralis, to whom the following particulars belong, are Ghongde, Kalaskar, Mamdekar, Mhasalkar, Misal, Nakil, and Pataskar. The names in common use among men are Balaji, Bapuji, Bhiva, Madhav, Maruti and Vithal; and among women Bhima, Radha, Rakma, Rama, Renuka, and Vithal. They are about the middle height and are strongly made, and shave the face and the head except the top-knot. Their home speech is Marathi. Most of them live in houses of the better sort, two or more storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their houses contain metal cooking vessels, boxes, cradles, cots, blankets, and bedding, and earthen jars for preparing colours. They sometimes keep a cow, but none keep servants either to help in their calling or for house work. They are fond of pungent dishes. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, hares, deer, and domestic fowls, and drink both country and foreign liquor. They smoke hemp flowers and tobacco and chew betelnut and leaves. Their staple food is millet bread, split pulse, vegetables and fish curry, and every now and then rice. They give caste feasts on marriages and deaths, when sugar cakes and a preparation of molasses or *gulavni* are made. They dress either like Marathas or Brahmans. The men wear a top-knot and moustache, but not whiskers or a beard. The women dress in a full long robe and bodice, passing the skirt of the robe between the feet and tucking it behind and drawing the upper end over the head. Their ornaments are like Maratha ornaments and are not worth more than £10 (Rs. 100). They are neat and clean, hardworking, honest, hospitable, and well-behaved. In Poona ail are dyers though in other districts most of them weave. Their women help by bringing water, pounding colours, and dyeing cloth. Their boys begin to work at sixteen, and are skilled workers at twenty, when they earn 6d. to 9d. (4-6 as.) a day. They buy dried safflower or *kusumba* at three to three and a half pounds the rupee, indigo or *nil* at two and a half to three pounds, sappan-wood or *patang* at five to six pounds, myrobalans or *hirdas* at sixteen pounds, alum or *turti* at seven to eight pounds, green vitriol or *hirakas* at four to five pounds, country alkali or *sajikhar* at sixteen pounds, and lime or *chuna* at sixteen pounds. They dye clothes dark-red or *kharvi*, black or *kala*, rose or *gulabi*, onion colour or *pyaji*, a reddish colour or *abashai*, red or *kusumbi*, blush or *motiya*, yellow or *pivala*, and green or *hirva*. They dye

both fleeting or *hatha* and fast or *paka* colours. They charge 2s. (Re.1) for dyeing four pounds of thread a fading black and three pounds a fast black. They also dye yarns green, red, and yellow charging 2s. (Re. 1) for three to six pounds weight. To dye a turban rose they charge 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 -2), red 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5), onion-coloured 6 *d.* to 2s. (Re. £-1), reddish 1s.to 8s. (Rs.  $\frac{1}{2}$  - 4), a speckled red or *shidkav* 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* (1 *a.*), green 6*d.* to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -1), and yellow 6*d.* to 2s. (Re. $\frac{1}{4}$ -1). To dye a robe rose they charge 6*d.* (4 *as.*), red 2s. (Re. 1), onion green yellow red white and reddish 6*d.* to 1s. (*as.* 4-8), and a speckled red 6*d.* to 1s. 3*d.* (4-10) *as.*). They make about 3*d.* to 6*d.* (2-4 *as.*) on every 2s. (Re.1) worth of colour they use. Their busy times are the Hindu festivals of *Shimga* in March, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November; and the movable Musalman feast of *Moharram*. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses, and their family deities are Khandoba of Jejuri and Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans, who officiate at their births marriages and deaths. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur Tuljapur, and Benares. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, sooth-saying, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they worship a grindstone placing on it five lemons, five pomegranate buds, and a lighted dough lamp. On the tenth day the mother is purified and on the eleventh the child is cradled and named, when sweetmeats are served among friends and kinspeople. They marry their girls before they come of age, and their boys before they are twenty-five. They allow child and widow marriage and polygamy; polyandry is unknown. When a Nirali dies his body' is covered with a white sheet and flowers are sprinkled over it. They do not cover the bodies of married women with a shroud but dress them in a yellow robe, and sprinkle turmeric and flowers over them. Pounded betel is laid in the dead mouth, and the body is carried to the burning ground, where it is either burnt or buried. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school. They are a poor people, and com-plain that their calling suffers from the competition of European dyes. Since the famine of 1876 and 1877 they say many people-wear white instead of dyed cloth, or dye their turbans seldomer than before.

## OTARIS

**Ota'ris**, or Casters, are returned as numbering 109. and as found in Haveli, Bhimthadi, Maval, Khed, Purandhar, and the city of Poona. They say they are Kshatriyas and that their origin is given in the Padmapuran. They came into the district about two hundred years ago from Satara. They have no divisions. Their surnames are Ahir, Bedre, Dhangar, Gotpagar, Magarghat, and Mhadik. Marriage between people with the

same surname is forbidden. The names in common use among men are Bhagaji, Chingapa, Eknath, Krishna, Ramji and Trimak; and among women Chandrabhaga, Kondabai, Muktabai, and Umabai. Otaris look like cultivating Marathas and speak Marathi. They live in ordinary middle-class houses with mud walls and tiled roofs, paying a monthly rent of 6d. to 2s. (Re. 1/4-1). Their staple food is millet bread, pulse, and vegetables including chillies of which they are very fond. They occasionally eat rice and fish, and the flesh of sheep, goats, hares, deer, and domestic fowls, and on Dasara Day in October they offer a goat to Ambabai of Tuljapur. It is the cost not religious scruples that prevents them regularly using animal food. They drink both country and foreign liquor, smoke tobacco and hemp, and some take opium. Liquor-drinking and smoking are said to be on the increase. The men wear a Maratha turban, waistcoat, coat, waistcloth, and shouldercloth, and mark their brow with sandal. The women wear a bodice and the full robe with the skirt passed back between the feet. They rub their brows with redpowder, but do not use false hair or deck their hair with flowers. Their ornaments are either of silver or of queensmetal. They wear the nosering called *nath*, the bracelets called *got*, and the anklets called *jodvis*. They are hardworking but drunken, and their chief calling is the making of the queensmetal noserings or *jodvis* which are generally worn by Maratha, Burud, Mhar, and other low-class or poor women. A few of them make molten images of Hindu gods. Their women help them in their calling, preparing earthen moulds Or *saches*, blowing the bellows, and hawking the toe-rings. Boys begin to help at twelve or fourteen, and are expert workers at eighteen or twenty. The men hawk the toe-rings or *jodvis* from door to door and from village to village, or squat about the roadside, as they cannot afford to open regular shops. Their work is not constant, and they have no regular hours. They rest on full-moons and no-moons. They buy the queensmetal from coppersmiths or Kasars at the rate of 6d. to 7½d. the pound (8-10 *as.* the *sher*) and sell them to wholesale dealers at 1s. to 1 ½s. the pound (Rs. 1 to 1 ¼ the *sher*). The retail price of toe-rings or *jodvis* is 1 ½d. to 3d. (1-2 *as.*) a pair for a girl and 3d. to 6d. (2-4 *as.*) for a woman. They buy from Gujarat Vanis broken or *modi* brass, borax or *savagi*, charcoal, pewter or *jast*, and *kathil* or tin. The rates are, borax. 10½d. to 1s. 1 ½d. (7-9 *as.*) the pound, charcoal twenty to twenty-five pounds the rupee, pewter four to six pounds the rupee, tin 2s. (Re. 1) a pound, and old brass 10½d. to 1s. (7-8 *as.*) a pound. They keep the mixture which they use secret. The details are said to be a pound of old brass, one-eighth of a pound of pewter, and two *tolas* of tin. Their tools are a hammer or *hatodi* worth 1 ½d. to 3d. (1-2 *as.*), pincers or *sandsi* worth 3d to 1s. 3d. (2-10 *as.*), a file or *karas* 9d. to 1s. 6d. (6-12 *as.*), a rod or *danda* worth ¾d. (½ *a.*), and a file or *reti* worth about 1s. (8 *as.*). They carry about the toe-rings or *jodvis* for sale hung on an iron ring or leather band which holds about

ninety-six rings. They are said to suffer from the competition of Marathas and goldsmiths who have no gold or silver work. They consider themselves higher than Shudras, and say they eat only from Brahmans, Lingayats, and Gujarat Vanis. They cannot tell whether they are Shaivs or Vaishnavs. Their family goddess is Kalkadevi of Paithan. They have house images and worship Bahiroba, Bhairji, Bhavani, Dhanai, Janai, Khandoba, Maruti, and Nagji. Their family priests are the Ordinary Deshasth Brahmans to whom they pay great respect. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, and Kondanpur. Their fasts and feasts are *Makarsankrant* in December-January, *Shivratra* in January-February, *Holi* in February-March, *Gudipadva* in March-April, *Dasara* in September-October, *Divali* in October-November, and the lunar elevenths or *ekadashis* in June-July and October-November. When a child is born its navel cord is cut by the midwife who is paid 9d. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{3}{4}$  - 1). The mother and child are bathed and the navel cord is laid in an earthen jar, turmeric and redpowder are sprinkled over it, and the jar is buried somewhere in the house. For the first two days the child is fed on honey and castor oil and the mother on rice and butter. On the fifth red lines are traced on a wall and under the lines is laid a stone slab or *pata*. On the slab are placed the knife with which the child's navel cord was cut and rice pulse and cakes are offered. On the evening of the twelfth any the child is named by the women of the house, and five to seven pebbles are laid in a row and worshipped by the mother. The child is brought before the pebbles as the representatives of the goddess Satvai and the mother begs them to grant the child a long life. The naming ends by offering the goddess a dish of cakes or *puran-polis*. The hair-clipping takes place between the second and the twelfth year, when a dinner of cakes or *puran-polis* is given. Betrothing or *sakharpuda* the gift of a sugar-cake takes place a couple of weeks to a couple of year before marriage, when the girl is presented with a robe and bodice-The boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric at their houses two or three days before the marriage and a robe or *patal* and a green-coloured bodice are presented to the girl. On the following day the marriage gods or *devkaryas* are installed, when a circular bamboo basket or *durdi* and a winnowing fan are worshipped near the house gods. On the evening of the marriage day, the boy is seated on horseback, and, accompanied by kinspeople and music, takes his seat at the temple of Maruti in the girl's village. His brother goes on to the girl's house and reports the bridegroom's arrival at the temple. The brother is given a turban, and the men and women of the bride's house, with a suit of clothes for the boy, go with him to Maruti's temple. The boy is presented with the clothes, generally a turban and sash, and is carried in procession to the girl's house. Before he enters the marriage hall, an elderly woman waves a lemon or a cocoanut round his head and dashes it on the ground. The boy is taken into the marriage ball and set facing the girl, a cloth is held between



them, the Brahman priest repeats verses and throws rice over their heads, and they are husband and wife. They are seated on the altar and the sacrificial fire is lit and fed with butter and parched grain. A feast closes the day. On the following day the boy goes to his house on horseback with his bride in procession accompanied by kinspeople and music and a second feast ends the marriage. When an Otari is on the point of death, Ganges Water or the five cow-gifts are laid in his mouth and he is told to repeat Ram's name. In the dying man's name money is given in charity to Brahman and other beggars. When he is dead hot water is poured on the body, and he is laid on a bier and carried to the burning ground on the shoulders of four men. The chief mourner walks in front of the bier holding a fire-pot. About half-way to the burning ground the bier is set on the ground, a Copper coin is laid at the roadside and covered with pebbles, and the bearers changing places carry the body to the burning ground, dip the bier into a river or pond, and place the body on the pile. The chief mourner walks thrice round the pile carrying an earthen water-pot full of water, dashes it on the ground, beats his mouth, and sets fire to the pile. When the body is burnt, the mourners bathe and go borne. On the third day they go to the burning ground, taking the five cow-gifts, three earthen jars and a cake, and, throwing the ashes into the river or pond, put the bones in an earthen jar and bury them. After ten days' mourning the bones are allowed to remain buried, or they are thrown into water, or they are taken and buried or Benares, Nasik, or some other sacred spot. The chief mourner sprinkles the five cow-gifts on the spot where *me* deceased was burnt, and setting three jars filled with water and bread for the deceased to eat, returns home. They mourn ten days, and feast the caste on the twelfth or thirteenth. One of the nearest relations presents the chief mourner with a new turban. He puts on the turban, is taken to the village temple, bows to the god, and returns home. The Otaris are bound together as a body, and have a headman called *patil* who settles social disputes in consultation with the members of the caste. They do not send their boys to school nor take to new pursuits. As a class they are poor.

## **PATHARVATS**

**Patharvats**, or Masons, are returned as numbering 309 and as found all over the district. They are divided into Maratha, Kamathi, and Telangi Patharvats who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Marathas are Ambekar, Barnaik, Chaphe, Hinge, Holekar, Khage, Lugad, Eandeve, and Sape; and families bearing the same surnames do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bhau, Shivba, Tukaram, and Vennunath; and among women Chandrabhaga, Lakshmi, Saka, and Savitri. They are dark middle-sized and strong. The men wear



the top-knot moustache and whiskers, but not the beard. They speak Marathi and live in houses with mud and brick walls and tiled roofs. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor, but not at their caste-feasts. Both men and women dress like Marathas. They are clean, hardworking, frugal, orderly, and hospitable. They are stone-masons and carvers and make excellent images of gods and of animals, hand-mills, grindstones, and rolling pins. Their hand-mills cost 1s. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{2}$ -1), grindstones 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (1-3 aw.), rolling pins 3/8d. to  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$  a.), and cups called *kundyas* or *dagadyds*  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d. (1-2 as.). As foremen or *mestris* they draw £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15 - 20) a month, and as day-workers 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a day. Their women do not help in their work, but boys of fifteen to twenty earn 14s. to 16s. (Rs. 7-8) a month. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses, and their family gods are Khandoba of Jejuri and Kavis of Tuljapur and Khondan-*par*. Their priests either belong to their own caste or are Deshasth Brahmans. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Jejuri, and Pandharpur, and their fasts and feasts are the same as those of Maratha Kunbis. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. They worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after a child is born, and name the child on the twelfth, the name being given by the paternal aunt. Before the child is two years old, it is laid on its maternal uncle's knee and its hair is clipped. They gird their boys with the sacred thread at the time of marriage, and marry their girls before they are eleven and their boys before they are fifteen. Except that during the ceremony the boy and the girl are each made to stand in a bamboo basket their marriage does not differ from a Maratha marriage. They allow widow marriage, but never celebrate them except at night and in lonely places. The man and woman are seated in a line on two high wooden stools, garlands are thrown round their necks, and red and turmeric powder are rubbed on their brows. The hems of their garments are tied together and grains of rice are thrown over their heads, and they are married. They are left together for the night and after a bath return to the husband's house. They burn their dead, hold caste meetings, and are a steady class.

## RAULS

Rauls are returned as numbering 377 and as found in Haveli, Bhimthadi, Maval, Junnar, Khed, Indapur, Sirur Purandhar, and Poona city and cantonment. They do not know when and from where they came into the district, but believe they were driven about two hundred years ago by a famine from Mohol lin Sholapur and Sasvad. They are divided into Rauls, Gosavis, and Bastards or Akarmases, who do not eat together or intermarry. Their surnames are Chavan, Chhatrabhuji, Gadade, Lakhe,

Povar, and Vaghulker; and persons of the same surname can eat together but not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bahirunath, Gopalnath, and Vishvanath; and among women Bhagirathi, Ganga, and Parvati. Except that they all end in *nath* the names both of men and of women are the same as those of cultivating Marathas. They look and speak like Marathas. Their houses are like ordinary middle-class Hindu houses with walls of unburnt bricks and tiled roofs. Their rates and practice about food do not differ from the rules and practice of cultivating Marathas. They give dinners on the anniversaries or mind-days of their deceased ancestors, on *Nag-panchmi* in August, and on *Dasara* in October. They have of late taken to drinking especially those in the city of Poona. Except a few Gosavi Rauls the men all wear the top-knot as well as the moustache and whiskers, and a few wear beards. The women tie their hair in a knot behind the head and rub redpowder on their brows; they do not wear false hair or deck their hair with, flowers. As the followers or *panthis* of Gorakhnath they ought to wear ochre-coloured clothes, but both men and women dress almost like Marathas. Except that a few of the men wear brass or horn rings in their ears, the men's and women's ornaments are like those of Marathas. The men wear the earrings called *bhikbalis*, the armlet called *hade*, finger-rings or *angthias*, and a waistchain or *kaddora* ; and the women wear in the ears *bugdyas* and *balias*, in the nose the *nath*, on the neck the *sari*, *thusi*, *vajratik*, and *putli* or coin necklace, and on the feet toe-rings or *jovdis*. They are hardworking hospitable orderly and dirty. They are dealers in grain and sellers of gunny bags, small tin boxes, and betelnut-cutters. They weave strips of coarse cloth and cot and trouser tape. Those who have turned Gosavis play and beg, weaving as they beg from door to door. Rauls also work in Sali's houses as weavers, some are messengers in Government offices, and others are husbandmen and day labourers. Though not skilful weavers they make 6*d.* to 7½*d.* (4-5 *as.*) a day. As husbandmen also they are wanting in skill. Their women help in weeding and sowing. They hold themselves higher than any caste except Gujarat Vanis, Lingayats, and Brahmans. Still they eat from the hands of Marathas and dine in their company, and are considered equal to or lower than Marathas. They are religions and worship Mahadev, Mahadev's trident or *trishul*, the *ling*, the dry gourd or *patar*, and silver *taks* or masks of Bahiroba, Devi, and Khandoba. They have house images of Bahiroba, Bhavani of Tuljapur and Chaturshingi, Gorakhnath, Khandoba, and Machhandranath, and of the Nath of Sonari in Sholapur. They had formerly priests of their own taste, but they now employ ordinary Deshasth Brahmans at their marriages, births, and deaths. They go on pilgrimage to Pandharpur, Tuljapur, and Parli-vaijanath in the Nizam's country. They fast on *Maha-shivratra* in February, *Ram-navmi* in April, *Ashadhi ekadashis* or July lunar elevenths, on Shravan or August Mondays, on Gokul-ashtami in August, and on *Kartiki ekadashis* or

November elevenths. Their holidays are *Holi* in March, *Gudi-padva* in April, *Nag-panchmi* in August, *Ganesh-chaturthi* in September, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. Their spiritual teachers or gurus are *Bmuabaya* of *Parah* in the *Nizam's* country and *Bhivnathsagar* of *Wai* in *Satara*, who are succeeded by their sons or disciples. Except that they worship five dough lamps in honour of *Paehvi* on the fifth day the ceremonies during the first five days after a birth are the same as those of *Maratha* *Kunbis*. For seven days they consider the mother unclean. When after a bath she has become pure, turmeric figures are drawn on the wall of the lying-in room and worshipped by the mother and sweet cakes or *puran-polis* are offered. On the twelfth day, the mother, taking the child in her arms, goes out of the house near the road, lays seven pebbles in a line and worships them with red scented and turmeric powder, lays flowers on them, burns frankincense before them, and offers them sweet cakes or *puranpolis*. In the evening the married women of the caste meet at the mother's house, and present the child with a cap and the mother with plantains and betel packets. The child is laid in the cradle and given a name chosen by the Brahman priest. Sugar and betel packets are served and the guests withdraw. The *java* or hair-cutting comes when the child is two years old. They marry their girls between six and twelve and their boys between twelve and twenty-four. Betrothal takes place a fortnight to a couple of years before marriage, when the girl is presented with a packet of sugar and a robe and bodice. Two to four days before the wedding, the boy is rubbed with turmeric at his house, and what remains is sent to the girl with a green robe and bodice and a chaplet of flowers or *mundavlis*. Her body is rubbed with turmeric, she is dressed in the robe and bodice, and the flower chaplet is bound on her brow. Next day a goat is killed and a feast held in honour of the family guardian or *devak*, which consists of mango, *rui* *Calotropis gigantea*, and *saundad* *Prosopis spicigera* leaves. On the marriage day the boy is dressed in new clothes, seated on horseback, and carried in procession to *Maruti's* temple and is there presented with a new turban and sash. From the temple he is taken to the girl's house and a marriage ornament is bound to his brow. At the girl's house before he dismounts a married woman waves a piece of bread round his face and throws it on one side. The boy is led into the house by the girl's father or some other near relation of the girl's and is made to stand on a low wooden stool in front of the girl, a cloth is held between them, and while Brahmans repeat the marriage verses or *mangalashtaks*, the musicians play, and, when priests have finished the wedding verses, grains of rice are thrown over the boy's and girl's heads, the cloth is pulled on one side, and the boy and girl are husband and wife. They are seated near each other on the altar, the sacrificial fire is lit, the hems of their garments are knotted together, and they bow before the house goda. A feast is held in the evening. Next day, after the exchange of clothes between the two

houses and the handing over of the girl to the boy's parents with prayers to treat the girl with kindness, the boy walks in procession with the girl to his house, and a caste feast ends the marriage. When a girl comes of age she is kept by herself for three days. On the morning of the fourth day she is bathed and presented with a robe and bodice, and her lap is filled with wheat and a coconut. The boy is presented with a turban and a shoulder-cloth or *shela*, and the ceremony ends with a feast to near relations. When a Raul is on the point of death a few drops of Ganges water and cow's urine are poured into his mouth. When he dies he is seated in a bamboo frame or *makhar* and carried on the shoulders of four men, with a Raul blowing a conch-shell in front. At the burial ground an arched three-cornered hole is dug four feet in diameter and four feet deep and the body is seated in the hole with its face to the east. The chief mourner pours a little water from a conch-shell into its mouth. Salt is heaped over the body and the grave is filled with earth and a mound raised over it. An elder stands over the mound and repeats the following verses: ' Oh Mother Earth, we make this body over to thee in presence of the gods Brahma and Vishnu, who are our witnesses. Do thou protect it. Oh God Shiv, we worship thy feet with reverence.' [The Marathi runs: *Dhartari mai pinlaku rakh, Brahma Vishnu saks; Om namas'Shivayanamo charanpuja padukaku adesh.*] While he is repeating these verses the rest of the mourners stand with handfuls of dust, and as soon as the last word is repeated throw the dust on the mound. They return home, rub ashes on their brows, and are pure. They observe no mourning. On the morning of the third day, they go to the burial ground and offer the dead cooked rice and cakes. On the eleventh night a flower garland is hung from a beam of the house and under the garland is placed a water-pot or *tambya*, a dough lamp with butter in it is set close by, and a goat is offered. The spirit of the deceased comes into one of his kinsmen, and tells what his wishes are, and how he came by his death. After the spirit of the deceased has left him the possessed person lies senseless on the ground, and the house-people say the dead has reached the gates of heaven. The ceremony ends with a feast. They allow child and widow marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at mass meetings of the caste. They send their boys to school till they learn to read and write. They are a steady class.

## SALIS

**Sa'lis**, or Weavers, returned as numbering 3802, are found in all Sparge towns. They are of two divisions Maratha Salts and Padma Salis who neither eat together nor intermarry. The Maratha Salis look like Marathas, and as a class are dark, strong, and well-built. The men shave



the head except the top-knot, and the face except the eyebrows, moustache, and whiskers. They live in middle-class houses one or two storeys high with brick walls and tiled roofs. Their house goods include boxes, cradles, cots, mats, carpets, blankets, and metal and earthen vessels. A few of the well-to-do have house servants and own cattle and pet animals. They are moderate eaters and good cooks. They are fond of hot dishes, and their staple food is pulse, Indian millet bread, and fish curry. They bathe regularly before their morning meal and offer food to their gods before they sit to eat. They have sweet cakes of wheat flour and mutton on holidays, and when they can afford it freely eat the flesh of goats, poultry, and fish. They are excessively fond of liquor, smoke opium hemp and tobacco, and drink *bhāṅg*. The men usually wear a waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a coat or a shirt called *bandi* a Maratha turban, and a pair of shoes or sandals. The women plait their hair into braids but wear neither flowers nor false hair. They wear a robe hanging from the waist to the ankles with the skirt passed back between the feet, and a bodice with, short sleeves and a back. Both men and women have a store of clothes for holiday wear. They are not fond of gay colours. Their ornaments are like Maratha ornaments, the nosering called *nath*, the wristlets called *got*, the lucky necklace or *mangalsutra*, and the toe-rings called *jodvis*. The men wear the earrings called *bhikbali* and finger rings. Salis as a class are dirty, orderly, honest, hard working, thrifty, and hospitable. Their chief and hereditary calling is weaving cotton clothes. They buy cotton and silk yarn from yarn-dealing Marwaris in the Poona market and weave them into waistcloths, shouldercloths, and robes. The women do as much work as the men. They arrange thread in the warp, size the warp, and arrange the warp threads and the silk edges. Their earnings vary from 8s. to £1 (Rs. 4-10) a month. Though to some extent he profits by the cheapness of yarn, English and Bombay cloth press the hand-loom weaver hard and leave him little margin of profit. The demand is brisk during the fair season and dull in the rains. During the fair season they work from morning to evening with only a very short rest. They close their shops on the *amavasya* or no-moon of every month, on sun or moon eclipses, and during the *Divali* in October-November. They rank themselves with Marathas and never eat from Mhars or other low castes. A family of five spends 16s. to £14s. (Rs. 8-12) a month on food and £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a year on clothes. Salis as a class are religious. Their family deities are Bhavani, Bahiroba, Jogai, Khandoba, Mahadev, Narsoba, and Satvai; they also worship all village local and boundary gods. Their priest is a Brahman whom they greatly respect and who is asked to officiate at all their ceremonies. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur, and they keep the usual Brahmanic holidays and fasts. Their religious teacher is a man of their own caste who lives at Benares and visits them once or twice a year. When he comes all the members of the cast contribute to feed him



and present him with money. The teacher's post is elective and is given to one of the last priest's disciples soon after his death. They believe in witchcraft and soothsaying. When a person is possessed the seer or *devrishi* is called. He visits the sick, burns frankincense before him, and waves fruit or a cock about him. Vows are made to the family gods and when the sick recovers goats are slaughtered before them. Child-marriage, widow-marriage and polygamy are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. Women go to their parents to be confined. A midwife is called in and a pit or *mori* is dug for the bath-water. The midwife pours cold water on the child as soon as it is born and cuts its navel cord which is put in an earthen pot and buried near the pit. Both mother and child are bathed in warm water and laid on a cot. The mother is fed on rice and clarified butter and for three days the child is made to suck one end of a rag whose other end rests in a cup of water and molasses. From the fourth day the mother begins to suckle the child. On the fifth a stone slab is placed near the bath-pit or *mori*. A handful of rice is placed on the slab and on the rice a silver image of Satvai is set, and about the image are scattered grains of sand, some pieces of prickly-pear or *nivdung*, some jujube tree or *bor* branches, and catechu and myrrh. A piece of squeezed sugarcane is placed at each corner of the stone slab, and before the slab the midwife lays turmeric powder, vermilion, sandal-paste, and flowers. Frankincense is burnt before the goddess, and stuffed cakes or *kanavales*, rice, and curds are laid before her. A roll of betel leaves, copper coin, sandal-paste, flowers, and food are laid in front of the image. Five married girls are asked to dine and the women of the house keep awake all night. The impurity caused by a birth lasts ten days. A girl is named on the twelfth day and a boy on the thirteenth. On the twelfth out of doors five stones are rubbed with redlead and sandal-paste, flowers are dropped over them, and stuffed cakes and rice mixed with curds are laid before them, and married women are feasted. In the evening the married women name and cradle the child and after receiving boiled gram or *ghugaris*, packets of sugar, and rolls of betel leaves, they return to their homes. The mother puts on new glass bangles and is allowed to perform her usual house work. The birth charges vary from 8a. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5). The hair both of boys and of girls is cut for the first time between the sixth month and the end of the third year. The maternal uncle of the child is seated on a low stool covered with a piece of cloth and placed on a square marked with lines of rice flour. The child sits on his lap and the village barber shaves the child's head except a tuft on the crown. Married women are asked to dine and the barber is presented with a piece of cloth, a roll of betel leaves, and a copper coin. The child is bathed and dressed in a new suit of clothes; a goat is slaughtered, and friends and relations are feasted. The ceremony costs 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2 - 3). Boys are married between seven and twenty and girls between five and twelve. The offer of

marriage comes from the boy's father. If the girl's father approves, the boy's father visits the girl's house with music and a band of friends. He presents the girl with a green robe and bodice, marks her brow with vermilion, and gives her a packet of sugar. Betel is served and the boy's father and his friends retire. The turmeric paste is first rubbed on the bridegroom and then sent to the bride with a green robe and bodice. A day or two after a piece of rope used in working the loom, a stone lamp, and *telchis* or oil-cakes are taken to Maruti's temple with music and a company of friends. Flowers are sprinkled over the god and cakes are laid before him. The loom-rope, the stone lamp, and the rice cake are taken, and they go home and tie them to a post in the booth. These articles are the marriage guardian or *devak*. A marriage altar or *bahule* is raised in a corner of the bride's booth and earthen pots are set about it. The bride-groom is dressed in a fine suit of clothes, his brow is decked with a paper brow-horn, or *bashing*, and he is taken on horseback to the bride's village. He stops at the village temple, and, sends to the bride his brother who is called the *vardhava*. At the bride's her father presents the boy's brother with a turban to be given to the bridegroom. The bestman in return hands a lucky necklace or *mangalsutra* to a woman in the bride's house to be tied round the bride's neck, and returns to Maruti's temple with a suit of clothes in which the bridegroom is dressed at the time of his marriage. When the bridegroom reaches the bride's house rice mixed with curds is waved round him. He is led into the booth and he and the girl are made to stand face to face on bamboo baskets placed on low stools, with a curtain held between them. The priest draws aside the curtain, throws the lucky rice or *mangaldkshat* over them and seats them both on the altar or *bahule*. Seven threads are twisted into a cord, which is passed round them pieces of turmeric are tied to the right wrist of the bridegroom and to the left wrist of the bride, they throw clarified butter into the sacred fire, and the hems of their garments are knotted together. They go into the house and bow before their family deities. The bridegroom steals one of the images and the bride's mother takes it back from him giving him instead a coconut or a silver ring. The guests are dined. Next day a caste feast is given and sugar-cakes and rice-Hour boiled in water and mixed with molasses are eaten. At night the bride's father calls his friends and kinspeople to his house and the bridegroom's father presents the bride with men robe and bodice. The couple are led on horseback in procession to the bridegroom's, and the pots that were set about the altar or *bahule* are distributed among the women guests. On reaching the bridegroom's, the neighbour women come and the couple untie each other's marriage wristlets or *kankans* and caste-people are feasted at the bridegroom's house. A marriage costs £5 to £12 10s. (Rs. 50-125). When a girl comes of age she is impure for three days. On the fourth or on the sixteenth her lap is filled and the men of her mother's house present her husband with a new turban and shoulder

cloth. The girl's lap is again filled and she is presented with a new bodice and robe. Friends and kinspeople are feasted at her husband's house and the coming of age is over. The charges vary from 2s. to £2 (Rs. 1 -20). When a Sali dies, word is sent to the caste-people who meet at the house, bathe the dead in warm water, dress him in a loincloth, and put a turban on his head. The body is laid on a bier and tied to it with cord. The chief mourner holding a fire-pot by a string walks in front followed by the bearers, who fasten rice and a copper coin to the hems of the shroud. On the way they set down the bier and leave the rice and the copper coin, change their places, and again lift the bier. On reaching the burning ground, they lay down the bier and go to make ready the pile. The chief mourner sits at the feet of the dead and has his face shaved except the eyebrows. The shaved hair is laid at the feet of the dead, the body is set on the pile, and the chief mourner pours water into the dead mouth and kindles the pile. When the pile is nearly burnt, the chief mourner bathes, places on his shoulder an earthen pot full of water, and starting from the feet of the dead begins to walk round the pile. A man follows him and at the end of each turn pierces a hole in the pitcher. When he has made three turns the chief mourner throws the pitcher over his shoulder, cries aloud, and strikes his mouth with the back of his hands. The party bathe and return to the house of the dead to look at the lamp which has been lighted on the spot where the spirit left the body. On the second or third day the chief mourner makes ready three barley cakes called *satus*, and, with sandal-powder flowers and a water-pot, sets them in a winnowing fan and with a party of friends goes to the burial place. He gathers the ashes of the dead into a blanket, bathes, and pours water over the spot where the body was burnt. Sandal-powder, vermilion, and flowers are thrown on the spot and the barley cakes are laid, one where the feet were, one where the head was, and the third at the resting place or *visavyachi jaga*. All bathe and return home. The impurity lasts ten days. On the eleventh day ten wheat-flour balls or *pinds* are made and worshipped with flowers and rice grains, frankincense is burnt before them, and the chief mourner bows down to them. Of the ten balls nine are thrown into the river or stream and the tenth is offered to the crows. When a crow touches the ball the men bathe and return home. On any day between the eleventh and the thirteenth the men of the caste are asked to dine at the house of mourning and one of his kinspeople presents the chief mourner with a turban. The death is marked by a *shraddh* or mind-rite, and the dead is also remembered during the *mahalaya paksha* or All Souls' fortnight in dark *Bhadrapad* or September on the day which corresponds to the day on which he died. The death charges vary from £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20). Salis are bound together by a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at meetings of adult castemen. Breaches of caste discipline are punished with fines varying from 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1 -5), and the amount

collected is spent in caste feasts. Many set caste decrees at defiance and have to be brought to order by temporary loss of caste or other serious punishment. They send their children to school and keep them at school till they are able to read and write. They do not take to new pursuits and on the whole are a falling class.

## **SANGARS**

**Sangars**, or Weavers, are returned as numbering 809 and as found over the whole district except in Haveli and Junnar. They say they know nothing of their origin except that they believe they were once Lingayats and were degraded because they took to fish and flesh-eating and to drinking liquor. Their surnames are Changle, Dhobale, Gajare, Gujare, Hingle, Kachare, and Raut, and families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Amrita, Babaji, Jaloji, Meloji, Raoji, and Sadhu; and among women Gangabai, Gujabai, Ramabai, Saibai, and Baku. They look like Marathas and are dark, strong, and middle-sized. The men wear the top-knot moustache and whiskers, but not the beard. The women tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head; they do not wear false hair or dock their heads with flowers. They speak Marathi and live in houses with mud, and brick walls and tiled roofs. Their house goods include metal and earthen vessels, cots, boxes, and blankets. The men dress like Marathas in a waistcloth, waistcoat, turban, and shoes; and the women in a short-sleeved and backed bodice and a robe hanging like a petticoat. Their staple food is millet, pulse, and vegetables, but when they can afford it they eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. They are dirty, but hardworking, frugal, and orderly. All earn their living by blanket-weaving. They work from six to twelve and again from two to lamplight. Their women help in cleaning and spinning the wool and in arranging the warp. A family of five spends 14s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 7-12) a month on food, and about £1 10s. (Rs. 15) a year on clothes. A house costs £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500) to build. A birth costs 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5), a marriage £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100), and a death £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25). They worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods and goddesses. Their family deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur, Janai and Jotiba of Ratnagiri, and Khandoba of Jejuri. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their marriages. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Ratnagiri, and their fasts and feasts are the same as those of Marathas. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. Their religious guides are Jangams whom they call to officiate at deaths and give a money present. They worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after a child is born and name the child on the twelfth, when two married men are asked to dine. Their marriage



rites are generally the same as the Maratha rites. They allow child and-widow marriage. They bury their dead and mourn them three days, with rites like those of the Lingayats. They hold caste councils, and send their boys to school for a short time. As a class they are poor.

### SULTANKARS

**Sulta'nkars**, also called **Alitkars** or Tanners, are returned as numbering eighty-nine and as found only in the city and cantonment of Poona. They say the founder of their caste was Dharmraj the eldest of the Pandav brothers, and that they came from Nagar in Marwar about two hundred years ago to earn a living. They have no subdivisions and their surnames are Butele, Chavade, Chavan, Khas, Nagar, Pohade, Sakune, Sambre, and Tepan; persons bearing the same surname eat together but do not intermarry. The names is common use among men are Ambarsing, Bbavansing, Deoji, Pandit, Rupram, Rakhma, and Sagun; and among women Hema, Kesar, Punaya, Tulsha, Sundar, and Zuma. They speak Hindustani with a mixture of Marwari. [For come here they say *athini*, for you *thane*, for take this *yo le*, for hef speaks *ye boleche*, and for he has sent for you *yethane bulayachhe*.] They are tall and strong with a lively expression and look like Pardeshis or northerners. They live in houses one or two storeys high with mud and brick walls and tiled roofs and keep cows and goats. Their staple food is millet bread, pulse, and vegetables, and occasionally rice. They also eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, and fowls. They do not eat the hare, deer, or wild hog. Their holiday dishes are a mixture of wheat butter and sugar or molasses which is called *shirapuri*, and sugared milk or *khir*. They kill a goat on Dasara Day in October and when they recover from an attack of small-pox. They take opium, drink both country and foreign liquor except date-palm juice or *shindi*, and smoke tobacco and hemp. Their fondness for drink is said to be increasing. The men wear the topknot, moustache, and whiskers, and a few wear beards. Their clothes are a waistcloth, shouldercloth, turban, coat, and waistcoat. The women wear a bodice and the robe like a petticoat without drawing the skirt back between the feet. They do not wear false hair or deck their hair with flowers. Their favourite colours are yellow and red. They keep specially good clothes worth £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25) in store for holiday use and for marriages and other great family occasions. The women wear round the neck a *garsvli* of three or a *panchmani* of five gold beads worth about 10s. (Rs. 5), on the wrists silver *kangnyas* and gots worth 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-8), and on the toes silver *bichves* worth 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-8). Their chief calling is tanning hides which they buy from neighbouring villages and after tanning sell them to Chambhars and Bohoras. In tanning they use the red lac dye, *matki* or *math* a kind of bean, salt, and



the bark of the *tarvad* tree. They do not like to say what these articles cost or to tell how the colour is prepared. Their appliances are earthen vessels or *kundyas* for steeping the hides worth 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5), and an iron Bcraper called *shipa* or *chhurpa* worth 1 ½d. to 9d. (1-6 as.) with which they free the hides from hair. The women and children do not help in their work, and the work is at a stand during the rains. During the dry season they work from early morning to five in the evening. They generally work with their own hands. If they employ labourers they pay the workmen 6d. to 7½d. (4-5 as.) a day. Their family deities are Bahiroba of Nagar in Marwar and the goddess Ambabhavani of Tuljapur. An ordinary Maratha Brahman generally a Deshasth is their priest, and conducts their birth, marriage, and death ceremonies. They have no house images but they bow before all Brahmanic gods and goddesses. They observe the usual Brahmanic *fasts* and *feasts*, but their chief days are *Maha-shivratra* and *Vasant-panchmi* in February, *Holi* in March, *Gudi-padva* in April, *Ashadhi ekadashis* in July, *Rakhi-pournima* in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* and *Kartiki ekadashis* in November. They say that they do not believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, or sorcery. Their wives and children are sometimes attacked by evil spirits, and to drive out the spirit knowing men or *jantas* are consulted. An offering is made of cooked rice, a fowl, or an egg, and a piece of bread with some pot-herbs and the evil spirit goes. Their customs are the same as those of Pardeshi leather-workers. They burn their dead, and allow child-marriage widow-marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They have a headman styled *chaudhari* who settles their social disputes in consultation with the men of the caste. They send their boys to school for a short time. They do not take to new pursuits, and are a poor people.

## SHIMPI

**Shimpis**, or Tailors, are returned as numbering 8880 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Chatur Shimpis, Konkani Shimpis, Maratha Shimpis, Namdev Shimpis, Pancham Shimpis, Shravak Shimpis, and Shetval Shimpis, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The following particulars apply to the Shravak or Jain Shimpis. They believe they came into the district upwards of a hundred years ago from Sholapur. They have no surnames. The names in common use among men are Anna, Anantraj, Neminath, Ramlakshman, Shambhavainath, Shantinath, and Tulsiram; and among women Bhimabai, Jinabai, Lakshmi, Padmavati, and Rajarnati. Their home tongue is Marathi. Their houses are like those of other middle-class Hindus with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their chief house goods are metal and earthen cooking and drinking vessels. They are strict vegetarians, their staple food consisting of a millet, pulse, and vegetables. A family of five spends 16s. to £110s.

(Rs. 8-15) a month on food. They never dine after dark and do not eat radishes, onions, garlic, sweet potatoes, assafoetida, honey, or clarified butter out of skin jars. The men dress like Marathas and the women do not deck their hair with flowers. The women wear the earrings called *bugdias* worth £1 to £1 4s. (Rs. 10-12), the nose-ring called *nath* worth ' £1 (Rs. 10), the necklaces called *mangalsutra* worth 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5) and *vajratiks* worth 14s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 7-15), and the toe-rings called *jodvis* worth 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) and *viravlyat* worth 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3). They are tailors, cloth-sellers, sweetmeat makers, and shop-boys, earning 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) a month. A birth costs 4s. to 16s. (Rs. 2 - 8), a boy's marriage £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100), and a girl's £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25), a girl's coming of age £1 (Rs. 10), and a death £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15). They are Jains by religion worshipping the twenty-four Jain saints or Tirthankars, and assert that they worship no Brahmanic gods or goddesses except Balaji. Their priests belong to their own caste. The midwife is either a Shravak Shimpi or a Maratha; after a birth if the midwife is a Shimpi she gets glass bangles, if a Maratha she gets Is. to 2s. (Re. £-1) in cash. The navel cord is put in an earthen jar and buried somewhere in the house. On the fifth day after a birth they place a stone slab or *pata* in the mother's room. On the slab they lay the knife with which the child's navel cord was cut, a gold or silver mask or *tak* of the goddess Satvai, and an inkpot, paper, and pen. The whole is worshipped and cooked food is offered to it. They consider the mother impure either for twelve days if the child was a boy or for forty days if the child was a girl. At the end of this time they name the child, the name being given by the child's paternal aunt. At some time in the life of a boy between his fifth month and his fifth year his hair is clipped with scissors and five married women are feasted. Their boys are girt with the thread before they are ten. In the morning before a thread-girding the priest bathes the image of Parasnath with curds, milk, honey, *sagr*, and clarified butter, lays over the image the sacred thread to be worn by the boy, and repeats sacred verses. A metal pot filled with water, and with five betelnuts and a cocoanut in the mouth of it is worshipped, and the water from the pot and that with which the image of Parasnath was washed is sprinkled over the boy's body. His brow is marked with sandal, and the sacred thread is fastened round his neck. From this time he becomes a Jain, and is strictly forbidden to eat after lamplight in case he should cause loss of insect life. They marry their girls before they come of age, and their boys before they are twenty-five. They first rub turmeric on the girl's body and afterwards on the boy's. At both the boy's and the girl's houses Parasnath's image is bathed with milk, curds, honey, butter, and sugar, and worshipped. The boy starts for the girl's on horseback, and waits at Parasnath's temple in her village. The girl's father goes to the boy and gives him a turban, and lays before the god a packet of betelnut and leaves, and the boy starts for the girl's house. Before entering the

house the girl's relations wave over his head cooked rice, curds, and a cocoanut, and throw them away. The boy and girl are married standing face to face on low wooden stools; turmeric roots are tied with a piece of yellow thread to the left wrist of the girl and to the right wrist of the boy, and a sacrificial fire is lit. The skirts of the boy's and girl's clothes are tied together and they bow before the house gods. Next morning either a cocoanut or a betelnut is rubbed with redlead or *shendur* and worshipped as the god Kshetrapal or the field guardian. The ashes of the sacrificial fire are cooled with milk and a feast is given. In the evening the boy goes with his bride to his parents' house in procession and on the following morning a caste feast is given. This ends the marriage. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for four days. On the morning of the fifth day she is dressed in a new robe and bodice and her lap is filled with fruit and wheat. They burn the dead. When a Shravak Shimpis is on the point of death sacred books are read and a metal plate on which the images of the twenty-four Tirthankars are engraved is washed, and the water sprinkled over the sick man's body. When life is gone, if the dead is a man he is dressed in a silk waist-cloth or *mukta* and rolled in a white sheet; if the dead is a widow she is wrapped in a silk waistcloth or *mukta* and if a married woman in a yellow robe. Half-way to the burning place the bier is set on the ground, a copper coin, a betelnut, and some rice are laid on the spot, and the bearers change places. They carry the bier to the burning ground where a pile has been raised, and the chief mourner sets fire to the pile. After the body is consumed they return home and mourn ten days, but neither the head nor the moustache of the chief mourner is shaved. On the eleventh they go to the temple of Parasnath, bathe the god, put on new sacred threads, and return home. On the thirteenth day the image of Parasnath is worshipped in the house of mourning and the chief mourner's brow is marked with sandal. A feast is given to the four corpse-bearers and to near kinspeople and the chief mourner is presented with a turban. They have a headman called *chavdhar* who settles social disputes. They send their boys to school for a short time, and are 4 steady class.

NAMDEV SHIMPIS say that Namdev, the founder of their caste, sprang from a shell or *shimpla* which his mother Gonai found in her water-jar when she was filling it by the river side. They believe they came to the Poona district about 150 years ago, from Bidar in the Nizam's country and were known by some other name which they say they have forgotten. A great famine drove them from their homes and they spread over the West Deccan and the Konkan. They have no divisions. The names in common use among men are Ganpati, Keshav, Lakshman, and Ramchandra; and among women A'nandi, A'vdi, Kashi, and Rama. Though generally dark some are fair and regular-featured. The men wear the topknot, and moustache, but neither the beard nor whiskers. The women, who are proverbially handsome, tie their hair in a knot behind

the head. Their home tongue is an incorrect Marathi. They own houses with brick walls and tiled roofs. Their daily food is millet, rice, split pulse, and vegetables; and they occasionally eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. They dress like Brahmans except that the women sometimes allow the robe to fall like a petticoat without passing the skirt back between the feet. They are hardworking, quiet, sober, and hospitable, earning their living as tailors, cloth-dealers, writers, moneychangers, cultivators, and labourers. They work from six to ten in the morning and again from twelve to lamplight. They make and sell coats, waistcoats, shirts, trousers, and caps; they are helped by their women and by their children of fifteen and over. They keep ready-made clothes in stock. A ready-made coat according to the quality of the cloth sells at 1s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs.  $\frac{1}{2}$ -1  $\frac{1}{4}$ ); a waistcoat *bandi* or *pairan* at 3d. to 7  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (2-5 as.); a cap at 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 6d. (1-4 as.); a *chanchi* or bag with pockets at 6d. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -1). If the cloth is supplied by the customer, the sewing charges are for a coat 9d. to 2s. 6d. (Re.  $\frac{3}{8}$ -1  $\frac{1}{4}$ ), for a waistcoat 3d. to 1s. (2-8 as.), for a sleeveless jacket 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d. (1-2 as.), for a pair of trousers 3d. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{8}$  -1), for a cap 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.), for a *chanchi* or a bag with pockets 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.). They have slang words for money. A rupee is *navyanav*, eight annas *tali*, four annas *pakari*, two annas *chahari*, one anna *poku-dhokle*, half an anna *avru-dhokale*, and a quarter anna *dhokla*. Two rupees are *avru bhurke*, three rupees *udanu bhurke*, four rupees *poku bhurke*, five rupees *mullu bhurke*, six rupees *sel bhurke*, seven rupees *peitru bhurke*, eight rupees *mangi bhurke*, nine rupees *tevsu bhurke*, ten rupees *anglu bhurke*, eleven rupees *epru bhurke*, twelve rupees *regi bhurke*, thirteen rupees *tepru bhurke*, fourteen rupees *chopdu bhurke*, fifteen rupees *tali bhurke*, sixteen rupees *koku khauchkate bhurke*, seventeen rupees *udanu khduchkdte bhurke*, eighteen rupees *dvaru khauchkate bhurke*, nineteen rupees *navydnv khduchkdte bhurke*, twenty rupees *kate bhurke*, twenty-one rupees *navyanav kate bhurke*, twenty-two rupees *dvartdn kate bhurke*, twenty-three rupees *teputdn kdte bhurke*, twenty-four rupees *chopdutan kate bhurke*, twenty-five rupees *talitan kate bhurke*, twenty-six rupees *koku khauch kate tan bhurke*, twenty-seven rupees *udhanu khauch kate tan bhurke*, twenty-eight rupees *dvru khauch kate tan bhurke*, twenty-nine rupees *navydnv khauch kate tan bhurke*, thirty rupees *tan kate bhurke*, thirty-one rupees *eprue tan kate bhurke*, forty rupees *angul khauch kate bhurke*, forty one rupees *avaru kate navyanav bhurke*, fifty rupees *tal bhurke*, sixty rupees *udanu tan kate bhurke*, seventy rupees *udanu katya angul bhurke*, eighty rupees *kati khauch biti bhurke*, ninety rupees *angul khauch biti bhurke*, one hundred rupees *biti bhurke*, one thousand rupees *dhakar*. They worship the ordinary Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their chief objects of worship are Bahiroba, Balaji of Giri, Bhavani, Janai, Jotiba, Khandoba, Satvai, and Vithoba. Their priests are the ordinary Deshasth Brahmans. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and



feasts and go on pilgrimage to Pandharpur and Benares. On the fifth day after the birth of a child on a grindstone in the mother's room an image of Balirama is drawn and on its chest is placed a metal plate or *tak* with an image of the goddess Satvai impressed on it and they are worshipped by the midwife as house gods are worshipped. At night, outside of the mother's room on the wall near the door, are traced with charcoal two inverted or *ultya sultya* pictures of the goddess Satvai, and in the mother's room seven perpendicular lines are drawn and worshipped by the midwife. The mother is held impure for ten days and on the twelfth or thirteenth the child is named by the women of the house. The expenses during the first thirteen days vary from £1 to £1 14s. (Rs.10-17). They are Shudras and do not wear the sacred thread. Their Customs closely resemble those of Marathas. A marriage costs the boy's father £10 to £30 (Rs. 100 - 300) and the girl's father £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25 - 200). They allow widow marriage and practise polygamy. They burn their dead spending £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20) on the funeral. They have a caste council and decide disputes at mass meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school but only for a short time. The use of sewing-machines has much reduced the demand for their work, still as a class they are fairly off.

## SONARS

**Sonars**, or Goldsmiths, are returned as numbering 9240 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Ahir, Lad, Konkani or Daivadnya, [The Daivadnya Sonars claim to be Brahmans. Thaua Statistical Account, Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Part I. 139-140.] Panchal, [An account of Panchal Sonars and Tambats is given in the Sholapur Statistical Account.] and Deshi Sonars, who do not eat together or intermarry. A'HIR-SONARS, who originally probably belonged to the Ahir or herdsman class, say that their proper name is not *Ahir* but *Avheri*, because they at one time slighted *avherne* the Veds, and took to flesh and fish eating and widow-marriage. It is not known when or from what part of the country they came to Poona. According to one account they came from Vadkher, about twelve miles north of Nasik, a hundred and fifty to two hundred years ago. Some say they came from Aurangabad and Others from Upper India or Malwa. They have no divisions. Their surnames are A'nakai, Bhagurkar, Gandapurkar, Jadhav, Patankar, Pingle, Tegudkar, and Vaya. The names in common use among men are Balshert, Gopshet, and Ramshet; and among women Gopikabai, Krishna, and Radhabai. Their family stocks or *gotras* are Bhargav, Jamadagni, Katyayan, and Vashisth. They closely resemble Gujarat Brahmans. They are middle-sized, fair, and good-looking, with regular features. They speak Marathi and use slang or *lidu* words for money, as *pan* for four



*annas*, two *pans* for eight annas, and *managibava* for a rupee. Their houses are the same as those of other middle-class Hindus with brick walls and tiled roofs. Their chief article of furniture is metal and earthen vessels. They generally own a cow or two and some goats and parrots. To build a house costs £20 to £400 (Es. 200 - 4000), and to rent a house costs 3a. to £1 10s. (Rs. 1½-15) a month. Their staple food is rice, split pulse, and vegetables, and once or twice a week fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, and domestic fowls. They drink liquor occasionally and do not object to eat the flesh of the hare or the deer. They are much given to smoking tobacco; no goldsmith's shop is without its pipe. At their feasts, like Brahmans they prepare several sweet dishes, costing 6d. to 9d. (4-6 as.) a guest A family of five spends £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20) a month on food. Both men and women are clean and neat. The men dress like Maratha Brahmans in a waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth, large flat turban, and square-toed shoes. The women do not draw a shawl over the head, and do not deck their hair with flowers; they say the wearing of flowers in the hair belongs to prostitutes and dancing girls. They do not wear false hair, but mark their brows with red-powder. Their ornaments are the same as those worn by Brahman women. Formerly they wore silver ornaments and a gold *moti* in the nose; now they prefer either to wear hollow gold ornament or to go without ornaments altogether rather than wear silver nose-rings or a gold instead of a pearl *moti*. A few keep clothes in store, and the yearly cost of clothes varies from £4 to £7 (Rs. 40- 70). They are clean, hardworking, even-tempered, hospitable, and orderly. They make and mend gold and silver ornaments, set gems, and work in precious stones, and a few are moneylenders. To open a shop a goldsmith must have 'at least £1' (Sta. 10). They work to order and make 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20) a month. Their craft hereditary. Boys begin to help after ten or twelve and are skilled workers at fifteen. The names of some of the ornaments they make are, for the head, *kekat* of gold one and half to two *tolas* and costing 3s. to 4s. (Rs. 1½-2) a *tola* to make; *kevda* of gold, one to one and a half *tolas* and costing 3s. to 4s. (Rs. 1½-2) a *tola* to make; *rakhdi* of gold one to two *tolas* and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) a *tola* to make; *muda* of gold, one to one and a half *tolas* costing 2s. (Rs. 1) a *tola* to make; *nag* or cobra of gold one to two costing weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) a *tola* to make; *sules* or nags of gold, five seven or eleven in number, together weighing one to two *tolas* and costing 4s. (Rs. 2) to make; a pair of gold *gondes* six *mases* to one *tola* in weight and costing 2s. (Rs. 1) to make; *phirkichi phule* either of gold or silver weighing six *mases* to two *tolas* and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) to make. For the ears, *bugdis* of gold with forty to fifty sixty ninety or even as many as a hundred pearls, six *mases* to one *tola* in weight and costing 2s. (Rs. 1) to make; *kap* of gold and pearls, the pearls numbering fifty to two hundred and the gold weighing one to one and a half *tolas* and costing

4s. (Rs. 2) to make; *velebalya* with twenty to thirty pearls costing 2s. (Re. 1) to make; *pankhabdlya*, *kasbaly*, or *kasavbalya* of gold varying in value from £1 to £10 (Rs. 10-100) and costing 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) to make; *bhigabali* of gold six *mases* to one *tola* in weight having two pearls and one coloured glass pendant or drop, and costing '3d. to 1s. (2-8 as.) to make; *chavkada* of gold six *mases* to one and a half *tolas* in weight, valued at £5 to £50 (Rs. 50 - 500) and costing 2s. to 3s. (Rs. 1-1½) to make; *kudkichi jute* of gold, weighing three to nine *masas* having six pearls and a diamond in the middle, valued at 10s. to £10 (Rs. 5-100) and costing 3d. 9d. or 1s. (2, 6, or 8 as.) to make. For the nose, *nath* of gold, six *masas* to two *tolas* in weight, with sixteen to twenty-five pearls and a diamond in the middle, is valued at £6 to £50 (Rs. 60-500) and costs 1s. to 2s. (Re. 4-1) to make. For the neck, *thusya* or *ghagrya* of gold four to ten *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 - 2) a *tola* to make; *tika* of gold, six *mases* to two *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) to make; *sari* of gold five to twenty *tolas* in weight and costing 3d. (2 as.) a *tola* to make; *putalyachi-mal* of gold having twelve to fifty coins costing 3d. (2 as.) to make; *javachi-mal* of gold three to eight *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 -2) to make; *bar-mal* of gold one to two *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 -2) to make *kantha* of gold five to twelve *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. (Re. 1) the *tola* to make; *panpot* or *tandali* of gold one to three *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. (Re. 1) to make; *chinchpatya* or tamarind-leaf of gold one to three *tolas* in weight having forty to two hundred pearls and costing 2a. to 8s. (Rs. 1-4) to make; *mangalsutra* or the lucky thread of gold two *mases* in weight and costing 6d. (4 as.) to make; *gap* of gold weighing one *sher* to five *shers* and costing 4s. (Rs. 2) a *sher* to make; *chandrahar* of gold six *tolas* to two *shers* in weight and costing 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) a *tola* to make; *kanthi* of gold one to four *tolas* in weight having ten to a hundred pearls and a diamond and costing 2a to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) a *tola* to make. For the hands, *patlya* of gold one to twelve *tolas* in weight and costing 1 ½d. (1 a.) a *tola*, but if they are made hollow 2s. (Re. 1) a *tola*; *gots* or *kakans* of gold, twelve to twenty-four *tolas* in weight and costing 11/2d. (1 a.) a *tola* to make; *kangnya* of gold five to seven *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. (Re. 1) to make; *tode* of gold sixteen to twenty-six or thirty *tolas* in weight and costing 6d. (4 as.) a *tola* to make; *dandolya* or *vakya* of gold eight to sixteen *tolas* in weight and costing 6d. (4 as.) a *tola* to make; *bajuhands* of gold two to four *tolas* in weight and costing 2s. (Re. 1) to make; *kadi* of gold eight to fifty *tolas* in weight and costing 1 ½d. (1 a.) a *tola* to make; *angthya* of gold, set with gems, weighing one to two *tolas* in weight and costing 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a *tola* to make; *jodvis* of gold two to four *tolas* in weight and costing 1s. (8 as.) a *tola* to make. For the feet, *sakhalya* of silver twenty-five to one hundred *tolas* in weight, and costing ¾d. to 1½d. (½-1 a.) a *tola* to make; *vale* of silver one to ten *tolas* in weight and costing 3d. (2

as.) a *tola* to make; *tordya* or *paijan* of silver ten to twenty-five *tolas* in weight and costing 6d. (4 as.) a *tola* to make; *ran-jodvi* of silver four *tolas* in weight and costing 1 ½d. (1 a.) the *tola* to make; *jodvis* of silver eight to sixteen *folas* in weight and costing 1 ½d. (1 a.) a *tola*, to make; *virolya* of silver six to eight *tolas* in weight and costing 1s. to 2s. (Re. ½-1) to make; *masolya* of silver four to six *tolas* in weight and costing 1 ½d. (1 a.) a *tola* to make; and *phule* of silver five and a half to six *tolas* in weight and costing 1½d. (1 a.) a *tola* to make. The names of some of their tools and appliances are the *airan* or anvil costing 2s. to 10s. (Rs.1-5); *hatodis* or hammers costing 1s. to 2s. (Re.½-1); *sandsi* or tongs costing 3d. (2 as.) ; *savana* or nippers 3d. (2 as.) ; *katris* or scissors 6d. to 2s. (Re.¼-1) the pair; *kamokhi* or tongs 1s. to 2s. (Re. ½-1); a *jantra* or wire-drawer 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-4); an *othani* or metal mould 1s. to 2s. (Re. ½-1); a *kundi* or stone-jar 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.); a *kanas* or file 6d. to 2s. (Re.¼-1; a *bhatti* or earthen kiln 6d. (4 as.); a *mus* or earthen mould ¾d. (½ a.); a *taraju* or pair of scales 1s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. ½-1¼); weights 1s. to 4s. 6d (Rs. 1- 24); a *kunchle* or brush 1s. to 1s. 6d. (8-12 as.); and a *chimta* or pair of pincers 3d, (2 as.). Sonars generally work from six to twelve in the day and again from two to seven or eight in the evening. They spend £2 to £4 (Rs. 20- 40) on the birth of a boy, and £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30) on the birth of a girl. A boy's naming costs 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), and a girl's 4s. to 6s. (Rs.2 -3); a boy's marriage costs £20 to £40 (Rs. 200-400), and a girl's £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150); a girl's coming of age costs £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100); a first pregnancy £3 to £5 (Rs. 30-50); and a death £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25). They worship goddesses rather than gods and their chief goddess is Saptashringi. They have house images of a number of gods of brass, copper, and stone, and either employ Brahman priests or perform the worship themselves. They keep the Usual Hindu fasts and feasts, and their priests are Konkanasth Brahmans, whom they greatly respect. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days. Except in the following particulars their customs are the same as those of Marathas. They do not invest their boys with the sacred thread, and as a rule on pain of loss of caste marriage invitations must be sent to the houses of all castemen. At each corner of the wooden stool on which the boy and girl are bathed four earthen water jars are piled and a thread is five times passed round them and is hung round the necks of the boy and girl. On the marriage day, both at the boy's and at the girl's, five married women and other kinswomen go to the village temple of Maruti with five earthen jars filled with cold water and a winnowing fan in which another earthen jar is set and rolled round with thread and a piece of bodicecloth. In the shrine they bow to the god, return with music, and set the earthen jars and the winnowing fan before the house gods as the marriage guardian or *devak*. When the boy goes to the girl's house to be married, the washerwoman of the girl's family comes forward and ties

pieces of turmeric root to the right wrist of the boy and the left wrist of the girl. Sonars are bound together as a body, and they settle their social disputes at caste meetings. During the last ten years they have levied a marriage tax of 6s. (Rs.3), the boy's father paying two and the girl's-father one rupee. With this money they have *built* a caste house and intend to build another when they have funds enough. They send their boys to school till they are ten or twelve and have learnt a little reading writing and counting. As a class they are well-to-do.

## TAMBATS

**Ta'mbats**, or Coppersmiths, are returned as numbering 1106 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Konkani, Panchals, and Gujars, who neither eat together nor intermarry. According to their own story the founder of the Konkani coppersmiths was Mundhahu whose history is given in the *Kalikapuran*. They say they came from the Konkani about a hundred years ago. The names of their chief family stocks or *gotras* are Angira, Atri, Bharadvaj, Bhrigu, Jamadagni, and Kashyap. Members of the same family stock cannot intermarry. Their surnames are Dandekar, Dese, Kadu, Karde, Lanjekar, Lombare, Phule, Pimpale, Potphode, Salvi, Sapte, and Vadke. Sameness of surname is not a bar to marriage. The names in common use among men are Ganpat, Hari, Raghoba, Raoji, Savalaran, and Vithoba; and among women Chima, Goda, Kashibai, Lakshmi, and Radha. They are of middle stature, stout, and muscular. They are said to suffer from a disease of the bowels called *chip* of which many of their young children die. They speak Marathi and live in houses of the better sort one or more storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs. The furniture includes metal and clay vessels, cots, bedding, boxes, and cradles. They eat fish and flesh, and drink liquor and their staple food is millet and vegetables. They dine in a silk or woollen waistcloth and give feasts of sweet cakes, sugared milk, and rice flour balls. The men and women dress like Deccan Brahmans, the men in a waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, shouldercloth, and turban folded in Deccan Brahman fashion ; and the women in a long full Maratha robe. The names of some of the vessels they make are, for holding water *ghdgar*, *hdnria* and *tapele*; for cooking *bagune patch*; for covering *jhakni*, *rakabi*, and *shibe* ; for plates *parath* and *tarman*; for bathing *ghangal*; for making cakes *parat*; for drinking *gadve* and *tambe*; for storing water *jamb*, *jhari*, *khodva*, *nand*, *panchpatris*, *phulpatra*, *rampatra*, and *vadga*; for holding things *dabe* and *karande* ; for cups *vatya* ; for heating water or oil *kadhaj*; for ladles, *kaltha*, *pal*, *pali*, and *thavar*. They sell brass vessels at 1s. 1½d. (13 as.) and copper vessels at 2s. 6d. (Rs.1¼) the pound. They also make small articles, children's toys, combs, inkstands, betel boxes, chairs, tables, cots, cradles, dolls, stools both high and low,



and kettles varying in value from 3/4d. to £2 (Rs. ½ 2-20). They work from early morning and sometimes from before daybreak till noon and again after a short nap from one or two to seven. They employ boys above fifteen and pay them 8s. to 12s. (Rs. 4-6) a month without food. They generally work for Marwari Vani and other wholesale dealers and shopkeepers and are paid 1s. to 1s. 6d. (8-12 as.) a day. They also deal in bangles, their women making lac and wire bracelets. They hold themselves as high if not higher in rank than Deshasth Brahmans, and far above Konkanasths, who, they say, are Parashuram's creation. Their women do not help them in their calling. A family of five spends £1 to £1 12s. (Rs. 10 -16) a month on food, and £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30) a year on dress. A house costs to build £10 to £60 (Rs. 100-600) and to rent 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 -2) a month. Their house-hold goods and furniture are worth £7 to £200 (Rs. 70-2000). A birth costs them 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), a hair-cutting 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-5), a thread-girding £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25), the marriage of a boy £7 10s. to £10 (Rs. 75-100) and of a girl £5 to £7 (Rs. 50-70), a girl's coming of age £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30), and a man's death £1 to £1 12s. (Rs. 10-16), a widow's 16s. to £1 (Rs. 8-10), and a married woman's £1 4s. to £1 16s. (Rs. 12-18). They worship the usual Hindu gods and goddesses. Their family deities are Bahiri, Bhavani, Chandika, Ekvira, Khandoba, Kuvarika, and Mahalakshmi. Their family priests are Deshasth Brahmans whom they call to perform birth, thread-girding, marriage, death, and anniversary ceremonies. They are more given to the worship of goddesses than of gods, and the goddess Kalika is their chief object of worship. They make pilgrimages to Benares, Prayag, Alandi, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur; and keep all Hindu fasts and feasts. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles and numbers. A woman stays at her husband's house for her first confinement. After the child is born the mother is washed from head to foot in warm water. The goddess Satvai is worshipped on the fifth or seventh day after a birth and her image is tied round the child's neck or arm. The mother and the family are impure for ten days. On the twelfth the child is named by some elderly woman. Twelve dough lamps are made. Four of them are set one near each leg of the cradle and cot, one on each side of the mother when she sits near the cot on a low wooden stool, one near the bathing pit, and one near the *tulsi* plant. Boys have their hair cut with scissors before they are twelve months old, and are girt with the sacred thread before they are eight. They marry their girls before they are ten and their boys before they are twenty. They allow widow marriage, but if a widow chooses she may shave her head, when she is past forty. They have a caste council, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school. The competition of foreign copper and brass sheets has deprived the Tambats of much of their former trade. As a class they are said not to be prosperous.



## TELIS

**Telis**, or Oilmen, are returned as numbering 8710 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Pardeshi, Shanvar, Somvar, and Lingayat Telis. Of these the Shanvar Telis are Beni-Israelis, the Somvar Telis are Marathas who do not differ from Maratha Kunbis, and the Lingayat Telis do not differ from other Lingayats. None of these subdivisions eat together or intermarry. The Maratha or Somvar Telis are the same as cultivating Marathas, and look and live like them. Their houses are like Maratha houses except that on the veranda or in the back part of the house there is an oil-mill or *ghana*. A Teli's house costs £20 to £40 (Rs. 200-400) to buy and 1s. to 4s. (Rs. ½ - 2) a month to rent. They have bullocks and servants whom they pay 8s. to 12s. (Rs. 4-6) a month. Their staple food includes millet bread and split pulse, and occasionally rice. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. A family of five spend 14s. to 16s. (Rs. 7-8) a month on food and drink. Their feasts cost them 16s. to £2 (Rs. 8-20) for every hundred guests. They both chew and smoke tobacco. They breakfast early, dine at noon, take a nap for about a couple of hours, and sup at nine. The men wear the loincloth, waistcloth, coat, waistcoat, Brahman or Maratha turban, and shoes. The women dress like Brahman women in a bodice with a back and short sleeves and a full robe whose skirt is drawn back between the feet and tucked in behind. They do not wear false hair or deck their heads with flowers. They are hardworking, sober, thrifty, and strongly made, and their women are proverbially fair and well-featured. Some extract oil from cocoanut, sesarum, Momordia charantia or *karla*, Carthamus tinctorious or *kardi*, groundnuts, the fruit of the oilnut tree or *uhdi*, and the hogplum or *ambada*. Others are husbandmen, labourers, cartdrivers, messengers, and oilcake-sellers. To distinguish them from Beni-Israelis or Shanvar Telis that is Saturday Oilmen, they are called Somvar Telis or Monday Oilmen because they are said not to work on Mondays. Except during the rains they are employed and earn 3d. to 1s. (2- 8 as.) a day. Their women help them and their boys from the age of twelve or fourteen. When they hire workmen they pay them 3d. to 4½d. (2-3 as.) a day without food. Few oilmen have capital and none are rich. They sell oil in their houses or go about kawkig it. In religion they are Smarts and have house images of Ganpati, Maruti, and other Hindu gods and goddesses. They keep all Hindu fasts and feasts and their priests are Deshasth Brahmans. Their customs are generally the same as the Maratha customs. On the fifth day after a child is born they worship the goddess Satvai, and they name the child on the twelfth or thirteenth day. Girls are generally married before they come of age and boys before they are twenty-five. They allow widow marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They burn their dead. They settle social disputes at mass

meetings of the caste. They suffer from the competition of kerosine oil and are falling to the position of labourers. They do not send their boys to school and at present are somewhat depressed.

## ZAREKARIS

**Zarekaris**, or Dust-washers, are returned as numbering twenty and as found only in Poona and Haveli. They believe that they came from Aurangabad and the Nizam's country during the Peshwa's supremacy. They have no divisions and their surnames are Povar, Thombre, and Toke, and families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Baloba, Bhanu, Kashinath, and Rangoba; and among women Bhavani, Ganga, Guna, Mana, and Rangu. They look like Marathas and speak Marathi. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. They live in houses of the poorer sort, one storey high, with tiled roofs. Their household furniture includes boxes, cots, cradles, blankets, carpets, and quilts, and earthen and metal vessels. Their staple food is millet bread, split pulse, vegetables, and pounded chillies. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. Their holiday dishes are mutton and sugar-cakes. Both men and women dress like Brahmans, but their women do not deck their heads with flowers or use false hair. They are a hardworking frugal people. They buy the ashes and sweepings of a goldsmith's shop for  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{1}{3}2-1$ ) a heap, wash them, and search for gold and silver dust. They also search the ashes at the burning ground in Poona where they find small fragments of gold or silver which have been burnt with the dead, and examine market-places being rewarded by a chance bead or a lost copper or silver coin. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their family god is Khandoba and their priests are Deshasth Brahmans. They keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, and make pilgrimages to Chatarshringi, Jejuri and Pandharpur. They practise child-marriage widow-marriage and polygamy. They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school and are a poor people.

## POPULATION

### MUSICIANS

### MUSICIANS

**Musicians** included two classes [An account of Naikins is given in the Satara Statistical Account.] with a strength of 6229 or 0.73 per cent of the Hindu population. Of these 271 (males 108, females 163) were Ghadses, and 5958 (males 3014, females 2944) Guravs.

### GHADSES

**Ghadses**, or Musicians, are returned as numbering 271 and as found over the whole district except in Maval and Junnar. They say that when Ram was being married to Sita there were no musicians, so Ram made three images of sandalwood, and, breathing life into them, gave one the drum called *sambal* and the other two the pipes called *sur* and *sanai*. According to another story Ravan was their patron and gave the whole of the Deccan to the Ghadses. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Bhosle, Jadhav, Jagtap, More, Povar, Salunke, and Shinde; people with the same surname eat together but do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bhaguji, Bhovani, Chima, and Savlya; and among women Bhagirathi, Chima, Ganga, and Rukhmini. They are generally dark and middle-sized and look more like Mhars than Kunbis. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. Their home tongue is Marathi, and in house food and dress they differ little from Kunbis. They are hardworking, even-tempered frugal, and hospitable, but fond of pleasure. They play on the drum and pipes and are good singers. Their instruments are the *sanai* costing 10s. (Rs. 5), the *sur* 4s. (Rs. 2), the *sambal* £1 (Rs. 10), and the kettledrum or *nagara* £2 (Rs. 20). During the marriage season they are very busy and on holidays and in the evening amuse people with songs. A family of five spends 14s. to £1 (Rs. 7-10) a month on food, and £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25) a year on clothes. Their furniture and goods

vary in value from £4 to £8 (Rs. 10-80). A birth costs them £1 (Rs. 10), a hair-clipping 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5), the marriage of a boy £10 to 15 (Rs. 100-150), the marriage of a girl £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100), and a death £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25). Their religious and social customs do not differ from those of Kunbis, and, except that men who have married widows are buried, they generally burn their dead. The unmarried are carried in a blanket or *jholi* on the shoulders of two men; others are laid on a bier. They allow widow marriage and practise polygamy; polyandry is unknown. They settle disputes at caste meetings. They are generally poor and are little patronised by high-caste and well-to-do Hindus.

### GURAVS

**Guravs** are returned as numbering 5958 and as found over the whole district. They say they have been in the district more than three hundred years, but they have no tradition of their origin of any former settlement. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Bedse, Bohiravkar, and Borkar, who eat together and intermarry. The names in common use among men are Dhondiba, Kondiba, Martand, and Mahadev; and among women Dhondi, Kashi, Kondi, Krishnabai, and Venubai. They look like Marathas. Some of the men wear the top-knot and moustache, while others dress like Gosavis with matted hair and beards and bodies rubbed with ashes. Their home tongue is Marathi and their houses are like those of middle-class Hindus averaging £10 to £150 (Rs. 100-1500) in value. Most families keep a few cattle and their houses are fairly supplied with earthen and metal cooking and drinking vessels. Their staple food is Indian millet millet rice and vegetables, and they neither eat fish nor flesh nor drink liquor. A family of five spends 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-8) a month on food, and £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30) a year on dress. They dress either like Deccan Brahmans or Marathas. The women wear the bodice and the full Maratha robe passing the skirt back between the feet and tucking it into the waist behind. They beg and are hereditary servants in Shiv's temple living on the offerings made to the god. They are good musicians playing the drums called *pakhvaj* and *chaughada* and the clarion or *sanai* at marriages or as an accompaniment to dancing-girls. They make leaf-plates and saucers and sell them to villagers. They are believed to have power over the god whose servants they are, and are much respected by the lower classes. They are Shaivs in religion and have house images of

Bhavani, Ganpati, and Khandoba. They have priests belonging to their own caste, and in their absence call Deshasth Brahmans to their houses. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they worship the child's navel cord which was cut on the first day after birth. They place it on a stone or *pata*, with sandal, turmeric, and redpowder, and lay before it cooked rice, split pulse, *methi* or fenugreek, and wheat cakes or *polis*. In the evening a drawn sword with a lemon stuck in its point is placed in the corner near the mother's head, or if there is no sword a small stalk of *jvari* or Indian millet is laid near each of the legs of the mother's cot. The women of the house stay awake during the night to prevent the child being carried off by Satvai. On the twelfth day the mother worships seven pebbles outside of the house and some old woman of the house names the child. A boy's hair is cut when he is one to three years old and five married women are feasted. The expenses in the first twelve days after a death vary from 10s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 5-12). They gird their boys with the sacred thread between five and ten and spend 10s. to £5 (Rs. 5 - 50) on the ceremony. They marry their girls between five and nine, and their boys between ten and twenty-five. A girl's marriage costs £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20), and a boy's marriage £10 to £12 10s. (Rs. 100-125). They burn their dead except children below three whom they bury. A death costs them £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20). They have a headman or *mehetrya* who settles social disputes in consultation with the men of the caste. A person who has been put out of caste is not allowed to come back until he gives a caste feast or some betel packets. As a class Guravs are poor.



## POPULATION

### SERVANTS

### SERVANTS

**Servants** included two classes with a strength of 16,330 or 1.92 per cent of the Hindu population. Of these 10,155 (males 5252,, females 4903) were Nhavis or barbers; and 6175 (males 3068, females 3107) Parits or washermen.

### NHAVIS

**Nha'vis**, or Barbers, are returned as numbering 10,155 and as found over the whole district. They say the founder of their class was the serpent Shesh that encircled Shiv's neck and who was told to take human form at the time of the thread ceremony of the god Brahma. For this reason they hold themselves superior to Brahmans and other castes, even to the god Vishnu. They say it was not Brahma who cheated the universe, but Shiv for, before the creation, of the universe, Shiv and the serpent Shesh were in existence. They are divided into Gangatirkar Nhavis, Ghati Nhavis, Gujarati Nhavis Khandeshi Nhavis, Kunbi Nhavis, Madrasi Nhavis, Marwari Nhavis, Pardeshi Nhavis, Tailang Nhavis, Vaideshi Nhavis, and Vajantri Nhavis. Of these Kunbi and Ghati Nhavis eat together; none of the subdivisions intermarry. The Gangatirkar or Godatvari Nhavis Ghati or Sahyadri Nhavis, Kunbi or husbandman Nhavis, Vajantri or musician Nhavis, and Vaideshi or Nhavis from Vai in Satara, come under Marathi Nhavis, to whom the following particulars apply. The surnames and the names in common use both for men and women are the same as those of Marathas, and Nhavis do not differ from other Marathas in appearance, speech, house, food, or dress. They are quiet orderly people, hardworking but extravagant, showy and fond of talk and gossip. They are barbers, and as village servants bleed and supply torches, and their women act as mid wives. Many enjoy the sole right of shaving in certain villages for which the husbandmen pay them a small share of their crops At marriages

they hold umbrellas over the heads of the bride and bridegroom. Besides this Gangatirkar, Kunbi, and Vajantri Nhavis act as musicians at marriages and other ceremonies, and Khandeshi Nhavis act as torch-bearers. The rates charged by barbers of the different subdivisions vary little. For shaving the *head* of a boy of less than twelve they charge 3/8d. (1/4 *a*), for a beardless youth above twelve 3/4d. (1/2 *a*.), and for a man 1d. or 1½d. (3/4 -1 *a*.), though they are sometimes paid as much as 3d (2 *as*.). Their women do not help except by acting as midwives and attending some of the richer women of the village. Boys begin to learn to shave when they are twelve years old. An earthen jar is whitewashed or rubbed with wet ashes, and the boy is told to scrape it slowly with a razor. A barber makes 14s. to £2 (Rs.7-20) a month. His appliances are razors or *vastaras* both country made and European, a pair of pincers or *chimtas*, a pair of scissors or *kataris*, an instrument for paring the nails or *narani*, a razor-strap or *palatne* of leather, a *shilai* or stone, a *kangva* or comb, a cup or *vati*, a handkerchief or *rumal*, a looking glass or *arasa*, a leather bag or *dhokti*, a bottle or *kupi*, a brush or *burus*, and soap or *saban*, together valued at 2s. to £1 12s. (Rs. 1-16). A family of five spends £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20) a month on food and about £2 (Rs. 20) a year on clothes. A house costs £10 to £30 (Rs. 100-300) to build, and 2s. (Rs. 1) a month to hire. The birth of a child costs 10s. to £1 (Rs 5-10), the marriage of a boy £6 to £10 (Rs. 60-100), the marriage of a girl £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50), and a deaths £1 to £4 (Rs. 10-40). In religion they do not differ from Kunbi. They claim the right to wear the sacred thread, but this right the Brahmans deny. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they worship the goddess Satvai with pomegranate or *dalimb* flowers, and offer her wheat bread, rice, and vegetables. On the morning of the twelfth day the mother sprinkles water, scent, and flowers over seven pebbles outside of the house. In the evening the child is cradled and named by married women. They clip a child's hair between its fourth month and its third year. They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. Their marriages do not differ from Maratha marriages, and their marriage-guardian or *devak* is the *panehpallav* or the five-leaf god the four figs and the mango. During the marriage ceremony the bride and bridegroom stand face to face on two bamboo baskets. They either bury or burn their dead. They allow widow-marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. They have no headman and their social disputes are settled at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school for a short, time.

They are steady and well-to-do but none have risen to any high position.

The TAILANG NHAIVIS say that they came from the Telugu country about a hundred years ago. They are divided into Sajans and Shirbajs, who neither eat together nor intermarry. They are dark and short. The men wear the top-knot and moustache, but not the beard. Their home tongue is Telugu; with others they speak Marathi. They are clean, neat, hardworking, orderly, and talkative. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. They are fond of sour things and their staple food is millet, rice, split pulse, and vegetables. A family of five spend £1 4s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 12 -15) a month on food, and some shillings more (Re. 1/2-1) on liquor. The men dress in a waistcloth, coat, jacket, headscarf, and shoulder cloth; and the women in a black or red Maratha robe and bodice, the skirt of the robe being drawn back between the feet and tucked in at the waist behind, while the upper end is drawn over the head. They spend £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15 - 20) a year on dress. They are either Shaivs or Vaishnavs, and worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their family goddesses are Mhaishama and Ellama whose temples are in their native country. Their priests, who are either Jangams or Deshasth Brahmans, officiate at their houses on occasions of marriage and death. When a child is born it is laid on the cot beside its mother, and a dagger with a lemon stuck in its point and a cane are kept near the head of the bed. The women stay awake the whole night and the mother is considered unclean for ten days. Their children, whether boys or girls, are named either on the twelfth or the thirteenth day after birth and a feast is given to five married women. During the thirteen days after a birth expenses vary from 6s. to £1 (Rs.3- 10). When the child is between a year and a half and five years old its head, whether it is a boy or a girl, is shaved. The child is seated on the lap of a male relation and the hair is clipped by another and five married women are feasted; the ceremony costs 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2). They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. They have no marriage guardian or *devak*. A day before the marriage they go to the temple of the village Maruti, wave a lighted lamp before him, and return home. They make no marriage porch or altar, but in a room in the house raise four piles of six earthen jars each. On the marriage day they ask a couple of married women to dine and feed them on rice and pulse. After they have dined the women

take the girl in their arms and go to the boy's without either men or music. The boy and girl are seated on a mat face to face and a cloth is held between them. The Brahman priest repeats verses and after he has thrown grains of rice over the boy's and girl's heads, they are husband and wife. They then change places, the boy taking the girl's place and the girl the boy's. A cotton thread is passed fourteen times round them, dyed yellow with turmeric, cut, one-half tied round the boy's and the other half round the girl's right wrist. The hems of the boy's and girl's clothes are knotted together and they are taken before the house gods, where they make a bow and the knot is untied. They are served with sugared milk or *khir* in a metal plate and feed one another. The maternal uncle of the boy takes the girl on his shoulders and the maternal uncle of the girl takes the boy, and they dance in front of the house while the sisters of both keep throwing in the air handfuls of wheat flour and turmeric. 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 - 2) of liquor is brought and drunk by the men. On the two following days feasts are held at the boy's house and the *sade* ceremony is performed on the third day, the girl's father presenting the boy with a turban and sash, and the boy's father presenting the girl with a robe and bodice. At night a procession is formed and the boy and girl are seated on horses and paraded through the chief streets of the village accompanied by music. Next day the earthen jars are divided among married women, and the Brahman priest unties the threads from the boy's and girl's wrists. On the following day the girl is taken to her father's where the boy's party goes to dine and the marriage is over. The boy's and girl's fathers each give 8s. 3d. (Rs. 4  $\frac{1}{8}$ ) to the caste to send invitations, and 14s. (Rs. 7) for liquor in honour of the marriage. A marriage costs the boy's father £7 10s. to £10 (Rs. 75 - 100) and the girl's £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25 - 50). When a girl comes of age she is taken to her husband's house and seated by herself for four days, and on the fifth day she is bathed and her lap filled with fruit, and the girl's mother presents the boy and girl with clothes. The ceremony costs £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20). When a death occurs the whole caste is told. If the death happens after seven at night the funeral does not take place till next morning. Sometimes if death happens at six in the morning the funeral does not take place till three. The body is washed in warm water, dressed in a flax waistcloth and seated on a wooden stool outside of the house, supported by a friend on each side. A flower-seller stands with garlands in his hands, and each mourner buys one garland for about 1/2d. (1/3a.) and fastens it round the dead neck. The body is laid on the bier and the chief

mourner, taking an earthen jar with burning cowdung cakes, walks in front of the bier preceded by music. About half-way to the burning ground the bier is set down and grains of rice are thrown over it. It is then taken to the burning ground and the body is either burnt or buried. When the body is buried the fire which the chief mourner brought is thrown away. A lighted lamp is set on the spot where the deceased breathed his last, and the funeral party, coming back to the house of mourning, take grass in their hands, and throw it near the lamp, and sit outside on the veranda. Liquor is served and they return to their homes. On the fourth day the chief mourner with two or four others goes to the burning ground with two earthen jars containing cooked rice and curds, and a metal vessel with water. If the deceased was buried, the mourner passes his hand over the grave; if he was burnt, the mourner gathers the ashes, sprinkles cold water over them, offers rice balls, and does not leave till a crow has touched one of the balls. The earthen jars with the rest of the rice and curds are left there and the mourners bathe and return home. On the fifth a cook is called in at the mourner's house, and the four bearers are feasted and treated to liquor. On the tenth the chief mourner's moustache is shaved, and, if they can afford it, rice balls are offered to the spirit of the dead or uncooked food is given to the priest. Either on the twelfth or thirteenth castefellows are dined and liquor is served. The funeral expenses vary from £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). They hold a feast a year after the death, offer rice balls, and feast castefellows. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They complain that they are not so well off as they were, because, they say, people do not have their heads so often shaved. With the use of palanquins and night journeys the use of torches has almost died out, and they say they do not as before get presents of old clothes, food, or money.

## PARITS

**Parits**, or Washermen, are returned as numbering 6175 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Marathi, Konkani, Pardeshi, and Kamathi Parits, who neither eat together nor intermarry. Among Marathi washermen the surnames and the names of, both men and women are the same as those used by Maratha Kunbis, and Marathi Parits do not differ from Marathi Kunbis in look, speech, house, dress, or character. Their religious and social customs are also the same. Parits generally



wear articles of dress which have been sent them to be washed as the proverb says, The show is the washerman's, the clothes are another's. [The Marathi runs: *Paritacha daul dusaryache panghrunavar.*] Their hereditary work is washing clothes. They wash outside the village in some river or pond and charge 5/8 d. to 2¼d. (¼-1½ as.) for each piece, or double and treble this rate if they are new clothes. They are paid in cash or in grain either when they bring back the clothes, or once a month, or once a year. In washing their clothes they use *papadkhar* or impure carbonate of soda, *saban* or soap, *nil* or indigo, and *kanji* or rice-starch. To wash one hundred pieces requires about one pound of soda, a quarter of a pound of soap, *one tola* or 210 grains of indigo, and one and a quarter pounds of starch. Their appliances are an *istari* or iron costing 10s. to £4 (Rs. 5-40), a *satil* or copper vessel costing 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5 - 20), and a *mogara* or wooden hammer worth about 1s. (8 as.). They are helped by their women and children in collecting clothes, drying them, and giving them back to their owners. A family of fire spends £1 to £1 4s. (Ra. 10-12) a month on food, and nothing on clothes as they wear clothes that are sent them to wash. A house costs £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200) to build, and the furniture is worth £3 to £10 (Rs. 30 - 100). A birth costs about 4s. (Rs.2), a hair-clipping 2s. to 6s. (Rs. 1 - 3), a marriage £5 to £15 (Rs. 5-150), and a death 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10). They do not send their boys to school, and are a steady people.

## POPULATION

### SHEPHERDS

### SHEPHERDS

**Shepherds** included two classes with a strength of 37,601 or 4.43 per cent of the Hindu population. Of these 35,595 (males 17,745, females 17,850) were Dhangars, and 2,006 (males 1,070, females 936) Gavlis.

### DHANGARS

**Dhangars**, apparently originally Dhangars or Cowmen, with a strength of 35,595, are found over the whole district. A large number of Shivaji's most trusted Mavalis or Maratha footmen were west-Poona Dhangars, and many of the bravest Maratha leaders among whom the Holkars are the most distinguished, belonged to this tribe. The class is commonly known as Hatgar-Dhangar which in Marathi is supposed to mean obstinate, but the word is apparently of Dravidian origin. They say they came into the district from Phaltan in Satara where the tribe musters strong. They have no subdivisions and their surnames are Gavde, Ghodke, Kamble, Kende, and Koke; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Appa, Narayan, Pandu, Rakhmaji, Satvaji, and Thakuji; and among women Janabai, Mirabai, Rakhmabai, Saku, and Salu. The men are generally dark and strong. Except the top-knot they shave the head and the face except the moustache and in a few cases the whiskers. In language, house, dress, and food they resemble Maratha husbandmen. They are dirty, but hospitable, thrifty, and free from crime. They are shepherds, cattle-breeders, and cattle-sellers generally rearing buffaloes rather than cows, and they also work as husbandmen and as day-labourers. The women help the men spinning wool and selling milk, butter, and curds. They consider themselves the same as Marathas, and eat from Brahmans, Vanis, Marathas, Shimpis, Sonars, and Malis; but not from Ataris, Gkisadis, Buruds, Kacharis, or Sangars, whom they consider

below them. A house costs £20 to £100 (Rs. 200-1000), to build and 1s. to 10s. (Rs. ½£-5) a month to hire. Their house goods vary in value from £2 10s. to £75 (Rs. 25-750), and their servants' monthly wages are 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-8) without food. A family of five spends about £1 (Rs. 10) a month on food and £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50) a year on clothes. A birth costs £1 to £1 4s. (Rs. 10-12), a hair-clipping 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10); a boy's marriage £10 to £12 10s. (Rs. 100-125), a girl's marriage £7 10s. to £10 (Rs. 75-100), a girl's coming of age £4 to £10 (Rs. 40-100), and a death £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40). They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their favourite objects of worship are Khandoba, Bhairoba, and ancestral spirits. They keep *house* images of their gods and employ and respect Deshasth Brahman priests. Their two chief holidays are *Holi* or *Shimga* in March and *Dasara* in October. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Kundanpur, Nasik, Pandharpur, Signapur in Phaltan, and Tuljapur. Their children are named by a Brahman either on the fifth or on the tenth day after birth, and in honour of the ceremony relations and friends are feasted. At six months old both boys and girls have their heads shaved. Girls are married between four months and twelve years and boys between one and twenty years old. The boy's father goes to the girl's and settles the marriage with her father in presence of some members of the tribe. Betelnut and cocoa-kernel are served and the boy's father pays £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40) in cash, and about £3 (Rs. 30) in ornaments. The boy is given a turban, a waistcloth, a pair of shoes, a brass dining dish, and a drinking vessel. The Brahman priest gets 6s. (Rs. 3). The other details are the same as in the case of a Maratha marriage. Neighbours and castemen build a porch in front of the girl's house and are repaid by a dinner. On the marriage day the boy and girl are made to stand on two grindstones each laid in a bamboo basket, and on the four corners of the basket are set blocks of *Umbar* wood. The marriage ceremony is in other details the same as among Marathas. After the marriage the girl remains with her parents and does not go to her new home till she comes of age. Her going is marked by a feast to friends and relations. They either bury or burn their dead according to the custom of the house. When the body is burnt the ashes are removed on the twelfth day and the bones are gathered and buried. On the twelfth and thirteenth dinners are given. The dinner on the twelfth is simply rice and pulse; on the thirteenth a goat is killed and its flesh is distributed to as many guests as possible. Those who do not share in the meat content themselves with buttermilk. The son of the deceased is

presented with a turban or with 3d. to 2s. (Re. 1/8-1) in cash. Some families build a mud tomb over the grave and set stones on it. In honour of the occasion a goat is killed and a dinner is given of rice, split peas, and mutton. They allow widow marriage. Except in the month of *Paush* or December-January, the ceremony can be performed any day from sunrise to sunset. Presents are made to Brahmans and money is paid to the first husband's family without whose consent the marriage cannot take place. A necessary part of the ceremony is the striking together of the widow's and her new husband's heads. The children of the first husband live with his relations, but if there is no one to take charge of them they live with their mother and her husband. The wife and husband, as a rule, must belong to different family stocks. When several families live together in one place, their social disputes are settled by a headman or *patil* chosen by the caste. They are rather poor and have suffered by the spread of forest conservancy. Several have of late settled as husbandmen or begun to serve as labourers. They do not send their boys to school or take to new pursuits.

### GAVLIS

**Gavlis**, or Cowkeepers, are returned as numbering 2006 and as found over the whole district. They do not know when or whence they came into the district. They are divided into Ahirs, Koknis, Marathas, Nagarkars, and Vajarkars, who neither eat together nor intermarry. Their surnames are Alamkhane, Ambarkhane, Bagvan, Bhakares, Dhamakde, Ganjevala, Ghanchakar, Hingmire, Kadekar, Khane, Mahankele, Mardkar, Mongale, Nandarkar, Nizamshai, Pharadkhane, and Shelar; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Damu, Gopal, Laximan, Maruti, Mhadu, Naru, and Savalaram; and among women, Bhagubai, Kondabai, and Ramabai. They are like Marathas in appearance and are strong and dark. The men wear the topknot, moustache, and whiskers, but no beard. They speak Marathi and have houses one or two storeys high with walls of brick or tiled roofs. They are dirty and ill-cared for, and their household goods include boxes, cots, bedding, metal vessels, blankets, and earthen jars. They have servants, and keep cattle, dogs, and parrots. Their staple food is millet, Indian millet, pulse, and vegetable; they do not eat fish or flesh, nor drink liquor. They give marriage and death feasts of sugar cakes. They dress like Marathas in a waistcloth, loincloth, waistcoat, blanket, and

Maratha turban; and their women wear a bodice and a robe hanging like a petticoat without passing the skirt back between the feet. They are sober, thrifty, hardworking, and even-tempered, and sell milk, curds, butter, and whey. They sell milk at twenty pints (10 *shers*) the rupee; curds at twenty-four to forty pounds (12-20 *shers*); butter at 2½ pounds (1¼ *shers*) and boiled milk at four to eight pounds (2-4 *shers*). They buy she-buffaloes from Berar Musalmans at prices varying from £2 to £12 (Rs. 20-120), and cows at £2 to £6 (Rs. 20-60). They make coddung cakes and sell them at 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4) the thousand. A she-buffaloe gives three to eight pints (1½-4 *shers*) of milk a day, and a cow two to five pints (1-2½ *shers*). The feed of a cow or of a she-buffaloe costs 8s. to 9s. (Rs. 4-4½) a head a month and leaves a profit of 12s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 6-12) a month on every ten cattle. Their women help in selling milk, butter, curds, and whey and in bringing fodder for the cattle. Their children graze their own and other people's cattle and are paid 3d. (2 *as.*) a month for each cow they herd and 3d. to 7½d. (2-5 *as.*) for each buffalo. A family of five spends 16s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 8-15) a month on food and £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30) a year on clothes. A house costs £20 to £50 (Rs. 200-500) to build and 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4) a month to rent. The servants' wages with food vary from 1s. to 8s. (Rs. ½ - 4) a month. The furniture and house goods vary in value from £2 to £7 10s. (Rs. 20-75). The birth of a son costs 2s. to 6s. (Rs. 1-3), a hair-cutting 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3), a boy's marriage £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200), a girl's £2 10s. to £20 (Rs. 25-200), a girl's coming of age £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25), and a death £1 to £1 12s. (Rs. 10-16). They worship the usual Hindu gods and goddesses, and their family gods are the Mahadev of Signapur, Khandoba of Jejuri, Amba of Tuljapur, Janai, and Kondai. Their priests are Jangams, but they ask Deshasth Brahmins to officiate at their marriages. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Tuljapur Kondanpur, Jejuri, Alandi, and Benares, and keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts giving equal reverence to Mondays and *ekadashis* or lunar elevenths. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. They consider their women impure for ten days after a birth. On the eleventh a Jangam touches the mother's and the child's brow with ashes and they are clean. A new *lingam* is brought by the Jangam, worshipped, and tied round the child's neck. In the evening a new bodicecloth is brought, an image of Satvai is placed on the cloth, and the women of the house worship it in the mother's room with flowers and redpowder offering millet bread. A dough



lamp is kept burning in front of the image and on the morning of the next day the image is tied round the child's neck. On the twelfth day the mother and child are bathed and seven pebbles are worshipped on the roadside by the mother with flowers and red and yellow powders. The child, whether a boy or a girl, is named on the thirteenth, and wet gram is distributed. They clip children's hair both boys' and girls' between the age of three months and five years, and feast a Jangam. They marry their girls before they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. Marriages are settled by the women of the family. The boy's mother with other female relations goes to the girl's house and asks the girl in marriage. If the girl's father agrees the boy's father and other kinsmen go to the girl's and worship a betelnut Ganpati and present the girl with a robe and bodice. Both a Jangam and a Brahman are required to be present at the ceremony. A memorandum is drawn up in which the marriage day and hour are given as well as the day on which the boy and girl should be rubbed with turmeric. Their marriage-guardian or *devak* is five earthen jars filled with pond or well water, which are brought on the heads of five married women, and set near the house gods. On the marriage day the boy is seated on a bullock and taken to the girl's house. Here a piece of bread and curds are waved round his head and he is taken inside the house and seated on a carpet. The girl is seated near him and in front of them are set five earthen jars and two lighted lamps. A cloth is held between the boy and girl, and the Brahman priest repeats marriage verses, and at the end throws grains of rice over their heads, and they are husband and wife. The boy and girl are seated on an altar, near relations wave a copper coin over their heads, and the coins are divided between the Brahman and the Jangam priest. On the following day a feast is held at the girl's house and on the next day the boy goes with his bride to his father's house and the marriage ends with a feast. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for three days, and on the fourth day her lap is filled with fruit and grains of rice. They bury the dead, and do not hold that a death causes uncleanness. They feast the caste on the third, fifth, seventh, ninth, or eleventh day after death. They have a caste council, send their boys to school, and are a steady class.

## POPULATION

### FISHERS

**Fishers** with a strength of 44,306 or 5.23 per cent of whom 23,439 were males and 22,867 females, included two classes. Of these 3477 (males 1780, females 1697) were Bhois, and 42,829 (males 21,659, females 21,170) Kolis.

### BHOIS

**Bhois** are returned as numbering 3477 and as found over the whole district. They are divided into Kadu, Kamathi, and Maratha Bhois. Of these the Kadus and the Marathas eat together; none of the three intermarry. The surnames of the Maratha Bhois, to whom the following particulars apply, are Bhokre, Dage, Gholap, Jadav, Kamble, Musle, and Povar; families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bapu, Dagadu, Ganoji, Gopal, and Kashiram; and among women, Dhondi, Ganga, Kashi, Lakshmi, Parvati, and Savitri. They are generally dark, strong, and middle-sized. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. Their home tongue is Marathi. Their houses are poor. Their house goods include metal and earthen cooking and water vessels, fishing nets, blankets, and perhaps a cot, a cradle, a box, and some she-goats. Their staple food is millet, fish, and pulse. Whenever they can afford it, they eat the flesh of sheep, goats, hare, deer, and fowls, and drink liquor. Both men and women dress like Maratha Kunbis. They are hardworking, hospitable, and orderly, but dirty, and the women are quarrelsome. They are fishers, husbandmen, and labourers. They worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods and goddesses. Their family deities are Khandoba of Jejuri, Bhavani of Tuljapur, and Bahiroba Mhasoba and Satvai whose shrines are in the Konkan. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their marriages. Their religious guides are the slit-eared or Kanphate Gosavis, whom they call Bavas. For her first lying-in a girl generally goes to her parents' house. On the fifth day after the birth, on a grindstone in the lying-in room, the midwife places river sand, pieces of *nivdung* or prickly-pear, *ru*i leaves, and the knife with which the

child's navel cord was cut; she also lays near it cooked rice, pulse, and mutton. On the door of the room she draws seven lines with a piece of charcoal and lays wet gram in front of the lines. In the evening five married men are asked to dine, and a fishing net is spread round the mother's cot to net the evil spirits that may try to go into the room to steal the child. The mother is impure for ten days. On the morning of the eleventh, her clothes are washed and the house is cowdunged. The mother sets five pebbles outside of the house, and lays rice pulse and cakes before them. Five married men are feasted. On the evening of the twelfth day the elder women of the house, in the presence of neighbour women, lay the child in a cradle and give it a name which is chosen by its parents or other elders of the family. They cut a boy's hair for the first time between his sixth month and his third year. The maternal uncle seats the boy on his knee, cuts a few hairs, and puts them in a cocoa-kernel, and lays the kernel before the house gods. The barber shaves the boy's head leaving only the top-knot. The cocoa-kernel and the hair are thrown into a river or a pool. They marry their boys between sixteen and twenty-five and their girls between ten and sixteen. Except that at the marriage time they make the boy and girl stand face to face in bamboo baskets, their marriage customs are the same as those of Kunbi Marathas. They burn their dead. The pebble or life-stone, with which at the pile the water jar is broken, is tied in a piece of cloth near the deceased's door for ten days and is then thrown into water. So long as the life-stone is tied to the door the family consider themselves in mourning. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground, sprinkles milk curds butter cow's urine and dung on the ashes of the dead, and throws the ashes into water. He sprinkles cowdung and water on the spot where the body was burnt, and places two dough-cakes where the head lay and one where the feet lay, he leaves flowers and turmeric, bathes, and goes home. He rubs the shoulders of the corpse-hewers with oil and feasts them. On the tenth day he goes to the burning ground with eleven dough balls, throws ten in water, and sets the eleventh, for crows to eat. He does not return home till a crow has touched the ball. On the thirteenth, castefellows are asked to feast on fish mutton and cakes, and they present the chief mourner with a white cloth which he folds round his head and goes to the temple nearest his house. Bhois hold caste councils. A few send their boys to school, but as a class they are poor and show no signs of rising.

## KOLIS

**Kolis** are returned as numbering 42,829 and as found over the whole district. Most of them cannot tell whether they are Kolis or Kunbis and if Kolis to what class of Kolis they belong. They are divided into Chumbles, Konkan, and Akarmase Kolis, who eat together but do not intermarry. The following particulars apply to Konkan Kolis. They say they came from the Konkan about seventy-five years ago. Their surnames are Chavhan, Dalvi, Gaikvad, Kamble, More, and Vaghle. The names in common use among men are Ganpati, Krishna, Maruti, and Rama; and among women Bhagu, Chima, Dhondi, and Lakshmi; people having the same surname and guardian or *devak* cannot intermarry. They look and speak like Kunbis and resemble them in house dress and food. They are husbandmen, labourers, house-servants, gardeners, and water-drawers. They are fruit vegetable and grass sellers and tile-turners. The women and children help the men in the work. Their chief family god is Khandoba of Jejuri; and they also worship Bahiroba, Kalkai, Janchi, and Jokai. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans whom they show great respect. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts. Kolis marry their girls between twelve and sixteen, and their boys before they are twenty-five. When a man thinks it is time his son should marry he looks for a suitable girl. When he has found a good match for his son he sends an elderly person to the girl's house, and when they agree the boy's father goes to the girl's and tells her parents that his relations approve of the match. Then, some elderly persons of the boy's and girl's family go to an astrologer and giving him the boy's and the girl's names ask him to choose lucky days for the turmeric-rubbing and for the marriage. The astrologer consults his almanac and names lucky days. After two or three days, the women of the boy's family go in the evening to the girl's with pulse, molasses, and betelnut and leaves, and, making over those things to the women of the house, ask the girl's relations and neighbours to come to the feast, and taking betel leaves and a little sugar lay them before the girl's house gods. Other betel leaves and sugar are kept ready and presented to the women of the boy's family according to the family rank or man. When the ceremony is finished pulse and liquor are served. A day before the turmeric-rubbing earthen jars are brought from a potter's, and marked with turmeric. On the turmeric-rubbing day the boy is rubbed with

turmeric and bathed and told to bow before the house gods. A marriage porch is built in front of the house, turmeric is powdered and laid in a cup, and as the time named by the astrologer draws near a woman lights a lamp and sets it in a dish along with a cup containing turmeric powder, a box of redpowder, and a few grains of rice. Then a quartz or rice flour square is traced on the floor, a low wooden stool is set in the square, and mango branches are hung from one of the beams of the porch. Five women take grains of rice, sprinkle them on the lines which have been traced on the floor, and sing. The boy is seated *on a stool*, and near him a maid of honour or *karavli*, generally his sister, and five married women rub him with turmeric. When the turmeric-rubbing is over they mark his brow with redpowder and stick grains of rice on the powder. The women guests wave a copper coin round the boy's head and give it to the musicians. Another square is traced in front of the house, and a handmill is set in the square, a flower is tied to its handle, and about half a pound of udid pulse is ground by married women. When they have ground the pulse the stone is taken outside and set in the booth, and the boy and his sister leave their seats. A quartz square is traced in one corner of the marriage porch, and three low wooden stools are set in a line. On the first stool the father sits dressed in a turban, waistcloth, and shouldercloth; on the stool to his left sits the mother, and next to her the boy. At this part of the ceremony the boy's father and mother are specially called *varmavla* and *varmavli*, that is the bridegroom's father and the bridegroom's mother. Then a married woman brings a plate with a lighted lamp, a box of redpowder betelnut and leaves, walnuts and almonds, and a few grains of rice, and sets them on the floor in front of the boy. She next brings one of the marked earthen jars from the house, fills it with cold water, and setting a cocoanut in the mouth of it, hangs it in a coir sling to one of the posts of the porch in front of the mother. The Brahman priest touches the brows of the mother and father sticks grains of rice on their brows, and repeats verses, tying together the hems of the father's and mother's clothes. A woman brings a hatchet or *kurad*, a pulse cake or *vada*, and wafer-biscuits a *papad*, and ties them to the hatchet; the father lays the hatchet on his shoulders and walks outside of the booth followed by his wife, who carries the plate with the lighted lamp. The father cuts a branch of a fig-tree or *umbar*, and sets it in the ground in the booth. The Brahman priest repeats texts, rubs the branch with turmeric and redpowder, and asks the father also to rub it. When the rubbing is over the father mother and son go into the house, the priest



retires, and the guests are feasted. All this is done both at the girl's and at the boy's. The next ceremony is the lap-filling or *oti-bharan*. In the evening a party of married men and women from the boy's take, in a bamboo basket the ornaments which have been made for the girl, a cocoanut, two betelnuts and leaves, five dates and almonds, a plate with a lighted lamp on it, and a cup of turmeric, and go to the girl's house with music. At the girl's the men are seated in the booth and the women are seated inside the house. Then the men tell the girl's father that they are come to fill the bride's lap and he asks them to fill it. The girl is seated in a square and rubbed with the turmeric or *halad* that was brought from the boy's. A lucky thread or *mangalsutra* is tied round her neck, she is decked with ornaments, and her lap is filled with articles brought from the boy's house. The guests are served with sugar and betelnut by the boy's and girl's fathers and they retire. Early next morning at the boy's in the porch a square is traced. At each corner of the square a water-pot or *tambya* is set, filled with water, and the boy is seated on a low wooden stool in the middle. Four or five married women surround the boy and behind him stands his sister holding her hands together with upturned palms. The five women sing songs and pour water on to the girl's palms from which it keeps dropping on the boy's head. This goes on till the water in the four pots is finished when the boy puts on a fresh cloth and goes into the house followed by the women. In the house five squares are traced on the floor and in one of the squares a low wooden stool is set and the boy is seated on it. Wreaths of flowers are wound round a copper frying pan, betelnuts and leaves are laid in the pan, and it is set in front of the boy. A piece of flax and some betel leaves are tied to a small stick, and the five women, grasping the stick and singing songs, thrust it into an oil cup and touch the floor, the pan, some article in the name of the family god, and lastly the boy's head. A square is traced and a wooden stool is set in the middle Of the square and the boy is seated on the stool. A barber sits facing the boy and asks a married woman to rub the boy's brow with redpowder and stick grains of rice on the powder. After she is done the barber shaves the boy's head. After the boy's head is shaved, the women guests wave a copper coin ( $\frac{1}{4}$  a.) round the boy's head, and give it to the barber who retires. Five married women, taking four earthen pots, go to the nearest well and with music draw water. Another woman traces a square in the booth, and the women, bringing the four water-pots from the well, set one of them at each corner of the square. A cotton thread is passed several times

round the necks of the water-pots and a grindstone is set in the middle of the square. While the five women sing, the boy's sister, followed by the boy, walks five times round the square. Then the boy sits on the grindstone in the middle of the square and is bathed while women sing. Except the shaving, all these ceremonies take place at the girl's house with the same details. The boy is next decked with jewels, and a silk-bordered waist cloth, a coat, and a turban, and adorned with wedding ornaments. A horse is brought to the porch door, square is traced in front of the horse, and a cocoanut is set in the square. The boy is taken before the house gods and after bowing to them bows to the horse before mounting it. When the procession draws near the girl's they halt. The boy's family priest goes on alone and sits on the girl's veranda and warns the girl's, people not to lose time in meeting the bridegroom as the lucky moment is near. Meanwhile the procession moves on. When it reaches the girl's house the girl's brother takes a cocoanut in his hands and goes to meet the bridegroom. The brother is lifted up close to the bridegroom, he squeezes the bridegroom's ear, and they embrace. The bridegroom alights, cuts with a knife a string which has been long across the doorway, walks into the booth, and is seated on a low wooden stool. The girl's father comes with a pot of water and another brings a pot of oil and the father touches the boy's feet with the two pots and presents him with a waistcloth. The gents take their seats and a woman draws a square and in it lays a bell-metal plate on which the boy is made to stand with his face to, the east. The astrologer marks the time with the help of a water-clock, which is a metal cup with a hole in the bottom floating in a jar of water. Another bell-metal plate is set in front of the boy and a cloth is held before him. The girl is brought in and made to stand in the second plate. The guests stand round the boy and girl with grains of rice in their hands, and the priest repeats marriage verses. At the lucky moment the priest stops, and throws grains of rice over the heads of the boy and girl and they are husband and wife. The guests throw grains of rice over the boy's and girl's heads and the guests clap their hands. The boy and girl are then taken to bow before the house gods, and after receiving packets of betel-nut and leaves the guests retire. The boy and girl, with near relations who have been asked to dine, feast, and tying the hems of their garments together, the boy takes his bride to his house At the boy's house they bow before the house gods and return to the girl's. Next morning the boy and girl play a game of odds *and* evens with betelnuts and feed each other. A dinner is given, and after the dinner is over

the boy takes his bride and goes *in* procession to his father's. When they reach the house, the boy's sister shuts the door from within, and when the boy asks her let him in, she refuses until he promises to give his daughter in marriage to her son. The guests retire, and the marriage ceremonies end with a feast. The boy and girl are led upstairs and their marriage ornaments are taken off and tied to a beam. Then the boy and girl call one another by their names and come downstairs. The marriage gods are bowed out. the marriage porch is pulled down, and the marriage is over. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for three days. On the fourth day the boy's father presents her with a new robe and bodice and the girl's parents present the boy with a new turban and sash. After the girl has put on her new clothes the boy's mother fills her lap with grains of rice and a cocoanut, and the boy and girl, with the hems of their garments tied together, bow before the house gods. As many of the elders of both houses as may be present bow before the gods. A feast of sweet cakes or *puranpolis* is held when only the near relations and friends of both the boy's and girl's houses are called, and, after they have dined, the boy and girl are shut in a room and the guests retire. On the fifth day after the birth of a child a grindstone is placed in the mother's room and over it is laid a blank sheet of paper, a pen, some ink, and the knife with which the child's navel cord was cut, and worshipped by one of the elder women of the house. Close to these articles either bread and split pulse or mutton and liquor are laid over the grind-stone, and dough lamps are set and lighted near the four feet of the cot on which the mother is lying. The house-people and any near relations who have been called are asked to dine, and the mother and midwife keep awake during the whole night. On the sixth day the stone slab is again worshipped, bread and split pulse are offered to it, and, except the blank sheet of paper, the pen ink penknife and grindstone are thrown into the river. A woman is held; to be unclean for ten days after child-birth. On the eleventh, the house is cowdunged, the clothes and the cot are washed, and the mother and child are bathed. On the twelfth, the mother lays five pebbles outside of the house, and worships them with flowers, and hangs a paper cradle over the pebbles. Frankincense is burnt before them and a goat is slain. A feast is held and in the evening neighbour women lay the child in a cradle, and give it four or five names. The first name that is mentioned becomes the child's name; the rest are known as *palnyatli-nave* or cradle-names. A song is sung and the guests retire each with a handful of wet gram and a pinch of sugar. A

boy's hair is cut for the first time when he is more than a month and less than two years old. At the hair-clipping the goddess Satvai is worshipped. A goat is killed and its head is buried in front of the goddess. The ceremony ends with a feast to which the barber is asked and this is the only payment he gets. The hair-clipping ceremony is performed either in the house or in the outlying lands of the village. When a Koli dies the women wail and the friends and relations busy themselves in preparing a bier. The corpse is laid on the bier, raised on the shoulders of four male relations, and the chief mourner walks in front of the bier, carrying in a rope sling an earthen jar with fire in it. When they reach the burning ground, the mourner lays the body on the pile and sets fire to it. After the body is burnt the mourners bathe and go to their homes. They mourn ten days. At the end they present the priest with money, metal vessels, an umbrella, and a pair of shoes, and all the members of the dead man's family bathe and the mourning is over. A Brahman sprinkles a mixture of cow's urine, dung, milk, butter, and curds on the mourners and they are pure and feast the caste. They hold caste councils. A few send their boys to school for a short time, but as a class they are poor and show no signs of rising.

## POPULATION

### LABOURERS

### LABOURERS

**Labourers** included seven classes with a strength of 5761 or 0.68 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### POONA LABOURERS.

CLASS.	Males.	Females.	Total.	CLASS.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Bhandaris	76	56	132	Lodhis	206	161	367
Chhaparbands	101	79	180	Rajputs	2033	1760	3793
Kamathis	576	611	1187	Raddis	14	16	30
Kalals	40	32	72	Total	3046	2715	5761

### BHANDARIS

**Bhandaris**, or Distillers, are returned as numbering 132 and as *and* in Haveli, Bhimthadi, Maval, Khed, and Poona. They are divided into Kites and Sindes who do not eat together or intermarry. The Kites are middle-sized, fair, and generally good-looking. They speak Marathi both at home and abroad. They generally live in houses with mud and brick walls and tiled roofs, and have earthen and metal vessels, blankets, and quilts. Their staple food is millet rice and vegetables, and they do not object to eat fish or the flesh of goats sheep and fowls or to drink liquor. They dress like Marathas, and are sober, thrifty, hospitable, and orderly. They are in the service of liquor-contractors as shopmen and sell *bevda*, *arrak*, *masabdar*, and other country spirits at 1s. 6d. (12 *as.*) and *rashi* at 1s. 3d. (10 *as.*) the quart. They are paid £1 10s. (Rs. 15) a month Besides as liquor-sellers, they work as husbandmen and labourers. They are Hindus and worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses, and in their religious and social customs do not differ from Maratha Kunbis. Most of them have come from



Bombay and go to Bombay when they wish to get married. They settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school. They are poor. Within the last few years they have given up their hereditary calling of palm-juice drawing and become labourers.

### CHHAPARBANDS

**Chhaparbands**, or Thatchers, are returned as numbering 180 and as found in Haveli and in the city of Poona. They originally came from Hindustan and are Rajputs, but on account of their calling they are called Chhaparbands. They say that about a hundred and fifty years ago, about a hundred of them including women and children came to this part of the country in search of work. They have no subdivisions and no surnames. The names in common use among men are Bhavsing, Kesarsing, and Mansing; and among women Ganga, Bhagirathi, Chandra, and Parvati. They look like Pardeshis. The men wear the top-knot and moustache, but not whiskers or the beard. The women tie the hair in a braid or *veni* and leave it hanging down the back. They rub their brows with red-powder and neither use false hair nor deck their heads with flowers. Their home tongue is Hindustani, but they speak Marathi with strangers. They live in houses with mud walls and thatched or tiled roofs. Almost all keep dogs, and few have cattle or employ servants. Their women take no part in thatching, but boys begin to help at fifteen. Their staple food is rice, millet, and wheat bread, vegetables and pulse. They eat fish and flesh and drink liquor. The men wear the Maratha turban, waistcloth, waistcoat, and shouldercloth, and the women a bodice, a petticoat or *ghagra*, and a robe rolled round the petticoat and one end drawn over the head. The women wear green or red but never black robes, and their ornaments are like those of Marathas. They are quiet, hardworking and orderly. They make thatch of *saga* or teak leaves, hay, and bamboo. Their women sell firewood and cowdung cakes. They are Hindus, and worship the usual Hindu gods and goddesses. Their chief object of worship is Bhavani, whose image they keep in their houses. Their priests are Pardeshi Brahmans, who perform all their religious ceremonies. Their holidays are the same as those of other Hindus. Their women in child-birth are not allowed to lie on a cot. On the fifth day a married woman dips the palm of her right hand in a mixture of rice flour and water and stamps a mark on the wall in the mother's room and lays rice and whey curry before the

mark. On the twelfth day they name the child, the name being given by the child's father, and the mother's lap is filled with five plantains or any other fruit. On a Tuesday after the twelfth, they worship the goddess Satvai outside of the house or garden by placing five pebbles in a line, and offering them cooked rice and vegetables. They clip the child's hair when it is between two and five years old, offer a goat and hold a feast. They marry their boys between twelve and twenty-five, and their girls between ten and twenty. They marry their widows, and practise polygamy but not polyandry. They burn their dead and settle social disputes at mass meetings of the caste. Their calling is declining as Government does not allow thatched roofs to remain during the dry season. They do not send their boys to school, and are a poor people.

### KAMATHIS

**Kamathis** are returned as Numbering 1187 and as found over the whole district except in Junnar, Indapur, and Purandhar. They seem to be of Telugu origin and are said to have come from the Nizam's country about a hundred years ago. They say that when they came the Peshwa gave them rent-free lands. The names in common use among men are Ayalu, Erappa, Gangaram, Krishna, Narsappa, Phakira, Posheti, and Yellappa; and among women, Amalubai, Akubai, Jamanibai, Saitri, and Yalubai. The honour-giving *appa* or father is added to men's names and *bai* or lady to women's names. The commonest surnames are Dasarkulu, Kutolu, Mandactalu, Pilaleli, Pautkudolu, and Totoladu. Persons having the same surname can intermarry. They form one class. They are dark, tall, and well-made. The men shave the head except the top-knot, and the face except the moustache. They wear whiskers but not the beard. They live in untidy middle-class houses one or two storeys high, with brick walls and tiled roofs. Their house goods include boxes, cradles, cots, carpets, blankets, mats, and metal or earthen vessels. They have no house servants, but keep cattle and pet animals. They are moderate eaters and good cooks. Their favourite dishes are sour, and their staple food is Indian millet bread, pulse, and pot herbs. They do not bathe or worship their gods every day but sit and eat their morning meal as soon as they return from their work. They bathe every second or third day, and worship their gods on all lunar elevenths or *ekadashis*. On holidays and when they can afford it, they eat the flesh of sheep, goats, poultry, deer, and

fish, and drink liquor often to excess. They also drink *bhang* or hemp-water and eat opium and smoke *ganja* or hemp-flowers and tobacco. The women tie their hair in a knot at the back of the head; they wear neither flowers nor false hair. The dress both of men and women is dirty and careless. The men wear a waistcloth, a loincloth, a coat, a Maratha turban, and a pair of shoes. The women wear the robe with the skirt drawn back between the feet in Marathi fashion. Of ornaments men wear the earrings called *bhikbalis* and finger rings; and women the nose-ring called *nath*, the necklace called *vajartika*, the wristlets called *gots*, and the toerings called *jodvis*. Kamathis as a class are dirty in their habits, hard-working, treacherous, irritable, and vain. Most are masons and house builders, some make cigars, and others work as labourers. Boys of eight begin to help their fathers. Women mind the house and work as labourers. Masons work from six to eleven, go home to take a meal, are back at work by two, and work till six. They are busiest between November and June. On personal security they can borrow 10s. to £5 (Rs. 5-50) at twelve to twenty-four percent a year. They rank with Marathas, and eat from Brahmans, Marathas, and Lingayats. They are religious, worshipping Bahiroba, Bhavani, Khandoba Lakshmi, Narsoba, Shankar, Virabhadra, and Vyankoba. They make pilgrimages to Vithoba of Pandharpur, Dnyanoba of A'landi Bhavani of Tuljapur, and Vyankoba of Giri. They worship all village, local, and boundary gods. They keep the usual Brahmanic holidays and fasts. Their priest is a Telang Brahman, whom they highly respect and who officiates at all their ceremonies. They ask him to dine, wash his hands and feet, rub his brow with sandal paste, present him with flower garlands and nosegays, and bow before him. He tells them to be just in their dealings, to give to the poor, and to read good books. When he has finished his dinner he is given 1s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) in cash and takes his leave. When the Teacher dies they choose some other pious man as his successor. They believe in witchcraft evil spirits and soothsaying. When a person is possessed they make vows to their gods and fulfil them soon after the recovery of the sick. Early marriage polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practised, polyandry is unknown. When a woman is brought to bed a midwife is called. She digs a pit or *mori* to hold the bathing water and cuts the child's navel cord. Turmeric paste and vermilion are scattered the front of the pit, and the child and the mother are bathed. The navel cord is put in an earthen vessel and buried in the pit. For three days the child sucks one end of a rag whose other end rests in a saucer of honey, and

the mother is fed on rice and clarified, butter. On the fourth day the mother begins to suckle the child. On the fifth a stone slab or *pata* is placed near the bathing pit, a square is marked on the slab with lines of rice, and a silver image of Satvai is set in the square, a lemon is set at each corner of the stone slab and a fifth lemon and a cocoanut are laid before the image. One of the house women lays before the goddess turmeric powder, vermilion, cotton thread, rice and pulse, or boiled mutton if the mother is a Vaishnav, as they slaughter a goat in honour of Satvai. Female friends and relations are feasted, a shoe is laid under the child's pillow, and women keep watch till morning. The impurity caused by the birth lasts ten days. On the twelfth women neighbours meet at the house, set five wheat-floor cakes under the cradle which is hung with ropes from the ceiling, and turmeric powder and vermilion are handed round. The child is named, and the women guests are feasted. After dinner they are given rolls of betel leaves and withdraw. After the fourteenth day Satvai is again worshipped. Five stones are placed together and turmeric powder and vermilion are laid before them. A goat is killed if the mother is a Vaishnav, and friends and relations are feasted. The mother puts on new bangles and from that time is allowed to follow her every-day housework. The boy's hair is cut for the first time when he is two years old. He is seated on his father's lap and his head is shaved by the village barber who receives 3/4d. to 1½d. (1/2-1a.). Boys are married between ten and twenty-five, and girls between two and twelve. The girl's father plans the match and asks the consent of the boy's father. When they agree to the terms, the boy's father visits the girl and presents her with a robe and bodice. Her brow is marked with vermilion, and a packet of sugar is placed in her hands. This is called the *magani* or asking. One to five days before the day fixed by the priest for the marriage, the bride is brought to the bridegroom's and rubbed with turmeric paste. The bridegroom is rubbed after the girl, and both are bathed in warm water. The bride is given a robe and bodice and her brow is decked with a network of flowers. Three earthen pots are brought into the boy's house, two are set in front of the boy and girl and the third behind them. All the pots are filled with rice mixed with vermilion, flowers turmeric paste and V capital are laid before them, and they are made *devaks* or marriage guardians. In the booth before the boy's house a marriage altar or *bahule* is raised but no pots are placed near it. No guardian or *devak* is installed at the bride's. When the lucky time draws near the couple are made to stand face to face on the *bahule* or altar with a curtain

held between them. The priest, a Telang Brahman, repeats texts and vermillion-tinged rice is thrown over the couple. Marriage threads are passed through two silver rings and tied to the right wrist of the bridegroom and the left wrist of the bride. The lucky thread is fastened round the bride's neck. One man takes the bride and another the bridegroom on his shoulder and they dance in a circle scattering redpowder. When the dance is over the boy's and girl's garments are knotted together and they bow before the family gods in the house. The bridegroom's sister or sister-in-law unties their clothes, the Brahman priest receives 2s. (Re. 1) from the father of the bridegroom, betel is served, and the guests withdraw. For four days friends and relations are feasted. On the fourth the bride and bridegroom receive presents of dresses from their fathers-in-law, and their brows are decked with palm-leaf brow-horns or *bashings*. In the evening of the wedding day the *varat* or bridegroom's procession, with music and a band of friends, starts from the boy's house, moves through the streets, and returns. The priest comes, the boy and girl untie each other's marriage wristlets, and, together with silver rings, the wristlets are thrown into an earthen vessel filled with water. The boy and girl are told to pick them out, whoever is quickest is applauded and will be ruler. At night a *gondhal* dance is performed, and the marriage is over. When a girl comes of age she sits apart for three days. On the fourth she is bathed, a cocoanut, and rice are laid in her lap, she and her husband receive presents of dress from their fathers-in-law, and friends and relations are feasted. They either bury or burn their dead, and except that they hold no death-day feasts they follow all the rites observed by Marathas. Among them a death costs 12a. to £1 (Rs. 6-10). They have a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at caste meetings. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fines of 2s. 6d. to £6 (Rs. 1¼-60). They send their boys and girls to school till they learn Marathi reading and writing. They are pushing, ready to take to new employments, and fairly off.

## KALALS

**Kalals**, or Distillers, are returned as numbering 72 and as found in Bhimthadi, Haveli, Khed, Maval, and in the city and cantonment of Poona. They say they came to the district from Hindustan sixty or seventy years ago. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Kashpuri, Longha, and Nagarba. The names in common use among men are Gangadin,



Hirasing, Ramdin, Rambakas, and Shivparsad; and among women Ganga, Parbati, and Radha. They look and speak like Pardeshis and their staple food is wheat, rice, butter, and occasionally fish flesh and country liquor. The men dress like Marathas, and the women in a petticoat and open-backed bodice and upper scarf. They sell *bevda*, *arak*, and *rashi* spirits, the first two at 1s. 6d. (12 as.) and the *rashi* at 1s. 1d. (8 2/3 as.) the quart bottle. They estimate their profit at about one-eighth or fifteen per cent (1 pint in 1 gallon) and sell four to eight gallons a day. Their shops are open from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. Their women take no part in the liquor-selling, but the boys begin to help at ten or twelve. Some serve as shopboys to Parsi and other liquor-sellers and are paid 10s. to 16s. (Rs.5-8) a month. They do not know that they belong to any sect, and have house images of Bhavani, Krishna, Ram, and Mahadev. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts and their priests are their own Pardeshi Brahmans. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur. They have no headman and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school. They complain that their calling has declined since the introduction of the liquor contract or *makta* system.

## LODHIS

**Lodhis** are returned as numbering 367 and as found in Bhimthadi, Haveli, Khed, and Poona. They say they belong to Hindustan and Aurangabad and came to Poona about a hundred years ago. Their surnames are Dhatariya, Dhanariya, Papiya, Morchariya, and Shridhar. The names in common use among men are Girdhari, Govind, and Hiranman; and among women Bhagaya, Lachaya, Nandu, Paru, and Tejiri. They look like Pardeshis; the men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers but not the beard. The women tie the hair in a knot behind the head; they do not use false hair or adorn their heads with flowers. Their home tongue is Hindustani, but they speak Marathi out of doors. They live in houses of the better sort one or two storeys high with walls of brick and tiled roofs, and keep cows, buffaloes, horses, dogs, and parrots. Their house goods are earthen and metal vessels, boxes, cots, bedding, carpets, and cradles. They keep servants and pay them 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2 - 3) a month with food. Their staple food is rice, wheat, millet, Indian millet, vegetables except onions, butter, oil, spices, fish, and the flesh of goats and sheep, but not domestic fowls. They

drink both country and European liquor. The men dress either like Marathas or like Deccan Brahmans in a waistcloth, loincloth, coat, waistcoat shouldercloth, a Maratha or Brahman turban, and shoes or sandals. Their women wear a petticoat and an open-backed bodice and draw a short robe or *phadki* over the upper part of the body and the head. They are hardworking; hot-tempered, thrifty, and hospitable. They are moneylenders, husbandmen, labourers, and firewood charcoal and cowdung-cake sellers. Their women and children help them in their calling, and earn 3d. to 6d. (2-4as.) aday, hawking cowdung cakes and firewood. The men earn double as much as the women, and those who own firewood stores make £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100) a month. They consider themselves Kshatris. In religion they are Vaishnavs, but their family deities are mothers or goddesses father than gods. The house deity of most is the Tuljapuri of Tuljapur, and of a few the god Balaji. Their priests are Pardeshi Brahmans to whom they show great respect. They keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days. On the fifth day after a child is born the Lodhis smear with cowdung a spot in the lying-in room and on it place two copper anklets or *vales*, a piece of black thread, and a cap and frock of Gujarat Kharva cloth. They light a dough lamp before these articles, and lay flowers cooked rice and curds before them. After dinner the babe is dressed in the cap and frock and the copper anklets are put on its feet. On that night none of the doors and windows are allowed to be closed but are kept wide open. The guests remain all night and do not leave till after dinner next day. They consider the mother impure for ten days, and at the end of the ten days wash the whole house. An hour or two after a hole is dug in the yard near the house and on the edge of the hole are laid four pieces of firewood and an earthen jar full of cold water. The mother goes out and worships the jar, and her father presents her with a new robe and bodice. A few days after, within a month from the date of the birth of the child, the mother goes some distance into the village waste land *orjanganal*, and worships five pebbles, and puts new glass bangles round her wrists and returns home. The hair-cutting ceremony is performed at any time before a child is three years old. They take the child to a river and after the hair is cut put it in a dough ball and throw it into the water. The ceremony ends with a mutton feast. They marry their girls before they are sixteen and their boys before they are twenty-five. Their marriage-guardian or *devak* is five pinches of earth picked from five places, which they bring home and lay near the house gods. A

few days before a marriage the village astrologer writes the date of a lucky day for the marriage on two pieces of paper, a silver two-anna piece is rolled in each, and they are folded and given to the boy's and girl's fathers. The boy's father hands his packet to the girl's father saying *Shri Ramehandraji's varath ali, savadh raha*, that is Shri Ramchandraj's bridal has come, Beware. The girl's father gives his packet to the boy's father saying *Basing balane lagnas ya*, that is 'By the might of the brow-horn come to the marriage. Each takes the packet and places it among their house gods, and the day ends with a feast at both houses. Next day women are asked to dine, and during the whole day and night, busy themselves making cakes. called *telchias*. On the marriage day from the boy's house are brought to the girl a shoe, some *henna* or *mendi*, needles, vermillion or *hingul*, a robe, a petticoat, a bodice, a yellow sheet, and a frock, and they are laid before the house gods. The girl's mother goes to the temple of the goddess Shitaladevi and worships her singing songs. The boy's sister goes home and after rubbing the turmeric goes again to the girl's house. When she reaches the girl's house the girl's sister rubs the girl with turmeric and the boy's and girl's relations dine together. The girl's father presents the boy's sister and his own daughter with a robe and bodice, and they return to their houses. The boy's maternal uncle gives a dinner at the boy's house. The uncle comes leading a bullock with a bag of rice on its back, twenty-five earthen jars, and two flower-pots. Redpowder is rubbed on the bullock's brow and garlands are hung from its neck. One of the party walks into the house carrying the grain bag followed by another who sprinkles water after him as he walks. The bag is laid in front of the house gods. The boy's father plants a *palas* branch about three feet long in his own marriage porch and another in the girl's marriage porch. He cuts four holes in each branch, fixes a ladle or *pali* in each hole, and fills the ladles with oil and lights them. The twenty-five earthen jars are piled near the house gods. The boy is dressed in a new waistcloth, coat, turban, and marriage brow-horn or *bashing*, he is seated on a horse, and taken in procession to the girl's. When the bridegroom reaches their house the girl's sister takes the girl in her arms and makes her throw five balls of rice and molasses at the boy's marriage ornament. The boy is taken off the horse and the girl's father touches his brow with redpowder and presents him with a new waistcloth and turban. Each of the boy's near male relations is presented with a waistcloth and the boy is taken and seated in a neighbouring house on a cot, the other guests sitting on blankets round him. A dish of vermicelli

or *shevaya* is brought for the boy, but it is all eaten by other children, the boy getting none of it. The girl's brother's wife comes with a wooden pestle, and asks the boy to help her in pounding rice. The boy touches the pestle and the girl's brother's wife stands with the pestle repeating a song. When the boys have done eating the vermicelli the bridegroom puts 1½*d* (1 *a.*) into the dish and except the boy and girl the guests all dine and take a nap. At daybreak the five ladles in the *palas* branch are lighted and five earthen jars are placed near them one of which is filled with cold water. In front of the jars the priest traces a square made with lines of wheat flour and red and yellow powder, and the boy and girl sit on the square close to each other, the girl to the right of the boy. Then the boy's relations present the boy with clothes and money. This is called the giving away of the bride or *kanyadan*. The boy and girl go six times round the *palas* branch, and stopping ask the guests if they should take the last or seventh turn. The guests say 'Take the turn,' and as soon as the turn is completed the priest utters the word *Savdhan* or Beware, and the boy and girl are husband and wife. In the evening a feast is held. After the feast the boy goes to his house with the girl in a palanquin, himself walking on foot with the guests. When they reach the boy's house curds and cooked rice are waved round their heads and the boy's father presents them with a couple of rupees, rice is piled in a heap, and the boy kicks the heap five times with his right foot. On the following day a feast is held at the boy's house and the marriage wristlets are untied. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for four days. On the fifth day the boy's finger ring is hid somewhere in the house, and the girl is given four months to find it. When she has found it she tells the house-people and on that evening the boy and girl are left together in a room and she puts the ring on the boy's finger. If she fails to find the ring she is allowed to try again at the end of four months. When a Lodhi dies cold water is poured on the body in the house where it lies. The body is taken to another part in the house, the spot is cowdunged, and the body is again laid on the spot where he breathed his last. It is dressed in the usual clothes and laid on a bier. It is carried on the shoulders of four men, the chief mourner walking in front carrying a jar with burning cowdung cakes. About half-way to the burning ground the bearers stop and set the bier on the ground and lay two pebbles near the corpse's head. The bier is lifted and the chief mourner hands the fire-jar to another of the party, and, until they reach the burning ground, keeps bowing and laying himself at full length on the ground. At the burning ground the fire-jar

is dashed on the ground, and when the pile is raised the body is laid on it and set fire to by the chief mourner. When it is half burnt, an earthen jar containing butter is thrown on the corpse's head, and the mourners bathe and return to the deceased's house. When they reach the house, the widow takes off all her ornaments and piles them in a heap, and each of the mourners sprinkles water over them. The widow never again wears ornaments. After the mourners have gone to their homes the chief mourner and his family dine. The family of the deceased mourns ten days. At the end of the ten days the chief mourner goes to the burning ground, throws the ashes into water, has his head and moustache shaved, cooks rice a vegetable or two and oil-cakes or *telchias*, and serves them on a leaf plate. After the crows have touched the cakes the chief mourner bathes and returns home. On the thirteenth day a caste feast is held, the chief mourner is presented with a white turban, and he is free to attend to his work. They have a caste council and decide social disputes at meetings of the castemen. Breaches of caste rules are punished with fine which varies from 3d. (2 as.) to a caste feast. If an offender cannot pay a fine he stands before the council with joined hands with their shoes on his head. They send their boys to school, and as a class are well-to-do.

## RAJPUTS

Rajputs, better known as Pardeshis or Upper Indian Hindustani speakers, are returned as numbering 3793 and as found in all parts of the district and especially in the town of Poona. They have no tradition of their origin, and say that they lived formerly in Allahabad, Cawnpur, Benares, Delhi, and other parts of Upper India and came to the Deccan within the last century or century and a quarter, generally when their native country was troubled by famine. They are of two family stocks or *gotras* Bharadvaj and Mahirao. Persons belonging to the same family stock cannot intermarry. Their commonest surnames are Ajmode, Bagale, Banasi, Byas, Chavan, Gaval, Kachchhave, Rajekvar, and Suraj. Families bearing the same surname intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bapusing, Bhagvansing, Guradalsing, Kasansing, and Ramsing; and among women Jamna, Radha, Sundar, and Thagaya. Their home tongue is Hindustani. They are stout, well-built, tall, and *hardy with sallow* skins. The men shave the head except the top-knot and a lock over each ear, and their face except the eyebrows, moustache, and whiskers. The face hair



as a rule is thick and some of them grow long beards. They mark their brow with a circle of sandal pasts. They live in middle-class houses one storey high with walls of brick and tile roofs. They have generally copper and brass cooking vessels, and earthen vessels for storing grain. They own cattle and keep servants. They are great eaters and are fond of sweet and pungent dishes. Their staple food is wheat, rice, pulse, millet bread, butter, vegetables, and relishes or *chatnis*. They also eat animal food, goats, hare, deer, and fish, and use intoxicating drinks and drugs on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Sundays. They consider themselves Kshatryas, and do not eat from the hands of any Deccan Hindus. They bathe every day and worship their family gods before they take their meals. The men wear a tight-fitting waistcloth reaching the knee, a coat, a waistcoat, a Maratha turban or headscarf, and sometimes sandals. The women tie their hair in a knot behind the head or let it hang in braids down the back. They rub their brows with redpowder and dress either like Marathas in the full Maratha robe and tight-fitting short sleeved and full-backed bodice, or in a petticoat and open-backed bodice with a short sash or *phadki* drawn over the upper part of the body and the head. They wear no false hair and no one but girl adorn their hair with flowers. They are clean, neat, strong hardworking, and honest, but easily provoked and fond of show. Their hereditary calling is soldiering or *sipahigiri*. Lately they have taken to tillage, labour, or house-service, to grain-dealing and to Government service as messengers. The grain-dealers buy *tur* pulse in the Poona market, moisten it, dry it in the sun for five days or a week, grind it coarsely, separate the husk from the grain and sell the grain at about 4s. the man of forty pounds. The husk is bought by milkmen at 1s. to 1s. 3d. (8-10 as.) the *palla*, and the *chun* or coarse bran is sold at 4s. to 12s. (Rs. 2-6) the *palla*. The women help in drying the pulse and mind the house. Their average monthly profits are estimated to vary from £1 10s. to £2 10 (Rs. 15 - 25). They are a religious class, and employ Deshasth and other Brahmans to officiate at their marriages, deaths, and other ceremonies. Besides their family gods they worship local and village gods. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Benares Tuljapur, and other sacred places. They fast on all lunar eleventhths or *ekadashis*, the nine nights or *navaratri*s, and Tuesdays or *Mangalvars*. When a woman is in labour a midwife of their own or of the Maratha caste is called. She cuts the navel cord and buries it near the bathing place, bathes the mother and child, and lays the both on a cot. On the fourth day the mother begins to suckle the child. Ceremonial impurity lasts

ten days. On the fifth a little place in the mother's room is cleaned and cowdunged, and a bamboo arrow is laid on it with a sword or a knife. The women in the house worship the arrow, mark it with five lines of redlead, lay flowers vegetables and bread close to it, and keep awake the whole night. On the eleventh the house is cowdunged and the mother's clothes are washed. On the thirteenth friends and relations are asked to dine and in the evening the child is named and cradled. Sugar betelnut and leaves are handed round and the guests leave. At some time between a boy's third month and his third year, his hair is cut for the first time. The child is seated in its mother's lap and the hair is cut by the barber who is paid 6*d.* (4 *as.*). Uncooked rice and pulse are given to a man of the caste and relations and friends are treated to a dinner. Girls are married between eleven and eighteen, and boys between eighteen and thirty. The offer of marriage comes from the bridegroom's side. If the girl's father agrees, and the family-stocks or *gotras* of the two fathers are different, an astrologer is asked to name a lucky day and preparations are made. Two or three days before the marriage day a mango post is set in the ground at the houses both of the boy and the girl, and an earthen vessel, whitewashed and filled with wheat, is tied to its top. The sister of the bridegroom bathes him, seats him on a low stool near the post, and rubs his body with turmeric paste. As much of the paste as is over is taken by married women with music to the bride, and she is rubbed by her sister. Next day the women of both families go to the potter's and each party fetches a vessel which they name Ganpati or spirit-lord, fill it with wheat, and worship it as the *devak* or wedding guardian. At eight on the third night the bridegroom is dressed in rich clothes, and, escorted by a company of friends, is seated on horseback, and brought to the bride's. His brow is adorned with a flower chaplet in Muhammadan fashion, and he holds a knife in his hand. On reaching the bride's, a cocoanut is waved round him and broken on the ground. He dismounts and is led to a place in the booth, where, along with the bride's brother, he has to worship a copper pot or *kalash* filled with water, resting on a square marked by lines of wheat flour or of quartz powder. When the pot has been worshipped the bride's brother washes the bridegroom's feet. Then the Brahman priest leads the bridegroom to a neighbouring house and girds him with a sacred thread. At the time named for the marriage, the bridegroom is carried to a seat in the booth, which has been made ready by setting two low stools in a square marked by wheat flour or by quartz powder and covering the stools with a

piece of white cloth. The bride comes out and is seated close to the right of the bridegroom, Brahmans repeat lucky wedding hymns, kindle the sacred fire, and feed it with clarified butter. The bride walks round the altar six times, and, at the request of the guests, the bridegroom joins her in the seventh turn, and ties the lucky thread round her neck. The girl sits on her husband's left and the priest ties with a fivefold thread a small piece of turmeric round the right wrist both of the boy and the girl. Next day the people are feasted and the father of the bridegroom presents the bride with a suit of clothes. Her hair is divided into two plaits which are drawn back, twisted together, and fastened at the back of the head, and redpowder is strewn along the parting or *bhang* down the middle of her head. Then with an escort of friends and with music the bride and bridegroom are taken either in a carriage or on horseback to the bridegroom's where married women take off their turmeric wristlets and the wedding Ganpati is bowed out. The whole ends with a feast. When a girl comes, of age no ceremony is performed. She goes to live with her husband as his wife from her sixteenth year, and is held to be unclean for three days in every month. When a Pardeshi Rajput dies he is bathed in hot or cold water and is dressed in a loincloth. The chief mourner has his face except his eyebrows shaved and prepares balls of wheat flour. The body is laid on a bier and tied fast to it with a piece of string or thread, and wheat balls are placed one in each hand and one on the stomach of the dead. On the way to the burning ground the bier is laid on the ground, a rice ball is left on the spot, and the bearers change places and go on to the burning ground. At the burning ground the body is again bathed, laid on the pyre, and burnt without further ceremony. When the pile is nearly consumed, the chief mourner stirs the fire with a pole and each of the funeral party throws in a cowdung cake and bathes. They go to the house of the deceased, and each puts a seed of black pepper in his mouth and goes home. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burning ground with flowers, betel leaves, milk curds, butter, cowdung, cow's urine, and five kinds of sweet-meats. The cow's urine is poured over the ashes and they are gathered and thrown into water. The spot is cleaned and cow dunged and sweetmeats and flowers are laid on it. The family of mourners remain impure for ten days. On the tenth day ten wheat flour balls are made and worshipped. Nine of them are thrown into the river, and the tenth is left for the crows. The mourners wait till a crow has touched the balls, and then bathe and return to their homes. On the thirteenth a dinner is given to the caste

people when the friends and relations of the chief mourner present him with a turban. In the latter half of *Bhadrapad* or September during All Souls fortnight, a mind-feast is held in honour of the dead. Pardeshi Rajputs form a separate community. They settle social disputes, which are commoner than among most Deccan castes according to the opinion of the majority of the castemen. Breaches of social rules are punished by a fine which takes the form of a castes dinner, and the authority of the caste decision is enforced by the threat of loss of caste. They send their boys to school from nine to fifteen. They complain of growing competition and falling profits are ready to take to new pursuits, and are likely to prosper.

### RADDIS

**Raddis** are returned as numbering thirty and as found only in Poona. [Raddi is said to be a corrupt form of Rotti a Kanarese word meaning the human arm. According to the story the founder of the tribe got the name Rotti *the* strength of his arms.] They are a Telugu class and say they have come to Poona since the beginning of British rule. They are divided into Pakpak Radis is and Matmat-Radis, who eat together but do not intermarry. Their surnames are Ajalu, Bhoidi, Hamuratbu, Kanelu, Nayadu Pitlobu, and Rajlalu; people bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Ashannna Pochauna, Rajanna, Ramanna, Yalanna, and Yankanna, and among women Chinamma, Narsamma, Ponnamma, Rajamma, Shivamma and Yelamma. They look like Telangia and are dark, tall, and muscular. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. Their home speech is Telugu. Their dwellings are like those of other middle-class Hindus one are two storeys high. They keep goats, bullocks, and cows, and their house goods include earthen and metal vessels, boxes, cots, bedding coverlets, blankets, and carpets. Their staple food is millet, rice, wheat, pulse, and vegetables, and occasionally fish, mutton, and liquor. They eat the flesh of the hare and deer, of waterfowls and domestic fowls, of the wild boar, and of the *ghorpad* or inguana. They prefer sour dishes and are fond of tamarind. They give caste feasts in honour of marriages and deaths, and on Dasara Day in October offer a goat to the goddess Yellamma or Pochamma. They dress like Marathas in a loincloth, a waistcloth or short trousers, a coat or a waistcoat, a shouldercloth, and a turban folded in Maratha fashion. The women dress like Maratha

women in a backed and short-sleeved bodice, and a robe the skirt of which they pass back between the feet and tuck into the waistband behind. They tie their hair in a roll at the back of the head and use false hair and adorn their heads with flowers. They are hardworking, sober, even-tempered, and orderly. They are watermen or *bhistes*, carrying water on the backs of bullocks in leather-bags or *pakhals*. They are also masons, messengers, grocers, carpenters, cigar-sellers, and day labourers. They are Hindus, and worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their family gods are Mahadev, Bhavani of Kondanpur in the Nizam's country, and Pachamma of Vaderpali in Telangan. Their family priests are Telangan Brahmans who conduct their marriages, but their death ceremonies are conducted by Jangams. They keep the ordinary Brahmanic fasts and feasts and go on pilgrimage to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Benares. Like other Hindus they worship Janai, Jokhai, the cholera goddess Marimma, and Yellamma, and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. They worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after birth, name the child on the twelfth, and clip a boy's hair before he is three years old. They marry their girls before they come of age, and their boys before they are twenty-five. Instead of the boy the girl is taken on the shoulders of her maternal uncle to the boy's house, where the boy and girl are separately anointed with sweet-smelling oil by the barber and his wife, bathed, and dressed. Marriage coronets or *bashings* are tied to their brows and they are made to stand face to face on two low wooden stools. The priest repeats marriage verses, and when the verses are ended, the boy and girl are husband and wife. Turmeric roots are tied to the right wrists of the boy and girl with cotton and woollen thread and they bow before the house gods. The skirts of the boy's and girl's clothes are tied together, and they drink a mixture of milk and clarified butter. Next day the boy and girl are seated on the shoulders of a barber and washerman who dance to music. After a feast the boy goes in procession with his wife in a carriage to the girl's house. In a swing hung from the beams of the house, a wooden doll is laid and swung by the boy and girl, while women sing songs. The marriage ends with a feast. When she comes of age a girl is seated by herself for twelve days. They either bury or burn their dead. They allow widows-marriage and polygamy but not polyandry. They hold caste meetings, and send their boys to school for a short time. As a class they are poor.



## POPULATION

### UNSETTLED TRIBES

**Unsettled Tribes** included nine classes with a strength of 30,417 or 5.59 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### ***POONA UNSETTLED TRIBES.***

DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.	DIVISION.	Males	Females.	Totals.
Berads	45	42	87	Ramoshis	8492	8240	16,732
Bhils	226	150	376	Thakurs	2935	2708	5643
Kaikadis	583	522	1105	Vadars	1306	1371	2677
Kathkaris	563	517	1018	Vanjaris	1395	1211	2606
Phasepardhis	55	56	111	Total	15,600	14,817	30,417

### BERADS

**Berads**, Bedars or Baidarus, apparently Hunters, are returned is numbering eighty-seven and as found in Poona, Haveli, and Indapur. They appear to have come from the Karnatak districts where they are found in large numbers. [Details are given in the Belgaum Statistical Account, 163. 165.] They speak Marathi and live in huts with little furniture except a few earthen vessels, a brass dining plate and water-pot, a blanket, and a few quilts or *vakals*. Their staple food is millet bread and pulse. They eat mutton, fish, for fowls, and several kinds of game. They drink to excess. They are a poor quiet tribe doing no harm. They are fond of sport and are said to be fearless in attacking the wild boar. They are watchmen, husbandmen, labourers, and beggars. Their gods are Janai Jokhai, and Khandoba. They have a great respect for Brahmans and for Brahman gods and have no images in their houses. They say they do not want gods in their houses; they have them in numbers in the waste lands, every tree hill and watercourse is full of gods. They ask a Brahman to name their child. They marry their girls after they come of age and their boys before they are twenty-five. They bury their dead, or as they say leave him in the bush to become a spirit. They allow widow marriage and poly gamy, one man sometimes

having as many as five or six wives. Polyandry is unknown. They have a headman who settles social disputes in consultation with other members of the caste. They do not send their boys to school as they are afraid they will leave them and join some high caste. They are badly off.

### **BHILS**

**Bhils** are returned as numbering 376 and as found mostly in Junnar. A few are returned from Khed, Shirur, Haveli, and Poona. They are wandering labourers going from place to place in search of work. They live in thatched huts and resemble Kunbis in food, dress, calling, and condition.

### **KAIKADIS**

**Kaika'dis** are returned as numbering 1105 and as found over the whole district. They say they are from Telangan, and came into the district about two hundred years ago. They are divided into Marathas and Kuchekaris who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Marathas are Jadhav, Malujya, Mane, and Sapatsar. The names in common use among men are Avadyaba, Bhiva, Dhaguba, Hamaji, Kaluba, and Shahajiba; and among women Gunai, Kalu, Pasu, Radhabai, and Santu. They are dark and weak. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, whiskers, and sometimes the beard. Their home speech is a mixture of Kanarese and Telugu and out of doors they speak a corrupt Marathi. Their houses are poor with walls of mud and thatched or tiled roofs. They are neither clean nor neat, and contain a box, a cot, a cradle, a blanket or two, and earthen vessels. They keep donkeys, cattle, and fowls, and sometimes a servant. They are great eaters and are fond of pungent dishes and of onions. Their staple food is millet, split pulse, and vegetables. They give marriage and death feasts at which the chief dishes are sugar-cakes and molasses called *gulavni*. They eat fish and the flesh of the sheep, goat, deer, hare, and wild hog, and of wild and tame fowls. They drink liquor to excess, and smoke tobacco and hemp. The men dress in a loincloth or short trousers reaching to the knee, a coarse waistcoat, and Maratha turban, and the women in a bodice and robe whose skirt they do not draw back between their feet. They braid their hair and leave it hanging down the back. The men's ornaments are the gold earrings called *balis* and *kudkyas* and finger rings together valued at £8 to £6 (Rs.30-60). The women's ornaments are the nose-ring called *nath*, the necklace called *mani*, the silver

bracelets called *gots*, and the queensmetal toelets called *jodvis*, together worth £1 to £2 (Rs.10-20). They have a bad name as thieves and are always under the eye of the police. They make bamboo baskets of many sizes for storing grain and other articles, bird's cages, and children's toys; they also show snakes. The Kuchekaris make straw brushes or *kuche* and snares for catching game. They carry sand, earth, bricks, tiles, and stones on their donkeys, remove sweepings and filth, and work as husbandmen and labourers. They earn 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) a month. Their women and children help them in their work. They are poor, but have credit enough to borrow up to £5 (Rs. 50) at 2½ to 5 per cent a month. They consider themselves equal to Marathas. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses and keep the regular fasts and feasts. Their family gods are Khandoba of Jejuri, Bahiroba of Sonari near Sholapur, and Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their houses during marriages and deaths. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Sonari, Tuljapur, and Pandharpur. They have religious teachers or *gurus* who are generally Gosavis whose advice or *updes*h they take. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. They worship the goddess Satvai on the fifth day after the birth of a child, when they offer a goat and feast, the caste. They name their children on the twelfth day. They marry their girls when they are sixteen, and their boys at any age up to thirty. Their marriage guardian or *devak* is a mango twig which they tie along with an axe and a piece of bread to a post of the marriage porch. They rub the boy and girl with turmeric at their houses five days before the marriage. On the marriage day the boy goes in procession on horseback and sits on the border of the girl's village. His brother goes ahead to the girl's house and tells her people that the boy has come. He is presented with clothes and the girl's relations accompany him back to his brother, jesting and knocking off his turban on the way. After meeting the boy at the temple the girl's father leads him and his party to his house. When he comes near the door of the marriage porch, a cocoanut is waved round his head and dashed on the ground. The boy and girl are made to stand in the marriage hall on two bamboo baskets face to face and a cloth is held between them. The priest, who is generally a Deshasth Brahman, repeats marriage verses, and at the end throws grain of rice over their heads and they are married. They are seated on the altar, and a thread is wound five times round their bodies. It is taken off, rubbed with turmeric powder, and cut in two equal parts one of which is bound round the boy's right wrist and the other round the girl's left wrist. A sacrificial fire is kindled and fed with grains of rice and butter. Marriage ornaments are tied to the brows of the boy and

girl, the skirts of their garments are knotted together, and the girl's father fastening the knot and looking towards the boy, says ' All this time she was my darling now she is yours.' A feast is held and the boy goes with the girl to his house on horse back accompanied by male and female relations and music. Before they enter the house bread and water are waved round their heads. The boy and girl and other children dine, the chief dish being rice and milk. Their wrist strings are unloosed and the marriage ceremony is over. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for five days and sweet dishes are prepared for her. She is presented with a new robe and bodice and her lap is filled with five turmeric roots, lemons, betelnuts, and dry dates. They either bury or burn their dead, and mourn five, nine, or twelve days. On their return from the funeral, the chief mourner asks the four corpse-bearers to dine. Next day they go to the burning ground, remove the ashes, place two earthen jars filled with water on the spot, and return home. On the thirteenth they kill a goat and feast the caste. They do not observe death-days, and perform no mind-rite or *shraddh*. They have a caste council, and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fines varying from 3d. to 10s. (Rs.½-5) the amount being spent on drink or on betelnut and leaves. They do not send their boys to school and are very poor.

### KATHKARIS

**Ka'thkaris**, [Details are given in the Thana Statistical Account, Bombay Gazetteer, XIII Part, p. 158-165.] or Catechu-makers, are returned as numbering 1080 and as found in Haveli, Maval, Junnar, Khed, and Poona. They are not residents of the district, but come from the Konkan to dig groundnuts, and serve as labourers from October to May. They spend the rains in the Konkan. They are one of the rudest and poorest tribes in Western India.

### PHASEPARDHIS

**Pha'sepa'rdhis**, or Snarers, are returned as numbering 111 and as found in Haveli, Indapur, Sirur, and Poona. They are divided into Pardhis, Phasepardhis, and Vaghris. Phasepardhis are black, thin, and tall, and allow the hair to grow on the head and face. They speak Marathi and Gujarati. They live outside of villages under bamboo frames covered with matting, or under the shade of trees with scarcely any covering. They are wretchedly poor begging both by day and night, and gather where they hear that a feast is to be given.

After the usual dinner hour they go from house to house to pick up the remains of the food. Not satisfied with what they get by begging they rake the spots where the dinner plates and fragments of food are thrown and lick the plates along with dogs and cats, the dogs barking at the beggars and the beggars driving off the dogs with one hand and eating with the other. They sometimes carry baskets, pieces of cloth, and earthen jars in which they put the remains of food they pick up. They are always in rags or half naked. The men roll a short waistcloth round their loins and rags of cloth round their heads, and the women wear a gown and bodice or often a piece of cloth round the loins like the men leaving the bosom bare. They are filthy, shameless, and noisy beggars. They wander in bands of three or four families. The men go first carrying nets and baskets, followed by the women with the wood of the cots and mat-huts, and the children with earthen pots and pans. Occasionally there is a bullock or a buffalo loaded with tattered blankets, baskets, bamboo sticks, and extra nets and mats. They are very skilful in making horse-hair nooses in which they catch birds and beasts. They are also robbers. They do not send their boys to school and are wretchedly poor.

### **RAMOSHIS**

**Ra'moshis** [Details from Captain Mackintosh's Papers on Ramoshis (Madras Jour, of Lit. and Sr.(1834) I. are given in the Satara Statistical Account.] or Children of Ram, perhaps originally Ranvasis or forest-dwellers, numbering 16,732, are found over the whole district. The Poona Ramoshis seem to be the outlying northern remains of the great Kanarese and Telugu tribe or group of tribes which are included under the general name of Bedars or Byadarus hunters and woodsmen. They claim to be of the same stock as the Bedars and say that the chief of Shorapur in the Nizam's territory is their head. Besides Ramoshis they are called Naikloks, and those of them who do not eat flesh are styled Rambhakts or devotees of Ram. The division of the Poona Ramoshis into the two clans of Chavans and Jadhavs makes it probable that they have some strain of northern blood, though it is possible that they have been given the name Ramoshi in return for adopting Brahmanism and have styled themselves Chavans and Yadavs because they took service under chiefs of those tribes. In connection with their name the story is told that Ram, the hero of the Ramayan, when driven from his kingdom by his stepmother Kaikaya, went to the forest land south of the Narbada. His brother Bharat who had been raised to the throne by Kaikaya could not bear to part from Ram. He followed Ram to the forest, began to do penance, and made friends with a rough but



kindly forest tribe. After Ram's restoration Bharat took the foresters with him to Ayodhya and brought them to the notice of Ram, who appointed them village watchmen and allowed them to be called Ramvanshi or children of Bam. In social position they rank below Kunbis and above Mhars, Mangs, and Dhora. Of the two clans Chavans are considered the higher. On ceremonial occasions the leader or *naik* of the Chavans takes precedence, and the ceremony cannot go on unless one of the Chavan leaders is present.

The leading Ramoshi surnames are Ajgire, Berje, Bhandekar, Bhosle, Chavan, Chukati, Phokne, Gergal, Ghodgar, Gopne, Gudgul, Jadhav, Jhavle, Jhaparde, Khirsagar, Konde, Kuluch, Landge, Madne, Majane, Rode, Role, Saparde, Shelar, Shinde, Shirke, Vajmare, and Yelmar. In some cases sameness of surname is considered a proof of kinship and is therefore a bar to marriage. This is not always the case. In matters of marriage the test of badge or kinship is not sameness of surname but sameness of *devak* the family god or guardian that is its badge or crest. Persons with the same *devak* are brothers and cannot marry. If before a marriage the boy's or the girl's crest is doubtful the matter is referred to and settled by one of the *naiks* or heads of the tribe. Among Ramoshi the crest or *devak* is generally some tree or a bunch of the leaves of several trees. No one may eat the fruit of or otherwise use the tree which is his *devak*. The names used by men are partly Marathi partly Kanarese. The Marathi names among men are Dhondi, Itu, Khandu, Lakshman, Narayan, Narsu, Pandu, Pangya, Tatya, Tukaram, and Tulsiram, the Kanarese names are Nagapa, Shivapa and Yelapa. The women's names are said to be almost all Marathi; the commonest are Aija, Begu, Chaitra, Dhondi, Kondi, Lakshumi, and Rakhma. A Ramoshi can hardly be known from a Kunbi or other middle or low class Maratha-speaking Deccan Hindu. [Like most Hindu castes, especially perhaps fighting castes, Ramoshis are of mixed origin. They allowed Kunbis to join them and many of them took as wives and still keep Kunbi women. Genu Naik.] The features of most are coarse and harsh though many have fine active and well-made bodies. The faces are usually flat and broad, but the skin perhaps from the damp and cool air of the mountains is often fair. The women are seldom handsome, yet some are good-looking and have pleasing faces. They dress the hair every fifteen or twenty days, and as a class are considered chaste. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, and let the beard grow when they have a family dispute. Many live hale and hearty to a great age.

Though Telugu seems to have once been the Ramoshi language they have so generally adopted Marathi that few of them know anything of any other language. They have also a special language which they almost never use except when they are plundering or telling secrets. In this language *akul* is a betel leaf; *adag* a trace, as *adag gudsal* You will leave a trace; *adat* woman or wife, as *Adata childa matisa*, Women and children do not tell; *ambuj* Mang, as *Ambuj gudasala ka khogadla*, *kudmuli isa an okna*, Why has the Mang come to our house, give him bread and let him go; *aril* goldsmith or carpenter; *badil* a stick; *bangad* a Vani; *bokul* a vessel also a hole or opening in the wall as, *Bokul ka sitdrpadi*, House-breaking or theft; *boyali* a Ramosni, *Ka boyalis*, *yarvdd ka jdtvad*, Well Ramoshis, are you true Ramoshis or Ramoshis only in name; *chamgad* a Chambhar; *chilad* a child, as *Chiladi ami tumachi*, We are your children; *ddg* property; *damal* money or silver coin; *damalivali* rich; *devarami* a god, the sun or day, as *Devaramichi padli* God's share, *Devaram okndydche* To go and see the god, *Devaram khugadle* The sun is set; *gadgali* a pot or cocoanut; *gadgalivdli* a potter; *gardhum* an ass; *gardhumvali* a potter, *geneli*, dates also cocoa-kernel; *gereli* a hand or leg; as *Gereliratul gona* Pick up and hit with a stone in the leg; *ghummad* a pumpkin; *godhmal* wheat; *gon* to beat kill or plunder, as *Gudus gonayache* To plunder a house; *Gonle tari yarvad mat isu*, *naka*, Don't tell even if you are beaten or killed; *gorel* a goat; *gudus* a house, as *Gudusat kakul khogddldy* There is a dog in the house, or *Gudsat shit dhe ka*, Is there a lamp in the house; *gudumi* a hill, as *Gudumila okna* Run to the hill; *guram* a horse; *is* to take or give, as *katul isa* Give me the swora; *Jatvad tal gudasat khobla an yarvad isa* Leave the good turban in the house and take the bad one; *jatik* or *jatvad*, good, plentiful, rich, real, or young, as *Jatvad ka yarvad* Good or bad, rich or poor, high or low, young or old, strong or weak; *junnam* millet; *kadal* gram; *kadle* a key; *kadli* ornaments; *kakul* a dog, as *Gudasat kakul khogadlay*. There is a dog in the house; *kam* a letter; *kan* to look at, to tell, to do, as *Kanti ka kyabadli*, Is he looking at us or sleeping; *much kanayachi* to commit a theft; *kanli* eyes; *kapad* or *kapaduli* clothes; *kat* to fasten to the waist, as *Katun tdk*, Fasten it to the waist; *katul* a sword; *khobal* to hide, as *Kolchat khobal* Hide it under ground; *khogad* to be, to come, or to sit, as *Gudasat kakul khogadlay* There is a dog in the house, or *Nalkya orid khogadlay* The sepoy has come to the village; *kodle* cock, hatchet, nail, or lock; *kolach* earth or grain; *kolgul* a shoe, as *Kolgulivar patatyal* They will find you out from your shoes; *kokanvddya* an Englishman or a *saheb*; *kor* a blanket, as *kor tisakva*, Send the blanket; *korguli* or *korpade* a shepherd; *kos* to cut; *kudmuli* bread, as *Kudmuli tagayachi* To eat bread; *kundal* a rabbit; *kyabad* to sleep as *Kanti ka kyabadli*, Is he

looking at us or sleeping; *machulya* a Kunbi as *Gudus machulyachi kd*, *pargydchi* Does the house belong to a Kunbi or to a Brahman; *mat* to tell, as *Mat isu naka*, Don't tell; *mekal* a she-goat; *rnekhum* a tiger; *menuli* fish; *mond* the penis; *mudak* an old man; *mudkayli* a mango; *much* theft; *muchvad* a thief; *mudod* father or mother; *mulvad* a Musalman; *murel* a copper coin; *nadvad* a barber; *nakul* a nose; *nalkya* a sepoy, as *Phadvadichya gudusamadi nalkya khogadlay patil re patil* The sepoy is sitting in the *patil's* house, take care he will arrest you; *netal* rice; *nedle* water, oil, liquor as *Nedle tagayache* To drink liquor, *Nedle tagun yarvad vol* You will drink and become foolish; *nor* mouth; *nyan* gold; *nyanval* clarified butter; *okan* to run away, to come, to go, as *Gudumila okna* Run towards the hill; *orid* a village, as *Nalkya orid khogadlay* The sepoy has come to the village; *otukli* coddung cakes; *padli* a share, as *Padli isa amachi* Give us our share; *pal* blood or milk; *pdrag* a Brahman; *paroshi* the Ramoshis' language; *pat* to catch, to arrest, as *Patil re patil* Take care he will arrest you; *phad* great as *Phad kokanvadya* the great *saheb*; *phadvad* the headman, as *Phadvad pata damali adga*, Give the headman some money; *phadur* village; *phakat* moonlight; *pillad* a knife, an arrow; *podgya* a young goat; *pog* tobacco; *pudkul* door, box, or anything made, of wood; *pudkuli* firewood; *pydr*, to tell, detection; *rai*, a dark night as *Raichach okna*. Run while it is dark; *rdtul* a stone, as *Gereli ratul gana* Pick up and hit with a stone in the leg; *rond* two; *saj* bajri; *gasna* to die; *shedvad* a Mhar; *shit* fire, a lamp, to burn, as *Gudusat shit ahe ka*. Is there a lamp in the house ; *tal* a turban; *teru* a road; *tiskaa* to send; *tubut* a gun; *tunkul* mutton; *tupli* hair, moustache, beard; *vakat* one; *yadas* to tell as *Parag yadasal tela damli adga* The Brahman will tell, give him money: *yamkal* a bone; *yarap* to fear, to quench as *Yarap mat isa* Do not fear; *Shit yarapli* The lamp is out; *yarvdd* or *yerid*, bad, poor, little; *yedul* ox or cow; *yenuni* ears of grain.

Some live in neat, clean, and well cared for houses like Kunbi,, houses either tiled or thatched, with walls of brick or earth, having a cook-room and one or two sleeping rooms. Others live in miserable huts outside of villages. They have a yard round their houses, in which they stack grass and in the rainy season grow pumpkins, beans, and vegetables. Attached to the house is a shed in which are kept one to six pairs of bullocks, two to four cows, one or two buffaloes, a mare or a horse, and about two hundred sheep. All keep dogs and some keep fighting rams. The well-to-do have a good supply of clothes and copper and brass vessels and a few have guns. They have field servants Rimoshis, Kunbis, or Mhars, and a Dhangar shepherd. Their staple food is millet, pulse, vegetables, curry, and

sometimes fish. They occasionally eat rice and their holiday dishes are gram cakes or *puranpolis* and rice flour balls stuffed with molasses called *ladus*. Except some vegetarians who are known as Rambhakts or devotees of Ram, they eat the flesh of sheep, goats, and fowls, and of wild pig and several other kinds of game. They never eat cattle or village swine. About once a week they eat mutton either sheep's flesh or goat's flesh, except the devotees of the goddess Bolai who never eat the goat. They feast the caste on mutton and liquor at marriages and when an offender is allowed back into caste. To their birth and death feasts only near relations and friends are asked. Except some scrupulous souls who eat no flesh which has not been killed by a Musalman priest, Ramoshis eat sheep goats and fowls slaughtered by themselves or by a Musalman priest or *mulla*. As a rule the offerers kill and eat the sheep or fowls which are offered to Khandoba, Bahiroba, Janai and Satvai. They are fond of spirits; both men and women drink, to excess when they can afford it. Formerly they generally drank in the evening before meals, and on Dasara and other holidays they drank at any time of the day. The recent suppression of smuggling and the rise in the price of liquor have done much to check drunkenness. They chew betelnut and leaves, smoke tobacco, and use opium. The men wear the waistcloth or drawers and occasionally a loincloth a turban coat and blanket and carry a stick. The women dress like Kunbi women in the ordinary full robe and bodice. Most of them have a spare suit of rich clothes for holiday wear. They are frequently well dressed wearing gold and silver ornaments. The men wear the earrings called *antias*, the necklace called *kanthi*, and strings of Shilemanis or Sulemani. onyxes to keep off spirits and the evil eye, finger rings, and silver belts round the loins. The women wear a nosering, a necklace, silver bangles, anklets called *todas*, a *bedi* worn on one leg, and too-rings called *ranjodvas* on either foot.

When out of work the Ramoshis live by stealing. Even if severely beaten, they never confess except to their *naik* as the proverb says, *To Ramoshi ahe*, He is a Ramoshi, that is he will never confess. They are very honest among themselves, and do not betray their caste-fellows even at the risk of their lives. Those who have entered Government service have a great regard for their masters and are true to their salt. A much larger number than formerly live by Government service and husbandry, and much fewer by stealing. They are hardworkers both as husbandmen and as robbers and would never like to eat bread earned by others. Their chief calling is Government or private service as watchmen and husbandry. These who are well-to-do lend money. Many are landholders and many



work as field labourers in which they are not less skilful than Kunbis. Field labourers are paid either in corn or in cash, the usual rate being 4½. to 6d.(3-4 *as.*) a day. Many died in the 1876-77 famine. Since then the crops have been good and they are recovering. Many of them owe £5 to £10 (Rs.50-100) generally on account of marriage expenses. According to their credit they pay ¼ *a.* to ½ *a.* the rupee, about two to three per cent, a month. They say they do not eat from the hands of Buruds, Ghadses, Musalmans, Parits, Sonars, Sutars, and Telis, but work together with Kunbis and smoke from the same pipe. They do not touch Mhars or Mangs. Besides Ram, who is the proper object of a Ramoshis adoration, they worship Mlahadev and Ramchandra and say they cannot tell which is greater. Like most Hindus they worship Musalman saints or *pirs*. In some respects they seem to have an unusual leaning towards Islam saying that they and the Musalmans worship the same god, for what is the difference between Ram and Reim that is Rahim the Merciful. They also respect Vetel and his spirits or mothers, Fringai, Janai, Kalai, Mhaskya, Mukai, Navalai, Tukai, and Vaghya. They believe in fate or *kapal*, in destiny or *daiv*, and in chance or *nashib*. An English tomb in the Loni bills about eight miles east of Poona is called *Ram-deval* or Ram's temple. An old Ramoshi woman lives at the tomb, pours water over it, keeps a lamp burning near it, and allows no one to visit it who has eaten flesh since the morning. Religious Ramoshis who are called *Rambhakts* or worshippers of Ram and Krishna never eat flesh. But flesh-eating and non-flesh-eating Ramoshis do not object to eat together or to intermarry. Again some Ramoshis say that Mahadev is their great god, and that the *ling* is the proper object of worship. They say they were once Lingayats, and, though they sometimes employ Brahmans, that their real priest is a Jangam or Lingayat priest. Since they have taken to flesh-eating, they worship the *ling* through Khandoba who they say was a Lingayat Vani before he became a god. Khandoba rides on a horse which he shares with two women riders a Vani his wedded wife in front of him, and Banai a Dhangar his mistress behind him. Khandoba once went to a Dhangars' hamlet where lived a beautiful woman named Banai. On seeing each other Khandoba and Banai fell in love, and when the Dhangars came with sticks to drive him away Khandoba caught Banai in his arms, lifted her on his horse, and galloped to Jejuri, where he built a house for Banai near his temple, and there they lived till in time both of them died. The Dhangars are Khandoba's most attached worshippers. They bring stone sheep to Banai, and say Here is a sheep, give us flocks and herds.' As turmeric or *bhandar* is the vegetable abode of Khandoba the Ramoshis swear by turmeric and hold that no other oath is binding The Ramoshis worship the ox, because it is Shiv's carrier and pay it special honour on the Mondays



of *Shravan* or August-September They worship the horse on Dasara Day in October, and the cobra or *nag* on *Nag-panchmi* or the Cobra's Fifth. They worship cows, monkeys because they are Marutis, and crows in *Bhadrapad* or September-October on the yearly mind-season feast All Souls tide In those days cooked rice is laid on the house-tops and the crows are asked to come, eat, and be satisfied. The Ramoshis keep the ordinary Brahmanic festivals, their chief days being *Shimga* in March April *Gudi-pdva* in April, *Nagar-panchami* in August - September, *Dasara* in September-October, and *Divali* in October-November. On the *Shimga* or *Holi* full-moon in March-April cakes or *puran-polis* are eaten, and much liquor is drunk. In the evening each Ramoshi makes a little *holi* in front of his house. Ten to twenty cowdung cakes are piled in a heap, and in the middle is set a piece of sugar-cane about six inches long, together with a copper coin and five pieces of dry cocoa-kernel. The head of the house takes a water-pot full of water and walks five times round the fire sprinkling water as he goes. The men and boys of the house shout aloud, beat their mouths with the backs of their hands, abuse each other, and then go to join the rest of the people at the village *holi* in front of the head man's office at the village cross. The next day is called the *dhulvad* or dirt day. The people throw filth and dirt at each other, or they take a big pot of water and put earth in it and if they meet a well dressed man they throw earth over him, and ask him to come and play and challenge him to wrestle. The third day is the *shenmar* or cowdung-pelting day, when cowdung is thrown on all well-dressed persons. They dance all night dressed in women's clothes and sing indecent songs. On the fourth day nothing is done. The fifth day is the colour fifth or *rang-panchmi* when red dust and water are thrown on all passers-by. After he gets married a Ramoshi generally chooses some Gosavi to be his spiritual teacher. A man generally chooses his father's teacher or if his father's teacher is dead he chooses his disciple and successor. As Gosavis do not marry they are not succeeded by their sons, but they usually keep women and adopt one another's sons. The class is almost entirely recruited from Marathas or Ramoshis who have vowed, that, if they have a child or if their child recovers from sickness, they will make it a Gosavi. When a man wishes to place himself under a spiritual teacher, or, as the phrase is, to make a teacher, he asks the teacher to come to his house. When the teacher comes he kindles the sacrificial fire or *hom*, and feeds it with hemp, butter, and wheat flour. He reads a few verses out of a sacred book and asks the novice whether he has become his *chela* or disciple. The boy answers he has, and the teacher tells him to walk as he bids him walk and he will prosper, to tell no falsehood, to give no false evidence, to do no wrong, and not to steal. A quantity of fruit is laid before the teacher

who asks the boy to give him the fruit which he likes best. The boy presents the teacher with his favourite fruit and never again eats it. The teacher whispers a verse into the boy's right ear which is called the ear-cleansing or *kan-phukne*. After this the teacher visits his disciple generally once a year and stays a few days during which he is treated with much respect.

When a child is born, if it is a boy the family rejoice and beat a metal plate; if it is a girl the family grieve and no plate is beaten. Women neighbours, Ramoshis, Kunbis, Dhangars, Gavlis, and Kolis and even Mhars and Mangs, pour potfuls of water in front of the house door. The navel cord is cut by a midwife who generally belongs to their own caste; and the child and mother are bathed and laid on a cot. On the fifth day a grindstone is worshipped; an arrow or a needle is stuck in a millet stalk, and, with a knife and a lighted earthen lamp, is set in the mother's room; and the men and women keep awake the whole night. They do not consider the mother unclean. On the twelfth day either five or seven pebbles are laid in a row on the road-side in front of the house, and turmeric, redpowder, and flowers are dropped over them. The child is brought out and set in front of the pebbles and is made to bow before them. Some women, including the Ramoshi women who poured water over the threshold on the first day, are asked to the house. Any Mhar or Mang woman who helped on the fifth day brings handfuls of millet and in return is given four or five wheat balls. The child is then named by a Brahman or a Jangam. If the father can afford it a feast is given in honour of the naming either on the same day or some time after. The mother rests for about five weeks before she goes about her ordinary work. When the child is two or three months old it is taken to the temple of Satvai, Ekai, or some other goddess in a particular village; its head whether it is a boy or a girl is shaved, and the hair is kept in a cocoanut-shell and laid before the goddess. A goat is killed and a dinner is given. Those who cannot afford to go to the goddess' temple perform the ceremony in their own village, keeping the hair and taking it to the goddess on the first opportunity.

Ramoshis generally marry their girls before they come of age, and their boys between eight and twenty. A wedding generally costs the boy's father £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200) and the girl's father about the same, though a poor man may marry his daughter for £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). When he has a boy growing up and can raise money enough to meet the cost of his wedding, a Ramoshi looks about among his

caste people for a family which has a girl of a suitable age for his son. When he has found a suitable match, he starts for the house with one or two men and women. When they arrive they tell the head of the house that they have come to ask his daughter in marriage for their son. The girl's father says, he is willing but that he can fix nothing till he has seen the boy. To show that he favours the match he presents the boy's father and his people with clothes. After a few days the girl's father with one or two men and women, of whom the girl's mother is never one, go to see the boy. They are fed at the boy's house and are presented with clothes. If the girl's father approves of the boy the two fathers go to a Lingayat priest, or if there is no Jangam to a Brahman, who looks in his almanac and writes on two pieces of paper the proper day for the turmeric-rubbing and the day and hour for the wedding. The two fathers take the papers and go to their homes. On the day fixed for betrothal the boy's father takes a few jewels, a robe, a bodice, a sash, redpowder, a cocoanut, about a pound of sugar, and a rupee, and, with five or six friends, goes to the girl's house. After refreshments the boy's father seats the girl on his knee, puts sugar in her mouth, and presents her with the clothes. The girl dresses herself in the clothes, and, after rubbing her brow with redpowder, sits near the boy's father, who fills her lap with five pieces of cocoa-kernel and sugar. To seal the contract the boy's father lays a rupee on the girl's brow. Her father takes the rupee and the boy's father presents the guests with betelnut and leaves and goes home. In well-to-do families, music plays while the betrothal is going on. One to four years generally pass between betrothal and marriage, the boy's father giving the girl a yearly present of clothes. When he is able to meet the cost of the marriage, the boy's father goes to the girl's father and asks him to let the marriage take place. If the girl's father is unable to meet his share of the cost the boy's father with one or two friends goes to the girl's house and settles what amount is required. After a few days he again goes to the girl's house with one or two friends and advances her father the promised sum. A few days after arrangements have been made to meet the cost of the wedding, the parents of the boy and girl go together to a Brahman, explain the object of their visit, and tell him the names of the boy and girl. The Brahman consults his almanac, makes calculations, and writes on a piece of paper their names, the month day and hour at which the marriage should take place, and the name of the woman who is to begin the ceremony. He touches the paper with redpowder, and makes it over to the girl's father, who hands it to the boy's father. The boy's father asks and Brahman says on what day the turmeric-rubbing should take place, and names the women who should rub the turmeric. Shortly before the day fixed by the Brahman marriage booths are built at both the

boy's and the girl's houses. On the turmeric-rubbing day the boy's female relations meet at his father's, pour turmeric powder into a metal plate, and mix it with water. The boy is stripped naked, and, while the musicians play, the woman who was named by the Brahman begins to rub the boy with turmeric, and after she has begun the other women join. After being rubbed with turmeric, the boy is bathed and one of the men of his family takes the rest of the turmeric with music to the girl's house. If the two families live thirty or forty miles apart the boy's father buys  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. worth of turmeric and gives it to the girl's father when the Brahman fixes the turmeric day. After the boy and the girl have been rubbed the women of the house make a cloth and a few grains of Indian millet yellow with turmeric, and taking a sprouting, literally a child-bearing, *lekruvale*, root of turmeric, tie it in the cloth and fasten it round the neck of a stone handmill. Five married women mix wheat, millet, and turmeric, grind them in the same stone handmill into about a pound of flour, and make them into a few cakes. Five ear-bearing plants of Indian millet or *javar* are dug out of the ground, bound together by a thread, and with the roots covered with earth are set upright near the family gods and daily sprinkled with water. Between the turmeric-rubbing and the wedding the boy and his little sister, if he has a sister or if not some other girl, are feasted by relations and castefellows. At each house to which he is asked the boy is rubbed with turmeric and bathed and sometimes feasted. Then the family gods are worshipped. Four betelnuts, representing the gods Khandoba and Bahiroba and the goddesses Bhavani and Navlai, are rubbed with turmeric. or *bhandar* and redpowder or *kunku*, and enough sheep are sacrificed in front of the booth to feast the guests. The next ceremony is consecrating the branches of certain trees as devaks or wedding guardians. During the day on which the animals are sacrificed, the village temple ministrant or *gurav* cuts leafy branches of the mango *Mangifera indica*, *umbar Ficus glomerata*, and *jambhul Syzigium jambolanum*, and of the *rui Calatropis gigantea* and *shami* shrubs, and a few stalks of grass, and sets them in Hanuman's temple. In the evening the boy's father and mother start for Hanuman's temple with music and a party of friends and relations. The boy's mother holds a basket with a hatchet and a cake of flour. The ends of their robes are tied together and fastened to a cloth, which four men of their family hold over their heads as a canopy. On reaching the temple they set a betelnut and five betel leaves before Hanuman and ask his blessing. They then take the branches and the grass and lay them in the basket. When they come home they take the branches and the grass out of the basket, tie them together, and fasten them to the front post of the booth five or six feet from the ground. Early in the evening they feast on the sheep that were

sacrificed, and drink liquor. This is the only meal during the wedding at which meat is eaten as the booth is held to be consecrated to the tree branches and marriage gods. After the feast is over there is a dance, when the dancer, with an accompaniment on the *samal* or drum, *tal* or cymbals, and *tuntune* or one-stringed hand-harp, recites stories of celebrated chiefs. During the night the boy's father takes five sugarcanes or five millet stalks and five cakes. The canes are tied together by a loose string, so that when they are set upright on the floor and the lower ends are pulled somewhat apart, the cakes can be hung in the middle. On the floor, immediately below the cakes, some grains of wheat and millet are spread in a square which is divided into four parts by lines drawn from opposite corners. A copper pot filled with water is set on the grain, and a piece of cocoanut and betelnut and betel leaves are laid on the top of the waterpot. The dancer's iron lamp is set near the waterpot and the dancer begins to recite. At the end of the recitation the guests are given some pieces of sugarcane and bread, and the dancer some food and 2s. (Re. 1) incash. The same ceremonies are performed at the girl's house. In addition, either on the wedding or on the day before the wedding, an earthen altar called *bahule* seven cubits long according to the measurement of the girl's arm, with a step to the east, is raised opposite the entrance to the marriage booth. The village potter brings twenty earthen pots of different sizes, whitewashed, and specked with red green and yellow, with lids on two of them. The potter piles five of these vessels one over the other, and with a lid on the topmost, close to the four corners of the altar opposite the step. The carpenter is called to build a canopy or *sabra* over the altar. He makes the canopy and is presented with a set of men's clothes. A large earthen water vessel called *tanjan* is set near the entrance for the use of the guests, and a betelnut is tied in yellow cloth and fastened round the neck of the waterpot. Neither the altar, canopy, nor waterpots are set up in the boy's booth. At the boy's house on the afternoon of the wedding day the bridal party start at an hour fixed so that they may reach Hanuman's temple in the girl's village an hour before sunset. The boy, who is mounted on a horse and holds a dagger in his hand, is dressed in rich red clothes and wears a coronet or *bashing* of red or yellow paper ornamented with tinsel. He takes a second coronet with him for the girl and starts accompanied by male and female friends or by musicians. When the party reach the girl's village the Mhar comes out and waves a lighted lamp before the boy's face and is presented with clothes or a sash or *shela*. On reaching Hanuman's temple the boy's brother or *vardhava*, with a few friends and with music, rides on to tell the girl's people that the bridegroom has come. He is asked to dismount and eat a dish of vermicelli or *shevaya* mixed with milk which is set on a stool



before him. While he eats the girl's brother or her sister gently draws the stool away and lets the dish fall on the ground. Then the girl's relations break wafer biscuits or *papads* over his head and pelt him with the pieces so that he has to retire. After the bestman has been driven from the house, the girl's father, with a party of men and women and with music, goes to Hanuman's temple. He presents the boy with a turban, a sash or *shela*, and a pair of shoes, and asks him to his house. The boy mounts the horse holding a dagger in his hand, and the groom's maid or *karavli*, who generally is his younger sister, is seated behind him holding on her head a small copper pot with five ears of millet. Several men of the boy's party hold sticks with bright cloth tied to their ends. The procession moves slowly, the musicians playing, and the women throwing on the boy's head Indian millet steeped in turmeric. At the girl's marriage booth one of the women of her family, with a potful of water on her head, comes to meet the bridegroom. The bride's mother comes out with a wheat flour lamp in a brass plate, and waves it round the bridegroom's face, who presents her with a robe and a bodice. Then a cocoanut is waved round the bridegroom's head and smashed on the ground, leaving the pieces to be taken by the village Mhar. He then dismounts and enters the booth followed by the guests. The priest enters the booth after the bridegroom and is presented with the paper fixing the hour for the different ceremonies. He reads it and repeats texts and the musicians play. A Brahman piles two heaps of rice near the altar, and a curtain called Ganga-Jamna is held between the heaps. The bridegroom stands on one heap, facing the west, with a dagger in *one* hand and a cocoanut in the other, and a relation stands close by holding a naked sword over the boy's head. The girl is brought from the house by her brother or sister, and is made to stand opposite the bridegroom, facing east, slightly bowed, and with her hands joined and held in front. Behind her stands her maternal uncle. Yellow rice is handed to the guests. The Brahman repeats a few verses, and, as soon as the lucky moment comes, the curtain is drawn on one side and the girl gives her right hand to the boy; the guests throw yellow rice over the boy and girl, music plays, and guns are fired. The boy sits on the heap of rice on which the girl stood, and the girl sits on the heap on which the boy stood, and the ceremony ends by handing the guests betelnut and leaves. The Brahman passes a thread four times round the neck and shoulder, and four times round the waist of the bride and bridegroom, and is paid a few pence to a few shillings ( $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$  *anna* to Rs. 3-4) according to the family's means. Then the Brahman breaks the thread which he wound round the bride and bridegroom's necks. He steeps it in turmeric water, twists it, and ties a sprouting or *bachevala* turmeric to it, and fastens it to the boy's right wrist. The thread that was wound round their waists he twists

and fastens round the girl's right wrist, and warns them that so long as the turmeric is round their wrists they must eat no flesh. The girl's father places the lucky necklace or *mangalsutra* of three or four yellow threads and two gold and five dark glass beads in the boy's hand, and the boy fastens it round the girl's neck, and two silver toe-rings or *jodvis* are put on her feet. The next ceremony, which immediately follows the last, is the maiden-giving or *kanyadan*. A brass plate is brought, and the girl's mother, taking a copper pot full of water, pours the water on the boy's feet and the girl's father washes them. Then the girl's mother lays her head on the boy's feet and tells him that she has made over her daughter to his care. The Brahman is presented with money and tells the boy and girl to seat themselves on the altar. The boy lifts his wife, and resting her on his hip, sets his right foot on the altar step and seats himself on the altar with his wife on his right. Some stalks of *surti* *Citrus cajan*, of *sonkari* *Crotalaria juncea*, or of *jovar* are lighted, and the boy throws butter on the fire, while the girl keeps touching his hand with hers in sign that she is helping him. Then the Brahman or some relation ties together the hems of their garments and the boy lifts his wife and walks five times round the fire, and they go into the house and fall before the girl's house gods. They sit down before a brass or silver plate with an embossed face of Khandoba, stretch forward their clasped hands, and bow till their heads touch their hands. While bowing before the gods, the bridegroom stretches out his hands, seizes one of the gods, and hides it under his robe. They come out into the booth and walk once round the altar, keeping the altar on their right, the boy going first and the girl following. When they have finished making the turn, they sit on the altar, the girl on the boy's left. The bride's people come up and demand the god and the boy refuses to part with it till they give him money. The knot in their garments is untied by one of the kinswomen to whom the boy promises a robe or a bodice. The feast to the guests is served in the booth, the boy and his groom's maid or *karavli* eating on the altar, while the girl dines with the rest of the women in the house. None of them eat till the boy has begun. Before they begin the guests ask the boy 'Have you not got your dinner.' He says 'I have got it.' They say 'What order have you to give.' He says 'Eat.' While the guests are eating the bride's father and mother move among them to see that all are well served. When the men are finished the women dine and some dinner is sent to the boy's house for his father and mother. Then the girl is called and she and the boy are seated together on the floor. In front of them yellow rice is piled in ten or eleven small heaps and a betelnut is put in the middle. The boy is asked to tell his wife's name and he repeats it, Gopi, Gopi, each time touching one of the yellow rice heaps and ending with a loud Gopi and a smart blow

on the central nut. Then the girl has to say her husband's name, touch the rice heaps, and come down with a sharp blow on the betel-nut. Then the bride's maids have to mention their husband's name and all the other guests have to name their husband or their wife. The spice of impropriety in this mentioning of husband's and wife's names causes much merriment. After dinner the guests leave, the boy's party going to some house in the village which has been set apart for their use. The boy remains all night in the marriage booth. Next morning the boy and girl with a party of their friends are mounted on the horse on which the boy rode the day before. They stop under some trees and the boy retires and then the girl retires and they come back in procession reaching the house about ten. In the afternoon the girl's mother, with a few kinswomen and the village washerman, goes with music to the boy's lodging to bring him and his relations to the girl's house. When they come near the house the village washerman spreads a sheet on the ground, and the women walk on the sheet, the washerman picking up one sheet and laying it in front of them as they walk. The bridegroom and the men of the party walk at some distance behind. The boy's father, accompanied by a Brahman, takes some clothes, dry dates, jewelry, wheat flour, rice, cocoa-kernel, sugar, betel leaves and nut with him in a copper plate, and seating the boy and girl side by side fills the girl's lap with the clothes and other articles. The relations and other castefellows come towards the bride and bride-groom bringing a few grains of rice in their joined hands and drop the rice on the head of the bridegroom and bride, and, taking a copper coin, wave it round their faces. These coppers become the property of the village *gurav* who sits close by with a plate. The Brahman is presented with 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) which is called the booth-fee or *mandavkhadani*, and presents are given to the *patil* and others who have claims. Those of the boy's relations who can afford it, present his parents with clothes or money, and the relations of the *girl* present her parents with clothes according to their means. The girl's father presents the boy with a small copper pot and a plate. The musicians play all this time in front of the booth. Then four metal pots full of water are set so as to make a square outside of the booth. The bride and bridegroom sit in the middle of the four pots on a plank of wood, the boy wearing a cloth or *pancha* hanging from the waist and the girl an old robe and bodice. Some one takes a brass plate, puts redpowder or *kunku* on it, pours on water, and lays a betelnut in the water. The bride takes the betelnut and holds it in her clasped hands and the bridegroom lays her hands on the ground and with his left hand tries to force out the nut, which after a short struggle he succeeds in doing. He then holds the nut in his left hand and after a struggle the bride succeeds in forcing it out. These trials of strength cause much merriment

among the guests. Then the boy rises, and the girl stands in front of him and he lays his hands on her head and the groom's-maid or *karavli* throws water over him and the bridesmaid throws water over the bride. Then the bride and bridegroom blow water from their mouths at each other. Then the boy sits down with the edge of a metal plate under his toe, and the girl's brother comes up and pushes him over on his back. The people laugh, but the boy takes no offence as it is all done according to rule. Then the boy gets up and stands with one foot in the metal pot and the other on the stool till fresh clothes are brought. The girl is carried into the house. Then the boy dresses in fresh clothes and goes into the marriage booth and sits on the altar. In the house the girl puts on a green robe or *patal* and a green bodice and her bridesmaid rubs turmeric on her body. When the turmeric-rubbing is finished the bride draws a cloth over her head like a veil, rubs redpowder on her brow, and ties a *mundaval* round her head. Then the groom's maid rubs the boy with turmeric as he sits on the altar. He is dressed in a short coat and turban and his brow is marked with red. The marriage coronet is tied to his turban and his feet are rubbed with redpowder. Then the bride comes out and is seated on the altar on her husband's right. Ten or twelve little dough lamps are lighted and placed in the middle of the altar. When they touch the small heaps of rice the bridegroom and bride repeat each other's names. When the naming is over betelnuts and leaves are laid in a plate, and all the party, except the bride, with the bridegroom at its head and with music, go to the village office or *chavadi* where villagers of every class are gathered. Here the bridegroom formally presents his offering to the head of the village. Then the headman tells his assistant or *chaughula* to ask the Ramoshi why he has brought the betelnut. The boy's father answers, 'My child is being married, I brought it for the people. What shall I give you to eat?' The assistant says, 'Give a dinner to the village.' If the father is a rich man he feeds the village: if a poor man he pays £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20); if a pauper he holds up his hands and is allowed to go. Then the headman gives the Ramoshis leave to go and they return to their marriage booth. In the evening all the castepeople are seated and the boy's father gives them betelnut. He asks the guests what dinner he will give them, and says he has pulse and bread. They say, 'Pulse and bread are no good. We want four goats, mangoes, rice, and liquor.' The goats are brought to the booth and their throats are cut by a Musalman priest. All eat except the bridegroom and bride who cannot eat flesh because of the turmeric tied to their wrists. When the food is ready and the guests are seated, the liquor is brought and given to the headman or *naik*, who goes round with the bottle and pours liquor into a leaf cup which is set beside each guest. The host's family follow the headman and lay

leaf plates in front of each guest and help them to the different dishes. This dinner is called *gav-jevan* or the village-feast. The guests often take too much liquor and get quarrelsome, and the girl's father goes to them and begs them not to disgrace his child's wedding by fighting. When the men have finished the women dine and some of them also take liquor. It is a noisy merry scene and goes on till night. Next morning the bride is dressed in a new robe and bodice. A priest is called, a Lingayat priest if possible, and all the people gather in the booth. The boy who holds a rich robe and bodice in his hand and the girl are seated facing the priest and the boy hands the clothes to the priest. Then her bridesmaid carries the girl into the house and her green robe is taken off and the new robe put on. She does not draw the end of the robe over her head, but spreads it across her lap and puts in it five pieces of turmeric, five pieces of cocoa-kernel, and five pieces of betelnut. She also lays in her robe wheat and rice called *karanda-phani* and ties the ends of her robe at her back. She comes of and sits behind her husband; the priest repeats texts, and the boy and girl are seated on the altar. The ends of their robes are tied together and they go into the house. In the house they fall at the feet of Khandoba, the family god, and the girl's mother gives one plate of vermicelli of *shevaya* to the bridegroom and another to the bride. They sit together and eat. Meanwhile in the booth the *aher* or present-giving goes on. A representative of the boy and of the girl sit in front of the priest and the boy's friends give clothes to the boy's representative and the girl's friends to the girl's representative. There is much merry-making. When the present-giving is over, the priest calls '*Kanyadan*' or the girl-giving. Then the bride's mother's brother and his wife come with their clothes tied together, and the wife puts a cloth over her head and holds a plate in her hand, and comes before the priest who repeats texts. The boy and girl are called and the boy's toes are put in the plate, water is poured over the boy's toes, and the girl's uncle sips the water and says, 'I give you my sister's child. She is now in your keeping, see that you care for her.' The water is thrown away and the girl's sister keeps the plate. The boy's father brings a robe and bodice before the priest who gives them to the girl's maternal aunt. This ends the wedding.

The boy's people should leave the girl's house on the third, the fifth, or the seventh day of a wedding. They should leave on an odd day, not on an even day. The girl's father asks the boy's father to stay but he refuses, and cakes and other eatables are tied up for their use. Before they go all sit in the booth and the boy his mother and father are seated in a row. The girl brings molasses from the



house and drops a little into the mouths of the a boy's father and mother. Then the girl's father and after him the girl s mother lift the girl and lay her first in the boy's father's and then in the boy's mother a lap saying, 'She was mine, now she is yours.' When this is over the women guests rise and the women of the boy's party make a rush for the pots which are piled at the corners of the altar, and carry them off, often breaking them in their haste. Then all go to the house where the bridegroom has been lodging and the bride's mother and he make the owner a present. The boy's party start for their village taking with them the bride and one or two of her nearest friends. The bride and bridegroom ride and the rest travel in carts. They start with music which is kept up till they have passed the boundary of the girl's village. On reaching the boundary of the boy's village the boy and girl and one or two attendants stay in the temple of Hanuman and the rest go to the boy's house and make ready pulse and bread. About seven o'clock they bring musicians, set the boy and girl on the horse, and forming a procession go round the village, the householders as they pass offering sugar to the bride and bridegroom. When they reach the boy's house the boy and girl go in together and worship Khandoba the house god. They then come out and two metal pots are brought and the bride's-maid and the groom's-maid wash them in warm water and the marriage mitre is taken off. When they are bathed and dressed the groom's-maid holds a cloth in front of the boy and refuses to let him pass till he promises to marry his child to hers. Then five men come in front of them, each of them holding a betelnut. The boy tells them they must give him the nuts. They say, Why? He answers, ' To feed and clothe my wife.' They agree, but instead of giving them each of them eats his betelnut. Then a dinner of bread and pulse is given to the marriage party. On the fifth day the girl opens the end of her robe and distributes the betelnuts and cocoa-kernel to the people of the house. She draws the end of her robe over her head and on the next day goes back to her father's. A Ramoshi marriage costs £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200).

Widow-marriage is allowed and practised. Still a feeling of disgrace attaches to widow-marriage. If a woman is left a widow with three or four children she tells her parents she must get another husband. They call a caste meeting and some widower who wishes to avoid the expense of marrying a maiden agrees to marry the widow. He must give her toe-rings, a nose-ring, four bracelets, and a suit of clothes. They are married in the evening by a Lingayat priest who reads in a low tone. Only men attend. It is very unlucky for a married woman to hear any of the service and the neighbour's houses are for the day

deserted. A dinner is given to the caste. The husband and wife separate in the evening and do not see each other or any one of the caste for a day. They then live together. If a woman has lost three husbands and wishes to marry a fourth, when the ceremony is being performed, she keeps a cock under her left arm, and the priest reads the ceremony in the name first of the cock and then of the man; so that if the evil in the woman causes a death the cock loses his life, not the fourth husband. [Though the Ramoshis do not admit it, the evil in the woman probably a the spirit of her former husbands, or rather it is the spirit of the first husband who killed numbers two and three for meddling with his property.] The expenses attending a second marriage, which is called *motar* or *pat*, including the Brahman's fee and the marriage feast, average £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30).

When a sick man is on the point of death, the son or some other relation lays the dying man's head on his thigh, and awaits the moment of death. A Jangam or Brahman is sometimes called and presented with alms. After death the body is laid in the veranda, the son sitting close to it. When the bier is ready the body is taken outside of the house and washed, and betelnut, betel leaf, basil leaf, and sometimes a little gold are dropped into the mouth, and the body is laid on the bier. It is covered with a new cloth, to one of the corners of which a handful of rice and a copper coin are tied. The son puts on the father's turban, takes in his hand a pot with burning cowdung cakes, and walks in front of the body never looking back. The unmarried dead are tied to a bamboo not carried on a bier. The burying ground is by itself outside of the village. On the way, the bier is laid on the ground, a few stones are gathered, the rice and the copper which were tied in the cloth are laid under the stones, and the bearers change places, and turn the body so that the head faces the opposite direction from what it faced before. The grave is about five feet deep, two feet broad, and about five feet long. The chief mourner loosens the body from the bier and goes to a neighbouring stream and bathes with his turban on. He then goes to the grave and squeezes one end of the wet turban so that the water drops into the dead mouth. He then breaks the corpse's waist-string, beats his mouth with his hand, and crying aloud comes out of the grave and throws earth over the body and large stones and thorns are laid on the grave. [Some Ramoshis make tombs over their forefathers. They pay a mason £1 to £1 4s. (Rs. 10 - 12) to carve an image of a man or a horse with a weapon in his hand.] The funeral party go to a stream to wash their feet or bathe, and return home each carrying in his hand a few blades of *durva* grass. On reaching the house, a lamp is shown to them and they sit down and throw the grass on the

housetop. Next day all of them go to the grave taking cowdung and urine. The cowdung is spread over the grave and the urine is sprinkled over it, and the grave made clean. The son bathes and fills with water the pot which held fire on the previous day, sets it on his shoulders, and piercing it with five holes lets the water trickle on the ground as he walks round the grave. He dashes the pot on the ground at the head of the grave and calls aloud beating his mouth with his hand. He shaves his head except the top-knot and his face except his eyebrows. Rice is boiled, and each person present lays small balls and a little butter on leaves near the grave. They watch till a crow eats from one of the leaves. Then they go home each carrying a few blades of grass. The mourning lasts for only seven days. Relations are told of the death and come to the house of mourning on the seventh day. A goat is killed and a dinner is given. The four bearers and the chief mourners eat from the same dish. The Jangam or Brahman is given alms including some fruit or vegetable which the chief mourner has determined not to eat during the year in honour of the deceased. The guests give the chief mourner 1s. to 10s. (Rs. ½-5) and a new turban is bound round his head.

The Ranioshis have four chiefs or *naiks* and a head chief or *sarnaik*. The head chief is a Maratha, Tatia Sahib of the Jadhav clan, who marries with Marathas but comes to Ramoshi weddings. The *naiks* settle caste disputes and hear charges of breaches of caste rules. The commonest breach of rules is eating with Mhars and Mangs and other classes with whom a Ramoshi ought not to eat. The whole caste ought to be present at the meeting and the four *naiks* and the *sarnaik* ought to preside, hear the charge and the answers, and settle the case. The hearing of disputes used to go on for days and the expense of feeding the meeting was met by one of the headmen and recovered from the fines inflicted on offenders which were sometimes as high as £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100). Such heavy fines are not now levied. The people are poorer and there are seldom big disputes. The heads are still asked to settle disputes about the crests or *devdks* of different families, and at marriage dinners they distribute the liquor. Otherwise the heads have little power.

They do not send their boys to school. When a child is seven or eight years old he must steal something. If he goes to prison the people are delighted, fall at his feet when he comes out, and are anxious to get him to marry their daughters.

## THAKURS

**Tha'kurs**, or Lords, are returned as numbering 5643 and as found over the whole district, especially in Junnar and Khed. They have no story of their origin and have no memory of any earlier place of abode than Poona. The name suggests that they are a hill-tribe who at some past time were joined by Rajput fugitives and have a strain of Rajput blood. Their surnames are the same as those of Marathas, Gaikwad, Jadhav, Kamble, Shelke, and Shinde. People with the same surname do not intermarry. The names of both men and women are the same as Maratha names. They are a dark somewhat stuited tribe, but it is often not easy to distinguish a Thakur from a Koli or a West Poona Kunbi. The men wear the top-knot and moustache and some wear whiskers and the beard. Their home tongue is Marathi. They live in small huts with low mud and stone walls and thatched roofs, and have metal and earthen vessels. Their food is *jvari*, *savi*, *nachni*, *bajri*, fruits, roots, herbs, spices, fish, the flesh of sheep goats hare deer and the wild hog, and liquor. The men wear a loincloth, a waistcloth, a blanket, and a piece of cloth or a Maratha turban wound round the head. The women wear the robe drawn tightly back between the legs and wound round the waist leaving most of the leg bare. They sometimes leave the breast bare and sometimes cover it with a scanty bodice and bead necklaces. Except a few of the well-to-do who have gold, ornaments, their jewelry is of brass and tin. They are a hardworking people and work as husbandmen and labourers, and gather and sell firewood and hay and sometimes fruits and roots. They say they worship Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv, and all other Hindu gods, and keep their feasts. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans. They have great faith in the Tiger god or Vaghya, and believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they dip a hand in red-powder water and make the mark of a hand on the wall of the mother's room and worship it offering it a goat or a cock. They name the child on the twelfth day. Their girls are married before they are sixteen and their boys before they are twenty-four. The offer or asking in marriage, *magni*, comes from the boy's side and is the same as among Marathas. The day before the marriage the boy and girl are rubbed with turmeric at their homes. On the marriage day the boy, either seated on horseback or on foot, goes to the girl's house accompanied by male and female relations, friends, and music. At the girl's house marriage-coronets or *bashings* are tied round the heads of the boy and girl and they are made to stand face to face and a cloth is held between them. The Brahman priest repeats verses and at the end

throws grains of rice over their heads and they are husband and wife. A feast is held and the guests go back to their homes. Next day the boy goes in procession with his wife to his father's and the marriage ceremony ends with a feast. They bury the dead and feed crows in their honour. They have a caste council and decide social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school and are poor.

## VADARS

Vadars are returned as numbering 2677, and as found over the whole district. Their origin is unknown, but their names and home speech show that they are of Telugu extraction. [ Details are given in the Bijapur Statistical Account.] They say they came into the district twenty-five or thirty years ago, but from where they cannot tell. The names in common use among men are Babu, Chima, Hanmant, Naga, Piraji, Topaji, and Timana; and among women Baya, Sataya, Tima, Yama, and Vasari. Their surnames are Jadhav, Nalvade, Pavar, and Shelvade. Persons bearing the same surnames cannot intermarry. Their family deities are Ellamma, Janai, Satvai, and Vyankoba of Giri. Vadars include three divisions, Gadivadars or cartmen, Jate-vadars or grindstone men, and Mati-vadars or quarrymen. These three classes eat together but do not intermarry. Their home speech is a corrupt Telugu and their outdoor speech Marathi. As a class they are dark, tall, strong, and well-made. The men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the eyebrows moustache and whiskers. Some live in one-storied houses with mud walls and tiled or thatched roofs, and many in bamboo huts thatched with the grass called *survadi*. Their houses are very dirty. Their belongings include cots, blankets, boxes, and metal and earthen vessels. They have no house servants, but own cattle, asses, pigs, and poultry. They are moderate eaters and good cooks. Their staple food is Indian millet bread, pulse, and onions. On Sundays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays they always bathe before their morning meal. They may use animal food and liquor on any day. They eat pork and rats and are looked down on by Maratha and other middle-class Hindus. The women tie their hair in a knot at the back of the head, and wear a robe which hangs from the waist to the ankle without having the skirt drawn back between the feet. A Vadar woman who wears a bodice is turned out of caste. The men wear a waistcloth or a loincloth or a pair of tight drawers, a coat or a shirt called *bandi*, a Maratha turban, and a pair of sandals or shoes. Women wear no earrings. Their usual ornaments are toe-rings or *jodvis*, a nose-ring called *moti*, and silver wristlets called *gots*. As a



class they are dirty, hardworking, irritable, thrifty, and hospitable. They are stone-cutters and quarry men, and some are contractors who supply stones for public buildings. The Mativadars or earth-men carry on their asses the earth wanted for buildings, repair rice dams, and take earthwork contracts on roads and railways. During the fair months they are well employed. They are excellent workers, almost always working by the piece. A family of five spends 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-9) a month on food and 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5-9) a year on clothes. A Vadar's hut or cottage costs 10s. to £5 (Rs. 5-50) to build and their house goods are worth £2 to £7 10s. (Rs. 20-75). A birth costs 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5), a marriage £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100), and a death 10s. to 14s. (Rs. 5-7). They worship local gods. Their family deities are Ellamma, Janai, Satvai, and Yyankoba of Giri. They keep the usual Brahmanic holidays and fasts. They believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, and evil spirits, but they say they are not troubled by ghosts, as the pork which they eat and keep in their houses scares ghosts. Child-marriage, widow-marriage, and polygamy are allowed and practised. When a woman is brought to bed, a Vadar woman cuts the child's navel cord and is given a pair of glass bangles. On the twelfth a Brahman priest names the child and is paid 2d. ( $1\frac{1}{3}$  as.). Ceremonial impurity lasts fifteen days. After a fortnight and before the end of the fourth month, a clay idol of Satvai is made and the mother lays before the image turmeric powder, vermillion, and flowers; frankincense is burnt, and a goat is slain. A cocoanut, a copper coin, wheat cakes, pulse, and pot-herbs are laid before the image, and a cradle is hung over it. In a day or two the head of the child is shaved, and the caste-people are treated to liquor and meat. Boys are married between three and twenty-five and girls between three and eighteen. When the parents of the boy and girl have agreed to the marriage terms the boy's father pays 10s. (Rs. 5) to the girl's father, and after; day or two a caste feast known as the *sakharpan* or sugar and betel feast is given. At noon on the Saturday after the priest has named the lucky day for the wedding, they lay flowers, vermillion or sandal, rice, sugar, and a cocoanut before their family gods. They have no separate marriage guardians or *devaks*. Booths or porches are raised before the boy's and girl's houses with a branch of the wild fig or *umbar* tied to one of the posts and worshipped by the *karavali*, who is the sister either of the bridegroom or bride. At their own houses five threads, twisted into a cord and smeared with turmeric powder, are passed round a turmeric root and tied to the wrist of the boy and the girl. Some of the turmeric powder is rubbed on the boy, and the rest is sent with music and women to be rubbed on the girl. The bridegroom is dressed and with music, friends, and kinspeople is taken to the girl's village Maruti. From Maruti's temple, his brother is sent in front to

the bride's and brings back a suit of clothes for the bridegroom. The boy is then brought to the bride's booth, a piece of bread is waved round him, and thrown away as an offering to the evil spirits. He passes into the booth and is seated on a blanket spread on the ground with his bride before him face to face. They are rubbed with turmeric paste five times and are husband and wife. The guests throw lucky rice or *mangalakshats* over them saying in a loud voice *Savadhan*, Be careful. Their brows are marked with vermilion and rice, and copper coins are waved round them. They are bathed by five married women, and dressed in dry clothes. On the next day and the day after the couple are bathed in hot water and dressed, and friends and kinspeople are feasted. They go to Maruti's temple on foot, burn frankincense before him, and break a cocoanut in his honour. Each unties the other's thread wristlet or *kankan* and they are taken to the bridegroom's with music and kinspeople, and the whole ends with a caste feast. When a girl comes of age she sits apart for three days, and her lap is filled with a cocoanut and fruit. On the twelfth or thirteenth day the girl and her husband receive presents of clothes from their fathers-in-law and she joins her husband. They bury their dead and mourn twelve days and on the thirteenth treat the castepeople to a cup of liquor. They form a united community and settle caste disputes at meetings of the castemen called *panchas*. They do not send their boys to school or take to new pursuits. They are a poor class.

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### VANJARIS

**Vanja'ris**, or Grain-dealers, are returned as numbering 2606 and as found all over the district. They have no story of their origin and no memory of former settlements or of the reason or the date of their settling in Poona. They belong to two classes, Marathi and Kongadi Vanjaris, who dine together but do not intermarry. The surnames of the Maratha Vanjaris are Andhle, Darode, Ghule, Palane, Sabale, and Thorave. The names in common use among men are Rambhau, Sakharam, Satvaji, and Tukaram; and among women Bhagirathi, Bhima, Gangabai, Rahi, and Raji. As a class they are tall, strong, well-made, and dark. The men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. Their head hair is long and black and the face hair thick and short. They speak Marathi both at home and abroad, and live in houses with walls of brick and stones and tiled roofs. Their furniture includes cots, cradles, boxes, carpets, blankets, and metal vessels. They own cattle and keep hares and parrots as pets. They are moderate eaters and their staple food includes pulse, rice, vegetables, and Indian millet

bread. A man spends on his food  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $3d.$  ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 *as.*) a day. They are careful to bathe before they take their morning meal. Caste feasts are given in honour of marriage and other ceremonies. When they can afford it they eat the flesh of goats, fish, poultry, deer, and hare. They drink liquor, smoke hemp-flower or *ganja*, and eat opium. The men wear a waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a shirt or *bandi*, a turban, and Deccan shoes. The women plait their hair into braids and wear a bodice with a back and short sleeves and the full Maratha robe whose skirt is drawn back between the feet. Neither men nor women have any store of fine clothes for holiday wear, but give their usual clothes a special washing. As a class they are dirty, hardworking, frugal, irritable, and hospitable. Their chief hereditary calling is carrying rice, pulse, and other grain on pack-bullocks. Since the opening of cart roads and railways the pack-bullock trade has much declined and many have had to seek other employment. Some are husbandmen and some constables and messengers, some deal in fodder, and some deal in wood. Of those who have taken to husbandry some show much skill both in field-work and in gardening, and others deal in milk and clarified butter. Their women help in hoeing and cutting grass and their children in watching and bird-scaring. As a class the Vanjari landholders are not prosperous. They can borrow on their personal credit £20 to £50 (Es.200-500) at yearly rates varying from twelve to thirty-six per cent. A Vanjari eats from no one but a Brahman or a Maratha. They rank themselves with Marathas but Marathas look down on them and object to dine with them. Vanjaris are religious. Some worship Shiv and others Vishnu, but their chief objects of worship are their family deities Bahiroba, Bhavani, and Khandoba. Their priest is a Deshasth Brahman, whom they call to their houses during their marriage death and other ceremonies. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, Singanapur, Tuljapur, and other sacred places. They keep the fasts and feasts observed by other Brahmanic Hindus, and fast on *ekadashis* or lunar elevenths. They have no special guide but most of them become the disciples of some Gosavi. Their women and children occasionally suffer from spirit possession. When they think that any sickness has been caused by spirits an exorcist or *deverishi* is called in who repeats some verses and waves a lemon and a fowl round the possessed person's head and drives out the spirit. When a woman is in labour a midwife is called. She comes and prepares a place for bathing the woman. She cuts the child's navel cord and buries it under the spot where the woman was bathed and the mother is laid on a cot. On the fifth day a coconut and lemon are laid on a grindstone and worshipped by men who sit up the whole night. The ceremonial impurity lasts for ten days. On the twelfth Satvai is worshipped and the child is named by elderly persons in the

house. Between the time when a boy is twelve months and three years old, the hair-cutting or *javal* takes place. If the child is the subject of a vow a goat is sacrificed in the name of some god. The child is seated in its maternal uncle's lap in the presence of a company of friends and relations. After the hair has been clipped the head of the child is shaved except a small tuft or *shendi* on the top of the head. New clothes are given to the child and friends and relations are feasted.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's side. The boy's father goes with some friends to the girl's house and asks her father whether he will give his daughter in marriage to his son. If the father agrees a formal offer is made. Then follow as among other Marathas the turmeric-rubbing, the installation of the wedding-guardian or *devak*, and the making of wedding porches. On the marriage day the bridegroom is dressed in new clothes, a marriage ornament called *bashing* is tied to his brow and he is taken on horse-back with friends and music to the temple of Maruti in the girl's village. The bridegroom is seated in the temple and his brother mounts the horse and goes to the bride's. Her father gives him a turban and scarf and these he takes to the temple and gives to the bridegroom to wear. Then the bridegroom is seated on the horse and led to the bride's. He is taken into the wedding porch and made to stand on a carpet or sacking. The bride is led out and is made to stand facing the bridegroom. A piece of cloth is held between them, the Brahman priest hands to the guests rice mixed with turmeric powder, and gives the bride and bridegroom a roll of betel leaves to hold. He then recites the wedding verses ending with *Siva lagna, savadhana*, May the wedding be lucky, Beware. He throws lucky rice five times over the couple, and the guests throw the rice which they have in their hands. Then the couple are seated and the bridegroom ties the lucky thread round the bride's neck. The washerman brings a piece of fresh-washed white cloth. This is cut in two and in each part a turmeric, betelnut, and cloves are rolled and one is fastened round the right arm of the bridegroom and the other round the right arm of the bride. When the couple are seated on the altar the priest lights a sacred fire. When the fire is kindled and verses have been read the couple each in turn throw clarified butter and rice into the fire. Then the guests wave copper coins round the bride and bridegroom and throw them away. The skirts of the boy's and girl's robes are knotted together and they go and bow to the family gods. When the worship of the house gods is over they fall at the feet of the bride's mother, who unties their clothes. The day ends with a feast. On the day after the wedding a second caste feast is given. On the third day the

bridegroom and the bride are bathed and made to dine from the same dish in the presence of friends and relations. The guests as on the wedding day wave copper coins round the bridegroom and the bride and throw them away. The coppers are given to the priest or the pipers, or they are changed into silver and made into finger rings for the bride and bridegroom. Then with music the bride and bridegroom start in procession for the bridegroom's house, where a feast of cakes and flesh is given and the wedding guardian or *devak* is bowed out. When a girl comes of age she sits by herself for four days and on the fifth she is bathed. On the sixteenth the girl's father with music fetches her husband and asks him to put fruits and nuts into the girl's lap and presents the girl with a robe and bodice and her husband with a turban. The day ends with a feast. The Vanjaris have no pregnancy ceremony. When a Vanjari dies his friends and relations or caste-people meet and prepare a bier. A fire is kindled and some water is heated in a new earthen pot. The body is taken out of the house, bathed in hot water and dressed in a loincloth, laid on the bier, and covered with a new white cloth. Then the chief mourner starts carrying the fire-pot and the bearers follow. On the way to the burning ground they rest the bier, lay on the ground a copper coin and some rice, change places, and carry on the body to the burning ground. At the burning ground they lay down the bier and unfasten the body. The chief mourner has his face, including the moustache, shaved, washes in cold water, and with the help of others begins to heap up the funeral pile. When the pile is ready the body is laid on it and the chief mourner squeezes some water into the dead mouth and kindles the pyre. When the body is nearly consumed the son walks thrice round the pyre with the dripping earthen water jar, dashes it on the ground, beats his mouth, and cries aloud. All go to the river to bathe and return to the house of mourning in wet clothes. At the house of mourning they are given some *nim* leaves to eat. They then look at the lamp which has been set over the place where the deceased died and go to their homes. On the third day the chief mourner, accompanied by a priest and a few relatives, takes a winnowing basket and two or three small earthen pots, with milk, curds, clarified butter, and cow's urine, and five millet cakes, and goes to the burning ground. At the burning ground the cow's urine, milk, and curds are poured over the ashes, which are gathered in a blanket and thrown into the river. Milk, curds, and cow's urine are again poured over the place where the ashes were, and two earthen jars are set where the head lay and one where the feet lay when the dead was burned. The jars are filled with water and covered with the five millet cakes, and worshipped with flowers and sandal powder. When this is over the winnowing basket is thrown away and the people return home. Ceremonial impurity



lasts ten days. On the tenth, ten balls of wheat flour are prepared and worshipped and one is offered to the crows and the rest are thrown into the river. After a crow has touched the ball the mourners bathe and go home. On the eleventh, they wash their clothes and cowdung the house where the death took place. On the twelfth and thirteenth caste feasts are given when relations present the chief mourner with a mourning suit or *dukhavata*. A *shraddha* or mind-feast is performed every year in September. There is no single community of Vanjaris. Each group holds meetings and settles social disputes without any headman. Offences against caste rules are punished by fines varying from 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* (Re. ¼-1¼). If a man refuses to pay the fine, he is put out of caste and not allowed back till he has given a caste feast. Both boys and girls are sent to school and kept there till they are about twelve. Some of them take to new callings and their prospects on the whole are good.



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## POPULATION

### DEPRESSED CLASSES

**Depressed Classes** included four castes with a strength of 90,281 (males 43,827, females 46,454) or 10.62 per cent of the Hindu population. The following table gives the details:

#### POONA DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Division.	Males.	Females.	Total.	DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.
Dhors	550	554	1104	Mangs	6694	6926	13,620
Halalkhors	512	492	1004	Total	43,827	46,454	90,281
Mhars	36,071	38,482	74,553				

### DHORS

**Dhors** are returned as numbering 1104 and as found over the whole district except Purandhar. They have a tradition that they came into the district from Nasik about a hundred years ago. The names in common use among men are Bhau, Devba, Kushaba, Namaji, Rama, Sakru, and Vithu; and among women, Chimana, Giraja, Kusa, Mukta, Manjula, Saguna, and Vitha. *Baji* and *rao* are added to men's names and *bai* to women's names. In addressing elders the respectful term *tiravanji* is used. Their surnames are Gavare, Kalamkar, Narayane, Rapiri, Sadaphale, Salunke, Sinde, and Trimak. Persons bearing the same surnames cannot intermarry. They have no divisions. Their family gods are Bahiroba, Bhavani of Kondanpur and Tuljapur', Janai, Khandoba of Jejuri, Mahadev, and Vithoba of Pandharpur. They look like Marathas and speak a corrupt Marathi both at home and abroad. A Dhor may be generally known by his red fingers, stained by the dye he uses in making leather. As a class they are dark, middle-sized, and well-made. The men shave the head except the topknot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. They live in common and generally dirty one-storied houses with brick walls and tiled roofs. They have no house servants, but own cattle and pet animals. Their staple food is Indian millet bread, rice and chopped chillies or pot-herbs. They usually bathe before their morning meal, worship their family gods, water the sweet basil plant before their door, and offer the gods food cooked in the house. At their marriage feasts they have stuffed cakes or

*puranpolis*, rice-flour cakes fried in oil called *telachis*, and boiled mutton. They eat the flesh of the sheep, goat, deer, hare, wild pig, pigeon, and poultry, and on holidays drink country liquor or European spirits. They drink to excess, take opium, drink *bhang* or hemp-flower, and smoke tobacco and hemp-flower or *ganja*. The women tie their hair into a knot at the back of the head and never wear flowers or false hair. Both men and women are clean and neat in their dress. The men wear a loincloth or a waistcloth, a shirt or *bandi*, a shouldercloth, a Maratha turban, and a pair of sandals or shoes. The women dress in a robe hanging like a petticoat from the waist to the ankles, and a bodice with a back and short sleeves. Neither men nor women have a special set of clothes for holiday wear; they give their every-day clothes a special washing. They buy their clothes in Poona and other district towns. As a class Dhors are dirty, hardworking, orderly, thrifty, goodnatured, and hospitable. Their principal and hereditary calling is tanning hides. They buy skins from Mhars, and steep them for four days in an earthen pot filled with lime-water. On the fourth they take them out and put them in boiled water mixed with pounded *babhul* bark and *hirdas* or myrobalans. After being left three days in the water they are taken out and dried in the sun. The women help the men in preparing the lime and *babhul* bark water and mind the house. Most Dhors carry on their trade with their own capital. Tanning is brisk all the year round, but the cold weather is better than the hot, as in hot weather the skins rot quickly when dipped in water and are often spoiled. The Dhors do not rest on any day in the year except *Shimga* or *Holi* in March-April and *Dasara* in September-October. In spite of good earnings most of them are in debt, borrowing £2 10s. to £10 (Rs. 25-100) at twenty-four per cent interest to meet marriage and other charges, and being seldom able to clear off their debts. Some of them work as labourers and live from hand to mouth. They rank one degree higher than Mhars and eat from the hands of Brahmans, Marathas, and Lingayats. The Dhors are a religious class. Their family deities are Bahiroba, Bhavani of Tuljapur and Kondanpur, Janai, Khandoba of Jejuri, Mahadev of Signapur, and Vithoba of Pandharpur. Their priest is a Jangam, who officiates at all their ceremonies; at the same time they pay great respect to Brahmans. They are worshippers of Shiv and hold him in special reverence. They keep the usual Brahmanic and local holidays and fasts, their great days beings *Navaratra* in September-October and *Shivaratra* in January-February. Their religious teacher is a slit-eared or Kanphatya Gosavi, who visits their homes and receives a yearly tribute either in cash or in clothes. They worship the usual Brahmanic and early village gods, boundary gods, and local gods, and believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, and evil spirits. When any one is possessed by an evil spirit they call in a *devarishi* or seer skilled in

incantations and charms. The seer visits the sick person, burns frankincense before him, repeats a charm over a pinch of ashes, and rubs the ashes on the sick person's brow, waves a cocoanut round his head, sacrifices a goat or a cock, and the sick recovers. Early marriage widow-marriage and polygamy are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. When a woman is brought to bed a midwife is called. She cuts the child's navel cord, bathes both mother and child in warm water, and lays them on a cot. The navel cord is buried under the threshold and the nurse is paid 2*d.* to 1¼*s.* (1¼-10 *as.*). For the first three days the child is fed on honey and the mother on rice mixed with clarified butter. On the fourth the mother suckles the child. On the fifth a gold or silver image of Satvai is placed in the lying-in room on a stone slab or *pata*. Some sand, prickly-pear or *nivadung*, and the knife used in cutting the navel cord are laid on the stone. The midwife or some other woman of the family lays before the image turmeric powder, vermillion, cotton thread, and redlead. Frankincense is burnt before it, and goats are slaughtered in the name of the goddess and boiled mutton is offered to her. Four stalks of Indian millet are placed at the four corners of the cot and the women of the family keep awake during the whole night. On the seventh the lying-in room is washed with cowdung and the mother is given new clothes, and is again laid on the cot. Ceremonial impurity lasts ten days. On the eleventh the house is cowdunged, and the mother is bathed and dressed in new clothes. She sets five stones outside of the door in the field and worships them with turmeric powder, vermillion, and pomegranate flowers in the name of Satvai. Lastly the goddess is offered a cocoanut and rice and pulse, and the silver image which was worshipped on the fifth is tied round the child's neck. The child is named on the fifteenth or twenty-first day, when castewomen meet at the child's house, and, after asking the inmates, lay the child in a cradle and name it. Handfuls of boiled gram, betel packets, and sugar are served and the guests leave. A boy's head is shaved for the first time between one and five. He is seated on his maternal uncle's lap, who cuts a little of the hair, and the cutting is finished by the men of the house. Goats are slaughtered and friends and relations are feasted. Betel leaves and nuts are handed and the guests take their leave. Next day the boy's head is shaved except a tuft on the crown. A hair-cutting or *javal* costs 4*s.* to 8*s.* (Rs. 2-4). They marry their boys between five and twenty and their girls between three and sixteen. As a rule the offer of marriage comes from the boy's father to the girl's father, who accepts it if in his opinion the match is a good one. On a lucky day comes the *magani* or asking. The boy's father with music and friends goes to the girl's and presents her with a new robe and bodice and a packet of sugar. A Jangam priest marks her brow with vermillion and

she is dressed in the suit presented to her by her future father-in-law. Her lap is filled with rice and a cocoanut, and rolls of betel leaves are served to the people who are present. Marriage comes within four years of the asking day. The first sign of the wedding is the making of turmeric paste. Some of the paste is rubbed on the bridegroom and the rest with music and friends and a bodice and robe and flower wreaths is sent to be rubbed on the bride. Two days before the marriage the leaves of five trees are taken to the temple of Maruti, preceded by drummers and followed by friends and relations. They are laid before the god, brought back to the bridegroom's booth, tied to one of its posts, and made the marriage guardian or *devak*. Goats are slaughtered and friends and kinspeople are asked to dine. On the marriage day leaves of the same five trees are with the same ceremonies tied to a post in the bride's booth and a marriage altar or *bahule* is raised. The bridegroom is seated on horseback and led in procession to the temple of Maruti in the bride's village. His brother or *vardhava* goes in front to the house of the bride and returns with a turban for the bridegroom, whose head is decked with a brow-horn or *bashing* and he is brought with pomp to the house of the bride. At the entrance to the booth, rice mixed with curds is waved round him and is thrown as an offering to evil spirits. He passes into the booth and is seated in a bamboo basket with the bride standing fronting him in another basket hid by a curtain or *jamanika*. A Jangam and a Brahman repeat lucky texts or *mangalashtaks* and throw lucky rice or *mangalakshata* over the couple. Five cotton threads are twisted into a cord and bits of turmeric are tied to each of its ends. It is cut in two and one-half fastened round the bridegroom's right wrist and the other half round the bride's left wrist. The priest lights the *hom* fire. Bound the bride's neck is fastened the lucky necklace and she is told to walk five times round the altar with her husband. After the five turns are finished the hems of the couple's garments are knotted together, and they go to the house and lay a cocoanut before the family deities and bow before them. The bridegroom takes the cocoanut, with him and they return to the booth and are seated on the altar or *bahule*. Friends and kinspeople are feasted on fried rice flour cakes or *telachis*, and the wedding or *varat* procession taking the couple to the bridegroom's house starts next morning from the house of the bride. When they reach the bridegroom's, five married women fill the lap of the bride and the couple visit the temple of Maruti and bow before the god. Next day they are rubbed with turmeric paste and are bathed in warm water. Lastly each unties the other's marriage wristlet or *kankan* and the wristlets are thrown into a copper vessel filled with water. When a Dhor dies, he is bathed in warm water, dressed in a loincloth, and laid on a bier. A turban is put on his head



and his face is covered with a piece of white cloth. The Jangam priest comes and rubs ashes on his brow, and flower garlands, betel leaves, and redpowder or *gula* are thrown over the body. The son or the chief mourner holds in his hand the fire-pot and starts for the burying ground followed by the bearers. On the way they stop, set down the bier, leave some rice and a copper coin near by, change places, lift the bier, and go to the burying ground. A pit is dug and the body is lowered into the pit in a sitting position. The right hand is laid on the left hand and the pit is filled with earth. The Jangam drops *bel* leaves over the grave and says that the dead has become one with Shiv. All bathe and each gives the Jangam a copper coin and he rubs their brows with ashes. On returning to the house of mourning they cleanse their months, eat a *limb* tree *Melia azadirachta* leaf and go home. On the third day they go to the burial ground with a winnowing fan containing three small cakes of wheat flour rubbed with clarified butter, cocoa-kernel, molasses, and three small earthen pots filled with cow's milk, curds, and cow's urine. A cake is left at the rest-place or *visavyachi jaga* where the body was rested. The two other cakes, with the pots of milk and curds, are set on the grave, and the ground is sprinkled with cow's urine from the third pot. The party bathe and return home. They mourn the dead ten days. On the tenth, the face of the son or chief mourner is shaved except the eyebrows, and as directed by the Jangam priest he prepares ten wheat-flour balls. Of the ten balls nine are thrown into water and the tenth is given to a crow. On the eleventh friends and kinspeople are feasted. Nothing is done on the yearly death-day, but the dead is remembered on the lunar day that corresponds to the day of death in the *Mahalaya Paksha* or All Souls fortnight in dark *Bhadrpad* or August-September. A death costs about £1 10s. (Rs. 15). Dhors form a united social body. Social disputes are settled at meetings of castemen. Smaller breaches of caste rules are condoned by fines varying from 6d. to 10s. (Rs. ¼-5) or by caste feasts. Some send their boys to schools, where they remain till they are able to read and write. They take to no new pursuits and have still hardly recovered from the 1877 famine.

### HALALKHORS

Halalkhors are returned as numbering 1004, and as found over the whole district except Khed and Indapur. They are known as Halalkhors or all-eaters, Bhangis perhaps bamboo-splitters, Dhedis or Gujarat tanners, and Mhetars or princes. They are also called Lal Begis or the followers of Lal Beg, their religious head or *guru*. According to the Hindu books Halalkhors are the offspring of a

Shudra father by a Brahman widow. They may have been recruited from bastards and other unfortunates, but the basis of the class seems to be degraded Indian Rajputs. Their traditional founder is Suparukha who belonged to one of the eighty-four castes whom the god Ram once invited to a feast given by his wife Sita who had cooked different dishes with her own hands. Suparukha instead of eating each dish separately mixed all the dishes into one mess and ate it in five mouthfuls. Annoyed by his want of manners Sita said to him, 'You will henceforth eat food mixed with dirt; you will live on the refuse of food thrown into the street; you will take to the lowest callings; and instead of associating with you people will shun you.' They say they came to Poona from Gujarat during the Peshwa's supremacy. They are divided into Lal Begs and Shaikhs, who eat together and intermarry. Their commonest surnames are Araya, Baraya, Chan, Madya, Manji, and Memdabadi; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bapu and Khushal; and among women Aka, Baina, Bhima, Hima, and Rama. The men wear the moustache, some wear the top-knot, and others whiskers and the beard. The women tie the hair in a ball behind the head. Their home speech is a mixture of Hindustani Gujarati and Marathi. They live either in wattle and daub huts or in houses with mud walls and tiled roofs, and have a cot, a box, earthen and metal vessels, blankets, carpets, and quilts. Their broom and basket are kept either outside or in the house in a corner in the front or back veranda. They are fond of parrots, dogs, and other pets, and keep goats, pigeons, ducks, and domestic fowls. They eat the leavings of all, whether Hindus or Musalmans, and their staple food is millet rice, wheat, split pulse, vegetables, and occasionally fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, and domestic fowls. They do not eat the flesh of a hare because Lal Beg was suckled by a female hare. They smoke tobacco, hemp, and opium, and drink liquor. At their marriages they give feasts of sugared rice or *sakharbhat*, split pulse and rice or *dalbhat* and *khichdi*, mutton rice or *pulav*, wheat cakes and wheat and sugar called *shirapuri*, sweetmeats or *anarse* and *karanja shevaya* or vermicelli, and mutton. Their holiday dishes during *Shravan* or August are *shirapuri* and *khichdi*, in the *Divali* holiday in November *karanja* and *anarse* sweetmeats, and during *Shimga* vermicelli and sugared rice. They seldom have holiday or marriage dinners without flesh and liquor. The men dress in a loincloth, trousers, or waistcloth, headscarfs of different colours, or a Maratha turban, a jacket, a coat, and English or native shoes, and they carry a silk handkerchief carelessly wound round the neck or thrown over the shoulders generally with silk and silver tassels at the corners. The women wear either the petticoat bodice and head scarf or the robe reaching to the knee with the skirt drawn back between

the feet and a small tight-fitting bodice with short sleeves and no back. They are generally sluggish, weak, timid, and drunken, but honest and orderly. The men are fond of show and pleasure. When a Halalkhor is in his holiday dress, it is almost impossible to say to what caste he belongs. They are scavengers and nightsoil men cleaning the town from morning to eleven. Before starting on their day's work they bow to the basket and broom, and on Dasara Day in October burn frankincense before them, and offer them flowers, blades of rice, and *apta* leaves. Children begin to learn at eight and are expert workers at sixteen, though they seldom begin the heavy head-carrying work before they are eighteen or twenty. Boys earn 14s. (Rs. 7) a month, women 16s. (Rs. 8), and men 18s. to £1 10s (Rs. 9-15). A family of five spends 14s. to 18s. (Rs. 7-9) a month on food and £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20) a year on clothes. Their houses cost £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200) to build; their furniture and goods are worth £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40); their animals and birds £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30); and their clothes and ornaments £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200). A birth costs them 2s. to 8s. (Rs. 1 -4); the marriage of a son £10 to £15 (Rs. 100-150); the marriage of a daughter 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10); and a death £1 (Rs. 10). In religion they are half Musalmans half Hindus, going to mosques and repeating prayers and at the same time having as family deities Khoriyal of Gujarat, Khandoba of Jejuri, Khajapir, Baba Makdumba, and the goddesses Kalsari and Ghochati. They pay equal respect to Musalman saints and to Hindu gods and offer them fowls whose throat has been cut by a Musalman. Their priests are the strange half-Hindu half-Musalman Hussaini Brahmans who officiate at their weddings. They keep both Hindu and Musalman fasts and festivals. Their special day is the *chhadi navmi*, which falls in the month of *Shravan* or August. This is the anniversary of the death of Joherpir, a royal saint who lived during the reign of Firozsha, the Emperor of Delhi (1356-1388), and worked miracles. One day Joher's cousins entered his country with a large army and called on him either to fight or pay them half his revenue. Joher's mother advised him to agree to their demands. But he attacked the army single-handed and killed the leading traitor. On his return his mother instead of praising him ordered him to leave her presence, and he enraged at her behaviour, stamped on the ground and was swallowed up. On the day when Joher disappeared Hindus do not object to touch Halal-khors. Many of the Halalkhors make vows at Joher's shrine and some weep for the saint and lash themselves with ropes, but by the power of the saint suffer no harm. Their religious teachers or *gurus* are either men of their own caste or belong to the school of Nanak-panthi beggars. The teacher tells the disciple a *mantra* or text. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. It is

considered lucky to meet a Halalkhor, especially when he has a full basket on his head. On the third day after the birth of a child they ask their priests for a name and call the child by the name he suggests. On the fifth day they coudung a spot of ground near the mother's cot and spread a child's bodycloth or *balote* over it. On the cloth they lay a millet cake and a ball of tamarind flowers, molasses and butter, and the midwife, who is generally of their own caste, worships them as the goddess Chhati. They keep awake all night to prevent the goddess carrying off the child. A family in which a birth takes place is considered impure for eleven days, during which they do not touch their caste-people. On the twelfth day the mother and her child are bathed, the house is coudunged and sprinkled with cow's urine, and the clothes are washed. The mother takes the child in her arms and with a few near relations goes to some distance from the house and lays five pebbles in a line on the ground, worships them, offers them cooked rice, mutton, and liquor, and retires with a bow. They clip a child's hair when it is a month and a quarter to three months old, the clipping being performed by the child's maternal uncle, who is presented with a cocoanut. They marry their girls between seven and twelve and their boys before they are twenty. The asking comes from the boy's house, and when the match is settled both fathers put sugar into one another's mouths. A few days before the marriage the girl's father gives a feast to the boy's relations, when sugared rice or *sakharbhat* is prepared. The girl is presented with a new robe and bodice and a flower garland is hung round her neck, betelnut leaves and cheroots are handed round and the guests retire. A couple of days before a marriage a dough image of Ganpati is made and is put in a new earthen jar and worshipped by the house women and hung in a coir sling some where in the house. An image of Ganpati is traced with red paint on a wall in the house and worshipped by the women. The boy and girl at their respective houses are seated on low wooden stools and rubbed with turmeric by the women of their family. The day before the marriage a feast is held at both the boy's and the girl's houses, and a *gel* fruit, *Gardenia dumetorum*, is tied to the right wrists of both the boy and girl. On the marriage day the boy accompanied by kinspeople friends and music, goes either on horseback or on foot to the girl's, where her mother marks his brow with redpowder or *kunku*, throws grains of rice over his head, leads him into the marriage porch, and seats him on a square mango bench or *macholi*. The girl is then led out by her mother and seated on a quilt close to the boy. In front of them a square is traced, a new earthen jar is set on each corner of the square, and cotton thread is passed five times round the jars. The priest lights a sacrificial fire in front of the boy and girl, and the boy and girl throw grains of rice over the fire and the jar. The mother or



other elderly woman ties the hems of their garments together, and they go round the earthen jars four times and take their seats as before. The priest repeats marriage verses or *mangalashtaks*, and when the verses are ended closes the ceremony by throwing grains of rice over the heads of the bride and bridegroom. A feast is held and the boy and girl are seated on horseback and taken in procession to the boy's house. Here the boy and girl sit in front of the house gods and worship them by throwing flowers and grains of rice over them. Next day the boy and girl go on foot to the girl's and after washing their mouths toothpowder or *Datvan* is rubbed on their teeth and they are made black. A dish of vermicelli or *shevaya* is prepared and the boy and girl feast. The boy leaves the girl at her parents' and returns home. A couple or four days after, the girl is taken to the boy's house and the boy's mother puts glass bangles round her wrists. The marriage festivities end with a feast at the boy's house. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for three days. No rites are performed. When a Halalkhor dies, if a man, the body is washed at the burying ground, and, if a woman, at home. The body is carried on a bamboo bier on the shoulders of four near kinsmen. On the way to the burial ground the bier is rested on the ground, and a gram and sugar or *bundi* ball and copper coin are placed at the road side, they say, for the spirit of the dead. They dig a grave, seat the deceased in it, and making a small hole in front of the body place a lighted dough lamp in it. The chief mourner followed by the others pours a little water into the dead mouth, and after the chief mourner has thrown in a handful of earth, the rest fill the grave, bathe and go to the deceased's house. At the house each takes a mouthful of water and after rinsing his mouth goes home. On the third day the chief mourner's moustache is shaved and he goes to the burial ground, lights a dough lamp, burns frankincense, and lays a flower garland on the grave. On his return home he lights another dough lamp, burns frankincense, and lays flowers on the spot where the dead breathed his last. They mourn twelve days, during which they are considered impure and do not touch their caste-fellows. On the morning of the twelfth day seven dough and seven rice balls are prepared and worshipped and thrown into a stream or into a pond. A caste feast at the end of a month completes the death ceremonies. Halalkhors are bound together by a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen in presence of their headmen or *patils*. An adulteress is fined £4 (Rs. 40), and if she becomes with child without letting any one know, she is fined £6 (Rs. 60). Before he is allowed to marry a widow the husband has to give the caste £1 8s. (Rs. 14). If a marriage is broken off after a settlement has been made the offending party has to pay the caste a fine of 10s. (Rs. 5), and on every marriage there is a caste fee of 8s.



(Rs. 4). A woman who leaves her husband and lives with another man has to pay £2 (Rs. 20). They send their boys to school until they are able to read and write a little Marathi. They are a steady people.

## MHARS

**Mhars** are returned as numbering 74,553 and as found over the whole district. They say that once when Parvati was bathing her touch turned some drops of blood on a *bel* leaf into a handsome babe. She took the child home and showed him to Mahadev who named him Mahamuni. One day, while still young, the child crawled out of the house and seeing a dead cow began to eat it. Mahadev was horrified and cursed the child, saying that he would live outside of villages, that his food would be carcasses, that nobody would have anything to do with him, would look at him, or would allow his shadow to fall on anything pure. Parvati, who took great interest in her child, begged her lord to have pity on him, and Shiv agreed that people should employ him to supply mourners with wood and dried cowdung cakes to burn the dead. As the child's appetite was so great he turned his name into Mahahari or the great eater. Mhars are divided into Andhvans, Daules, Ladvans, Pans, Somvanshis, Silvans, and Surtis, who do not eat together. Their commonest surnames are Bhalerao, Bhoir, Chavan, Dasture, Gaikvad Javle, Jadhav, Lokhande, Madar, Shelar, and Somvane; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Govinda, Hari, Krishna, Mahadev, Ramchandra, and Vishnu; and among women Eshoda, Ganga, Jaya, Radha, and Yamna. They speak Marathi, those who know how to read and write speaking it purely. [Among themselves they have a few peculiarities. They say *nahi* for *nahi* no, *toha* for *tujhe* thine, and *nagu*, or *nai payaje* for *nko* do not want.] Mhars are generally tall, strong, muscular, and dark with regular features. Most of them live outside of villages in small houses with tiled roofs and mud and brick walls. The neighbourhood of their houses is generally dirty, but the inside of the houses and the ground close to the doors are fairly clean. Except a few which are of metal, the cooking, dining, and water vessels are of earth. The well-to-do rear cattle and the poor sheep and fowls. They are great eaters of pungent dishes and their food is millet, Indian millet, rice, split pulse, vegetables, and occasionally fish. When cattle, sheep, or fowls die they feed on their carcasses, eating strips of the flesh roasted over a fire, often with nothing else but sometimes washed down by liquor. They do not eat pork. They give feasts in honour of marriages, deaths, and anniversaries costing £ 1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10 - 25) for a hundred guests. It is the cost and not any religious scruple that

prevents them using animal food every day. They say the men bathe daily before meals, and the women once a week. They do not eat from Buruds, Mangs, Mochis, or Bhangis. They drink to excess and smoke hemp flowers and tobacco. The men dress in a loincloth, a waistcloth, a pair of short drawers or *cholnas*, a shouldercloth, a coat, a waistcoat, a cap, a turban folded in Maratha fashion, and shoes or sandals. They have spare clothes in store such as a turban and a silk-bordered waistcloth. The women tie the hair in a knot behind the head and wear the bodice and full Maratha robe the skirt of which they pass back between the feet. [A well-to-do Mhar generally has a pair of waistcloths worth 2s. to 3s. (Rs. 1-½); a turban worth 1s. 6d. to 10s. (Rs. ¾-5); two coats worth 1s. 6d. to 4s. (Rs. ¾-2); two waistcoats worth 1s. 3d. to 2s. (Rs. 5/8-1); a pair of shoes worth 1s. to 2s. 6d (Rs. ½-1¼); three jackets or *kudtans* for a child worth 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2); two *chaddis* worth 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.); a square loincloth or *langoti* worth 1½. (1 a.); a cap worth 3d. to 6d. (2 - 4 as.); and a shouldercloth worth 6d. (4 as.). A woman's clothes are two robes worth 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2 -10); two bodices worth 7½d to 1s (5 - 8 as.); and sandals or *cheplya* worth 9d. to 1s. (6 - 8 as.)] The ornaments worn by rich women are the earrings called *bugdya* worth £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20), the gold nose ring called *nath* worth 14s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 7-25), a necklace called *sari* worth £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25), a gold necklace called *panpot* worth £1 10s. to £4 (Rs. 15-40), a gold necklace called *vajratik* worth £1 to £3, (Rs. 10-30), and a gold necklace called *mangalsutra* or *mani* worth 1s. to 4s. (Rs. ½ - 2); silver bracelets called *ella* worth £1 10s. to £6 (Rs. 15-60), silver *gots* worth 12s. to 16s. (Rs. 6-8), silver bangles worth 8s. to £1 12s. (Rs. 4-16) and bellmetal anklets or *jodvis* worth 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.). The ornaments of rich men are the gold earrings called *bhikbalis* worth 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2-5) and gold *antias* or *kudkias* worth £1 to £4 (Rs. 10 -40); an armlet called *kude* worth 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5 - 20); silver finger rings called *angthi* worth 9d, to 2s. (Rs. 3/8 - 1), and gold rings worth 2s. to 16s. (Rs. 1-8); a silver waistbelt or *kardora* worth £1 to £2 10s. (Rs. 10-25) and a small belt for a boy worth 4s. to 16s. (Rs. 2 - 8); an anklet of silver called *tode*, if for one leg worth £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20) and if for two legs worth £1 to £6 (Rs. 10 - 60). They are hardworking, hospitable, honest, and thrifty, but dirty and drunken. They are village servants, carriers of dead animals, husbandmen, messengers labourers, scavengers, sellers of firewood and cowdung cakes, and beggars. The men earn 8s. to £1 (Rs. 4-10), the women 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5), and the children 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 - 2) a month. They make about 1 ½d. to 3d. (1-2 as) profit upon each 2s. (Rs. 1) worth of firewood or cowdung cakes. They charge 1s. to 10s. (Rs. ½ - 5) for carrying a dead horse, 6d. to 2s. (Rs. ¼ -1) for carrying a dead cow, and 6d to

3s. (Rs. ¼ - 1½) for carrying a dead buffalo. They are a steady class of people, and few of them are in debt, except some who have been forced to borrow to meet their children's wedding expenses. They have credit and can borrow 10s. to £5 (Rs. 5 - 50) at two per cent a month. They hold a low position among Hindus, and are both hated and feared. Their touch, even the touch of their shadow, is thought to defile, and in some outlying villages, in the early morning, the Mhar as he passes the village well, may be seen crouching, that his shadow may not fall on the water-drawers. To build a house costs £2 to £8 (Rs. 20-80), and to rent it 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.). The house property varies from £2 to £7 10s. (Rs. 20-75). A birth costs 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2 - 3), naming 2s. (Re. 1), shaving or *java* 4s. (Rs. 2) and if a goat is offered 7s. (Rs. 3½), a boy's marriage £2 to £10 (Rs. 20 -100) and a girl's £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20), a girl's coming of age 8s. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5), a death 8s. to 16s. (Rs. 4-8) for a man, 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3) for a widow, and 16s. to £1 (Rs. 8-10) for married woman. They are Shaivs, pay great respect to Mahadev, and have house images of Bhavani, Bahiroba, Chedoba, Chokhoba, Khandoba, Mariai, and Mhaskoba. They worship metal masks or *taks* as emblems of deceased ancestors. Their priests are the ordinary Deshasth Brahmans and in their absence *vachaks* or readers belonging to their own caste officiate at their marriages. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Alandi, Jejuri, and Mahadev of Signapur. They keep the usual Hindu fasts and feasts. They are a religious people, and spend much of their time in reciting sacred books or hearing them read. They have singing clubs where they sing in praise of the Hindu gods. Among them both men and women sing with much skill and go in bands of two or more singing and begging. They have a religious teacher or *guru* belonging to their own caste, whose advice they are required to take. Both boys and girls before they are a year old are taken to the teacher with a cocoanut, a waistcloth, rice grains, flowers, and frankincense. The child's father marks the teacher's brow with sandal paste, worships him, and presents him with a waistcloth and 3d. to 2s. (Re. ⅛-1) in cash. The teacher takes the child on his knee, breathes into both his ears, and mutters some mystic words into his right ear. At this time either the priest covers himself and the child with a blanket or cloth, or a curtain is held between him and the rest of the people, who sing loudly in praise of the gods. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. When a person is possessed by a spirit he is seated in front of the house gods, and frankincense is burnt before him. If the patient remains sitting the possessing spirit is thought to be a Hindu *bhut*. When the people are satisfied that it is a Hindu *bhut* chilly stems and seeds are burnt before him and he is asked his name. If he does not tell his name be

is slapped with shoes, his little finger is squeezed, and he is caned. In spite of this the possessed person persists in keeping silence, his case is referred to a *devrihi* or exorcist. If the possessed person speaks, the spirit is asked his name, and the reason of this body-seizing or *angdharne*. The spirit says 'I was hungry and it was midday, and as this man was passing at the time I entered his body.' He is asked how he will leave the sick man. The *bhut* says 'I want a fowl or a goat and rice.' He is asked where the food should be left for him, and answers 'At the corner of the lane.' If the *bhut* is a female one she is called a *hadal*, and generally asks for sweet-smelling rice or *ambe mohorache bhat*, pickles, and butter *lonkade tup*; along with this are placed turmeric roots, redpowder, and betelnut or *chikni supari*. If the spirit is a male, curds and rice, betel leaves, and a small thick cake or *damti* of wheat mixed with oil, or of Indian millet mixed with pulse and oil are made ready. The cake is rubbed on one side with black: of the frying pan and on the other side with turmeric and redpowder. The cooked rice and bread are put in a leaf plate and waved over the head of the possessed and left on the spot named by the spirit. A man is sent to leave the articles at the place named, and after washing his hands and feet, and rubbing water on his eyes, he returns home. He takes a pinch of dust off his feet, rubs it between the eyebrows of the possessed person, and the spirit leaves his body. If the spirit is a Musalman spirit, hog's hair is tied in a box round the possessed person's neck, and the spirit at once leaves the body. A short time before her delivery the woman is bathed in cold water, and immediately after delivery both the mother and child are washed in hot water and laid on a blanket on the ground. The mother is fed for the first three days on rice, sweet oil, and molasses, and is considered impure for twenty-one days. On the fifth day the goddess Satvai is worshipped and a lamp is kept burning the whole night. In order that the lamp may not go out and the goddess come and steal the child, the child is watched both by the mother and the midwife. On the twelfth day the child is laid in a cradle and named, the name being given by the village astrologer. They marry their children at any time between a few months to twenty years of age and the boy's father has to give the girl's father 7s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 3½-25). Marriage ceremonies last three to eleven days. The boy is rubbed with turmeric and the rest is sent to the girl with a new robe and bodice. They have several marriage guardians or *devaks*. One is a silver mask or *tak*, which is brought by a newly married couple from a goldsmith's shop and placed among the household gods and worshipped; another is a wooden grain measure; a third is the leaves of the five trees or *panch palavs*; and a fourth is a piece of bread tied to a post in the marriage hall. Their marriage customs are in most particulars the same as those of Marathas. The chief exception is that



the boy and girl are made to stand in two bamboo baskets at the time of marriage and that a yellow thread is passed seven times round their necks. They bury their dead. When a Mhar is on the point of death a few drops of water in which a Brahman's feet have been washed are put into his mouth, and when he dies he is carried to the burning ground and buried sitting. A few *bel* leaves are scattered on his head, and the chief mourner, going thrice round the grave with an earthen water jar, dashes it on the ground and beats his month. On the third day he again goes to the burning ground, lays some cooked food for the crows, and feasts the caste on the thirteenth. The mourner is presented with a turban and the mourning is over. Mhars allow widow-marriage and practise polygamy, but not polyandry. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They send their boys to school. Some of them are well taught and are able to read and interpret sacred books. As a class they are poor.

## MANGS

**Ma'ngs** are returned as numbering 13,620 and as found all over the district. They say the founder of their caste was Maharudra son of Mahadev and that they came to the district from Hastinapur or Delhi. They have no tradition of when they came. They are probably the remnants of an early tribe of Telugu or Kanarese origin. They have no subdivisions except that illegitimate children are termed Akarmases and do not eat or marry with the rest. Their surnames are Admani, Chavan, Gaikvad, More, Sinde, and Vairagar; people with the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Bapu, Bhagu, Ithu, Krishna, Kushaba, Laksha, and Mahadu; and among women Bhagu, Chanda, Ganga, Jai, Rakhtna, Sugana, and Tulsi. They are dark and stout with regular features. The men wear the top-knot and moustache, and sometimes the whiskers and beard. They speak Marathi. They live in houses with mud or brick walls and tiled roofs. Except a water jar and dining plate of bell metal, their cooking vessels are mostly of earth. They own sheep and domestic fowls. Their staple food is Indian millet, millet, split pulse, chillies, onions, salt, and spices. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, fowls, ducks, cattle, and hogs, but not of horses or donkeys. They drink liquor and smoke tobacco and hemp-flowers. They are hardworking and trustworthy, but dirty, unthrifty, passionate, revengeful, and greatly feared as sorcerers. They make and sell leather ropes called *nadas* worth 1½d. to 2s. (Rs 1/16 -1), date leaf brooms worth ¾d. to ¾d. (¼-⅔ as.), and slingsor *shinkes* worth ¾d. to ¾d. (¼-½a.) They are musicians, songsters,



scavengers, husbandmen, messengers, beggars, and hangmen, and they also geld cattle. The proudest moment of a Mang's life is said to be when he hangs a Mhar, the hereditary rivals and enemies of his tribe. Formerly they did not eat from Mhars, now, excepting Halalkhors, Dheds, and Bhangis, they eat from all and think themselves *antyajas*, that is, the lowest of Hindus. They are Shaivs and their chief god is Mahadev. Their house deities are Ambabai, Bahiri, Janai, Khandoba, Mariai, Tuki, Vithoba, and Yamai. Their priests are ordinary Maratha Brahmans, and they make pilgrimages to Alandi, Kondanpur, Dehu, Pandharpur, and Signapur near Phaltan. They keep the chief fasts and feasts, *Mahashivratra* in February, *Holi* in March, *Ramnavmi* in April, *Ashadhi Ekadashi* in July, *Gokulashtami* and Mondays and Saturdays of *Shravan* in August *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* and *Kartiki Ekadashi* in November. On the fifth day after a child is born they worship a dough image of Satvai or simply five pebbles arranged in a line in the mother's room and offer them cooked rice and split pulse or *dalbhat*. Two dough lamps are kept burning the whole night and a feast is held. On the twelfth day seven pebbles are placed outside the house in a line and worshipped by the mother in the name of the goddess Satvai. They name the child on the same day, the name being given by the Brahman astrologer. They marry their children standing in two bamboo baskets face to face and with a cloth held between them. The priest standing at some distance repeats verses and at the end throws grains of rice over the boy and girl, and they are husband and wife. A feast is held the next day and the boy takes the bride to his house on horseback accompanied by music, kinspeople, and friends. When a sick person is on the point of death sweet milk is put into his mouth so that he may die happy. They bury their dead, and mourn thirteen days. On the morning of the thirteenth they go to the burning ground, shave the chief mourner's head and moustache, and bathe. The mourner places thirteen leaf cups or *drones* side by side, fills them with water, returns home and feasts the caste. The ceremony ends with the present of a white turban to the chief mourner. The Mangs have a headman or *mehetrya* belonging to their own caste who settles caste disputes in consultation with the adult male members of the caste. A few send their children to a Marathi school. They are a poor people.

## POPULATION

### BEGGARS

**Beggars**, included twenty-three classes with a strength of 10,477 or 123 per cent of the Hindu population. The details are:

#### *POONA BEGGARS.*

DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.	DIVISION.	Males.	Females	Total.
Aradhis	43	18	61	Kolhatis	163	232	395
Bhamtas	62	69	131	Manbhavs	128	94	222
Bharadis	470	479	949	Panguls	46	42	88
Bhats	70	50	120	Sarvade Joshis	811	812	1623
Bhutes	9	3	12	Sahadev Joshis			
Chitrakathis	71	77	148	Tirmalis	36	34	70
Gondhlis	313	370	683	Vaghes and Murlis.	5	16	21
Gosavis	2002	1707	3709	Vaidus	261	262	523
Holars	259	243	502	Vasudevs	25	17	42
Jangams	498	419	917	Virs	17	11	28
Jogtins	--	--	--	Total	5399	5078	10,477
Joharis	50	60	110				
Kanphates	60	63	123				

### ARADHIS

**A'ra'dhis**, or Praying Beggars, are returned as numbering sixty-one and as found over the whole district. They are a mixed class of men and women and include members of all castes of Hindus from Brahmans to Mhars and Mangs. Even Musalmans are Aradhis. The men are generally tall thin and womanish, many of them either being eunuchs or copying eunuchs' ways. Those who

are well-to-do have to beg, at least at five houses, once a week, on Tuesday, Friday, or Sunday and eat such food as is given them. They worship all Hindu gods and goddesses and observe the usual fasts and feasts. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at birth, marriage, and death ceremonies. A childless man prays to Bhavani and vows that if she hears his prayer and blesses him with a child, it will be set apart for a religious life. Others stricken with dropsy, leprosy, or consumption vow that if they recover they will become Aradhis in honour of Bhavani. Men who are vowed to be Aradhis either by their fathers or by themselves marry with women of their own caste. Praying girls or Aradhinis are considered devoted to their patron goddess and remain single. When a man wishes to become an Aradhi, he goes to one of the brotherhood and tells him his wish. He is asked whose Aradhi he wishes to become whether of the Bhavani of Tuljapur, of Kondanpur, of Rasan, of Kurkumb, of Nhyavar, or of Chatarshingi. He names one of these Bhavanis and is advised to go and visit his patron goddess. If he is not able to undertake the journey, he is asked to bring about a pound of rice, turmeric, red-powder, betelnut and leaves, flowers and flower garlands, molasses, a yard of new white cloth, a cocoanut, five turmeric roots, five dry dates, five pieces of dry cocoa-kernel, five lemons, five sugarcanes, or in their absence five stalks of Indian millet, five dough-cakes, frankincense, camphor, and money. A few neighbouring Aradhis both men and women are called, a spot of ground is cordoned, and a low wooden stool is set in the spot. Over the stool the white cloth is spread and the rice is heaped on the cloth. On the rice is set a water-pot or *ghat* filled with water, five betelnuts, ten betel leaves, and 1½d. to 2s. (Re. 1/16 -1) in cash. The mouth is closed with a cocoanut. Then five sugarcanes or five millet stalks are tied together and made to stand over the stool. At each corner of the stool are placed betelnuts, lemons, dates, turmeric roots, dry cocoa-kernels, and one of each is laid in front of the water-pot. The presiding Aradhi is termed *guru* and worships the water-pot or *ghat*. A dough cake and a flower garland are dropped from the sugarcanes over the water pot; cooked rice and wheat bread and molasses are offered to the god; frankincense and camphor are burnt before it; and the teacher and other Aradhis four times repeat the word *udava* or Arise. The officiating Aradhi places a thick unlighted roll of oiled rags on the novice's head, throws a shell necklace over his shoulder so that it falls on his right side, marks his brow with ashes or *angarika*, and gives him two baskets to hold in his right hand. After the novice has made a low bow before the goddess and the Aradhis, he presents the *guru* with 7½d. to 2s.6d.(Re.5/16-1 ¼), feasts the

brotherhood, and is declared an Aradhi. The initiation costs the novice 2s. to £2 (Rs.1-20). When they beg the Aradhi women wear their ordinary dress. The men wear a waistcloth or trousers, and a long coat reaching to the ankles besmeared with oil. They tie their hair in a knot behind the head like women use false hair, and deck their heads with flowers and ornaments, generally of brass. They wear nose and earrings of brass and false pearls, brass and shell bangles, and wristlets. They wear a garland of *kavdi* shells hanging like sacred thread from the left shoulder down the right side. The shells, which are known as *Bhavani kavdya* or Bhavani's cowries are yellow marked with patches of red. The necklace costs 4¼d. to 6d. (3-4 as.), and is composed of thirty-five to forty shells. Besides the necklace they wear shell ornaments round the head, neck, arms, and fingers. They carry two bamboo baskets worth about 3d. (2 as.). One of the baskets is small called Parashram with five shells stuck to it, the other is large and has no other name except basket or *pardi*. From one of their shell necklaces hangs a cloth bag stuck round with shells in which they carry ashes or *angarika*, which they rub on the brows of the charitable. On their head rests a thick rope of rags soaked in oil but not lighted. Dressed in this way they start begging at six in the morning and beg till noon. Their chief begging days are Tuesdays, Fridays, and Sundays. When they come near a house they call out *Emai Tukai cha Jogva*, that is Alms in the name of Emai and Tukai. Sometimes four or five go in a band with drums or *samels*, metal caps or *tals*, and the one-stringed fiddle or *tuntune*, and their baskets, and beg singing and dancing. When they go singly they do not get one pound of grain in a day; when they go in bands with music they get three or four pounds besides old clothes and coppers. Except that their shell necklace and bamboo baskets are laid near the head and burnt or buried with them when they die, their marriage, birth, and death ceremonies are the same as those of the caste to which they belong. The Aradhis have a council and their disputes are settled by their religious head or *guru*. They do not send their boys to school and are a falling people.

## **BHAMTAS**

**Bha'mta's.** See UCHLES.

## BHARADIS

**Bhara'dis** are returned as numbering 920 and as found in small numbers all over the district. They are said to be descended from a Kunbi who, after being long childless, vowed that if he was blessed with sons he would devote one of them to the gods. They are a class of wandering beggars who chant verses in honour of Ambabai or Saptashringi, playing on a hourglass-shaped drum called *damaru* or *daur*, and dancing with lighted torches in their hands. The names in common use among men and women are the same as among Kunbis. Their surnames are Chavan, Gaikvad, Jadhav, and Sinde; and their family gods are Devi Ambabai of Tuljapur in the Nizam's country, Jotiba of Ratnagiri, and Khandoba of Jejuri in Poona. Their home tongue is a corrupt Maratha. They have two divisions *God* literally sweet that is pure Bharadis and *Kadu* literally sour that is bastard Bharadis. These classes neither eat together nor intermarry. They are dark and strong with regular features and live in one-storeyed houses with mud walls and thatched or flat roofs. Their house goods include low stools, blankets, quilts, and vessels of metal and earth. They have no servants but own bullocks and other beasts of burden, and dogs. They are poor cooks and great eaters, and their staple food is millet bread, pulse, and vegetables. Their special dishes include sweet wheat cakes or *polis* and fried rice cakes or *telchis* with *gulavani* or rice flour boiled in water mixed with cocoa-milk and molasses. They eat fish and flesh except beef and pork, and drink country wines. They are given to smoking tobacco and hemp-flower or *ganja*. They shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. The women tie their hair in knots, but have no taste for false hair or flowers. Men's everyday dress includes a loincloth or waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a shirt, and a many-coloured headscarf folded in puckers about the head, with a pair of sandals or shoes. The women dress in a Maratha robe and bodice but do not draw the skirt back between the feet. Both men and women have a store of ornaments and clothes like those of Kunbis. While they perform men wear a long and loose coat falling to the heels and smeared with oil with a light scarf or *shela*, a string of cowries about their neck, and jingling bells about their feet. As a class they are clean, idle, and orderly. They are professional beggars, going about beating their drum. They perform the *gondhal* dance chanting songs in honour of Tulaja Bhavani, accompanied by the double drum or *samel* and the one-stringed fiddle or *tuntune*. They spend their mornings in begging and the rest of the day in idleness. The villagers pay them yearly allowances in grain for performing the *gondhal* dance in the local temples during the *navaratra* feast, Bhavani's nine



nights which end in Dasara in September-October. The women mind the house and weave girdles or *kachas*. They live from hand to mouth. They worship all Brahmanic and local gods and have special reverence for their family gods whose images they keep in their houses. They keep all Hindu feasts and fasts and ask the village Joshi to officiate at their marriage and death ceremonies. They belong to the *nath* sect and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Mahur, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur. Their religious teacher is a Kanphatya Gosavi. They believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, and in the power of evil spirits. Early marriage, polygamy, and widow-marriage are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. Their customs are the same as Kunbi customs. Every child between five and eight must go through the ceremony of wearing *mudras* that is brass or horn earrings; the lobe is cut with a knife, so that the drops of blood fall on the ground apparently to satisfy the evil spirits, and a ring or *mudra* is passed through the hole so made. They have a caste council and settle their disputes at caste meetings under the presidency of their headman or *patil*. They send their children to school, but have no taste for learning, and are a falling class.

### BHATS

**Bha'ts**, or Bards, are returned as numbering 120 and as found wandering all over the district. They belong to two divisions, Maratha and Gujarati Bhats, who eat together but do not intermarry. Maratha Bhats who form the bulk of the Bhat population are like Maratha Kunbis and do not differ from them in dwelling, food, or drink. They are good cooks and moderate eaters. Their staple food is millet bread, pulse, onions, and fish curry. They eat flesh and drink liquor and hemp-water or *bhang*. Both men and women dress like Maratha Kunbis and have a store of clothes for holiday wear. As a class they are clean, orderly, thrifty, and hospitable. They are hereditary beggars, but some work as masons, others as husbandmen, and many as field labourers or house servants. Bhats are usually asked to join Malis and Kunbis in their thirteenth day death feast. Their duty is to call out the names of those who make presents to the chief mourner. The women mind the house, gather the grain which the villagers give them, watch the fields, and fetch firewood. They are said to be badly off as the villagers are less free than they used to be in their gifts of grain. They rank with Maratha Kunbis and do not differ from them in religion or customs. They worship all Kunbi gods and keep the usual fasts and feasts. They believe in

witchcraft and soothsaying. Early marriage polygamy and widow-marriage are allowed and practised, polyandry is unknown. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling, and settle social disputes at meetings of adult castemen. They send their children to school but do not take to new pursuits. They are a falling class.

## BHUTES

**Bhutes**, or Devotees of Goddesses, are returned as numbering twelve and as found only in Haveli. They are followers of the goddess Bhavani and go begging from door to door and village to village with a lighted torch in their hands, and playing metal cups or *tals*, the one-stringed fiddle or *tuntune*, and the drum or *samel*. They cover themselves with shells from head to foot, mark their brows with redpowder or *pinjar*, and have a square breastplate or *tak* hung from their necks. While begging they dance, sing songs, and touch their bodies with the lighted torch or *pot*. In appearance, speech, dress, food, and customs they do not differ from Marathas. They have a caste council, do not send their boys to school, and are poor.

## CHITRAKATHIS

**Chitraka'this**, or Picture Showmen, are returned as numbering 148 and as found over the whole district except in Indapur, Purandhar, and Poona. They take their name from *chitra* a picture and *katha* a story, because they show pictures of heroes and gods and entertain their audience by telling them stories from the Purans. According to their own account they formerly lived at Singnapur in Sholapur and came to Poona during the time of Shahu Raja (1708-1749). They have no divisions. Their surnames are Jadhav, More, Povar, Salunkhe, Sinde, and Thombre, and families bearing the same surname eat together but do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are, Hanmanta, Mania, Santu, and Rethu, and among women Bhimabai, Jankibai, Rakhma, Sakhu, and Vithabai. *Patel* is added to men's names, and *bai* to women's names as Mania Patel and Ramji Patel, Sakhubai and Rakhmabai. They speak Marathi both at home and abroad. In appearance they do not differ from ordinary local Maratha Kunbis. The men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. They live in houses of the poorer class with walls of clay and thatched roofs. Their house goods include blankets, quilts,

cradles, boxes, and metal and earthen vessels. They own cattle but have no servants. They are moderate eaters and are fond of hot dishes. Their staple food is millet or *nachni* bread, vegetables, and *nachni* porridge or *ambil*. They bathe before they take their morning meal, and do not leave the house if they eat without bathing. They use animal food when they can afford it, which is not often. They eat the flesh of sheep and goats, fish, and poultry, drink liquor, and smoke hemp or *ganja* and opium. The men wear a loincloth, a shouldercloth, a Maratha turban, and a pair of shoes. The women wear the hair in a knot behind the head and neither wear flowers nor false hair. They wear the full Maratha robe, passing the skirt back between the feet and a bodice with a back and short sleeves, Neither men nor women have any store of fine clothes for holiday wear. As a rule Chitrakathis are dirty, thrifty, and hospitable. Their chief calling is begging by showing pictures of gods and heroes and reciting stories and songs about them. They also show wooden dolls whom they make to dance and fight to represent the wars of the heroes and demons. These puppet shows have ceased to be popular, and they now seldom do anything but show pictures by which they make 8s. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5) a month. A boy begins to act as showman at twelve and in two years has mastered his work. A Chitrakathi's stock generally includes forty pictures of Ram worth 10s. to 12s. (Rs. 5-6), thirty-five of Babhruvahan the son of Arjun one of the five Pandavs worth 8s. to 10s. (Rs. 4-5), thirty-five of Abhimanyu another son of Arjun worth 10s. to 12s. (Rs.5-6), forty of Sita and Ravan worth 10s. to 12s. (Rs.5-6), forty of Harishchandra king of Oudh, and forty of the Pandav brothers worth 10s. to 12s. (Rs. 5-6). They paint these pictures themselves and offer them for sale, and they have a caste rule that on pain of fine every house must have a complete set of pictures. The women mind the house and never help the men to show pictures. They fetch firewood, beg, and cook. As they get paid in grain their monthly food expenses are small. A birth costs 2s. to 6s. (Rs.1-3), a hair-cutting 2s. to 6s. (Rs.1-3), a marriage 10s. to £2 (Rs.5-20), a girl's coming of age 1s. to 2s. (Rs.½-1), and a death 4s. to 6s. (Rs.2-3). They are a religious people. Their family deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Khandoba of Jejuri. They employ a Brahman of any class or sect to officiate at their marriages and deaths. They are nominally followers of Vishnu but their favourite deity is Bhavani. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, and Tuljapur, and their fasts and feasts are the same as those of cultivating Marathas. After the birth of a child the mother is bathed, and the child's navel cord is cut and it is bathed. Sometimes the mother does this herself; in other cases a woman is called to help. Bedding is

spread on the floor and the woman lies down with the child beside her. The child is given water mixed with raw sugar and the mother is fed on oil and rice. On the fifth day a grindstone is placed where the mother and child were bathed, and before it are laid flowers, redpowder, and turmeric. An earthen pot full of *nachni* gruel and millet is set on the stone and in front of the stone a wheat flour lamp is filled with oil and lighted. On the seventh day the house is cowdunged. Impurity in consequence of a birth lasts ten days. On the eleventh the house is again cleaned. On the twelfth some neighbouring women are called and the child is named. Packets of betel leaves and of whole boiled millet grains called *ghugaris* are served and the guests retire. After this the mother is free to move about the house as usual. On some day when a child, whether a boy or a girl, is about seven months old the hair-cutting or *javal* is performed. For the hair-cutting they have to go to Jejuri, Tuljapur, or some other place of pilgrimage, where a goat is killed, the child bows before the god, the victim is cooked, and the ceremony ends with a feast. They marry their girls between three and twenty and their boys between three and twenty-five or thirty. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's side. The father of the boy goes to the parents of the girl and asks them to give their daughter in marriage to his son. If the girl's parents are willing the boy's father calls the castemen and asks their approval. If they raise no objection he goes to the priest who chooses a lucky time for the marriage and preparations are begun. Wedding porches or *mandavs* are built in front of the bride's and bridegroom's houses, a lucky pillar or *muhurt-medh* is set up in each porch, but no altar or *bahule* is raised in the girl's porch. Next day the bridegroom is led on foot in procession to the bride's and made to stand in the wedding porch on a spot strewn with rice. The bride is brought and made to stand facing the bridegroom and a cloth or *antarpāt* is held between them. The Brahman priest repeats marriage verses and at the end the couple are man and wife. Then the priest winds a thread of five strands round two pieces of turmeric and ties one piece to the wrist of the bride and the other to the wrist of the bridegroom. The skirts of their clothes are knotted together and they go and bow before the house gods. The girl's mother loosens their garments, a feast is given, and the guests withdraw leaving the bridegroom who spends the night at the bride's. Next day a new robe is given to the bride, and the bride and bridegroom are carried to the boy's house each seated on a man's hip. On entering the boy's house they bow to his house gods and each takes off the other's turmeric bracelets. A feast is given, the marriage guardian or *devak* is thrown into the river, and the wedding observances are

at an end. When a girl comes of age she is considered unclean and is kept by herself for four days. On the seventh she is given a new robe and a bodice and at any time after goes to live with her husband. After death the body is washed in hot water and dressed in a loincloth, sandal paste and turmeric powder are rubbed on the brow, and if he is a man his turban is put on. He is seated on a blanket with some cooked rice tied to one of its corners. The chief mourner starts carrying an earthen pot with cooked rice in it; the bearers lift the body in a blanket and follow. Before they reach the burial ground the body is rested on the ground and the bearers charge hands. At the burying ground the chief mourner turns over a little earth and the bearers dig a grave and lay the body in it. Earth is thrown in and on the top the chief mourner strews the boiled rice which he brought in the earthen jar. All bathe in the river, go to the house of the dead, and return home. On the third day three cakes are baked and the chief mourner lays one at the place where the body was rested, and of the other two one is laid at the head and the other at the foot of the grave. They do not have their moustaches shaved and they do not offer balls of rice to the dead. On the thirteenth a caste feast is held, when goats are sometimes killed and others give pulse bread and rice. Their only memorial ceremony in honour of the dead is during the *mahal* or All Saints' fortnight in the latter half of *Bhadrpad* or September. They have no headman, but settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. Persons convicted of breaches of caste rules are made to give food to five boys or men. As a class the Chitrakathis are badly off and are growing poorer.

## GONDHLIS

**Gondhlis**, or Performers of the *gondhal* dance, are returned as numbering 683 and as found in Haveli, Bhimthadi, Maval, Junnar, Indapur, Khed, Sirur, Purandhur, and Poona City. They say the founders of their caste were the sage Jamdagni and his spouse Renuka, and that they came into the district two or three hundred years ago from Mahur and Tuljapur in the Nizam's country. They are divided into Brahman-gondhlis, Kumbhar-gondhlis, Kadamrai-gondhlis, Renurai-gondhlis, and Akarmasi-gondhlis, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The following particulars apply to Kumbhar-gondhlis. Their surnames are Badge, Dhembe, Gangavan, Garud, Jugle, Jadhav, Panchangi, Thite, Vaid, and Varade. Families bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. The names in common use among men are Appa, Bapu, Bhaguji, Haibatrao, and Khandu; and among women Anandi, Jago, Kondai,



Rhai, Rama, and Saku. They look like Marathas and speak Marathi. In house, food, drink, and dress they resemble Marathas. They are beggars begging from door to door for grain, clothes, and money, singing, dancing, and playing on a drum called *sambal*, the stringed fiddle or *tuntune*, and metal cups or *tals*. They also perform the *gondhal* dance and entertain people with their songs. The *gondhal* dance is performed among Brahmans in honour of the goddess Bhavani on the occasion of a thread ceremony, of a marriage, and of the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy. Among Marathas and other castes such as Shimpis and Sonars the *gondhal* dance is performed only at marriages either before or after the ceremony. The dance always takes place at night. During the day a feast is given, the dancers, who generally perform in companies of three to five, being the chief guests. At night the dancers come back bringing their musical instruments, a torch or *divti*, and the dress of the chief dancer. On a wooden stool in the largest room of the house they spread a bodicecloth or *cholkhan*, and on it lay thirty-six pinches of rice, and sprinkle the rice with turmeric and redpowder. In the middle of these pinches of rice a water-pot or *tambya* is set and filled with milk and water, and lines of sandal are drawn over the pot. In the mouth of the jar betel leaves are laid and the whole is closed with a cocoanut. Over the cocoanut a flower garland hangs from a triangle formed of three sugarcanes. On the stool in front of the pot are laid betelnuts, plantains, dates, and lemons. With the help of the chief Gondhli the head of the family worships the water-pot as the goddess Tuljabhavani, offering it flowers and rice, waving before it a lighted butter lamp, and burning camphor and frankincense. Five male members of the family light five torches and go five times round the goddess shouting the words *Ai Bhavani Jagadamba*, Mother Bhavani, Mother of the World. The head dancer, dressed in a long white oily coat reaching to his ankles, and wearing cowry-shell necklaces and jingling bell anklets, takes his stand in front of the goddess. A second of the troop stands to the right of the headman holding a lighted torch and three others stand behind him playing on a drum, a fiddle, and cymbals. On either side of the Gondhli troop sit the house-people, men on one side women on the other. The head dancer touches the lighted torch with sandal paste, bows low before it, and calls, Khandoba of Jejuri come to the *gondhal*; Tukai, Yamai, mother Bhavani come to the *gondhal*. [The Marathi runs: *Jejurichya Khandoba gondhala ye; Tukai, Yamai Ai Bhavani gondhla ye.*] He begins singing and dancing going forwards and backwards, the musicians play their drum, fiddle, and cymbals, and the torch-bearer serves as a butt for the dancer's jokes. The

chief after dancing at a slow pace without turning round and with little movement of the feet, repeats a story from the Ramayan and explains its meaning. The performance lasts from a few minutes to several hours; it sometimes is kept up with frantic enthusiasm till daybreak. Occasionally one of the guests becomes possessed and a spirit in him says why he has entered his body. At the end of the dance a lighted lamp is waved round the goddess and the dancers retire with a present of 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼). On a lucky day when a Gondhli boy is about ten year's old the men of the caste come and fasten a cowry garland round his neck. The guests after witnessing the ceremony retire each with a handful of sugar and a betel packet. Gondhlis get all their food and clothes by begging. Their house goods are worth 4s. to £2 (Rs. 2-20). A boy's marriage costs about £5 (Rs. 50), a girl's about £2 (Rs. 20), and a death about 14s. (Rs. 7). They reverence the usual Hindu gods and goddesses, but their chief object of worship is the goddess Renuka of Mahurgad in the Nizam's country. Their priests are ordinary Deshasth Brahmans. On Tuesdays and Fridays they eat only once, and keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts. The nine nights or *Navaratra* which end in Dasara Day in October is their biggest festival. Because their family goddess sleeps on a cot at Mahurgad, they do not allow their women in child-bed to lie on a cot but on the ground. They marry their boys before they are twenty-four, and their girls before they are sixteen. Their badge or *devak* is the leaves of five trees, the mango, *savandad*, *palas*, *umbar*, and *rui*, which they tie up during a marriage. They also tie in the marriage hall a drum or *sambal*, a *chavak* or one-stringed fiddle, a garland of cowry shells, and their begging bag. Their marriage ceremonies last three days. On the first day they feast the caste in honour of the family gods, and on the second the marriage ceremony is performed, the boy and girl being made to stand face to face on leaf plates or *patravlis*. A feast on the third day ends the ceremony. They either bury or burn their dead, and mourn ten days. They have a caste council. They do not send their boys to school and are a steady class.

## GOSAVIS

**Gosa'vis**, properly *Gosvamis* or Passion Lords, are returned as numbering 3709 and as found over the whole district. Though many live by begging and are poor, some are well-to-do, and a few are rich living as moneylenders, as dealers in pearls, cloth, shawls, and musk, as writers, and as husbandmen. Many Gosavis

enlisted in the Peshwa's army and Gosavis formed a portion of most hill fort garrisons. Details are given in the Poona City account.

## HOLARS

**Holars**, apparently the Kanarese Holeyars or men of the soil, are returned as numbering 502 and as found in Poona City only. They say they came into the district about the time of Balaji Vishvanath Peshwa (1714-1720), and their name seems to point to a Karnatak origin. They have no divisions and their surnames are Edve, Govare, Povar, and Sonvane; persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. They look and speak like Mhars. They live in houses with mud walls and tiled roofs. Their house goods include earthen cooking pots, wooden plates, and a couple of brass dishes and drinking pots, blankets and quilts, together worth about £1 (Rs. 10). Their staple food is millet, Indian millet, pulse, and vegetables, and occasionally rice, fish, flesh, and liquor. They smoke both tobacco and hemp-flowers. They dress like Mhars and are an orderly people. They are musicians and songsters, and play upon a bamboo pipe or *alguj*, a *sanai* of wood with brass top and bottom, a *sur* or long wooden pipe, and a drum or *daf*. A band of these musicians includes a drummer and three pipers of whom two play the brass pipe or *sanai* and the third the wooden pipe or *sur*. They play at Maratha marriages and are paid 4s. to £1 (Rs. 2-10) for a marriage. Their busy season is from *Kartik* or November to *Chaitra* that is March or *Jyeshth* that is May. During the rest of the year they go about playing on their pipes, singing, and begging. Their songs are much patronized by people who are fond of amusement, and their playing on the *alguj* or bamboo pipe is very popular. Their women do not help them in their begging and playing, but boys above twelve go with them playing the wooden or *sur* pipe, which is easier to play than either the drum or the brass pipe. They worship the usual Hindu gods and have house images of Khandoba, Bahiroba, and Janai. Their fasts and feasts are the same as those of Mhars, and their priests are ordinary Deshasth Brahmans. They go on pilgrimage to Pandharpur, Tuljapur, and Alandi. When a child is born its navel cord is cut by an elderly woman of the house, and it is fed for three days on molasses mixed with water called *gulavani*. After the third day the mother nurses it and to increase her milk she is given a mixture of *limb* juice and *karle* oil. On the fifth day two figures are traced in charcoal on the door of the lying-in room and an elderly woman worships them as the goddess Satvai. The

figures of the goddess are offered wheat bread and rice, and the mother brings her child and bows before them and the ceremony is over. On the twelfth day, the mother worships five pebbles out of doors, and offers them bread and rice. A child is named when it is a month old, the name being given by a Brahman priest. Their children's hair is clipped any day between four months and a year after birth. Five pebbles are worshipped at some distance from the house or in the bush, a goat is offered, and they return and feast. They marry their girls between seven and sixteen, and their boys between ten and twenty-five. Their marriage ceremonies are the same as those of Mhars. When the ceremony is being performed the bride and bridegroom stand on bamboo baskets. Their coming of age ceremony is the same as that of the Mhars. They bury their dead, and mourn thirteen days. They have a caste council, and settle social disputes at caste meetings. They do not send their boys to school, and are not a steady people.

## JANGAMS

**Jangams**, or Moveable that is Incarnate Lings, the priests of the Lingayats, are returned as numbering 917 and as found over the whole district. They are said to have come from the Kanarese districts in search of work about a hundred and fifty years ago. The names in ordinary use among men are China, Ramchandra, and Vitthal; and among women, Gaya, Jankibai, Kashibai, and Umabai. Their surnames are Brahmani, Patavekar, and Shivurkar, and their family gods Ekorama Pandita, Marul, Revajsiddha, and Siddha Pinditaratya. They are divided into priests and laymen, who eat together and sometimes intermarry. Their family stocks are Bhringi, Nandi, Matsarup, Virabhadra, and Vrishabh. Persons bearing the same surnames cannot intermarry. Their home tongue is a corrupt Marathi. As a class they are dark, strong, and muscular. The laymen shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and whiskers. The priests let the beard grow and wear no top-knot. They live in two-storeyed houses of the better class with brick walls and tiled roofs and their house goods include boxes, carpets, and metal vessels. They own cattle but keep no servants. They are moderate eaters and good cooks, and are fond of hot dishes. Their staple food is rice, pulse-sauce, and bread. They regularly bathe before they take their morning meals and worship Shiv's emblem the *ling* with flowers and some of the food they are going to eat. They do not use animal food or liquor but they have no objection to smoke hemp-flower or *ganja*. The women tie their hair in a knot at the back of

the head, but do not wear false hair. Both men and women wear clean and neat clothes and are fond of gay colours. The men dress in a waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a coat, and a Deccan Brahman turban, with a pair of shoes or sandals. The women dress in a long Maratha robe and a full-backed bodice with short sleeves. Both men and women have a store of clothes for special ceremonies, and of ornaments made in Deccan fashion. As a class Jangams are clean, orderly, lazy, thrifty, and honest, but not hospitable. Their principal and hereditary calling is begging alms from lay Lingayats. They belong to the Shaiv sect. Their chief holidays are *Shimga* in March, *Akshatritiya* in May, and *Dipvali* in October. They keep Mondays and *ekadashis* or lunar elevenths, and all fast on *Mahashivratra* or Shiv's Great Night in February. They have their own religious teacher who lives in the Karnatak and occasionally visits villages where Jangams are settled. They say they do not believe in witchcraft or in the power of evil spirits. Early marriage and polygamy are allowed; polyandry is unknown. As soon as a child is born word is sent to the priest, who rubs the mother's brow with cowdung ashes and invests the child with the *ling* either at once or on the fifth or thirteenth day. In investing a child the priest touches its neck with the *ling* and gives the *ling* to the mother. The mother's impurity lasts five days. At the end of the fifth day, as among Brahmanical Hindus, an embossed image of Satvai is worshipped. The child is named on the twelfth. The *diksha* or initiation ceremony of the child, whether male or female, is performed between twelve and fifteen. The teacher is asked and seated on a low stool, his hands and feet are washed, and part of the water is sipped by the novice. Sweetmeats and *bel* leaves are offered to the teacher who whispers a verse or *mantra* in the novice's ear and is treated to a sumptuous dinner with the friends and relations of the houseowner. Boys are married between eight and thirty and girls between five and twelve. The marriage and other rites performed by the Poona Jangams are partly Brahmanical and partly Lingayat. They do not differ much from those in use among Belgaum Jangams. Their religious peculiarities seem to tone down in districts where the bulk of the people are attached to Brahmanism. Among Bijapur Jangams, women in their monthly sickness are not considered impure; in Poona they sit apart for three days. All Soul's fortnight in *Bhadrapad* or September is not observed in Bijapur; it is observed in Poona. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of adult castemen. They send their children to school, take to new pursuits, and show a tendency to rise in wealth and position.



## JOGTINS

**Jogtins** are recruited from all classes and castes of Hindus. If a man is childless or has a child sick of some serious disease he vows that if Yelamma him gives a child or cures the child he will dedicate it to her. Boys who have been dedicated to Yelamma in this way are called Jogtis. When they come of age they are allowed to marry girls of their own caste. But dedicated girls, who are called Jogtins, are not allowed to marry. They look like Marathas, mark their brows with redpowder, speak-Marathi, and live eat and dress like Marathas. They are beggars, begging in the name of the goddess Yellamma whose shrine is at Saundatti near Dharwar. They worship the usual Brahmanic gods and goddesses and have house images of Yelamma and Parashuram. Their chief holiday is *Dasara* in October and the nine previous nights. The teacher or *guru* of the class who may be either a man or a woman settles social disputes and fines offenders 2*d.* to 2*s.* (Re.1/12 -1). From every 1¼ *anna* of the fine the teacher keeps ¾*d.* (½ a.) to himself and spends the rest in sweetmeats or betel which are served to the members of the class. They are a steady people.

## JOHARIS

**Joha'ris**, or Jewellers, are returned as numbering 120 and as found in large towns. They are said to have come from Marwar about seventy years ago for purposes of trade. They are like Upper India Pardeshis and do not differ from them in dwelling, food, drink, or dress. They are strict vegetarians and take no liquor, though some eat opium and drink hemp-water or *bhang*. The men have taken to the Maratha dress but the women keep to the full northern petticoat and open-backed bodice. As a class they are clean, hardworking, and thrifty. They are hereditary beggars who deal in old lace and ribands, and profess a knowledge of physic. They live from hand to mouth. The women mind the house and offer metal pots in exchange for old clothes or lace, hawking them from door to door. They are religious, worshipping family gods and Krishna, Maruti, Ramchandra, and *tulas* or the sweet basil plant, and keeping the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts. They have a great reverence for Ram the seventh incarnation of Vishnu and the hero of the Ramayan. Their great holidays are *Ram-navami* in April, *Gokul-ashtami* in August, and *Navaratra* in September. They make pilgrimages to Oudh, Gokarn, and Gokul-Vrindavan. They profess not to believe in

witchcraft or in evil spirits. Early marriage and polygamy are allowed, widow marriage is forbidden, and polyandry is unknown. On the third and fifth days after the birth of a child the goddess Satvai is worshipped, and the child is named on the twelfth day. The mother's impurity lasts twelve days. Boys are girt with the sacred thread between five and eight and married between eight and thirty; girls are married between five and twelve. A Pardeshi Brahman priest officiates at the marriage and performs the same rites as among Pardeshi Brahmans. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. The crows are fed on the tenth and on the eleventh the kinsmen of the dead purify themselves by sipping the five cow-gifts. On the twelfth the caste-people are asked to dine in the name of the dead and a rice ball is offered to the dead. Their mind-rites are the same as those in use among Pardeshi Brahmans. They mark the death-day by a mind-rite or *shraddh*. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at meetings of adult castemen. They send their children to school and take to new pursuits. They are said to be still burdened by debts incurred during the 1876-77 famine.

### KANPHATES

**Ka'npha'tes**, or Slit Ear Gosavis, are returned as numbering 123 and as found in Haveli, Bhimthadi, and Poona. They have no subdivisions. Their surnames are Chavhan, Rathod, Ghatge, Mule, Salunke, Shinde, and Shitale. The names in common use among men are Sambhu, Kashinath, Bhivnath, Rama, and Vithal; and among women Bhima, Ganga, Nira, and Sita. They are a tall dark strong and robust people. The men wear the moustache, whiskers, and beard. They speak both Hindustani and Marathi. They live in huts of matting set on bamboo sticks. Except the dining plate and water-pot their vessels are of earth. They are a wandering class and move from village to village carrying their huts and goods on ponies and buffaloes. They always keep dogs. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, hare, deer, the wild hog, fowls, and partridges, and drink liquor. They are given to smoking hemp or *ganja* and eating opium. The men dress in an ochre-coloured Maratha turban, a loin or waistcloth, a shouldercloth, and sometimes a coarse waistcloth. They wear large thick ivory, clay, bone, or fish-scale earrings in the lobes of their ears and a necklace of *rudraksha* beads. The women wear a petticoat and bodice and braid their hair leaving it hanging down the back in plaits. They wear glass and queensmetal bangles and toe-rings, and a marriage-string or *mangalsutra* of black glass

beads. They are beggars and earn their living by singing and playing on the guitar, Raja Gopichand being generally the hero of their songs. They are religious and their chief gods are Gorakhnath and Machhandranath. They keep the usual Brahmanic fasts and feasts and their priests are Deshasth Brahmans to whom they show great respect. They believe in sorcery and witchcraft and travel from place to place visiting all the chief places of pilgrimage. On the fifth day after a birth they feast five married women and ask a Brahman to give them a name for the child. They marry their girls after they come of age, and their boys when they are above twenty-five. The boy and girl are seated face to face on a quilt and the priest repeats marriage verses or *mangalasthaks*, and when the verses are finished throws grains of rice over their heads and ties together the hems of their garments. This knot is called *Brahmagath* or Brahma's knot; after it is tied nothing can separate them. They do not hold the cloth or *antarpat* between the boy and girl at the time of marrying them. Their widows marry and they allow polygamy, but not polyandry. They bury their dead and mourn twelve days. They are bound together as a body, have a headman or *patil*, do not send their boys to school, and are poor.

## KOLHATIS

**Kolha'tis**, or Tumblers, are returned as numbering 395 and as found all over the district except in Khed. They are divided into Dukar or Potre Kolhatis and Pal or Kam Kolhatis who do not eat together or intermarry. The surnames of the Pal Kolhatis are Anudhare, Jadhav, Kachare, Musale, Povar, and Shinde; families bearing the same surname can not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Dada, Khandu, Lakshu, Malu, Nhanu, Vitu, and Vaghu; and among women Bhima, Dhanabai, Gulabo, and Rangu. They are a goodlooking class, particularly the women. They speak a mixture of Kanarese, Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindustani. [For Come here they say *Yame ava* ; for Where have you been, *Kame gaya thiya* ; for Bread *Roti*; for Marriage *Bihav*; and for Sleep *Nind*.] They live in huts of mat or grass or in houses with mud walls and grass roofs. They are a wandering tribe and carry their huts on their heads or on donkey-back. Their goods include a few earthen pots and pans, some blankets, and a cot. They keep donkeys, sheep, and fowls, and their staple food is Indian millet, millet, split pulse, and sometimes rice, fish, and flesh. In addition to this, the Dukar Kolhatis eat beef and pork. They drink liquor, and smoke tobacco and hemp-flowers. A family

of five spends £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month on food. The men wear a pair of short breeches or *chadis*, a waistcloth and shouldercloth, and a waistcoat, and roll a scarf or a Maratha turban round their heads. They wear the topknot, moustache, and whiskers. The women tie their hair in a knot at the back of the head, and those who are prostitutes wear false hair and decorate their heads with flowers. All wear a tight-fitting bodice with sleeves and back, and the full Maratha robe with the skirt passed back between the feet and fastened into the waistband behind. Those who act as prostitutes have a store of rich clothes worth £5 to £15 (Rs. 100-150) and a number of gold silver and pearl ornaments worth £5 to £15 (Rs.50-150). [Their head ornaments are the *rakhdi*, *kevda*, and *ketak*; their nose ornament is the *nath*; their earrings are the *antya*, *bali*, *dorle*, and *vajratik*; their bracelets are *gots* and bangles; their anklets are *todes*; and their toe-rings are *jodvis*.] Women who are not prostitutes wear bracelets or *gots* worth about 3d. (2 as.) and queensmetal toe-rings or *jodvis* worth about 4½d. (3 as.). They are dirty and lazy and maintain themselves by showing feats of strength and by rope-dancing and begging. As prostitutes they earn 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a day. They are taught to jump and tumble from the age of eight, and at sixteen are good gymnasts. A family of five spends 16s. to £1 (Rs. 8-10) a month on food, and 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) a year on clothes. A birth costs about 4s. (Rs. 2), a marriage 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 5-25), a girl's coming of age 4s. (Rs. 2), a girl's starting in life as a prostitute about £1 (Rs. 10), and a death 10s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 5-15). They are Hindus and their chief god is Khandoba of Pali in Satara. They pay great respect to Mariai the Cholera Goddess, Jotiba, and Bahiroba. They fast on *Shivratra* in February, on *Ashadhi ekadashis* in July, on *Gokul-ashtami* in August, and on *Kartiki ekadashis* in November. Their holidays are *Sankrant* in January, *Shimga* in March, *Gudipadva* in April, *Nagpanchmi* in August, *Dasara* in October, and *Divali* in November. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans whom they call to their weddings. They respect Musalman saints or *Pirs*, and have great faith in soothsaying, sorcery, and the evil eye. A woman is held to be impure for five days after childbirth. On the fifth day they worship seven pebbles in honour of the goddess Satvai outside the house and lay before them wet gram and wheat-cakes or *mutkes*. They name their children about five weeks after birth, the name being given by a Brahman. Kolhatis marry their boys before they are twenty-five and their girls before they come of age. The boy's father goes with five men and two or three women to the girl's and presents her with a packet of sugar. The guests are taken by the boy's father to a liquor-shop and treated to

liquor. The marriage ceremony lasts five days. On the first day, which is generally a Sunday, they have the *devak* or marriage-guardian ceremony, when, both at the boy's and the girl's, a metal water-pot is placed in a queensmetal plate and filled with water. Five betelnuts and turmeric powder are dropped into it and the mouth of the pot is closed with a cocoanut. Frankincense is burnt before the pot, the cocoanut is broken to pieces, and all present eat it. During the whole time these rites are going on one of the party plays a drum or *dhol*. On the second day they rub the boy with turmeric at his house and send the rest to the girl. Nothing is done on the third or fourth day except feasting. On the fifth the boy goes to the girl's and they are seated on cots near each other. The skirts of the boy's and girl's cloths are tied together by men of the caste and this is the whole marriage ceremony. After they are married the caste-men advise the boy to take care of his wife. The ceremony ends next day with a feast. When a girl comes of age she is seated by herself for five days. On the morning of the sixth she is bathed and her lap is filled with five dry dates, five turmeric roots, five pieces of cocoa-kernel, and five wheat cakes or *mutkis*. If a girl chooses to become a prostitute her choice is respected. She puts herself under the protection of some one not of the caste, who keeps her for a time paying 10s. to £10 (Rs. 5 - 100). Kolhatis do not rank among the impure castes. They are touched by Brahmans and other high-caste Hindus and by Parsis and Musalmans. They do not receive visits from Mhars or other low-caste Hindus. the children of a Kolhati prostitute, whether they are boys or girls, though they are not outcastes, cannot marry with legitimate Kolhati children. The Kolhatis bury the dead. The body is carried on a cot or *baj* by four men. Near the burial ground they lower the cot, the bearers change places, and set a stone where the cot was laid and carry the body to the burial ground and bury it. After burying it they return to their houses. On the third day they go to the burial ground, raise a mound on the spot where the body was buried, and going to the spot where they left the stone, cook a dish of rice oil and molasses, offer a little to the crows, themselves eat a little, and return home. The chief mourner is impure for three days, and at the end of a month feasts the caste. They have a caste council. They do not send their boys to school, and are a poor people.

### **MANBHAVS**

**Ma'nbha'vs**, probably meaning men of learning, are returned



as numbering 222 and as found over the whole district except in Maval and Poona. They speak Marathi, and are wandering beggars. Both men and women shave their heads and live together in religious houses or *maths*. They are vegetarians and wear black clothes. They are a sect of Krishna-worshippers and hate Brahmans and their gods. They bury their dead and do not bathe in case it should cause loss of insect life. Their religious head is a wandering *guru* whom they call Mahant. He is succeeded by his chief disciple who always stays with him.

## MURLIS

**Murlis.** See VAGHERS.

## PANGULS

**Pa'nguls** are returned as numbering eighty-eight and as found over the whole district. They are said to be the descendants of a lame man or *pangala* whose parents devoted him to the service of the god Shankar because the god blessed them with children after the usual time for child-bearing had passed. The names in common use among men and women are the same as Maratha Kunbi names. Their surnames are Bachakire, Badhake, Dhumale, Hingmire, Jadhav, Sinde, Jate, and Vaghamode. Persons bearing the same surnames do not intermarry. Their family gods are Bhavani of Tuljapur, Janai of Paithan, and Khandoba of Pali and Jejuri in Poona, Mahadev of Sijanapur, and Satvai of Manakeshvar. Their illegitimate children eat with them but do not marry with them. In look, dwelling, food, and drink they do not differ from local Maratha Kunbis. As a class they are dirty, orderly, hardworking, thrifty, and hospitable. They are a class of wandering beggars, but they also deal in wood and poultry. They repeat the names of their family gods and move begging from door to door from six to ten in the morning, and return home at noon. The women mind the house and work as labourers or house servants; children above six beg in the street. As a class they are very poor. They spend more than they can afford and are encumbered with debt. They rank below Maratha Kunbis and above the impure classes. They are religious, worshipping family and local gods, and keeping all fasts and feasts. They are Shaivs by sect and their priest is a Deshasth Brahman who is called to their marriages. They visit all Hindu sacred places in the Deccan, and believe in soothsaying and witchcraft. Early marriage, widow-

marriage, and polygamy are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. On the fifth day after the birth of a child the goddess Satvai is worshipped and the women of the house sit up all night. The mother's impurity lasts ten days and she is purified on the eleventh day by taking the five cow-gifts; the child's hair is clipped before it is a year old, when Satvai is again worshipped and a goat is slain in her honour. Boys are married between twelve and twenty-five and girls between three and twelve. The boy pays the price of the girl and the sanction of the castepeople is given before the agreement is final. Their marriage and death rites are the same as those of Maratha Kunbis. They burn the dead and mourn ten days. The death day is marked by a mind-rite or *shraddh* and the dead are again remembered on the day in the *Mahalaya Paksh* or All Souls' Fortnight in *Bhadrapad* or September which corresponds to the day of death. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. They send their children to school and show a tendency to improve.

### **SARVADE JOSHIS**

**Sarvade Joshis** are returned as numbering 1623 and as found over the whole district. They cannot tell why they are called Sarvades, or when and why they came into the district. They believe they came about a hundred years ago. Their surnames are Bhosle, Chavan, More, Sinde, and Salunke; persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. They look like Marathas; the men are tall, thin, and dark, and wear moustaches and whiskers and occasionally the beard. Their home speech is Marathi. They are wandering beggars and live either in or outside of villages in thatched huts. Their household goods are two or three earthen vessels, a brass dining plate, and a couple of drinking pots. They eat anything that is given them in alms and have no objection to fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, hare, and deer; they seldom drink liquor. The men dress like Marathas, except that their begging coats are rather long. They generally wear a white Maratha turban, waistcloth, and shouldercloth, and Brahman shoes or sandals. When begging they carry a small drum called *hudki* slung on their back, and an old almanac in their pocket which they do not know how to read. Their women dress like Maratha women and both men and women have no clothes in store and no ornaments. They are a poor, patient, sober, thrifty, and orderly class of beggars, and tell fortunes with great solemnity. They do not admit that they beg. In the *Satya Yug*

they told the gods their fortunes, and what they now get is in reward for this and is not given in charity. They are astrologers and fortune-tellers and travel with their families. They start in the beginning of November and return before May. Before starting on their begging tours they make a low bow their drum or *hudki*, the bread-winner. Their women and children accompany them on their tours but do not go with them when they beg. They are Shaivs in religion and have house-images of Janai, Jokhai, Elama, and Khandoba. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans to whom they show great respect, and their fasts and feasts are the same as those of Maratha Kunbis. When a child is born a man or woman of the house cuts its navel cord and burys it in the lying-in room along with a copper coin. The coin is afterwards dug out and spent in buying oil to rub on the child's head. On the seventh day a grindstone is laid on the spot where the navel cord is buried, and Indian millet and a betelnut and two leaves are offered to it. The mother and child bow before the stone and retire. Their women do not consider themselves unclean after childbirth. Both boys and girls are named on the twelfth day. When the child is a couple of months old whether it is a boy or a girl they clip its hair with their own hands, but perform no other ceremony. They marry their children whether boys or girls at any age. A marriage costs £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20) of which 1s. or 1s. 3d. (8-10 as.) go to the priest who marries them. Marriage dinners do not include more than ten or twenty guests and do not cost more than 4s. (Rs. 2). Their women are not kept by themselves when they come of age, and the occasion is not marked by any ceremonies. A month later they are kept by themselves and if married go to live with their husbands. They bury their dead and allow the dying to breathe their last on their beds. The chief mourner does not shave his moustache but on the third day near relations go to the burying ground and lay some pinches of earth on the spot where the dead was buried and return home. They mourn seven days and end the mourning with a feast to the four corpse-bearers. On the deceased's death-day a dinner is given to a few near relations and crows, and the Brahman priest is presented with uncooked food or *shidha*. They have a caste-council and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen. They do not send their boys to school but teach them their craft from the age of eight. They are daily growing poorer as people are not so liberal as they used to be in giving them alms. They seldom get old clothes or money, and grain is given them by pinches instead of by handfuls. Their prophecies are not believed, and they are driven from the door.

## SAHADEV JOSHIS

**Sahadev Joshis** or **Hussaini Bra'hmans**, are found in Poona. They say they are descended from Sahadev, the grandson of Kalidas the great poet. Kalidas is said to have had by a Maratha husbandman's daughter a son named Devidas who married one Bhadli by whom he had a son named Sahadev, the father of the Sahadev Joshis. The Sahadevs cannot tell when, whence, or why they came into the district. They believe they were formerly settled at Aurangabad and came to Poona about a hundred years ago. Their surnames are Botludas, Bhagade, Gachkeshvar, Nayakil, and Renukadas. They are dark, weak, and middle-sized; the men wear the top-knot, moustache, and whiskers, but not the beard. They live in houses of the poorer class, and have metal and earthen vessels, blankets, carpets, and bedding, but neither servants nor domestic animals. Their staple food is millet, rice, pulse, vegetables, curds, and whey, and they are fond of sour dishes. They eat the flesh of goats and sheep and drink liquor once a year in October on Dasara Day after offering it to the goddess Bhavani. They dress like Deccan Brahmans in a waistcloth, coat, shouldercloth, and Brahman turban and shoes. Their women wear the short-sleeved and backed bodice and the full Maratha robe, the skirt of which they pass back between the feet and tuck into the waist behind. They tie their hair in a ball at the back of the head and do not deck it with flowers. They are quiet orderly and hospitable, and make their living as beggars and astrologers. A boy's marriage costs £7 to £10 (Rs. 70-100), a girl's marriage £3 to £5 (Rs. 30-50), and a death £1 (Rs. 10). They worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods and goddesses. Their family goddesses are the Mothers of Saptashringi and Tuljapur whom they visit when they can afford it. They keep the regular Brahmanic fasts and feasts. Their priests are Deshasth Brahmans who officiate at their houses. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying, omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. On the fifth day after the birth of a child they put a silver mask of the goddess Satvai in a cocoa-kernel, place it on a stone slab in the mother's room, and worship it with red and scented powder, flowers, and pulse cakes. They hold the mother impure for ten days and name the child if a boy on the twelfth and if a girl on the thirteenth. They clip a boy's hair when he is between seven and twelve months old. The hair is laid before the house-gods and then either tied to a tree or thrown into a river or pond. The barber is given about 3d. (2 as.) and cooked food, and five married women are feasted, the chief dish being pulse cakes. They marry their girls before they are sixteen and their boys before they are twenty-five. The boy's father has to seek a wife

for his son. When he has found a suitable match he goes to the girl's house with a few near relations, worships a betelnut along with the girl's father, and presents the girl with a new robe and bodice and sticks a rupee on her brow. The village astrologer writes two notes naming the lucky days and hours for rubbing the children with turmeric and marrying them, and each of the fathers keeps a copy of the note. Packets of betelnut and leaves are handed and the guests retire. Their guardian or *devak* is the leaves of five trees or *panchpallav* which they tie to a post of the marriage hall in a piece of yellow cloth. On the marriage day the boy goes on horseback, with relations and music, to the girl's, and a married woman of the girl's family goes with a water jar and pours the water in front of the horse. The girl's relations present her with a bodice. Cooked rice and curds are waved round the boy's head and thrown on one side, and the boy dismounts and walks into the marriage porch. In the house he is seated on a carpet, a second thread is put round his neck, and the girl is brought in. When the girl comes she and the boy either stand or sit on low wooden stools face to face with a cloth held between them. The priest repeats marriage verses, and at the end of the verses throws grains of rice over the boy and girl and seats them near each other on the altar. The sacrificial fire is lighted and they are married. The hems of their garments are knotted together and they bow before the house gods. They are again seated on an altar and either the girl's maternal uncle or her father washes their feet and presents the boy with five metal vessels including a lamp, a water-pot, a cup, and a plate. Money is given to Brahmans and other beggars, and, after a feast and betel, the guests leave. Next day the boy goes with the bride in procession to his house and the marriage festivities end with a feast. They allow widow-marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. A day or two before a man's death his moustache and top-knot are shaved and he is made an ascetic or *sanyasi*. When he dies he is laid on a bamboo bier and carried by four men on their shoulders, and buried sitting. The chief mourner pours water over his mouth, walks five times round the grave with an earthen jar on his shoulders, and dashing the jar on the ground beats his mouth with the back of his right hand and calls aloud. The grave is filled and after a bath the mourners return to their homes. On the third day they sprinkle the grave with cow's urine and dung and lay on it three wheat cakes and three earthen jars filled with cold water. On the tenth day they throw eleven rice balls in the river in honour of the dead and the mourning is over. Either on the twelfth or thirteenth day they feast the caste. They have a caste council and send their boys to school. They are a poor people.



## TIRMALIS

**Tirma'lis**, also called **Ka'shi Ka'padis**, are returned as numbering seventy and as found wandering all over the district. The names in common use among men are Apaiya, Chalaiya, Chandraiya, Eraiya, Guraiya, Niraiya, and Venkaiya; and among women Achamma, Gangamma, Jagamma, Kavaimma, and Laksmanamma. Their surnames are Kanare, Mayakalla, Medur, Nandale, Sanku, Shebul, and Vasardi. All belong to the Kashyap stock or *gotra*. Their family deities are Ambabai, Charbalaji of Tirupati, Durga Bhavani, and Ganpati in Telangan. Persons bearing the same surnames do not intermarry, but sameness of stock is no bar to marriage. They have no subdivisions. Their home tongue is a corrupt Telugu, and they speak broken Marathi abroad. They are strong, dark, tall, and well-built, and live in one-storeyed houses with brick walls and tiled roofs. They are moderate eaters and good cooks. Their staple food includes millet bread, pulse sauce, vegetables, and fish curry. Sweet wheat-flour cakes and spiced dishes are their chief dainties. They eat flesh except beef and pork, and drink liquor on any day except fast and feast days. Both men and women dress like local Maratha Kunbis and have a similar store of ornaments and holiday clothes. As a class they are clean, orderly, hardworking, honest, and thrifty, but fond of show and hospitable. Their chief and hereditary calling is door-to-door begging. They also sell sacred threads or *janavas*, holy *rudraksha* berries *Eleocarpus lanceolatus* or *gravitrus*, whetstones, pieces of sandalwood, and sweet basil rosaries. They deal in sandalwood dolls and offer their wares in exchange either for cash or clothes. The women darn second-hand clothes and mind the shop when the men are away. Men go begging from six to eleven, dine at noon either at home or at some rich Brahman's, rest till two, and sit in their shops till dark. They are poor and burdened with debt. They are a religious class worshipping their family gods and all local gods and keeping all fasts and feasts. They ask a Telangi Brahman to officiate at their ceremonies and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Dehu in Poona, and Pandharpur in Sholapur. They belong to the Shaiv sect. They believe in witchcraft, soothsaying, and evil spirits. Early marriage, widow-marriage, and polygamy are allowed and practised; polyandry is unknown. Their customs do not differ from those of Maratha Kunbis. After sunset on the fifth day after the birth of a child the women of the house place a leather shoe or sandal under the pillow of the child to keep off evil spirits, worship a plate with an embossed figure of the goddess Satvai, and keep awake till

morning. The mother's impurity lasts ten days, and she and the child are bathed and purified on the eleventh. The child is named on the twelfth by women who are asked to the house and friends and kinspeople are feasted. Boys are married between five and twenty and girls between five and eleven. Widow-marriage is allowed. They burn their dead and mourn ten days. Crows and Brahmans are fed on the tenth or eleventh by the chief mourner, and caste-people are feasted in honour of the dead. They remember the dead on their anniversary and on the day in the *Mahalaya Paksha* or All Soul's Fortnight in dark *Bhadrapad* or September corresponding to the death day. They have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. They send their children to school but do not take to new pursuits or show signs of improving.

### UCHLIAS

**Uchlia's**, [From materials supplied by Mr. S. Kyte, Police Inspector of Poona City.] or Lifters, also called **Bha'mta's** and **Gantha'chors** that is Bundle-thieves, probably number about 2000. They are found in Bhimthadi, Haveli, Khed, and Sirur. The nucleus of the Poona Uchlias seems to have come from the Telugu districts either of Madras or of the Nizam's country. Their home speech is a broken Telugu, and many of their names have a southern or eastern form. They are found spread through the Deccan, the Berars, Gujarat, and other parts of Western India. They have no idea when and why they left their native country and no memory of having belonged to any other class of Hindus. Some, apparently correctly, state that they have been living in villages round Poona for four or five generations. The Poona Uchlia though called Bhamtas, are not true Bhamtas. The proper Bhamtas come not from the east or south-east but from the north. They are of Rajput descent. Their features are regular and pleasing, their skin is fair, and they are, generally well-made, sturdy, and active. They adopt many disguises. Even in their own villages, one dresses as a Marwar Vani, another as a Gujarat Shravak or Jain, a third as a Brahman, a fourth as a Rajput. They keep to some particular disguise for years and often travel hundreds of miles entering and stealing from the houses of the class of people whose dress they adopt. They sometimes give a false name for themselves and their village and take service with a merchant or trader of the caste to which they profess to belong. They act honestly for a time and take advantage of their employer's trust in them to make away with some large amount

of property. Sometimes two or three Bhamtas visit a large fair and go to the river-side which is crowded with bathers and worshippers. One of the party dresses as a Brahman. He chooses a spot near the person whom he means to rob and while washing and repeating verses keeps his eye on the ornament he intends to steal. When the chance comes he moves close to the ornament and begins to spread out a cloth to dry. When he is near enough he catches the ornament in his toes, drags it with him, and buries it in the sand some distance off. The accomplices who are in waiting, walk close by, loiter about for a time, and move on. When his victim misses his ornament and raises an outcry the Bhamta questions and grieves with him. He points out the accomplices and says he noticed them loitering about, perhaps it may be as well to look after them. The victim starts in pursuit, and the Bhamta digs the ornament out of the sand and makes off. At these holy bathing places women generally tie their ornaments in a bundle or put them in a box and sit close by and take their meals. When they see a woman sitting with a bundle close to her a couple of Bhamtas come up. One of them walks close to the woman, the other stops a few yards off and sits down as if to ease himself. The woman turns in the other direction and the comrade whips off the bundle and buries it in the sand. If a Bhamta is caught nothing is found and he has to be set free.

The city of Poona is infested with Uchlias or southern Bhamtas. They are also found in the villages round Poona chiefly in Vadgav, Bhatgav, Karja, Phugya's Vadi, Pabal, Bopudi, Kanersar, Kondve, Mundhav, Talegaon, and Dhamari. Their numbers vary as some of them are always on their travels. A rough estimate of the Uchlias of these villages gives about 250 at Vadgav, 200 at Bhatgav, 150 at Karja, 75 at Phugyachivadi, 300 at Pabal, 50 at Bopudi, 150 at Kanersar, 20 at Kondve, 50 at Mundhav, 75 at Talegaon, and about 100 at Dhamari, or a total strength of about 1420. All Poona Uchlias belong to one of two clans, Gaikvad and Jadhav. Except such low castes as Mangs, Mhars, Chambhars, Dhors, Buruds, and Telis, Uchlias admit all Hindus and Musalmans. In well known cases, Brahmans, Marwar Vanis, Sonars, Shimpis, and other upper and middle class Hindus have joined the Uchlias. If a good-caste Hindu or a Musalman wishes to become an Uchlia he makes a friend of some leading member of the caste and tells him that he wishes to become an Uchlia. If the Uchlia cares to have the candidate as a member of his family he takes him himself or he makes him over to any person who cares to have him. The candidate passes through two ceremonies, admission to the caste

and adoption into a family of the caste. If an Uchlia who is a Jadhav takes the man who is to be initiated into his family, the new-comer claims to be and becomes a Jadhav; if the new-comer is taken into a Gaikvad family he claims to be and becomes a Gaikvad. They cannot explain how they came to be divided into Gaikvads and Jadhavs. Their forefathers, they say, may have been Maratha members of those two clans, or they may have taken service with Gaikvad and Jadhav Maratha chiefs and adopted their patrons' clan names. When an Uchlia agrees to adopt an outsider he calls a caste meeting and tells the castemen that if they allow the outsider to become an Uchlia he will adopt him into his family. The castemen fix the admission fee which generally varies from £1 10s. to £2 10s. (Rs. 15-25) and retire. Next day musicians are called, the candidate is bathed and dressed in new clothes, and, in proof of admission into the caste, one of the elders, without repeating any text or verse, drops turmeric and sugar into the candidate's mouth. A feast follows during which two or three of the caste elders sit with the novice and eat from the same plate with him. This completes the admission ceremony. Unless the new member is adopted into some family no Uchlia will give him his daughter in marriage. If the new-comer is adopted by a Jadhav a Gaikvad will give him his daughter, and if a Gaikvad adopts him he will get a wife from the Jadhavs, for Uchlias of the same clan-name may not intermarry. The adoption ceremony is performed by the person who adopts. He calls the caste to his house and in their presence seats the new-comer on his knee. The caste elders drop a pinch of turmeric powder or *bhandar* into his mouth and each of the other guests drops a little sugar into his mouth. Music is played and the guests retire with betel and leaves.

The names in common use among men are Bapu, Chinapa, Chandrya, Dolya, Dhagya, Ellapa, Gidapa, Gitu, Kushanna, Manku, Mukirya, Marya, Nathya, Phakirya, Parashya, Rama, Satpa, Satva, and Siralya; and among women Aku, Bhagi, Dolu, Dhondi, Elli, Jogi, Mukti, Mari, Manki, Navli, Rai, Rami, Rakhmi, Saki, Satvi, and Tuki. The Poona Uchlias are dark and of a Telugu or Dravid cast of face. People who know them say that their bodies are stiff from frequent beatings and that the water has been drained out of their eyes so that they cannot shed a tear. They have this saying regarding Uchlias because, even when caught in the act of thieving, no amount of kicking or slipping will draw a tear from the eye or a word from the tongue of an Uchlia except a profession of innocence.

The men wear the topknot, moustache, and whiskers, and sometimes a lock of hair over each ear. None wear the beard. Their home speech is a corrupt Telugu mixed with Marathi. No is *lera*, bread is *impal*, split-pulse *papu*, vegetables *kura*, butter *nei*, a turban *talbata*, a coat *angi*, the face *nor*, the nose *muku*, the lips *lota*, and the hair *antkal*. Why do you run is *Yaduparav*, Have you work to do *Phani undaya*, Are you going to dinner *Impadati nimpaye*, Don't get angry *Siti gadak*, What have you brought *Demti sakinasti*, Have you forgot a rupee *Rupayachi kaya*. They live in houses built of stone or brick with tiled roofs. Some have two-storeyed houses and generally their dwellings are as good as those of an average villager. Their houses are clean. Their house goods include copper and brass vessels of which they have more than enough for their wants. Some have only a few boxes and a grindstone and earthen pots piled one on the other in which they keep grain and condiments. An ordinary country-made cot with a carpet and pillow and bedding is their sleeping furniture. They keep cows buffaloes, ponies, fowls, and hogs, and cowdung their houses once a week on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Sundays. When rich and successful they make no show of wealth. Their aim is to seem fairly off, so as neither to attract the special notice of the police nor to arouse the jealousy of their neighbours. They eat the usual kinds of animal food including the flesh both of the tame pig and of the wild boar. They rear pigs. Each Uchlia keeps a few pigs within walled enclosures or straying about the village. Pork is not used at caste feasts nor on religious or festive occasions it is kept as a delicacy for small feasts. They catch wild pig either by noosing them or with the help of dogs. When the pig is secured its legs are tied and it is killed either by stoning or by blows of a club below the ear. It is roasted over a slow fire, skinned, cut in small pieces, and served with salt and chillies. They never kill the cow and never eat its flesh. They drink liquor to excess. Their staple food is millet bread, vegetables, and spices. A family of five spends 12s. to 16s.(Rs.6-8) a month on food. Their only feasts are in honour of marriages when they make cakes of sugar and oil. They copy the dress and manners of the villagers among whom they live, so that strangers may take them for ordinary husbandmen. The men wear a coat, waistcloth, shouldercloth, shoes, and a loosely folded Maratha turban. The men's ornaments are the earrings called *kudki* and *bali*, the necklace called *kanthi*, the wristlet called *kade*, and the waistband called *kaddora*. The women dress like Maratha women in a bodice with a back and short sleeves, and a full robe whose skirt corner is drawn back



between the feet. They mark their brows with redpowder but do not wear false hair or deck their heads with flowers. They have clothes in store for big days worth £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30). The women's jewelry includes ear, nose, neck, arm, feet, and toe ornaments, worth £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20). The Uchlias show an honourable loyalty to one another. They never rob each other or tell on each other. If the police find stolen property in an Uchlia's house and the property does not belong to the owner of the house, the real Uchlia owner will come forward and take the blame on himself. Another rule they are careful to keep is that if an Uchlia manages to escape from prison he must not come back among his friends lest he should bring them into trouble. An Uchlia is never guilty of housebreaking or of gang-robbery with arms. These forms of crime he leaves to the Mangs and Ramoshis. If an Uchlia takes part in an armed gang robbery he is at once put out of caste. They are professional thieves and pocket-slitters, stealing between sunrise and sunset. They do not rob or steal after nightfall. They will not steal from a man when he is asleep in a house nor will they steal by breaking into a house at night. At fairs and other large gatherings they mix with the crowd and thieve. They are not particular as to what they steal. They pick an ornament off the wearer's body either by cutting it or opening it. They slip it away so light-fingeredly that some time passes before the owner knows that his ornament is gone. A favourite find is a bundle in front of a booth, laid down by some one close by, whose energies are centered in beating the booth-keeper in bargaining. However poor and unpromising the bundle the Uchlia does not despise it. His principle is to neglect nothing that fortune throws in his way. Before a party of Uchlias start on a thieving trip they consult and follow the advice of their headman who is called Patil or Thelungya, apparently the head of the *thal* or *sthal* that is the camping ground, for the Uchlias used to be wanderers. On their return they hand him an eighth of the spoil or two *annas* in the rupee. If everything goes well and the theft is not traced the headman spends his share on a caste feast with plenty of liquor, or if one of the thieves is caught the headman's share is spent on feeing a pleader to defend the accused. Sundays and Tuesdays are bad days for thieving; Uchlas often let them pass without attempting a theft. If any friend of the tribe happens to be robbed he will get his property back if he satisfies the headman that he has befriended some one of the tribe. The man's plea of friendship is laid before a jury or *panchayat*. The jury will not admit the plea unless one of the tribe comes forward and declares that the claimant is a friend of the tribe. If some one comes forward the property is handed to the claimant, and the thief's loss is made

good from public funds. Their code of honour is extremely high. Any breach of loyalty, any tale-telling against a brother Uchlia meets with the sharpest punishment. If one Uchlia charges another with telling against him the headman calls the caste men together. The accused is brought before the meeting and asked what he has done. If he can prove that the man he told was a friend of the tribe, even though the friend may be a constable, no notice is taken. If the tale-bearing is traced to spite, ill will, or jealousy, the informer is forced to pay the value of the property stolen and is marked as a traitor. If the accused denies that he told any one his innocence is tested by the oil-caldron or *tel-kadai*. Before the heads of the caste agree to refer the dispute to the oil caldron they make the accused enter into a written agreement that if the ordeal proves him a traitor, he will pay a fine to be fixed by the head of the caste. The fine is generally heavy, sometimes as much as £100 (Rs. 1000). When the caste-leaders agree to refer the matter to the caldron they ask a potter to make a *kadai* that is a large earthen caldron with a bowl-shaped body and a broad flat rim. For one *kadai* the potter is paid as much as 3s. (Rs. 1½). The reason of this high price is that the sacred caldron has to be made with the greatest care. The potter must wash before he begins to make it. He must bake it in a special kiln and see that nothing impure touches it. When the jar is ready the potter send word and the caste-council go to his yard and take it from his hands. The potter does not perform any ceremony on the caldron after it is baked nor does he tie anything round its neck. He is not recognized by the Uchlias as a priest nor does he perform any ceremonies for them in times of cholera. When the jar has been taken to the Uchlia's hamlet a quantity of sesamum-seed or *til* is brought and seven married women of good character are called. They are made to bathe, are dressed in new clothes, and have their brows marked with redpowder, and their arms with turmeric powder. They sit in a line and clean the oil-seed fasting the whole day. When the seed is clean it is handed to the oil-presser or Teli. The oilman is made to wash himself, to clean his mil, and put in a new crusher, and for this he is paid 14s. (Rs. 7). When the oil is crushed the crusher is taken out, broken in pieces, and used as firewood for boiling the oil. The caste-leaders choose some lonely spot at which to hold the ordeal and a large body of the caste perhaps fifty friends of the accused and fifty friends of the accuser, both men and women, go to the spot accompanied by the accused, the umpires, and music. When the spot is reached the accused is seated by himself fasting in a tent or booth. A fire is kindled, the caldron is set on the fire, and the oil, which is never less than ten pounds (5 *shers*), is poured

in. When the oil begins to boil the accused is called. He comes from the tent with music accompanied by the umpires. When the accused comes out of the tent, he bathes, but worships no god nor is any image of any god put near the caldron. When the accused comes close to the boiling caldron a round stone of the size of a pigeon's egg is dropped into the oil. The accused calls in a loud voice, ' If I have spoken the truth may the oil be to me as milk.' The accuser answers in a loud voice, ' If he has told a lie may the boiling oil be to him as fire or as worse than fire.' The accused plunges his arm into the oil and draws out the stone. He shows the stone to the head of the caste and throws it behind his own back. The fire is allowed to burn out and the accused is led to his tent and watched to see if he is suffering. After twenty-four hours the caste-leaders call on him to wash his hand with cow's urine, cowdung, and sand. When his hand has been washed it is closely examined. If it has taken no harm the accused is acquitted and brought back to the village. If the accuser is not satisfied that the hand has escaped unhurt a goat is killed and the accused is made to use his hand in pulling off the skin. During the time of the ordeal, which generally lasts ten to fifteen days, the accuser feeds one-half of the company and the accused feeds the other half of the company. At the end the person who wins the ordeal is paid all his expenses by the person who loses, and, at the same time, is presented with a lace-bordered shouldercloth and a turban together worth £12 to £24 (Rs. 120-240). The loser further pays the caste council a fine of £6 (Rs. 60), which is spent on a caste feast. Oil-ordeals come off sometimes twice sometimes as often as ten times in the year according as disputes happen to be many or few. Cases of injury from the boiling oil are rare. The accused almost always comes off unhurt.

Uchlias go thieving in couples or in bands of six to twelve, sometimes all men, sometimes all women, and sometimes half men and half women. They do not wait to strip a victim of all his ornaments. Even if it is a child one ornament only is taken. The stolen property is never kept by the man who stole it. It is at once made over to the thief's partner, and, with the least possible delay, without stipulating any value,' is left by him with some Marwar Vani or Brahman receiver of stolen goods. After a time the Uchlia comes to the receiver and takes what he gives him without a grumble, even though he is paid less than one-tenth of its value. This is the road which leads many a Marwari to wealth. Widows and other women who have no man to support them thieve. Women thieves, sometimes three or four together, attend

fairs and big markets. They mark some child with ornaments and watch till the child's parents are in a throng watching a show or driving a bargain. Two or three Uchlia women come pressing up watching the show with their eyes, and, with their hands, or the lancet they carry in their mouths, loosening the ornament. The thief passes the ornament to her friend who makes off while the thief loiters about safe and unconcerned for if she is caught nothing is found. When they see no one about Uchlia women sometimes go into houses and take away clothes left to dry. If they find some one in the house they ask if so-and-so does not live here or where so and so lives. Most of the Uchlias are well-to-do. Almost none are in debt and only the few clumsy-fingered are badly off. In case of need they borrow from Marwar and Gujarat Vanis or from some one of their own caste. If they want money they seldom find it difficult to raise a loan. A few of them are moneylenders, lending money in a quiet way to their fellow-villagers. They have a good middle class social position. They are liked by their neighbour. They never steal from a house in their own village and many of the villagers directly or indirectly share in their gains. They claim and enjoy the standing of respectable Kunbis. Their humble-mindedness and wish to please win the favour of the office-bearers and of the other leading men of the village.

Except that he seldom does any work, the home life of an Uchlia does not differ from that of an ordinary husbandman. The Uchlia's special life begins when he leaves his village for cities, market-towns, or fairs. After a few days' idling in the village one or two of them talk over the next big fair, agree on some thieving programme, and fix how the booty is to be shared. After making what they can out of the fair they generally spend much of their gains on liquor and return half-drunk to their homes. An Uchlia's expenses and his way of living do not differ from those of an ordinary Kunbi. A house costs £5 to £20 (Rs. 50-200) to build and 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a month to rent. Their house goods vary in value from £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50); and the yearly cost of clothing a family of five varies from £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15-20). A birth costs 10s. (Rs. 5), a naming 8s. (Rs. 4), a hair-clipping 4s. to 6s. (Rs. 2-3), a boy's marriage £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100), a girl's marriage £2 10s. to £5 (Rs. 25-50), a girl's coming of age 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10), a pregnancy 6d. to 2s. (Rs. ¼ -1), and a death 16s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 8-12). They worship the ordinary Brahmanic gods and goddesses. Their favourite deities are Bahiroba, Bhavani, Khandoba, Mariai, Mhasoba, Vetai, and Yellama; those

who worship Bahiroba fast on Friday, those who worship Bhavani on Tuesday, and those who worship Khandoba on Sunday. The Bhavani of Tuljapur and Yellamma of Saundatti are most venerated by the majority of Uchlias. They have no particular form of worship. They visit the ordinary temples of these deities, bathe, and fall at the feet of the god and ask for health and good fortune. Their rites are performed under the guidance of the temple ministrant who gives them holy ashes or *udi*, and if they have been unsuccessful, advises them to offer a goat, give a feast, or be more regular in visiting the temple. They occasionally suffer from spirit-possession. When an Uchlia is attacked by a spirit the patient's friends call any one who is expert in casting out devils. Some Uchlias have a great name as devil-scarers. When one of these exorcists is asked to cure a person who is suffering from a spirit attack, he washes and puts on fresh clothes. He goes to the patient's house and drops in cense or *ud* into a fire in front of him. The fumes of the incense scare the spirit and make him say who he is and what he wants. If a promise is given that his wishes will be, granted the spirit generally leaves. They make pilgrimages to Alandi, Pandharpur, Jejuri, Bhimashankar, or wherever there is likely to be a crowd. They keep the usual Brahmanic and local fasts and feasts. For five days after the birth of a child the mother is held to be unclean and to make unclean any person or thing she touches. During each of these days the midwife rubs the mother and child with turmeric paste, oil, and scraps of cocoa-kernel bruised on a stone slab, bathes them in warm water, and lays them on bedding spread on the ground instead of on a cot. The time a mother remains apart varies from five days to a fortnight or even three months according to her husband's wish. During this time she is fed on rice and oil. On the fifth day a small silver plate with an embossed image of the goddess Satvai or Mother Sixth is laid in a new winnowing basket and in front of it are placed dry dates, a piece of turmeric root, a bit of dry cocoa-kernel, two betel leaves and a nut, and a little wooden box with redpowder. Some sweet food is laid before the image and all night long a lamp is kept burning before it. From this day the mother may move about the house and do the housework, but in well-to-do families she remains apart for several weeks. Instead of worshipping Satvai in the house on the fifth day some rub the mother's hands and feet with turmeric powder, cover her with a blanket, and take her to the village temple or some other spot where is a stone image of the goddess Satvai. The mother rubs red and turmeric powders on the goddess, offers seven different fruits, and bows before her with joined hands. On the twelfth day female friends and kinswomen



are called and the mother and child are bathed and the child is presented with clothes, named, and cradled. The child's name is chosen by relations. Each woman present is given two betel leaves and a nut, a handful of gram, and grains of wheat boiled whole. In the third month the parents of the child with their friends and relations go into a grove or garden outside of the village and worship the goddess Ran Satvai or the Forest Satvai, who lives in seven stones placed under a *babhul* or gum acacia tree. In the grove or garden they kill a goat, cook it and worship the goddess. The seven stones are marked with turmeric-powder redlead and vermillion, a cocoanut and a pomegranate are set close to them, frankincense is burned, and rice mutton and Indian or Italian millet bread are laid before the stones. The party sit to dinner and when dinner is over return home. What remains of the dinner is generally left in the grove or garden. On returning they sit for a while at the host's house and go to their homes. When a boy or girl is two or three years old its hair is cut for the first time. Most mothers promise to perform a vow in honour of some deity, generally of Satvai, if the child is brought safe through the first two or three years of its life. If the child reaches the age named its parents visit the shrine and pay the vow. On their return they call a barber and he cuts the child's hair. Some goats are slaughtered and the dressed flesh is offered to the deity. The ceremony ends with a caste feast. Uchlia boys are married between ten and twenty and Uchlia girls between seven and sixteen. When a man thinks of marrying his son, his friends and relations go to a family who have a daughter likely to make a suitable match. If they like the girl, they ask her in marriage in the name of the boy's father. If he thinks the match favourable, the girl's father gives an evasive answer, and sends some friends and relations to see the boy. If they approve of the boy, the girl's father sends the boy's father word that he agrees to the match. The boy's parents start for the girl's with music and trays of fruit and betel leaf. At the girl's the caste are met and all the women of the caste rub the girl's forehead with redpowder. The boy's parents present the girl with a suit of clothes and fix the date for the marriage without asking an astrologer. The marriage settlement consists of the boy's father paying £5 (Rs. 50) to the girl's maternal uncle. Besides this the boy's parents have to pay the girl's parents £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200). Unlike most Poona Hindus Uchlias never consult a Brahman; they never ask Brahmans to officiate at any of their ceremonies. When everything is settled and the marriage day is fixed, the boy's father goes with his party to the girl's village and stays at a *janvas-ghar* or lodging provided for him by the girl's father. After the boy's party reaches

the village, two marriage booths are built, one at the bride's the other at the bride's groom's. The booth is covered with a floor cloth, adorned with festoons of mango twigs, and consecrated by breaking a coconut and sprinkling rice and curds. On the turmeric-rubbing day a square of rice is traced by the male guests. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit in the square. They are rubbed with turmeric paste, and their brows are decked with flower wreaths. This turmeric-rubbing is repeated five times during the day. During each rubbing a Holar beats a drum and women sing. At six in the evening of the same day the boy goes in procession to the village temple of Maruti. He is then brought to the girl's where the boy and girl bathe in the booth. After their bath they are dressed in new clothes and made to sit on a blanket on a rice-traced square, the bride sitting to the left of the bridegroom. The brows of both are decked with tinsel chaplets and thread bracelets or *kankans* are bound round their wrists. While they are seated one of the guests asks the girl's father whether he has anything to say against the boy's parents; if he has nothing to say against the boy's parents the girl's father ties together the hems of the bride's and bridegroom's garments. The guests call out words like *Nalekhal*, *telekhal*, *burekhal*, *sambandh bata*, *ichandagara*, *periyata*, apparently, Tamil or Telugu, and throw yellow rice over their heads, and they are husband and wife. Copper coins are waved about their faces and given to the bridegroom's sister or *karavli* or to the women who sang during the marriage. At night the family deity is taken out of the house shrine and set in the booth, and a drinking pot filled with water is set before it. The mouth of the pot is covered with mango leaves and a coconut with an ear of millet is laid over the leaves. The guests and the married couple take their seats in the booth and Gondhalis perform the *gondhal* dance before the house deity. [A *gondhal* dance is described at p. 451. There is nothing special in an Uchlia's *gondhal*.] The Gondhalis sing hymns in praise of the goddess Amba-Bhavani, and amuse the audience with *lavanis* or love songs and *pavadas* or ballads. The Gondhalis stay the whole night singing and dancing. About daybreak the bridegroom stands before the house deity, holding a platter with a burning lamp. One by one, the guests wave a copper coin about the bridegroom's face and drop the coin into the platter; 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1) is added and the whole is handed to the Gondhalis. On the same day a feast is given when goats are sacrificed to the family deity and their dressed flesh is served to the guests. After dinner, the bride is hid in a neighbour's house and the bridegroom is made to search for her. When he finds her he lifts her in his arms and with music carries her to the marriage booth. In the booth nearly an

hour is spent in watching the boy and girl rub each other with turmeric paste, in untying their thread *kankans*, and in bathing them. On the third day a caste feast is given and the bridegroom is allowed to return to his village with his bride and party. As the procession crosses the boundary of the bridegroom's village a cocoanut is broken and rice and curds are mixed together and scattered as an offering to evil spirits. His son's wedding costs an Uchlia about £30 (Rs. 300). He presents the girl with the *manimangalsutra* or luck-giving necklace, *gots* or silver bracelets, *putlyachi mal* or a gold coin necklace, *todas* or silver anklets, and three *lugdas* or robes of varying value according to the giver's wealth and perhaps each averaging about 16s. (Rs. 8). The girl's father gives the bridegroom a turban worth on an average about 12s. (Rs. 6), a coat worth 4s. (Rs. 2), a waistcloth worth 4s. (Rs. 2), and a pair of Maratha shoes. Uchlias allow widow-marriage and divorce.

When a girl comes of age she is held to be unclean for five days, and is made to sit by herself. During these five days she is fed on sweet dishes brought by her mother. On the fifth day she is bathed and dressed in new clothes. She and her husband are made to sit in a bower of four young plantain trees. When they are seated the boy's father presents the girl with a green robe and bodice, and the girl's father presents the boy with a turban and a waistcloth; and a married woman fills the girl's lap with five halves of cocoa-kernel, five dry dates, turmeric roots, betelnuts, rice, and a bodicecloth, a Holar all the time beating a drum. The ceremony is marked with a feast of wheat cakes stuffed with raw sugar; it costs £2 to £2 10s. (Rs. 20-25).

Uchlias burn the dead. When an Uchlia dies the body is washed and shrouded in a new white cloth. It is sprinkled with red-powder, flowers, and betel leaves, laid on a bier, and carried to the burning ground on the shoulders of four bearers preceded by music and the chief mourner carrying an earthen firepot. When a woman dies before her husband she is dressed in a green robe and bodice, her brow is marked with a horizontal stripe of vermillion, and her head is decked with a network of flowers, and a bit of gold and a packet of betelnut and leaves are put into the dead mouth. Her three ornaments, the *galsari* or necklace of black glass beads, the nose-ring, and the toe-rings, all three emblems of the married state, are put on and taken off at the burning

ground. On their return from the grave the spot where the dead breathed his last is cleansed with cowdung, and sprinkled with sand, and the dead man's favourite food is cooked and laid close by with a vessel of water. The whole is covered over with a large basket. The food is so arranged that it leaves bare a portion of the sand-strewn floor. Next morning the basket is lifted and if the palm of a hand is found on the sand it is a good omen, for the dead is pleased and from his hand go out blessings to the family. The food is thrown away and the chief mourner's moustache is shaved. When a woman dies in childbirth, *rala* grains are thrown behind her body as it is borne to the burning ground, and a nail is driven into the threshold of the house to keep her ghost from coming in. In an ordinary funeral at the time of lifting the bier, the daughter, daughter-in-law, or wife of the deceased waves a lamp round the dead face. Some grains of rice are tied to the skirt of the shroud. This rice is laid on the *visava* or resting-place where the bier is set down and the bearers change shoulders. When the body is laid on the pyre, the son drops water into the mouth, walks five times round the pyre, and again drops a little water into the mouth by squeezing a wet cloth. He kindles the pyre and sits there with the people who accompanied the funeral till the skull cracks. They then bathe and return home. The children mourn for three days and are held impure. On the third day the son with the four corpse-bearers and other near relations throws the ashes into water, and with a *nim* twig sprinkles the bearer's shoulders with cow's urine in the belief that the cow-urine eases the aching shoulders. Goats are slain and castemen and women are asked to dine on the river-bank in the burning ground. Before sitting to dinner they offer dressed food to the dead. After dinner all bathe in the river, wash their clothes, and return leaving behind them any food that remains. On the thirteenth day the son or other chief mourner shaves his face. The son makes a rice ball or *pind*, sets it in a winnowing basket, pours in oil, and with his friends and relations takes it to the burning ground. At the burning ground he makes a lump of earth in a roughly human shape and on the earth figure sets the winnowing basket with the burning lamp in it. Before the image red and scented powders are thrown. At the close of the worship, each person present pours a little water on the rude image and the son leaps into the water and leaves the basket and the ball under water. Next morning a cock is slain in the name of the dead, its flesh is dressed, and laid on a *rui* tree with some boiled rice as an offering to the crows. After the crows have eaten the company, with the son and other mourners, go to a river, bathe, and return home.

When a man or a woman is charged with adultery the men of the caste meet and hear the evidence. If they consider the guilt of the couple is proved they are taken to a river bank and the man's face and the woman's head are shaved. On the way back the culprits are pelted with balls of cowdung. A large dinner is given at the man's expense and he is made to touch the food before it is served to the caste-people. If the accused denies the charge in the teeth of good evidence an appeal is made to the oil-caldron. The tell-tale ordeal and the adultery ordeal differ in some details. In preparing the adultery oil-caldron the oil-mill is washed with water and rubbed with turmeric powder and vermillion. The bullock which is to drive the mill is made to fast and like the mill is rubbed with turmeric powder and vermillion. Fourteen married women, seven for the man and seven for the woman, fast all day and each drops a handful of sesamum into the mill. The oil-presser is also obliged to fast. While the oil is being pressed the two accused stand near the mill and are asked whether they have committed the crime. They deny, and if their denial is true, oil does not oose from the seed; if what they say is false, oil flows freely. The roller of the mill is split and burnt under a pan and the oil is boiled. When it is boiling a copper coin or a stone is dropped into the oil, and the accused is forced to deny the charge brought against him and to pick out the coin or the stone. The accused is made to sit in a tent and is fed on rice, milk, and maccaroni. If the hand is found unharmed the person is declared innocent and presented with a turban and shouldercloth, and the accuser is made to pay the cost of the ordeal, which generally amounts to £35 (Rs. 350). If the hand is damaged the accused bears the whole cost besides any additional fine the caste-leaders choose to name. From the fine 14s. (Rs. 7) are paid to the Teli or oil-presser and a caste feast is given. When a charge is proved by ordinary evidence the accused parties, though they may deny the charge, are made to give a caste feast. Among the Uchlias the office of headman or *thelungya* is hereditary. There is also a *panch* or council chosen by the caste. On marriage and on other festive occasions, the headman gets a turban, uncooked food, and a cocoanut, and a goat's head if a goat is killed. The members of the council are recognized as the caste leaders, but no honours are paid them except giving them the chief seats at caste meetings. Though Mhars, Mangs, Ramoshis, Chambhars, and Buruds are not allowed to join the Uchlias men of these tribes are said occasionally to try to become Uchlias by passing themselves off as Marathas, Shimpis, or other respectable Hindus. If a



candidate's caste is challenged the matter is referred to the oil-caldron. Cases are known in which Shimpis, Marwar Vanis, and Brahmans have joined the caste, remained with them, and married Uchla woman. Uchlias will eat from a Brahman, a Maratha, or other good caste Hindu if they are strangers. If a man of one of the latter classes comes and settles among them, they will not eat from him till he has undergone the regular entrance ceremony. Uchlias are not considered impure. In moving about on their thieving trips they never disguise themselves. They travel by rail as far as Madras or Calcutta and often rob their fellow-passengers. At a station an Uchlia watches the passengers. When he sees any likely person with property he buys a ticket for the place the likely passenger is going to. His comrades buy tickets for intermediate stations, choosing a station which the train will reach after dark. If the theft is committed sooner than was intended the Uchlia alights at the first station and makes over the property to his comrade or he takes his seat in a fresh carriage, or he gets out and lets the train go and follows by the next train. In picking or rather slitting pockets the Uchlia uses a small very carefully sharpened sickle-shaped knife. The knife, which is called *ullimukh*, is carried under the tongue or in the cheek, the flesh being first toughened by carrying a lump of salt in the mouth. An expert pocket-slitter will talk, eat, and sleep with his lancet in his mouth. Uchlias have strict rules to prevent unchastity and adultery among their women. If a married woman is accused of adultery and denies the charge she has to undergo the boiling oil ordeal. One or two cases of this kind take place every year. If the woman confesses the man is called forward, and, according to the woman's cleverness as a thief, he is ordered to pay the woman's husband a fine of £35 to £70 (Rs. 350-700). In such cases the woman continues to live with the adulterer. The husband may if it suits him better wait and receive from the adulterer all his wife's earnings and £35 (Rs. 350) for each child born to him. The husband can also at any time claim £35 to £70 (Rs. 350-700) as damages whatever amount the caste may award him. If an unmarried girl is unchaste she is not allowed to marry one of the caste. A stranger from some other caste who has joined the community may marry her in the irregular or *motra* fashion. If kinspeople are caught committing incest the woman's head and the man's face are shaved and they are made to sit on a donkey, or they are pelted with balls of cowdung and forced to run to a river to bathe followed by a hooting band of caste-people. On their way back from the river they are again chased by a hooting crowd. A large pot of food is made ready and touched by the culprits and the contents are eaten by the caste. No fine is levied,

but the name *mangutia* or cut-throat, the worst name which a man can get, sticks to the incestuous for life. Uchlias almost never steal from each other. When one Uchlia steals from another, however small the value of the article stolen, the thief is fined £6 (Rs. 60). The number of Uchlias is yearly increasing. Some, besides pocket-slitting, own fields which they either till themselves or let to husbandmen on the crop-share system. Within the past ten years a few of their boys have begun to attend village schools. Except under compulsion Uchlias are not likely to give up so safe, respectable, and gainful a calling as pocket-slitting. If the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act (XXVII of 1871) were enforced against them, the Uchlias might be driven to honest work. Their thieving might also be made more difficult and less profitable by forcing them, whenever they leave their village, to take a passport and report themselves to a police officer when they reach their journey's end.

### VAGHES

**Va'ghes** are returned as numbering five and as found only in Purandhar. The males are called Vaghes, the females Murlis. A childless Hindu generally of the Kunbi caste sometimes vows that if Khandoba blesses him with a child he will set the child apart to worship and attend upon him. Vaghes do not differ from Kunbis in look, speech, food, or dress. They are beggars who sing songs in praise of Khandoba of Jejuri and ballads or *lavis* for the amusement of pleasure-seekers. Murlis, literally flutes, are girls wedded to Khandoba the lord of Jejuri. If a woman is childless she vows that if Khandoba blesses her with a girl she will be set apart for life to worship and attend on him. When she is born her father takes her to Jejuri and on a *somvati* or Monday full-moon in *Magh* that is February or *Chaitra* that is March the girl is rubbed with turmeric, dressed in a green robe and bodice, her brow is marked with redpowder, flower garlands are wound round her head, and she is made to stand in front of Khandoba. A cloth is held between the girl and the god and marriage verses are repeated by the priest of the temple. Turmeric powder is thrown on the heads of the girl and of the god and a nine-cowrie necklace is tied round her neck and she is called Khandoba's wife. The temple priest is paid 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1¼) as her fee, the girl is called a Murli, and marries no other husband but the god. Their names and surnames are the same as those of Marathas. In look, speech, house, food, and dress they are like Marathas. Some of them stay at Jejuri, while the rest wander about the district and as far as Bombay, in

bauds of three or four men and women, begging, singing songs, and playing on bells or *ghols*. Except their marriage with the god Khandoba they have no special ceremony or custom. Their social disputes are settled by the temple priest or *gurav* at Jejuri. As a class they are fairly off.

## VAIDUS

**Vaidus**, or Physicians, are returned as numbering 523 and as found in Haveli, Khed, and Sirur. They are divided into *Jholivales* or Bag-man, *Chataivales* or Mat-men, and *Dadhivales* or Beard-men who neither eat together nor intermarry. The surnames of the Jholivales or Bag-men, to whom the following particulars belong, are Akpra, Ambile, Chitkal, Kodganti, Manpati, Metkal, Parkanti, and Shingade, and persons bearing the same surname do not intermarry. They are dark, stout, and strongly made. The men wear the top-knot, moustache, whiskers, and sometimes the beard. Their home speech is Telugu, but out of doors they speak incorrect Marathi and Hindustani. They are a wandering people and camp outside of towns in cloth tents or *pals* which they carry with them on bullocks or donkeys. They keep dogs and domestic fowls. They eat fish and flesh except beef and pork, and drink liquor. Their staple food is millet, vegetables, and occasionally wheat and rice and clarified butter. They are frugal in their use of clarified butter. However well-to-do a family is clarified butter is always served by dipping cotton in it and squeezing the cotton over the dining plate. The men wear the loincloth, an ochre-coloured cloak, waistcloth, or pair of short breeches, a headscarf or a red or white turban, and a necklace of coloured glass, stone, or coral beads, gold or brass earrings, and silver or brass finger rings. Their women wear a loose bodice with short sleeves and a back and the full Maratha robe, the skirt of which they pass back between the feet and tuck into the waist behind. They rub powder on their brows, wear false hair, and sometimes deck their heads with flowers. They are dealers in drugs and medicines, and, under the pretence of working cures deceive ignorant and simpleminded people, especially women. Both men and women generally visit the chief towns in the Poona district once a year, and disappear after disposing of their drugs and medicines either retail to villagers or wholesale to shopkeepers. They pretend to heal any disease from a simple cough or headache to hopeless dropsy or consumption. Besides gathering and hawking healing herbs, barks, and roots, they use many mineral medicines and poisons, and they and their women beg for bread. The women, in addition,

as they walk plait date-mats, three feet by six, and sell them at about 1½*d.* (1 *a.*). On halting at a village or town the men and women walk through the streets and lanes with one or two ochre-coloured cloth bags hung across their shoulders, containing, besides drugs, the skins of lizards, porcupine quills, tigers' claws, bears' hair and teeth, foxes' heads, and deadly poisons. The cloth sacks in which these articles are carried are tied either to both ends or to one end of a stick which is carried over the shoulder. As they move along, the Vaidus shout, *Nadipariksha Vaid* the Pulse-feeling Doctor, *Mandur-Vaid*, the Medicine-selling Doctor, *Garmi-vaid* the Heat-curing Doctor, *Pitta Vaid* the Bile-curing Doctor, and so on, shouting the names of men's and women's diseases. They also bleed, both by cupping and by applying leeches. They are Hindus and worship the usual Brahmanic and local gods and goddesses. Their family gods are Venkoba and Mariamma and Yallamma. On their big day, *Dasara* in October, they kill a sheep and drink liquor to their heart's content. They believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and consult oracles. A woman is unclean ten days after the birth of a child. On the fifth day she worships five pebbles near a well or stream and feasts five married women with gram cakes. They marry their girls after they come of age and their boys after they are sixteen. On the marriage day the boy goes with his relations and friends to the girl's and is seated on a mat. The girl is brought in and seated on the boy's left. After the elders have made the boy promise to protect the girl and never to forsake her, five married women, three from the boy's side and two from the girl's, approach the boy and girl and mark their brows with cowdung ashes or *bhasm*, and the day ends with a feast. Next, morning the boy and girl are seated on a mat and the five married women tie a marriage string or *garsoli* round the girl's neck. The skirts of their garments are knotted together and they are taken to the boy's house, where the knot is untied and the marriage ceremony is over. They either bury or burn their dead. If the deceased was a married man he is buried sitting, if unmarried he is laid on his back. They mourn the dead ten days. On the eleventh a Jangam blows a conch-shell and rings a bell in the deceased's house, and after receiving 1½ *d.* (1 *a.*) retires. A feast of mutton ends the death ceremony. They allow widow-marriage and polygamy, but not polyandry. A boy's marriage costs them £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20), a girl's marriage 10s. to 12s. (Rs. 5-6), and a death about 10s. (Rs. 5). They have a headman or *patil* who settles social disputes at meetings of the castemen. If a person beats another with a shoe he is fined 1s. to 1s. 3*d.* (8-10 *as.*); a daughter abusing her mother-in-law is fined 4½*d.* (3 *as.*)

and in addition has to wash her mother-in-law's hands and feet, put a pinch of dust on her own head, and beg forgiveness; if she beats her mother-in-law she is fined 1s. 6d. (12 as.); and if she steals she is branded with a hot copper coin. If a man eats beef he is put out of caste and not allowed to come back. If a woman commits adultery with a Brahman or other high-caste Hindu she is fined. 10s. (Rs. 5), her husband is fined 6s. (Rs.3), and her parents 8s. (Rs. 4), and she is let back into caste. If she has intercourse with a Mhar or Mang or any other low-caste man she is put out of caste and never let back. They are not allowed to work as labourers. Any one found working for hire is put out of caste and not allowed back until he feasts the whole caste. The Jholivales do not send their boys to school. The establishment of Government and other charitable dispensaries, the increase in the number of medical practitioners, and the growing trust in English drugs, have ruined the Vaidus. They are now little better than beggars.

**Da'dhivale** Vaidus or Bearded Doctors are divided into Dhangars, Jhingabhois, Kolis, Khulekars, Ravals, and Vagmudis. The names in Common use among men are Rama, Malaka, Sayana, Govinda, Ismal, and Mutya; and among women Mukti, Yalli, Malli, Mukti, Rakhma, Thaki, Chimi, Radha, Ramu, and Lingi. They are black, ugly, and extremely wild-looking. Excepting beef they eat anything, and excepting a rag round their middle the men are naked, and the women wear no clothes except a cloth rolled round the waist and one end drawn across the breast. When they hawk their herbs and roots and barks they call *Vaila okhad*, A cure for wind; *Sardila okhad*, A cure for cold; *Narula okhad*, A cure for guineaworm, and so on cures for all diseases which flesh inherits or acquires. Their wives grind quartz into the powder called *rangoli*, of which spirits stand in awe, and sell it at 1½d. to 2¼d. (1-1½ as.) a pound. The marriage of a boy or girl costs them about 10s. (Rs. 5) and a death 6s. to 8s. (Rs. 3-4). They seem to have no idea of a god, do not keep fasts or feasts, and marry their women at any age. They make the couple stand face to face on a piece of cloth, a necklace is tied to the girl's neck, red rice is thrown on their heads by a Brahman, and the marriage is over. They bury their dead, mourn five days, and offer cooked food to the deceased on the house-tops, and feast caste-people with cakes and rice. They have a caste council who settle social disputes. They do not send their boys to school and are miserably poor.



## VASUDEVS

Va'sudevs are returned as numbering forty-two and as wandering all over the district. They are said to have come from Dwarka in West Kathiawar and to have settled in Poona about a hundred years ago. The names in common use both among men and women are the same as those used by local Kunbis. Their surnames are Hande, Kolavane, Konhere, Paigude, Sumalkar, and Vatsar; persons bearing the same surnames cannot intermarry. They are divided into Maratha Vasudevs and Kadu or Bitter that is Bastard Vasudevs, who eat together but do not intermarry. They are dark strong and well-made, and speak a corrupt Marathi. In look food and drink they do not differ from local Kunbis. They bathe every second day and worship with sandal-paste and rice the coronet of peacock feathers which they wear on their head while they go begging. As a class they are dirty, orderly, thrifty, and hospitable. They are hereditary beggars. They rise early, wash their hands and feet, put on a long coat reaching to the ankles, and a turban with a peacock coronet. They wrap a piece of red cloth round the waist, throw a wallet over the left shoulder, and take the cymbals or *chiplis* which they beat while they sing and move about the streets begging. The women mind the house and fetch firewood for sale. They never work and are very poor. They worship their family gods Bahiroba, Fringai in the town of Poona, Khandoba of Jejuri, and Mahadev of Signapur in Poona. They are Shaivs by sect and make pilgrimages to A'landi, Jejuri, and Pandharpur. Their priest is a Deccan Brahman who officiates at their marriages, and their religious teacher is a Maratha Gosavi. They worship all local gods, keep all Hindu fasts and feasts, and believe in soothsaying, witchcraft, and evil spirits. On the fifth day after the birth of a child the goddess Satvai is worshipped and the child is named on the twelfth. The mother's term of impurity lasts six is days. Boys are married between seven and twenty-five and girls between three and twelve. Their marriage and death rites do not differ from those performed among Maratha Kunbis. They bury the dead and mourn seven days. They set a lamp on the spot where the dead breathed his last. On the return of the funeral party from the burning ground, they examine ashes strewn on the floor near the lamp, searching for the prints or marks of the animal into which the soul of the dead has passed. The death-day is marked by a mind-rite or *shraddh* and the dead are also remembered on the day in *Mahalaya Paksh* or All Souls' Fortnight in dark *Bhadrapad* or September which corresponds to the day of their death. The community is bound together by a

strong caste feeling, and they settle social disputes at meetings of adult castemen. Breaches of caste discipline are punished with fine which takes the form of a caste feast. They do not send their children to school, nor do they take to new callings or show any sign of improving.

## **VIRS**

**Virs** are returned as numbering twenty-eight and as found in Purandhar only. They are divided into two classes, Virs proper and Dangat Virs, who eat together and intermarry. Their home tongue is a corrupt Marathi. They live in middle class houses one or two storeys high, with stone or brick walls and tiled roofs. Their houses, which are often dirty, cost £2 10s. to £40 (Rs. 25 - 400). They have a store of copper and brass vessels worth 10s. to £5 (Rs. 5-50). They employ no servants but own cattle. They are great eaters and bad cooks. They are fond of pungent dishes and their staple food is bread, pulse, and vegetables. On their holiday they eat wheat cakes stuffed with boiled pulse mixed with molasses. A family of five spends 16s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 8-15) a month on food. [These and the other estimates of monthly cost of living are framed on the basis that the family has to buy retail the grain and other articles it uses. The actual cash payments of the bulk of the middle and lower orders who either grow grain or are wholly or partly paid in grain must therefore be considerably less than the estimates. The figures mentioned in the text are not more than rough estimates of the value of the articles which under ordinary circumstances the different classes of the people consume.] They are careful to bathe before they take their food. When they can afford it they freely use strong drinks and eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, and fish. They offer goats to their gods, kill the victims, and eat the flesh. They drink moderately and take opium and hemp-flowers. The men shave the head except the topknot, and the women tie their hair in a knot behind. They do not wear false hair or flowers. The men wear a loincloth or waistcloth, a shouldercloth, a cap or a turban, and a pair of shoes. The women wear a robe hanging from the waist like a petticoat to the ankles and a short-sleeved loose bodice with a back. Neither men nor women keep clothes in store, and both use the same ornaments as cultivating Marathas. They spend no money on clothes as they get presents from rich visitors to Khandoba's shrine at Jejuri. Their hereditary and only calling is begging. Men women and children of ten and over beg either at their own village or in neighbouring towns and earn enough to

keep them in fair comfort. As a class they are dirty and lazy, but honest, orderly, frugal, and hospitable. They rank themselves with Marathas but Marathas look down on them. They take their seats at Khandoba's temple at Jejuri and beg alms from pilgrims visiting the place, offering them the god's turmeric or *bhandar*. Their chief busy times are during the fairs in honour of Khandoba in *Chaitra* or April, *Margashirsh* or November, *Paush* or December, and *Magh* or January. As a class they are religious. Their family god is Khandoba. Their family priest is a Brahman, whom they highly respect and who is asked to officiate at marriage and other ceremonies. They worship Khandoba and visit no sacred place except his temple. Their religious teacher is a Gosavi, who belongs either to the Giri, Puri, or Bharati sect. He does not eat from their hands, but they wait upon him, get themselves initiated as his disciples, and present him with silver coins. He chooses his successor and a large number of ignorant and illiterate people follow him. They keep the usual Brahmanic holidays and fasts, worship local or village deities, and boundary gods and spirits, and offer them rice and pulse or meat. Their chief holiday is the bright sixth of *Magh* or January known as *Champa-shashthi*, on which the silver image of Khandoba is dressed and worshipped with great pomp. Their customs do not differ from the customs of Maratha Kunbis. Early marriage, widow-marriage, and polygamy are allowed, and polyandry is unknown. They form a separate community and settle caste disputes at meetings of the castemen under some wise elder who is chosen for the purpose. The decisions of the majority have the force of law on pain of loss of caste. Small offences are condoned by fines and serious offences by a caste feast. They send their boys and girls to school but do not take to new pursuits. They complain that pilgrims are stingier and less religious than they used to be. On the whole they are a falling class.

## POPULATION

### MUSALMANS

### MUSALMANS

**Musalmans** [From materials collected by Messrs. Syed Daud of the Bombay Municipality and Abdul Kasand, abkari inspector of Belgaum.] numbered 42,036 or 466 per cent of the population. They include twenty-nine divisions, fourteen of which marry together and form the main body of regular Musalmans, and fifteen form distinct communities.

As far as the knowledge of the Poona Musalmans has been ascertained no trace remains of the conversions to Islam either under the Daulatabad (1318-1347), the Bahmani (1347-1490), Nizamshahi (1490-1636), or Bijapur (1636-1686) kings. Almost all claim to have been converted by Aurangzeb. This is probably a mistake. It is perhaps doubtful whether any of the Deccan dynasties made converts by force. But there were enthusiastic and successful missionaries who can hardly have failed to persuade certain classes of Hindus to embrace Islam. Of the number of Musalmans under the Peshwa no record has been traced. Especially in the city and cantonment of Poona it is evident that many classes of Musalmans have settled since the beginning of British rule. Among these are Memans and Bohoras from Cutch and Gujarat; Gaikasabs from Maisur; and Attars, Gaundis, kaishgars, and Momins from Ahmadnagar, Haidarabad, and Sholapur.

Except that the men wear the beard, the local converts differ little in appearance from Deccan Hindus. The communities of outside or of part-outside origin are larger-boned and fairer-skinned, and have sharper and more marked features and larger eyes than the corresponding classes of Hindus. Except fresh settlers from Cutch and Gujarat, who speak Gujarati, and from Persia who speak Persian, almost all Poona Musalmans both villagers and townspeople speak Hindustani or Urdu. At the same time all the separate communities speak Marathi with more or less fluency.

## Food.

The food eaten by Poona Musalmans varies partly according to their means and partly according to the custom of their native country. Rich and well-to-do Memans, Bohoras, and Persians, besides a cup of coffee or tea in the morning with milk, bread, and eggs, have two general meals, breakfast about ten or eleven, and dinner about eight or nine in the evening. Other classes of towns-men have only two meals, breakfast about ten or eleven and dinner between nine and ten. Village Musalmans take an early cold breakfast between five and six o'clock in the morning, a midday dinner about one in the fields, and a third meal on reaching home about seven in the evening. The town Musalman's staple food is wheat, rice and pulse, eaten with mutton or vegetable curry and fish. Among the richer townspeople public dinners are generally of *birydni* that is a dish of rice, mutton, saffron, clarified butter, and spices; and *jarda*, a sweet dish of rice, sugar, almonds, pistachio nuts, and clarified butter. Middle-class townsmen and all villagers give public dinners of *pulao*, that is rice with clarified butter and mutton curry. These dinners are given on occasions of birth, circumcision, initiation, sacrifice, and marriage, and on the tenth and fortieth days after a death. The men take their dinner in the men's room first, and after the men leave, the women take their dinner in the women's room. In the men's dining room mats and carpets are spread for the guests and on the carpets large sheets called *dastar-khvan* are spread that the carpets may not be soiled. When the dinner is ready the guests sit in two rows facing each other. A man with a water jug and a basin comes in, and, beginning with the Syeds, pours water over the hands of each guest. Several young friends of the host stand between the rows of guests and pass the dishes. When all dishes are served the host says *Bismilla* that is In Alla's Name, and the guests begin to eat, a group of two or three men eating from the same dish. All the while the men are eating, one or two boys stand with water-pots ready to give water to any one who wishes it. When the dinner is finished the *dastar-khvan* or floor-cloths are removed, water is poured over the hands of each guest beginning with the Syeds, and trays with betel leaves are passed. Each guest takes a packet of betel leaves, eats it with betelnuts cement and cardamoms, and retires. At the door stands the owner of the house to whom the guest as he retires makes a bow or *salam*, and leaves. The women take their dinner in the same way as the men but wait for some time



after the dinner is over. To feed a hundred guests on *birydni* and *jarda* costs about £4 (Rs.40) and on *pulao* £1 10s. to £2 (Rs.15-20). A rich Musalman family of five spends 2s. to 4s. (Rs.1-2) a day or £3 to £6 (Rs. 30-60) a month on food; a middle-class family 1s. to 1s. 6d (8-12 as.) a day or £1 10s. to £1 15s. (Rs. 15-22½) a month; and a poor family 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a day or 15s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 7½-15) a month. In spite of religious rules against intoxicating drinks most townsmen drink both imported wines and spirits and *mahura* spirits or *bhevra*. Of other stimulants and narcotics, tobacco is smoked by almost all and snuff is used by a few old men. Opium is used in small quantities by some beggars and servants. Hemp or *ganja* is smoked by many soldiers, constables, and beggars. In the town of Poona there are few large Musalman houses. But in the cantonment Musalmans own many large houses and residences rented to Europeans. Many rich Bombay Persians, Memans, and Khojas have built costly mansions where they live from July to October. These buildings are one to four storeys high of stone and mortar and timber. They cost £200 to £800 (Rs. 2000-8000) to build and £2 to £8 (Rs.20-80) a month to rent. Poor Musalmans live in hired houses, or, when they can afford it, build a small one-storeyed house at a cost of £30 to £80 (Rs. 300-800). Village houses are seldom more than one storey high. Except the stone and mortar mansions of rich land proprietors they are of stone and clay and the walls are plastered with cowdung. On the poorest not more than £5 to £7 (Rs. 50-70) are spent; the rest cost £10 to £50 (Rs. 100-500) to build. In the Poona cantonment Musalmans live in hired houses. In all other parts of the district it is a point of honour with them that every family should have a house of its own.

Town Musalmans are generally fond of furnishing their houses with metal vessels, chiefly of copper coated with tin, and arranging them on wooden shelves along the walls. Among their furniture also are tables and chairs. Village Musalmans have no taste for furniture. Their house goods seldom go beyond copper and brass vessels, a cot, and large bamboo grain baskets.

### **Dress.**

Town Musalmans are fond of good and clean clothes. The men wear a headscarf or turban, a shirt, a waistcoat, and an overcoat reaching to the knee. The women, except Meman

Bohora and Persian women, wear the Hindu robe or *sadi* and the bodice or *choli*. Meman women wear a long shirt called *aba*, falling to the knee, and a pair of loose trousers rather tight at the ankle; Bohora women wear a petticoat either of silk or of chintz, a headscarf or *odna* over it, and a backless bodice. On going out they also wear a large *burkha* or cloak which shrouds the whole body except a gauze opening for the eyes. Persian women wear a costly silk petticoat, a loose short silk shirt, and embroidered slippers. Village women wear the Maratha robe passing the corner of the skirt back between the feet and the backed and short-sleeved bodice with the ends tied under the bosom. The every-day dress of the women is generally of cotton, and the ceremonial dress is either of silk or silk with silver embroidery. A rich townsman's wardrobe is generally worth £20 to £30 (Rs. 200-300), and a middle class man's £5 to £7 (Rs.50- 70). A poor man makes one or two suits worth 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) either on yearly festivals or whenever the old suit is worn out. A rich woman's wardrobe is generally worth £30 to £40 (Rs. 300-400), a middle class woman's £6 to £10 (Rs.60-100), and a poor woman's £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20).

### **Ornaments.**

Except some of the lower classes, butchers, fruiterers, water carriers, and sweepers, who when they can afford it are fond of wearing a large gold ring in the right ear and a silver chain weighing one or two pounds on the right foot, Musalman men seldom wear ornaments. Almost all Musalman women begin married life with a good store of ornaments. Their parents must give them at least one nose-ring or *nath*, a set of twelve golden earrings, and twenty silver finger rings, and their husbands must invest in ornaments for the bride as much money as the amount of the dowry which is generally £12 14s. (Rs. 127). In poor families the women seldom keep their full stock of wedding jewels. Most disappear by degrees to meet special expenses and to help the family through times of scarce food or of scanty labour. Roughly a rich woman's ornaments vary in value from £50 to £100 (Rs. 500-1000), a middle-class woman's from £20 to £30 (Rs.200-300),and a poor woman's from £5 to £10 (Rs.50-100).

## Calling.

Of town Musalmans some are tradesmen and a good many are craftsmen. The bulk are soldiers, constables, messengers, and servants. Of village Musalmans the greater number are husbandmen and the rest are craftsmen. Among the regular classes, especially among town traders soldiers constables messengers and servants, the women add nothing to the family income. On the other hand in many of the special communities and among husbandmen weavers and other craftsmen and petty shopkeepers, the women earn almost as much as the men. Though hardworking, most servants and craftsmen and a few petty traders are wanting in forethought and are excessively fond of drink and good living. Village Musalmans, especially husbandmen, are thrifty. Traders and some servants and craftsmen are well-to-do. With these exceptions the Musalmans as a class are badly off. Most of them are in debt and in some cases hereditary debt is handed from father to son. Sameness in faith, worship, manners, and customs binds Musalmans into one body. Except some families of Khojas or Mastalian Shias and Daudi Bohoras or Ismailian Shias, perhaps about two hundred Poona families in all, Musalmans are Sunnis in faith. They respect and obey the same *kazi*, worship in the same mosque, and bury in the same burial ground. Among special or local communities the fruiterers or Bagvans, the mutton-butchers or Kasais, the bricklayers or Gaundis, and the masons or Takaras have such strong Hindu leanings that they do not mix with other Musalmans. They almost never go to the mosque, they eschew beef, keep Hindu holidays, and openly worship and offer vows to Hindu gods.

## Religion.

Of the regular Musalmans perhaps about ten per cent teach their children to read the Kuran. All of them are careful to circumcise their male children, to perform the initiation or *bismilla* ceremony, and to have their marriage and funeral ceremonies conducted by the *kazi* that is the judge or by his deputy or *naib*. Though most do not daily attend the mosque, almost all are present at the special services on the Ramzan and Bakar-Id festivals, and are careful to give alms and to pay the *kazi* his dues. Their religious officers are the *kazi* or judge but now chiefly the marriage registrar, the *khatib* or preacher, the *mulla* or priest, and the *mujavar* or beadle. The *kazi*, who in former times was a judge as well as a marriage-registrar, now

only registers marriages. He is helped by his deputy or *naib* who attends all village weddings and the marriages of middle-class and poor Poona townspeople. The marriage fee is 5s. (Rs. 2½) and the remarriage fee 10s. (Rs. 5). The *khatib* or prayer-leader formerly enjoyed grants of land. At present their office has almost disappeared and the mosque services are led by any learned layman or by a *Maulavi* or law-doctor. The *bangi* or crier keeps the mesque clean, shouts the prayer-call five times a day, and calls guests to marriage and other ceremonies. [ He calls from the highest place in the mosque, before sunrise 'Alla is great 'Alla is great' (this four times over): I bear witness, there is no God but Alla (this twice); I bear witness Muhammad is His Prophet (twice). Come to pray (twice); come to salvation (twice); prayers are better than sleep (twice); Alla is great (twice); there is no God but Alla (once), Except that the words 'prayers are better than sleep' are left out the call to each of the other four prayers is the same. This is the Suni form. Shias after the words 'come to salvation ' add ' come to a good act' (twice). They never use the phrase ' prayers are better than sleep.' ] They are poorly paid and live chiefly on alms and gifts of food and clothes. The *mujavar* or beadle attends at the shrine of some saint. He keeps the shrine clean and lives on the offerings that are made to the saint. Besides the religious officers certain Pirzadas or sons of saints hold a high position among Musalmans. They are spiritual guides and have religious followers chiefly among weavers and the classes who live by service. These Pirzadas live on estates granted to their forefathers by the Musalman rulers of the Deccan. Carelessness and love of show have forced most of them to part with their lands and they are now supported by their followers.

## Customs.

Except Bohoras and Persians, almost all Musalmans believe in saints to whom they pray for children or for health and offer sacrifices and gifts. Most craftsmen and almost all husbandmen believe in Mhasoba, Mariai, and Satvar, Hindu deities to whom they make gifts and offer vows and whom they worship either publicly or privately. To Mhasoba or Buffalo-father, after they have gathered their last crop, husbandmen offers goats, and believe that he guards their fields from being robbed. The mutton-butchers or Kasais, the fruiterers or Bagvans, the water-carriers or Pakhalis and other lower classes believe that Mariai is the goddess of cholera, they worship her in sickness,

and offer her sacrifices. Satvai or Mother Sixth is considered the goddess of fate. Women alone believe in Satvai and worship and make offerings to her on the sixth night after a child is born. Town Musalmans generally marry their boys between sixteen and twenty and their girls between ten and fourteen. Almost every one is anxious to have his daughter married before she comes of age. Villagers generally marry their children earlier than townspeople. The observances in towns and in villages are the same except that in villages they are less costly. Chiefly because of its expense the practice of betrothal has nearly died out. A few rich or well-to-do families have a betrothal a year or six months before the marriage when the boy and girl are very young, or a month or two before the marriage if the couple are of age. If all is ready beforehand some hold the betrothal within a week of the marriage. A betrothal costs £4 to £8 (Rs. 40-80). A few days before the marriage a lay doctor or other learned man is asked to choose a lucky day for the wedding. He is told the names of the boy and girl and finds out from his books what days will be lucky for people of those names. From the day he fixes the wedding observances begin and last six days. The first four days are spent in rubbing the bride and bridegroom with turmeric. This is done twice a day in the morning and in the evening. In the afternoon of the fifth day *henna*, is brought from the bride's house by her sister, who sits behind a curtain with two or three of her friends who accompany her, and rubs it on the bridegroom's palms and is given 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 - 5). The henna is rubbed both on the palms of the bride's hands and on the soles of her feet. After the henna-marking, dinners are given at the bridegroom's first to men and after the men leave to women. About ten o'clock in the evening the bridegroom's friends and kinsmen set him on horseback and escort him to the bride's in a large procession, with music and torches. The bridegroom is dressed in a large red or white coat falling almost to the ground called *jama*, an embroidered silk red turban or *mandil*, and a silk waistscarf. A red cloth with a cocoanut in it is tied on his lap or *godi*. Over this dress a cloak of jasmine or other flowers covers the body from head to foot. Before starting lemons are thrown over the bridegroom's head to the four quarters of heaven and a cocoanut is dashed to pieces on the ground in front of him. At the bride's, before he alights from his horse, the bride's brother gives the bridegroom hot milk or sugared water that his married life may be sweet, A cocoanut is dashed on the ground before him and lemons are cut and thrown over his head to the four quarters to scare evil spirits.



The bridegroom then enters the marriage-porch or hall which has been built a few days before the beginning of the marriage. On the day the porch is built, a coconut tied in yellow cloth is hang on the chief pole to ward off spirits. In this hall the bridegroom's party find a few of the bride's kinsmen and he and his friends take their seats. The *kazi* or the deputy *kazi* is called to register the marriage. He makes the bridegroom and the bride's father sit facing each other, and making each hold the other's right hand, begins to register the marriage. After the marriage is registered and the sum stipulated for the girl's dowry is entered, the bridegroom says before all present that he has chosen her as his wife with the said sum as dowry. The bride's father declares that he gives his daughter to the bridegroom in marriage with all lawful ceremonies and with a certain sum as dowry. After this the bridegroom embraces his father-in law and shakes hands and bows low to all present. Till two or three in the morning the bridegroom sits in the booth or hall listening to singing and dancing girls. About dawn the bride's brother calls the bridegroom to the women's room. The bridegroom goes by himself and in the women's room finds all unveiled except the bride, because women need not be veiled before either a bridegroom or a king. In the room a songstress or *domni* [*Domnis* are married low-class Musalman women who take to singing as a way of earning their living. They are paid 2s. to 5s. (Rs. 1. 2½) for singing at a wedding.] seats the bridegroom and the bride on a cot on different aides of a red cloth or curtsin which is held by two women. While the *domni* sings a piece of red thread is thrown over the curtain and the bride and bridegroom throw rice on each other over the curtain. When the song is ended the *domni* asks the bridegroom to take down the red curtain and his bride's face is shown him in a mirror. The bridegroom looks at her face, reads the first verses in the Kuran on which his eye happens to fall, and presents the bride with a ring or other ornament. Both come down from the cot. A large vessel full of red water is brought before them. A ring from the bride's hand is dropped into the water and the bride and bridegroom are asked to see who can first pick out the ring. Whoever is first will rule the house. The bride is generally helped by some friend or her sister and she generally wins; in fact she is allowed to win. Four round bamboo or cocoa-palm leaf sticks called *chhadis*, about as thick as a quill-pen and about eighteen inches long, are covered with flower garlands generally jasmines. Two of them are given to the bride and two to the bridegroom, and they are asked to beat each other with them. When the sticks are broken the women

present begin to throw slippers at the bridegroom. Besides slippers they throw onions, potatoes, and brinjals. After this, the bride and bridegroom are led into the cook-room. The bride is asked to knead wheat-flour and the bridegroom to bake it. While they are making the cakes, the women stand and laugh at the bridegroom. After the bridegroom has baked one or two cakes, the bride and bridegroom are brought back into the women's room. The bridegroom stands and bows low to all the women present, each of whom gives him a handkerchief and a silver or gold ring called *chhala*., Besides the ring and handkerchief the mother-in-law gives a turban or a headscarf. The whole ceremony is called *jalva* or rejoicing. After this the bridegroom goes back to the men's room and sits there till he takes his bride home in the evening. Next day two separate dinners are given by the bride's father to men and to women. Towards evening the bridegroom takes the bride to his house in a palanquin with the same pomp in which he came to her house. The first five Fridays after the marriage are kept as Jumagis or Great Fridays when a few friends and relations are asked to dine and the women spend the evenings in singing.

Musalman have no observance when a girl comes of age. Most lower class Musalmans in a woman's first pregnancy mark the seventh month or *satvasa* by bathing the girl and dressing her in her jewels and richest clothes. A few women friends are asked to dinner. In the evening the pregnant woman and her husband are seated side by side on a carpet in the women's room. The women sit round singing and throw flower garlands round the husband's and wife's neck and put them on their wrists. They present the woman with a piece of silk or a cotton bodicecloth, and the husband with a handkerchief. When this is done the husband goes out, and the women spend the night in singing and making merry. This ceremony costs £1 to £2 (Rs. 10-20).

As soon as possible after a child is born, either its father if present, or its maternal uncle, repeats the Musalman call to prayer, that the name of Alla may be the first sound that falls on the babe's ear. Either a dagger or a knife is laid under the mother's pillow and is kept there forty days. The child and the mother are washed in water in which *nim* leaves have been steeped and the mother keeps her bed twelve days. For the first

three days the child is fed on honey, and the mother on wheat-gruel prepared with clarified butter. On the sixth day, most women keep the sixth or *Chhati* ceremony. Women bathe the child, dress it in a red or yellow shirt, and lay it on the ground before a clarified butter lamp with twelve wicks. Before this lamp is laid bread, boiled rice, vegetables, curry, and the liver and heart of a goat. If the child looks at the lamp it is considered lucky. The women spend the rest of the night in singing and merriment. The object is to please the fateful spirit of the sixth and persuade it to write a good future for the child. On the twelfth day the mother takes her first bath and from that day is considered able to walk. For forty days she remains impure and unfit to pray. [A lying-in woman is held impure and is not allowed to touch the Kuran or to pray for forty days. During all this time *she* ought not to cook, but in poor families a woman is allowed to cook after the twelfth day.] In the early morning of the fortieth day the woman bathes in hot water in which *nim* leaves have been steeped and while she bathes she repeats verses from the Kuran. Between four and six men guests come and dine in the men's rooms. About six o'clock after the men have gone the women come and dine in the women's rooms. The dinner is over about eight. After the dinner is over, each of the guests presents silver wristlets and anklets to the child and a bodice to its mother. After the presents have been given the women sit up all night singing, and go home before daylight. According to his means the father of the child spends £5 to £10 (Rs. 50-100).

When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four months and four days old, or sometimes before or after that date, the sacrifice or *akika* is performed by killing one goat if the child is a girl and two goats if the child is a boy. The goat must be without spot or blemish and all its limbs must be perfect. A few friends and relation are asked to dine, and the goat is eaten by all except by the parents of the child who may not eat the flesh of the sacrifice. A sacrifice ceremony costs the child's father £3 to £6 (Rs. 30 - 60) .

In a rich or well-to-do family, when the child is four years four months and four days old, comes the Initiation or *Bismilla*, that is In Alla's Name. On the day before the ceremony the boy or the girl is bathed and clothed in a rich dress and with great

pomp is taken in procession round the places where Musalmans live and along the high road. On returning home, an old *maulavi* or law-doctor is called. He seats the child near him and in a loud voice repeats the word *bismilla* In the Name of Alla, and tells the child to repeat it after him. The child says *bismilla* and prayers are offered and dinner is served. The women spend the night in singing and merrymaking. The cost of the ceremony is £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40).

### **Circumcision.**

Every Musalman is anxious to circumcise his son when he is seven years old. A circumcision is attended with as much pomp and cost as a marriage. For two or three days before a circumcision, as before a marriage, the boy is rubbed with turmeric and bathed. On the fourth day about four in the afternoon the father's friends and kinsmen seat the child on horseback and go about the streets with music. In the evening a barber is called and the boy is circumcised. To dull the pain some boys are given *ganja* or hemp-seed or some other drug. The barber is paid 2s. 6d. to 5s. (Rs. 1¼-2¼) and when the boy is well is predated with rice, cocoanuts, sweetmeats, and a suit of old clothes and money. In honour of his recovery a grand dinner is given to friends and relations. A circumcision costs £4 to £20 (Rs. 40-200).

### **Death.**

When no hope of recovery remains, the chapter of the Kuran which tells of death and the glorious future of the believer, is read, the creed and prayers for forgiveness are repeated, and a few drops of honey or sugared water are dropped into the dying mouth. As soon as life is gone the eyes and mouth are closed. Arrangements are made for the burial. A priest or *mulla* is sent for and prepares a large white sleeveless cotton shirt called *kaphni* that falls from the neck to the feet, a waistcloth or *luntgi*, and two sheets, and if the dead is a woman an additional red headscarf or *odhni*. The body is bathed and scented with camphor, aloe-powder, and rose or sandal scent, and each of the family takes a last look. The mother says, 'I withdraw all the claims I have upon you as your nurse;' the wife says, 'I give up all claim to my marriage portion.' Then, amid the wailing of the women, the body is laid in the bier and raised on the

shoulders of four friends who raise the cry *La-il laha-illa-allah* 'There is no God but Alla.' On their way to the burial ground the bier is taken to a mosque where all the attendants pray and then move along the road until they reach the grave-yard.

At the burial ground the grave is dug and all present pray for the peace of the soul, and the body is laid in a hollow dug in the side of the grave, and left on its side the head facing Mecca or the west.

When the grave is closed the *mulla* or the *kazi* repeats the creed, and they return to the house of mourning where all offer a parting prayer and withdraw. A burial costs £1 10s. to £3 (Rs. 15-30). On the morning of the third day a ceremony called the *ziarat* or meeting is held in the house of mourning. A large party of male and female friends and relations meet either at the dead man's house or in the mosque, the women sitting alone in the house in the women's room. The *Karan* is read and prayers are offered. After prayers a tray of rose or jasmine flowers and *sabja* or green leaves, and a cup with a sweet-smelling mixture of sandalwood or rose or other sweet oil, with aloe powder are handed among the guests. As the tray passes him each guest picks a flower and dips it into the cup. The whole is then taken and poured over the grave. Parched rice and pomegranates, plantains, oranges, and guavas are handed round and the guests leave. The cost of the third day varies from 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10). Among the poor a great dinner on the tenth, costing £2 to £6 (Rs. 20-60) ends the mourning. The rich and well-to-do offer alms and give a small feast to friends and relations on the twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth days, and also at the end of six months.

### **Prospects.**

During the last thirty years the spread of English education among Hindus and Parsis has led the Poona Musalmans to teach their boys English. Many of them, especially in the cantonment, have learnt English, and are employed as Government and railway clerks, and have risen to high positions in the police and in the army.



## **Divisions.**

The main body of Musalmans who intermarry and differ little in looks, customs, or dress, besides the four main classes of Syeds, Shaikhs, Moghals or Persians, and Pathans, includes ten special communities. Of these two, Attars or perfumers and Manyars or bracelet-sellers, are traders; seven, Barutgars, Kafshgars, Kalaigars, Patvegars, Rafugars, Rangrezes, and Sikalgars, are craftsmen; and one, Mahawats or elephant-drivers, are servants. Of the fifteen separate communities who do not marry with the main body of Musalmans and differ from them in customs, three are outsiders, Mehmans and Bohoras, traders from Cutch and Gujarat, and Gaokasabs or beef-butchers from Maisur. The rest of the twelve classes are of local origin. Three of these Bakar Kasabs or Lad Sultanis mutton-butchers, Tambolis or betel-sellers, and Bagbans or fruiterers are traders; five, Gaundis bricklayers, Momins weavers, Pinjaras cotton cleaners, Saltankers tanners, and Takaras stone-masons, are craftsmen; and four, Bhatyaras cooks, Dhobis washermen, Halalkhors sweepers, and Pakhalis water-carriers, are servants.

Of the four leading Musalman classes Syeds, Shaikhs, Moghala or Persians, and Pathans, all except the Persians are large communities whose members are found throughout the district.

## **SYEDS**

Syeds or Elders properly the descendants of Fatima the daughter and Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, are found in large numbers both in towns and villages. They are said to have settled in the Deccan from the beginning of Musalman power that is from the close of the fourteenth century. They speak Hindustani at home and Marathi abroad. The men take *Syeds* before or *sha* after their names, and the women add *bibi* or *begam* to theirs. Though by intermarriage with the women of the country they have lost most of their peculiar appearance still Syeds are larger-boned and better-featured than most local Musalmans. Their women also are fair and delicate with good features. The men shave the head, wear the beard, and dress in a headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat and an overcoat long enough to reach the knees. The women wear the Hindu robe and bodice,

and neither appear in public nor add to the family income. The men are landlords, religious teachers, soldiers, constables, and servants. They are much given to luxury. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are religious and careful to say their prayers. They respect and obey the Kazi, and do not observe Hindu customs. They have no special class organization, but try to marry among themselves. They take wives from Shaikhs and Pathans but except in a few cases give their daughters only to Syeds. They teach their boys Persian, Arabic, and Marathi, and of late many have learnt English and secured service as Government clerks and constables.

### SHAIKHS

**Shaikhs** in theory take their origin from the three leading Kuraish families, the Sidikis who claim descent from Abu Bakar Sidik, the Farukis who claim descent from Umar-al Faruk, and the Abbasis who claim descent from Abas one of the prophet's nine uncles. As a matter of fact the bulk of the Shaikhs are chiefly if not entirely of local descent. The men take Shaikh or Muhammad before their names, and the women *bibi* after theirs. They do not differ from Syeds in appearance and like them speak Hindustani at home. The men either shave the head or let the hair grow, and wear full beards. Townsman dress in a headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat, a long overcoat, and a pair of loose trousers; and villagers wear either a waistcloth or a pair of tight trousers, and a shirt with, on going out, the addition of a large Hindu turban. Their women are also like Syed women delicate, fair, and well-featured. They wear the Hindu robe and bodice, and except a few elderly women none appear in public or add to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. The men are husbandmen, soldiers, constables, messengers, and servants, and are hardworking and thrifty. They have no special class organization, and marry either among themselves or with any or the leading classes of Musalmans. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school and are religious and careful to say their prayers. They respect and obey the Kazi and employ him to register their marriages. They teach their children Persian and Marathi, and of late English. Many are employed as clerks and have risen to high posts in the army and police.

## MOGHALS

**Moghals** are found in small numbers in every town and village of Poona. They claim descent from the Moghal conquerors of the Deccan in the seventeenth century (Abmadnagar 1630; Bijapur 1686). By intermarriage, and probably because many of them are local converts who took the name Moghal from their patron or leader, they have entirely lost their foreign appearance. Among local Moghals, the men shave the head and wear the beard full. They dress like other Musalmans in a headscarf or a turban, a long overcoat, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers. The women are like Syed and Shaikh women and like them wear the Hindu robe and bodice. The men add *mirza* to their names, and the women *bibi* to theirs. They are soldiers, constables, servants, and husbandmen. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school. Some who have learned English have found employment as clerks and in the police.

## PATHANS

**Pathans** are found all over the district. They claim descent from the Afghan mercenaries and military leaders who conquered or took service in the Deccan, but most of them are probably descended from local converts who took the name of their leader. The men are tall or of middle height, well made, and dark or of olive colour. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a turban or headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers. The women, who are like the men in face, wear the Hindu robe and bodice, but neither add to the family income, nor appear in public. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. The men are husbandmen, soldiers, constables, servants, and messengers; and are hardworking and thrifty. They do not observe Hindu customs, or differ from other Musalmans in their practices. They have no special class organization, and marry either among themselves or take wives from the Shaikhs and other classes of the main body. They respect and obey the Kazi, and employ him to register their marriages, and to settle their social disputes. They teach their boys Hindustani and Marathi, and of late years some have begun to send their boys to English schools.

## ATTARS

**Atta'rs**, or Perfumers, are found in small numbers in almost all towns and large villages. They are local converts, who, according to their own account, were converted during the time of Aurangzib (1658-1707). They are either tall or of middle height, well made, and dark or olive-coloured. Their women are fair and delicate with good features. The men shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a Hindu-like large white or red turban, a coat, a shirt, and a pair of tight trousers. Their women dress in the Hindu robe and bodice, and except the old none appear in public or add to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. The men have perfume shops selling frankincense, *agarbatti*, *argaja*, pomatum, rose, and other flower scents, *missi* or black tooth-powder, *kunku* or redpowder for Hindu women's brow marks, yellow and red thread called *nada* and thread garlands called *sahelis* which are worn both by Hindu and Musalman children during the last five days of the *Muharram*. They are hardworking and thrifty, but of late years have suffered from the competition of English lavender and other scents. Most of them travel from village to village selling their stock. Townsmen earn £20 to £30 (Rs. 200-300) a year, and can save for emergencies. The villagers live almost from hand to mouth. Most of them have left their calling and have taken to new pursuits, some taking service and others acting as messengers and constables. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are said to be religious. They do not follow Hindu customs, or differ from other Musalmans in their manners or beliefs. They marry either among themselves, or take wives from any of the leading Musalman communities. They have no special class organization. They obey and respect the Kazi, and employ him to register their marriage and to settle social disputes. They teach their boys Marathi and Hindustani. None have learned English or risen to any high post,

## BARUTGARS

**Ba'rutgars**, or Firework-makers, are found in small numbers in Poona and in some of the larger towns. They are mixed Hindu converts, converted according to their own account by Aurangzib. The men take the title of Shaikh. They are either tall or of middle height, and dark or olive-skinned. The men shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress either in a turban or a headscarf, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers or a

waistcloth. The women wear the Hindu robe and bodice, and neither appear in public nor add to the family income. Under native rule firework-makers were in great demand and highly respected and were sometimes rewarded by the grant of lands. During the last sixty years the demand for fireworks has greatly declined. Many have become soldiers and constables, and others farmers and petty hardware dealers. A few continue to make the fireworks which are in demand at Hindu and Musalman marriages and other festivals. They are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, but as a class are badly off. They marry either among themselves or with any of the regular Musalman communities. In religion, they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and a few of them are said to be religious and careful to say their prayers. They have no special class organization, and obey the regular Kazi who is both their marriage registrar and settler of social disputes. They seldom send their boys to school and none of them has risen to any high post.

### KAFSHGARS

**Kafshgars**, or Shoe-makers, are found in small numbers only in the town of Poona. They are descended from strangers from Kabul who are said to have come to the Deccan during Musalman rule. Their names Kishwar Khan, Dost Muhammad Khan, and Dilawar Khan, point to foreign extraction, and, though intermarriage has made great changes, both men and women are still bigger in bone, fairer, and larger-eyed than most Poona Musalmans. The men shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight or loose trousers. The women wear either a petticoat, a headscarf, and a bodice, or the Hindu robe and bodice. They appear in public, and help the men in embroidering slippers. The only shoes which the Kafshgars prepare are the embroidered slippers of coloured broadcloth, which are worn by married Musalman women, and sometimes by young men. A pair of women's slippers cost 4s. to £1 (Its. 2 - 10), and a pair of men's slippers 6s. to 10s. (Rs. 3-6). They are hardworking, but fond of good living, and spend all they earn without a thought of the future. Most have left Poona and gone to Bombay, Haidarabad, and other places in search of work. They marry either among themselves, or take wives from any of the regular Musalman communities. They have a special class organization, leaving the settlement of social disputes to a headman who is generally the oldest and richest member of



their community. The headman punishes misconduct by a fine which goes to meet the oil expenses of the mosque, They have no special Hindu customs, and are careful to hold the sacrifice or *akika* and the initiation or *bismilla* ceremonies. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but few of them are religious or careful to say their prayers, They do not send their boys to school, and none have risen to any high post.

### **KALAIGARS**

**Kala'igars**, or Tinsmiths, found in large numbers both in towns and in villages, are local converts, who are said to have been turned to Islam by Aurangzib. They rank as Shaikhs and speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. They are tall or of middle-height, and dark or olive-skinned. The men shave the head, and wear the beard either long or short, and dress in a turban or a headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers. They put on an overcoat on going out. The women are generally delicate, fair, and well-featured. They dress in the Marathi robe and bodice, do not appear in public, and do not help their husbands except by house work. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. They are tinsmiths by craft, hardworking, thrifty, and sober and as their work is steady, they are well-to-do and able to save. They marry either among themselves or with any of the regular Musalman communities. They have a well organized caste body with a headman called *patil* who is chosen from among the richest and most respected of the community, and has power to fine any one who breaks their class rules. Any one who joins their class has to present the community with 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10) which is spent in a dinner. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school. The older members are said to be religious and careful to say their prayers. They do not send their boys to school, and as their craft is thriving they take to no new pursuits.

### **MANYARS**

**Manya'rs**, or Bracelet-makers, are found in small numbers in most towns and large villages. They are of mixed Hindu origin dating according to their own account from the time of Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, thin, and dark or olive-skinned, They shave the head, wear the beard

full, and dress either in a large white or red Maratha turban or a headscarf, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women are's generally delicate with regular features and fair skins. They wear the Marathi robe and bodice, and most of them appear in public and help the men in their work. Glass bracelet-making formerly paid well but the competition of English and Chinese bracelets has so lowered their profits that many have taken to retail English hardware in addition to or instead of selling bracelets. Some have shops, but most hawk their goods in streets where the higher class of Musalmans live whose women will not go to a shop to be fitted with bangles. They are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and as a class are well-to-do people, living on their earnings and borrowing to meet emergencies. They have no special class union and no peculiar customs. They marry among themselves or with any of the regular Musalman communities. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and most of them are religious and careful to say their prayers. They teach their boy's Marathi but not English. Some have taken service and some are in the police.

### RAFUGARS

**Rafugars**, or Cloth Darners, are found in small numbers in the city of Poona. They are local converts of mixed Hindu origin and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They take the title of Shaikh and are considered high-class people. They speak Hindustani among themselves, and Marathi with others. They are generally short, thin, and fair. The men shave the head and wear the beard full. Their dress is a headscarf or turban, a coat, a waistcoat, a shirt, and a pair of tight trousers. The women wear the Marathi robe and bodice. They do not appear in public, or add to the family income. Both men and women are clean and neat in their habits. When rich Cashmere shawls, silk robes, and embroidered turbans were worn neat darning was of great importance and the Rafugars were famous for the skill and delicacy of their darns. Now their calling is in little demand. Most have left Poona for Bombay and other places where they have taken service as servants and messengers. They are hardworking and sober, but most of them are poor living from hand to mouth. They have no special class organization, nor any headman except the regular Kazi who acts both as marriage registrar and as judge in settling social disputes. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are said to be religions and

careful to say their prayers. On the whole, they are a falling class both in numbers and in condition.

### **RANGREZES**

**Rangrezes**, or Dyers, are found in small numbers in Poona and some of the larger towns. They are of two divisions, descendants of local Hindus of the same name, converted by Aurangzib, and immigrants from Marwar since the beginning of British power. The local dyers speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others; the Marwari immigrants speak Hindustani with a mixture of Marwari words with a Marwari accent. The men of both divisions shave the head and wear beards, but differ in appearance, the Marwaris being taller and stronger built and a little fairer than the local dyers. The women of both classes are delicate and fair. The Marwari women wear a petticoat, a headscarf, and a backless bodice; and the local dyers wear the Marathi robe and bodice. They help the men in their work and appear in public. As a class, the dyers are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and are generally well-to-do and able to save. They dye turbans, headscarves, and silk and cotton thread charging 1s. to 2s. (Re. ½-1) for a turban, 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) for a headscarf, and about 4s. (Rs. 2) for forty pounds weight of silk. They dye red, orange, blue, green, and other shades. Their work is constant. Before Musalman and Hindu festivals and during the marriage season they are so busy that they employ people to help them in drying the clothes paying them 6d. (4 as.) a day. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and some of them are religious and careful to say their prayers. They have no special class organization, nor any headman except the Kazi who acts as marriage registrar and settles social disputes. They do not differ in manners and customs from other regular Musalmans and marry with them. They do not send their boys to school nor take to new pursuits. On the whole they are a rising class.

### **MAHAWATS**

**Mahawats**, or Elephant-drivers, are found in small numbers in the city of Poona. They are local converts of the Hindu class of the same name. They style themselves Shaikhs and speak Hindustani at home and Marathi with others. They are tall or of middle height and dark. The men shave the head and wear the

beard full, and dress in a turban, a tight-fitting jacket, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women wear the Marathi robe and bodice. They appear in public, but add nothing to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. They are hardworking, thrifty, and sober. Under the British Government the demand for their services has fallen. They have taken to new pursuits, some serving as constables and others as servants and messengers. They live from hand to mouth and have to borrow to meet emergencies. Most of the men and almost all of the women eschew beef, and have a leaning to Hindu customs, inclining to keep Hindu festivals and believing in Hindu gods. They have no special class organization and no headman, and marry with any of the regular classes of Musalmans. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but few are religious or careful to say their prayers. They respect and obey the regular Kazi, and employ him to register their marriages and settle social disputes. They do not send their boys to school, and none have risen to any high position.

### SIKALGARS

**Sikalgars**, or Armourers, are found in small numbers in the city of Poona and in some of the larger towns. They are the descendants of mixed low class Hindus who are said to have been converted by Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani at home and Marathi with others. They are tall or of middle height and dark. The men shave the head, wear fall beards, and dress in a turban, a tight-fitting jacket, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women wear the Marathi robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in their work. Both men and women are dirty and untidy in their habits. Armourers or knife-grinders are hardworking and sober, but do not earn more than 6d. to 9d. (4-6 as.) a day. They formerly sharpened swords, daggers, and other weapons; at present their work is confined to grinding knives and scissors for which they are paid about a half-penny a pair. They grind knives on a wheel of *kurand* stone turned by a leather strap which their women and children work. They have no special class organization and no headman, and marry with any low class Musalmans. They have no special Hindu customs but are not strict Musalmans, as they perform neither the initiation nor the sacrifice. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school but are not religious or careful to say their prayers, They obey the Kazi and employ him to register their marriages. They do not send their boys to school and take to no

new pursuits.

## PATVEGARS

**Patvegars**, or Silk Tassel-twisters, are found in small numbers both in the city of Poona and in other large towns. They are descended from local Hindus of the same name, and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, thin, and dark or olive-skinned. They either let the hair grow or shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a headscarf or a turban, a tight-fitting jacket, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women are generally delicate, olive-coloured, and regular featured; they wear the Maratha robe and bodice, and appear in public, but do not add to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. They twist silk tassels. They are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and though not rich are not scrimped for food. They sell silk tassels and *kargotas* that is the silk cords worth 1½d. (½ a.) which Hindus and a few Musalmans pass the loincloth through. They also sell false hair at 3d. to 1s. (2-8 as.) the packet, fly-flappers or *chavris* at 1 s. to 2s. (Re. ½ -1), and deck with silk women's gold necklaces and other ornaments for which they are paid 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) They earn 3d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) a day, but their work is not constant. They have no special class organization and no headman, and in manners and customs do not differ from regular Musalmans. They marry either among themselves or with any low-class Musalmans. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are seldom religious or careful to say their prayers. They do not send their boys to school, and some have sought employment as servants and messengers.

## SEPARATE COMMUNITIES

Fifteen Separate Communities marry among themselves only, and have customs which differ from the customs of regular Musalmans. Six, Bohords and Mehmans traders, Bagbans fruiterers, Tambolis betel-sellers, Bakarkasabs mutton butchers, and Gaokasabs beef butchers, are traders and shopkeepers; five, Gaundis bricklayers, Momins weavers, Pinjaras cotton-cleaners, Saltankars tanners, and Takaras stone-masons are craftsmen; and four, Bhatyaras cooks, Dhobis washermen,



Pakhalis water-carriers, and Halalkhors sweepers, are servants.

## BOHORAS

**Bohora's**, probably from the Gujarati *vohoravu* to trade also known as Daudis from a pontiff of that name, are found in large numbers in the cantonment of Poona. They are immigrants from Gujarat. They are believed to be partly descendants of refugees from Persia and Arabia who settled in Gujarat about 1087 on account of a religious dispute and partly of Hindu converts of the Brahman and Vania castes. [ Upon the death of Jafar Sadik, according to the Shias the sixth Imam, a dispute arose whether Ismail the son of Jafer's elder son or Musi Kazim Jafer's second son should succeed. The majority who supported Musi form the orthodox community of Shias who, from the number of their Imams, the last of whom is still to come, are known as *Isna asharis* or the Twelvers. The supporters of Musi's nephew, who started as a distinct body under the name of Ismailis, especially in Egypt, rose to great power. They remained united until in 1094, on the death of Almustansirbillah the succession was disputed. Of the late Khalifas two sons Nazar the elder at first named for the succession, was afterwards, on account of his profligate habits, passed over in favour of his younger brother Almustali. A party of the Ismailis, holding that an elder son could not thus be deprived of his right to succeed, declared for him, and were called Nazarians." The other party, called from the younger son Mustalians, prevailed, and established Mustali as successor to his father. The Nazarians are at this day represented in India by the Khojas and the Mustalians by the Bohoras,] They have come to Poona as traders from Bombay since the establishment of British power. Their home tongue is Gujarati, and with others they speak Hindustani and Marathi. They are generally active and well made, but are wanting in strength and robustness. Their features are regular and clear, the colour olive, and the expression gentle and shrewd. They shave the head, and wear long thin beards with the hair on the upper lip cut close. The men's dress consists of a white oval-shaped turban, a long white coat falling to the knee, a waistcoat, a long shirt, and a pair of loose trousers. Their women are generally delicate, fair-skinned, and regular-featured. Their dress is a red or a dark blue cotton or silk scarf called *odna*, a backless bodice called *angia* or *kanchli*, and a cotton or silk petticoat. On going out they shroud themselves in a large striped cotton or silk robe which covers the whole body

except a small gauze opening for the eyes. They keep their eyelids pencilled with collyrium, their teeth blackened with antimony, and the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet reddened with henna. Except that they are good and thrifty housewives they add nothing to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. Daudi Bohoras are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and are generally well-to-do, and spend much on marriages and other ceremonies. They are considered honourable traders and have a high name for honest dealing. They deal in English piecegoods, China and English hardware, and some of the poor make tin lanterns and tinpots, and iron oil and water buckets. The rich earn £200 to £500 (Rs. 2000-5000) a year, the middle-class £50 to £80 (Rs. 500- 800), and even the poorest £20 to £30 (Rs. 200- 300). They have a well organized body, and a strong class feeling. The head of their sect, who is known as the *Mullah Saheb*, has his head-quarters at Surat. He has many deputies or *dais* who are sent from Surat to the different Bohora settlements. They perform marriage and other ceremonies, settle minor social disputes, and refer difficult cases for the decision-of the head *Mullah* at Surat. The decision of the head *Mullah* is treated with great awe, and breaches of rules are occasionally punished by heavy fines. They marry among themselves only, and though they do not associate with other Musalmans, there is no great difference in their customs and observances. In religion they are Shias of the Mustalian branch and differ from Sunni Musalmans in rejecting three out of the four Imams and believing only in Ali the fourth Imam, the son-in law-of the Prophet. They teach their children Gujarati only, and follow no pursuit except trade.

## MEHMANS

**Mehmans**, properly Momins or Believers, are found in considerable numbers in Poona cantonment. They are said to have come to Poona as traders about sixty years ago from Bombay. They belong to Cutch and Kathiawar where about the year A.D. 1422 their forefathers were converted by the celebrated Arab saint Yusuf Ud-din chiefly from Lohana Hindus. They speak Cutchi at home and Hindustani with others. The men are well-built, robust, and generally fair. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a silk or embroidered headscarf, a long overcoat, a waistcoat, a long shirt, and a pair of loose trousers rather tight at the ankles. The women like the men are tall, well-made, and fair with regular features. They

dress in a long shirt or *aba*, a headscarf or *odna*, and a pair of trousers rather tight at the ankles, all of silk. Both men and women are neat and clean in habits. Mehmans are honourable traders and are hardworking, thrifty, and prosperous. They deal in English piecegoods, furniture, and other European articles. They have a good name among their fellow traders and most of them have agents and partner in Bombay through whom they get their supplies from England and other foreign countries. They marry only among themselves or get wives from Bombay and Cutch. Their manners and customs do not differ from those of regular Musalmans. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and are very religious and careful to say their prayers. They teach their boys Gujarati only. They follow no pursuit but trade, and on the whole are a rising class.

### **BAGBANS**

**Ba'gba'ns**, or Fruiterers, are found in large numbers in almost all large towns and villages. They are descended from local Kunbis, and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, well-made, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard either short or full, and dress in a large Hindu turban, a tight-fitting jacket, and a waistcloth. The women, who have the same cast of face as the men, wear the Marathi robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in their work. They bear no good name for modesty. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. They keep shops in which they sell fruit and vegetables. Of fruit they sell local pomegranates, oranges, figs, watermelons, plantains, guavas, and pomeloes. Of vegetables they sell all sorts of greens, potatoes, peas, French beans, and green spices. They buy their stock from village farmers and bring their purchases home on their bullocks. They are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and most of them are well-to-do and able to save. They marry only among themselves, and have a well organized union under a *chaudhari* or headman chosen from the oldest and richest members. He has power to fine any one who breaks the caste rules. They differ from the ordinary Musalmans in eschewing beef, keeping Hindu festivals, and offering vows to Hindu gods. They respect and obey the Kazi whom they employ to register their marriages and sometimes to settle their social disputes. They do not send their boys to school and take to no other pursuits except selling fruit and vegetables. On the whole are a

rising class.

### **TAMBOLIS**

**Ta'mbolis,** or Betel-leaf sellers, are found in large numbers in almost all large towns and villages. They are descended from local Kunbis and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, well-made, and dark or olive skinned. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a large white Kunbi turban, a long tight jacket, a shirt, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. Like the men the women are either tall or of middle height, thin, and olive-skinned, with regular features. They dress in the Marathi robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in selling betel leaf. Both men and women are neat and clean in their habits. They are betel leaf sellers by trade, and are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and generally well-to-do, and able to save. They have fixed shops in which they sell betel leaves, betelnuts, and some in addition sell tobacco. They marry only among themselves and have a separate union, but have no headman or any special rites or customs except that the women keep many Hindu practises and festivals. They obey the regular Kazi and employ him to register their marriages and to settle their social disputes. They do not send their boys to school, and take to no new pursuits.

### **BAKARKASABS**

**Bakarkasa'bs** or Mutton-Butchers also known as Lad Sultanis, numbers throughout the district. They are descended from local Hindu mutton-butchers and ascribe their conversion to Haidar Ali of Maisur (1763 -1782). The men are tall or of middle height, dark or olive skinned. They shave the head, wear the beard short or shave it, and dress in a large Kunbi turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. Some wear a large gold ring in the right ear. The women are generally thin and tall, well-featured, and fair-skinned. They dress in the Maratha robe and bodice, and, though they appear in public, none except the old who sell the smaller pieces of mutton help the men in their work. Mutton-butchers are hardworking, thrifty, and sober, and some are rich, and spend much on marriage and other ceremonies. They marry only among themselves and have a

separate and well organized class union under a headman styled *chaudhari* who holds caste meetings, settles social disputes, and fines any one who breaks caste rules. They have no connection with other Musalmans and eschew beef. They hold aloof from beef-butchers and deem their touch impure. They offer vows to Brahmanic and local gods and keep the usual Brahmanic festivals. Their only specially Musalman rite is circumcision. Though in name Sunnis of the Hanafi school few are religious, and they almost never go to mosques except on the Ramzan holidays. They do not send their boys to school and take to no new pursuits.

### GAOKASABS

**Ga'okasa'bs**, or Beef-butchers, found in small numbers in the Poona Cantonment, claim descent from Abyssinian slaves whom Haidar Ali made beef-butchers. They are said to have come from Maisur with General Wellesley's army in 1803. They speak Hindustani at home and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle-height, muscular, and dark. Some shave the head, others wear the head hair, and all have full beards, and dress in a headscarf or a turban, a shirt, a waistcoat, and a pair of tight trousers. The women are either tall or of middle height and dark. They wear the Maratha robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in selling the smaller pieces of beef. They are proverbially quarrelsome and shameless. Both men and women are dirty and untidy. Though hardworking beef-butchers waste most of their earnings on good living and liquor. Few of them are rich, and most are in debt. They kill cows and buffaloes selling the cow beef to Europeans and Musalmans and the buffalo beef to Musalmans and lower class Hindus such as Mhars and sweepers. They have shops and when their stock is not sold in the shops, they go about the Musalman and sweeper streets hawking what is left. They have a well managed union under a headman or *chaudhari* chosen from the rich who holds caste meetings and fines any one who breaks the rules. They marry only among themselves, and are considered lowclass Musalmans. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but few are religious or careful to say their prayers; they almost never attend the mosque. Their rites and observances do not differ from those of ordinary Musalmans. They respect the regular Kazi whom they employ to register their marriages and to settle social disputes. They do not send their boys to school nor take to new callings.



## GAUNDIS

**GaundiS**, or Bricklayers, are found in considerable numbers throughout the district. They are descended from local Hindus of the same class and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani at home and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, thin, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a large Maratha-Kunbi turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. The women, who have the same cast of face as the men, wear the Maratha robe and bodice, and appear in public, but add nothing to the family income. Both men and women are neat and clean. They are bricklayers by craft. They are hardworking and thrifty, but as their work is not constant, they live from hand to mouth, and have to borrow to meet emergencies. They have a separate union, but no special organization and no headman. They marry among themselves only, and differ from regular Musalmans in eschewing beef and keeping Hindu festivals. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but few are religious or careful to say their prayers. They respect and obey the Kazi, and employ him to register their marriages and to settle social disputes. They do not send their boys to school. Most are bricklayers, but some earn their living as constables, messengers, and servants.

## MOMINS

**Momins**, that is Believers, are weavers who are found in considerable numbers over the whole district. They are descended from Hindus of the Kosti and Sali castes, and are said to have been converted by the saint Khwaja Syad Hussain Gaisudaraz of Gulbarga about the year 1398 (800 H.). They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, thin, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a large Maratha-Kunbi turban, a shirt, an overcoat, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women are tall or of middle height, thin, well featured, and olive-skinned. They wear the Maratha robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in all parts of their work including weaving. They add to the family income as much as a man. Neither men nor women are clean or tidy. They are weavers by craft and are hardworking and thrifty, but the competition of English and Bombay goods presses them hard. The rich employ the poor to weave for them and pay them 2s.

to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) for a robe of silk or cotton, which they make ready in four days, for a turban if of cotton 2s. (Re. 1) and if of silk 3s. (Rs. 1½) woven in *four* days, for a striped cotton cloth 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.), and for a waistcloth 1s. to 1s. 6d. (8-12 as.). They weave in hand looms using English or Bombay yarn. They weave cotton or silk turbans worth 6s. to £2 (Rs. 3-20), waistcloths with silk borders worth 6s. to £1 (Rs. 3-10), cotton robes worth 5s. to 8s. (Rs. 2½-4), cotton-silk robes worth 10s. to £2 (Rs. 5-20), and striped cotton and silk for bodices worth 1s. to 6s. (Rs. ½-3) the yard. These goods are sold either to wholesale dealers, who send them to Bombay and Surat, or to retail dealers in the market. They are extremely hardworking, weaving twelve to fifteen hours a day, working at night by lamp-light. They marry only among themselves, and as the women are as hardworking as the men, some of them have two or even three wives. They have a well managed union under a headman or *patel* chosen from the richest members, who, with the consent of the majority of the male members, fines any one who breaks their caste rules. Their manners and customs differ little from those of other Musalmans. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and most of the old men are said to be religious and careful to say their prayers. Their spiritual head is the representative of Khwaja Syad Hussain, the saint who converted them. He visits them yearly or once every second or third year, when they give him presents of cash and cloth. The spiritual guide, on making a new disciple, teaches him the creed and gives advice about conduct. Besides the religious and moral teaching the guide gives each of the disciples a list of his forefathers back to saint Khwaja. The disciple treats this list with the highest respect. He keeps it and values it as dearly as his life, and sometimes has it buried with him in the belief that the holy names will satisfy the angels and prevent them from torturing him in the grave. [The Musalman belief is, that after the body is buried it is brought to life and two angels, Munkir and Nakir, visit and question the dead. They ask who is his Creator and his Prophet, and what is his religion. If the dead answers that his God is the same as theirs, his Prophet is the Prophet Muhammad, and his religion is the religion of Abraham whom God saved from fire, the angels retire, and, by God's will, the grave is made a paradise in which the believer remains till the judgment day. Sinners who fail to give satisfactory answers are tortured by the angels with hell fire which ceaselessly burns them till the judgment day.] Some of them practise Hindu customs by keeping the usual Brahmanic and local festivals and offering vows to Brahmanic and local gods. Some have of late

begun to teach their children Marathi and English. Besides as weavers some earn their living as constables, messengers, and servants.

### **PINJARAS**

**Pinja'ra's**, or Cotton-cleaners, are found in small numbers in some of the larger towns. They are said to be descended from local Hindus of the same class and trace their conversion to Aurangzib. The men are either tall or of middle height, thin, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a Kunbi turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. The women have the same cast of face as the men. They wear the Maratha robe and bodice and appear in public, but do not help the men in their work. Both men and women are dirty and untidy. Though hardworking and thrifty, the cotton cleaners are much scrimped for food and have been reduced to poverty by the ruin of local hand-spinning caused by the cheapness of English, Bombay, and Sholapur machine-spun yarn. Their sole occupation now is teasing cotton for mattresses and pillows. They walk the streets from morning to evening twanging the string of their harp-like cotton teaser some times earning 6d. to 1s. (4-8 as.) and sometimes going home without a farthing. Many have left their craft and found employment as constables, messengers, and servants. They marry among themselves, but have no class union and no headman. Their manners and customs differ little from those of other Musalmans. They obey and respect the Kazi, and employ him to register their marriages and settle their disputes. They do not send their boys to school, and are falling in numbers and condition.

### **SALTANKARS**

**Salta'nkars**, or Tanners, who are found in small numbers in Poona and in some of the larger towns, are said to be descended from local Hindus of the Chambhar or Mochi caste, and trace their conversion to Aurangzib. Among themselves they speak Hindustani and with others Marathi. The men are middle-sized, well-made, and dark. They shave the head, wear either short beards or shaven cheeks and chin, and dress in a large white or red Maratha-Kunbi turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. Their women who have the same cast of face as the men wear the Maratha robe and bodice, appear in public, and

add to the family income by helping the men in their work. Both men and women are dirty and untidy. The Saltankars or tanners are hardworking and thrifty, and some of them are well-to-do and able to save. Their proper calling is to buy goats' skins from the butchers and dye them. Of late years rich hide and skin merchants, Mehmans from Bombay and Labhes from Bombay and Madras, by agents spread all over the country, buy and carry to Bombay the bulk of the local outturn of skins. This rivalry has ruined the Saltankars' calling, and most have given up their former trade. They have taken to making the coarse felt-like woollen pads called *namdas* which are used as saddle-pads and to pack ice. They also prepare the red dye called *pothi* which is used for colouring sweetmeats and food. They form a separate body and have a well managed union under a headman chosen from the richest and oldest members and empowered to fine any one who breaks their rules. They marry among themselves only, and differ from the regular Musalmans in eschewing beef, offering vows to Brahmanic and local deities chiefly Satvai and Marai, and keeping Brahmanical and local festivals. They respect and obey the Kazi but their only purely Musalman custom is circumcision. They do not send their boys to school. They have shown energy in taking to a new and fairly paid industry and as a class are well-to-do.

## TAKARAS

**Taka'ra's**, or Stone-carvers and Quarrymen, are found in large numbers. They are said to be descended from local Hindus of the Dondhphoda or stone-breaking class, and ascribe their conversion to Aurangzib. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or middle-sized, well-made, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard either short or full, and dress in a large Hindu turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. The women, who are like the men in face, wear the Maratha robe and bodice, and appear in public, but add nothing to the family income. Both men and women are rather dirty and untidy in their habits. The Takaras or stone-masons are hardworking, thrifty, and sober. Of late years their services have not been in much demand. When employed as quarrymen their day's wages vary from 1s. 6d. to 2s. (Re.  $\frac{3}{4}$ -1). Most of them are poor, living almost from hand to mouth. When their work as stone-quarrymen fails, they go about towns and villages roughening grindstones for which they are paid  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ a.) each. Many have left their craft and taken to

new pursuits, some serving as messengers and servants, others as labourers and carriers, and many of them have left for Bombay and Kolhapur in search of work. They marry among themselves only, but have no special class union and no head. They honour and obey the Kazi who settles social disputes and registers marriages. Unlike the regular Musalmans they eschew beef, offer vows to the Hindu deities Satvai and Mariai, and keep Hindu festivals. Though Sunnis of the Hanafi school, they are seldom religious or careful to say their prayers. Circumcision is their only specially Musalman rite. They do not send their boys to school, and on the whole are falling in number and condition.

### **BHATYARAS**

**Bhatya'ra's**, or Cooks, are found in small numbers in Poona. They are said to be descended from mixed local Hindu classes and trace their conversion to Aurangzib. Their home speech is Hindustani. The men are tall or of middle size, thin, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard either short or full, and dress in a dirty turban or headscarf, a tight jacket or a shirt, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. The women have the same cast of face as the men. They wear the Maratha robe and bodice, appear in public, and help the men in cooking. Both men and women are dirty and untidy. They are engaged by Musalmans to cook public dinners, and are paid 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1-2) to cook for a hundred guests. They have also shops where they sell cooked food including bread, boiled rice, mutton curry, pulse, and vegetables. They have no fixed charges, but, according to their customers' wants, sell quantities worth 3d. to 6d. (2-4 as.). They are lazy and fond of liquor, and, though their earnings are good, are always poorly clad and often scrimped for food. They marry only among themselves, but have no special class organization and no headman. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school but are seldom religious or careful to say their prayers. They do not send their boys to school. Some take service with Europeans as dressing servants and butlers.

### **DHOBIS**

**Dhobis**, or Washermen, are found in small numbers in Poona and in some of the larger towns. They are said to be descended



from local Hindus of the same name and ascribe their conversion to Haidar Ali of Maisur. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are generally middle-sized, thin, and dark. They shave the head, wear short beards, and dress in a headscarf, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth. The women are like the men in face. They wear the Maratha robe and bodice, appear in public, and add as much to the family income as the men. Both men and women are neat and clean. Washermen are hardworking, but are fond of drink and spend most of their earnings on liquor. They wash clothes generally for several families and are paid 4s. (Rs. 2) for a hundred pieces of unironed clothes and 8s. (Rs. 4) for a hundred pieces of ironed clothes. When employed by European families they earn £1 to £1 10s. (Rs. 10-15) a month from each family. They marry among themselves only and have a well managed union under a *chaudhari* or headman, chosen from the oldest and most respected families. Unlike regular Musalmans they eschew beef, offer vows to Brahmanic or local Hindu deities, Varun the water-god and Satvai, and keep Brahmanic and local festivals. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school, but are neither religious nor careful to say their prayers. They do not send their boys to school. Their work is constant and well paid, and they take to no new pursuits.

## PAKHALIS

**Pakhalis**, or Water-carriers, are found in considerable numbers in Poona and in other large towns. They are said to be descended from the local Hindu class of the same name, and trace their conversion to Haidar Ali of Maisur (1763-1782). They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are tall or of middle height, well-made, and dark. They shave the head, wear the beard full, and dress in a large Maratha-Kunbi turban, a tight jacket, and a waistcloth or a pair of tight trousers. The women are either tall or of middle size, thin, and dark or olive coloured. They wear the Hindu robe and bodice, appear in public, and except when old do not help the men in their work. Both men and women are rather dirty and untidy. Pakhalis or water-carriers are hardworking thrifty and sober, and some are well-to-do and able to save. They carry water in large leather bags containing about forty gallons on the backs of bullocks, and sometimes slung in smaller bags across the thigh. They supply water to Musalmans, Christians, and Parsis, and to a few low-class Hindus. They work for several

families and earn 4s. to 10s. (Rs. 2 -5) a month from each family. Some who are employed by Europeans are engaged solely by one family on 16s. to £1 4s. (Rs. 8 -12) a month. They marry among themselves only, and have a well managed union under a headman or *patil*, who settles social disputes with the help of other members of the community. Unlike the regular Musalmans they eschew beef and keep all local and Brahmanic festivals. In name they are Sunnis of the Hanafi school but seldom attend mosques and except circumcision have no special Musalman observances. They do not send their boys to school and take to no new pursuits.

### HALALKHORS

**Halalkhors**, or Sweepers, literally eaters of lawful earnings, found in small numbers in Poona city and cantonment, are local converts. They trace their conversion to Haidar Ali of Maisur. They speak Hindustani among themselves and Marathi with others. The men are of middle height, thin, and dark. They either shave the head or wear long hair, and keep the beard short or full. They dress in a turban or a headscarf, a tight jacket, and a pair of tight trousers or a waistcloth. Some men who can afford it wear a large gold ring in the right ear. Their women are like the men in face, appear in public, and add to the family income. Both men and women are dirty and untidy. They are sweepers and nights oil-men, and are hardworking, but spend most of their earnings on liquor. They are employed by Europeans on 8s. to 12s. (Rs. 4-6) a month, and some in the service of the Poona Municipality as scavengers earn £1 (Rs. 10) a month. They marry only among themselves and form a well managed union under a headman called *mehtar* who is chosen from the oldest members and has power to fine any one who breaks caste rules. The fines are spent on dinners and liquor. They are Musalmans in little more than name and are considered a very low class. Their only Musalman observance is circumcision. They do not send their boys to school or take to new pursuits.

## POPULATION

### BENE-ISRAELS

#### History.

**Bene-Israels** that is Children of Israel, are also, though they dislike the name, known as Yahudis or Jews, and, because they press oil and keep Saturday as a day of rest, as Shanvar Telia or Saturday Oilmen. They are returned as numbering 597 and as found in Bhimthadi, Haveli, Maval, Poona, and Sirur. Besides in Bombay, where they have been settled for more than 150 [This is doubtful. According to Mr. Haeem Samuel they came to Bombay in 1775 Annual Report Anglo-Jewish Association 1875-76, p. 45.] years, Bene-Israels are found in the Kolaba and Thana districts and in the Habsan or Janjira State between Kolaba and Ratnagiri. The origin of the Bene-Israels is doubtful. They have come to India either from Aden or from the Persian Gulf. If from Aden they are believed by some writers to be partly descended from Jews taken captive in Egypt by Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 521-485) and deported by him to Hejaz in Arabia. [Price's Arabia, 99.] In the first century before Christ one of the Tubbaa or Hemyarite dynasty of Aden kings, B.C. 100 - A.D. 525, was converted to Judaism and introduced the Hebrew faith into South Arabia. [De Sacy, Mem. de Litterature, xlviii. 735-753.] Under these kings the settlements of Jews in South Arabia were probably increased after the dispersion of the Jews of Palestine by Titus (A.D. 79 - 81) and Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), and the defeat of Zenobia by Aurelian (A.D. 270-275). [De Sacy, Mem. de Litterature, xlviii. 735-753.] The Jewish Hemyarite princes continued in power till early in the sixth century (525), Dhu-Nawas by his cruel treatment of the Christians of Nejran, provoked an invasion of the Ethiopian king Eles Baan, who defeated Dhu-Nawas and fiercely persecuted his Jewish subjects. [Milman's History of the Jews, III. 77 - 79, 87 - 88; Wilson's Lands of the Bible, II 657-658.] Either at this time or about a hundred years later, when they were hardly used by the prophet Muhammad (A.D. 570 - 632), a body of Jews may have left Aden and sought safety in Western India. The Babylonian Jews were the descendants of the Jews who were carried from Palestine to Upper Mesopotamia by Pul in B.C. 770 and by Shalmanesar about fifty years later. They always remained a large and powerful body. In the third century after Christ, under their leader the Prince of the Captivity, and again

in the fifth century (427) when the Talmud was compiled, they were in great power. In the beginning of the sixth century the revolt of Rabbi Meir brought on them the wrath of Cavade the king of the Persians [Basnage's History of the Jews, 535, 563-566. The city where the Prince of the Captivity lived was plundered and the Prince and the President of the Council hanged. For thirty years their doctors did not dare to appear in public.] and they continued to suffer severely, till, in 638, the Persian dynasty was over-thrown by the Arabs. [Basnage's Jews, 570.] At any time during the sixth century a body of Jews may have sailed from the Persian Gulf to India. It is hard to say from which of these countries the Bene-Israelites have come, In favour of an Arabian origin there is said to be in their appearance some trace of Arab blood, they are said to use some Arab words, and there is the modern connection with Arab teachers. On the other hand, the close trading connection of the Persian Gulf and India in the sixth century and the fact that Jews bearing the surname of Bene-Israel are still found in Maskat, favour the descent of the Western Indian Bene-Israelites from the Jews of Babylon. [Welsted's Arabia, 21.]

Though there is no certainty as to the date when they came to India, it seems probable that it was in the sixth century. Their own tradition, for they have no records of any kind, states that they came to India about fourteen hundred years ago from the north, and that they were wrecked off Navgaon a little to the north of Thal, at the southern entrance to the Bombay harbour, and only fourteen, seven men and seven women, were saved. Two mounds near Navgaon village are said to be the sepulchres where the shipwrecked bodies were buried. Of the history of the Bene-Israelites in Kolaba nothing is known. They would seem to have lived quietly both under Hindu and Musalman rulers, like other immigrants almost certainly marrying with the women of the country, to a great extent losing the knowledge of their special history and religion, and adopting the beliefs and practices of the people around them. About two hundred years ago a Jewish priest, coming to Bombay from Arabia, heard of the Jews in the country close by, and going among them won them back from many Hindu observances and taught them the chief tenets and practices of the Hebrew faith. He also introduced the knowledge of the Hebrew language. Since then the leaders of the Bene-Israel community have shown themselves anxious to revive the worship of their forefathers. Synagogues have been built and

many Hebrew copies of the law introduced, and most of the leading Jewish observances and feasts attended to. This revival owes much to the establishment of British rule in India, to whom from their origin and history, from their skill and trustworthiness as craftsmen and clerks, and from their discipline and valour as soldiers, the Bene-Israels have always been the objects of special interest and goodwill. The Poona Bene-Israels say they came into the district as soldiers in British regiments but did not settle in Poona before 1856. They belong to two classes the white or *gore* and the black or *kale*. According to their story the white are the descendants of the original immigrants, and the black of converts, or of the women of the country. White and black Bene-Israels, though the same in religion and customs, neither eat drink nor marry together. [Among Cochin Jews the black Jews are descendants of local converts and slaves. Ind. Ant. I. 195. The black Cochin Jews are proselytes. They have grants which date as far back as the eighth century. Buruell in Ind. Ant. VIII. 333.] The names in common use among men are Abraham, David, Moses, Solomon, and Samuel; and among women Leah, Mariam, Ribka, and Rahel. Formerly men were called Hasaji, Balaji, Eloji, and women Ladnbai, Esubai, Sakubai, but the present generation have given up the use of Hindu names.

### **Appearance.**

The terms of respect for men are *Azam* and *Murhab*i and for women *Amasaheb* and *Baisaheb*. Their surnames are village names marking former settlements as Divekar, Navgaonkar, Thalkar, and Ziradkar, called after villages in the Kolaba district; and persons bearing the same surname can eat together and intermarry. The men are of about the same colour as Marathas, perhaps a little fairer. They are generally above the middle height and strongly made, and in many cases have an expression of much intelligence and of strong character. Their eyes are dark brown and their hair black, and, except two tufts one over each ear they shave the head. They wear the moustache and a short beard. The women are generally goodlooking and fair, some of them have a ruddy tinge in their cheeks, and have lively black eyes, straight noses, and thin lips. Like Hindus they wear the hair tied in a knot behind the head, and use false hair and deck their heads with flowers. Their husbands treat them with respect and they have much to say in family matters.



## Language.

Their home tongue is Marathi. Among the educated the Marathi is correct, but in most house holds the Marathi spoken by husbandmen and others is used. They have also two peculiarities, *r* takes the place of *l*, and several Arab words are in common use. They pray in Hebrew which a few read fluently but none understand. Husbands and wives do not address each other by name. The husband addresses the wife with the phrase *ago* that is, I say; and the wife speaks of her husband as the housemaster or *gharkari*, or if he is an officer in the army by his rank as *subhedar*, *jamadar*, or *havaladar*.

## Houses.

They live in houses of the better sort, two or more storeys high, with walls of brick and tiled roofs. Their house goods include metal and earthen vessels, tables, chairs, boxes, cots, stools, glasses, glass globes, and picture frames. The only special article is, fixed to the upper part of the right door post, a box with a small square glass let into the front of it, and inside in a wooden or tin case, four or five inches long and an inch wide, with a hole in the upper part of it, a piece of parchment with carefully written verses from Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-20 so placed that from the outside through the holes in the case and box, the word *Shadaya* or Almighty can be read. Both in going out and in coming in, the members of the household touch this box with their two first right fingers and kiss it. They have men servants and women servants either Marathas or Musalmans. A Bene-Israel will drink from a vessel belonging to a Musalman or to a European and will eat from the hand of a Brahman or other high caste vegetarian. They do not eat with persons belonging to other communities, and hold that a Mhar's touch defiles. They eat rice, wheat, millet, pulse, vegetables, fruit, oil, butter, and salt, and, with certain restrictions, flesh fowl and fish. No carcasses are eaten, and among four-footed animals only such as chew the cud and divide the hoof. They so abhor swine's flesh that a pig-eater *suvar-khau* is their grossest term of abuse. Of birds, the rule is that those may be eaten which do not hold their prey in their feet, and of fish, only those with fins or scales are lawful. Neither fat nor blood may be eaten, nor may the hind quarters of an animal unless the sinews in the thigh are removed. No lame, blind, or blemished animal can be

used as food, and even a clean animal is not lawful unless before its death its throat has been cut with certain ceremonies, its blood spilt on the ground, and the inside examined, and its heart liver and lungs found to be sound and healthy. If any of these organs are diseased the animal is declared unfit for food. Before dressing it the flesh is washed, rubbed with salt, laid in a bamboo basket for about half an hour, and then squeezed till all the blood is pressed out of it. In dressing flesh, sweet oil not butter is used. The Bene-Israelis drink water, milk, tea, and coffee. They drink liquor, both country and European, but only in the evening before supper, and they will not stir from the house after they have taken it. They may be called temperate drinkers, and such of them as know English, use European not country liquor. They have two meals a day, a morning meal between nine and ten and an evening meal between seven and nine. Men and women eat separately, the men first. Children sometimes eat with their fathers and sometimes with their mothers. Except on fast days, [Their fast days are five: *Som Gadalya*, the Day of Atonement in September-October; *Som Tebet* or the Fast in memory of the siege of Jerusalem in December-January; *Som Esther*, the Fast of Esther, in March; *Som Tammuj* the taking the outer city in July; and *Tishabeab* the Destruction of Jerusalem, in August. Formerly the four chief fasts, Tebet, Esther, Tammuj, and Gadalya, were known as Sababi Roja or Fasts of Merit.] when they neither eat drink nor smoke, well-to-do and middle class Bene-Israelis have at every meal one or more dishes of fish, flesh, or fowl. Except on feast days, the poor seldom taste animal food, their chief article of diet being boiled pulse or *ghugris*. [Their feasts are: *Rosh Hosana* or New Year's Day in September, *Sukoth* or the feast of Tabernacles in September-October; *Purim* or the Esther feast in March; *Pesa* or Passover in March-April; *Shabuoth*, or feast of weeks in May-June; and *Saturday*, that is from 6 P.M. on Friday to 6 P.M. on Saturday, though not a feast day, is kept as a day of rest and rejoicing, when good clothes are worn and a specially good dinner prepared before sunset on Friday is eaten.] In April and May, before the rainy season sets in, all classes alike, rich middle and poor, lay in four or five months' store of grain, pulse, onions, firewood, spices, dried fish, pickles, wafer biscuits, oil, butter, and sugar. The ordinary monthly food expenses of a household of six persons, a man and wife, two children, and two relations or dependants, living well but not carelessly, would be for a rich family £3 to £4 (Rs. 30-40); for a middle class family £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30), and for a poor family £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15-20). Among Bene-Israelis the

chief occasions for public feasts are in honour of the birth of a son, a circumcision, a marriage, or a death. The feasts are either morning entertainments between nine and twelve, or evening entertainments between seven and ten. The guests are both men and women, one or two from each house. They are sometimes relations only, in other cases both relations and castefellows, but never any one who does not belong to the caste. In giving a feast a Bene-Israel with his wife's help, makes out a list of the guests who should be asked, has them asked by the servant of the synagogue or *sammash*, collects the supplies, borrows if necessary the caste cooking pots from the treasurer or *gabai*, and calls in friends and relations to help in the cooking. [The beadle or the servant goes from house to house and standing at the door calls the householder by name and gives him the invitation. All accept whether or not they mean to go.] When everything is ready large copper or China platters are filled with rice, and, over the rice, four or five rice cakes or *gharis* are laid. As the guests come they leave their shoes in the veranda, and are led by the host into a place in the house which is covered with carpets or mats supplied from the synagogue. Near the host a few places of special honour are reserved for the honourables or *mankaris* and the minister or *hajan* meaning prayer - reader of the synagogue. When the dinner is ready large rice platters are brought in by some of the guests who have been asked to help, and the guests gather round the platters in groups of four or five. The men dine first and the women after the men. When the guests are seated round the platters about a quarter of pound of mutton is handed to each guest in a banyan leaf cup. When the feast is served, one of the elders lays two pots, one full of water the other empty, and three or four pieces of wheat bread and some salt before the minister. The minister pours water over his hands, lays the bread and salt on his open palms, and says in Hebrew either, Blessed art Thou O Lord, King of the Universe, who causest bread to be produced from the earth; or Blessed art Thou O Lord King of the Universe, the Creator of different kinds of food. The guests say Amen, and the preacher breaks the bread, and dips it in salt, and eats it. He then breaks more pieces of bread, dips them in salt, and hands them to the servers, who give one piece to each group of guests, each of whom takes and eats a piece. After mutton curry has been poured over the rice and cakes, and eating has gone on for some time, the host asks the elders if they think it safe to allow drinking. They think there is no danger and engage that the guests will neither exceed nor quarrel. A cup of wine is offered to the preacher, who blesses it

saying, Blessed art Thou Lord, King of the Universe, by whose word everything came into existence. The people answer Amen. The minister drinks a cup and the rest is served to the other guests. When all have drunk the minister raising both his hands and the guests joining him repeat from the CXLV. Psalm; The eyes of all look towards Thee and Thou givest them all their bread. Thou openest Thine hands and satisfiest the wants of all men. At the end when every one has washed his hands, they say a long grace. The minister kisses a portion of bread and salt, sends it round to the guests each of whom kisses the bread and tastes a little of salt, and leaves. The dishes are then taken into the inner part of the house where the women guests are seated, and a meal is served to them in the same way as to the men, except that there are no seniors and no preacher to bless the food. If children are brought to these feasts they eat either with their fathers or with their mothers. A feast for fifty guests costs £2 to £3 (Rs. 20-30).

### **Dress**

Bene-Israelis are neat and tidy in their dress. Their dress is partly Musalman partly Hindu, a turban or cap, a Hindu coat, trousers or a waistcloth, and Hindu shoes. Indoors a rich man leaves his feet bare, wears a cap, a waistcoat, and a waistcloth. or trousers; and in cold weather a close woollen cap, a flannel waist-coat, and stockings. Out of doors he wears a cap, a turban white red or crimson according to taste, a cotton broadcloth or alpaca coat, a waistcoat with silver buttons, and a silk-bordered waistcloth or trousers. In his hand he carries a silk or cotton handkerchief, and wears either native shoes called *apashai* or sandals called *vahans*. His ceremonial dress is the same, except that it is generally white. As among Prabhus the young are taking to English-cut coats, pantaloons, and boots and shoes. Their ornaments are generally the same as those worn by middle and low class Hindus of the same rank. A rich man wears the gold earrings called *amblas* hanging from the lobes of his ears, a gold chain or *kanthi*, and gold finger rings, and carries a silver watch and chain hanging from his neck. A rich Bene-Israel's wardrobe is worth £7 to £10 (Rs.70-100). The dress of the middle class and poor Bene-Israelis is the same, only that it is of cheaper and coarser materials. Out of doors he wears a waistcoat, a waistcloth or trousers, a cap, and sometimes a turban, the whole representing 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10).

Bene-Israel women dress like Kunbis in a full robe and loose bodice passing the skirt of the robe between the feet and tucking it into the waistband behind. They do not wear black robes. The indoor dress of a woman of a rich family is a robe or *lugde*, and a loose bodice or *choli* with sleeves and back, generally of country cloth. The indoor jewelry includes head, ear, neck, and arm ornaments; widows are not allowed to wear glass bangles or the marriage lucky necklace or *mangalsutra* and nosering. In addition to the above on going out of the house, except widows who are not allowed this indulgence, the Bene-Israel woman draws over her head a shawl or silk-bordered waistcloth or *dhotar*. Except that it is costlier, the ceremonial dress of a rich woman does not differ from that worn on ordinary occasions. Her wardrobe represents £15 to £20 (Rs.150-200) and her ornaments £ 100 to £200 (Rs. 1000 - 2000). Except that her stock of clothes is smaller and that her ornaments are fewer and lighter, the indoor, outdoor, and ceremonial dress of a middle class Bene-Israel woman is the same as that of the rich. She would have from two to four changes of raiment worth altogether £7 to £10 (Rs. 70-100). The wife of a poor man borrows jewels for festive occasions, and her stock of clothes varies in value from £2 to £3 (Bs. 20-30). Up to four years of age, rich middle and poor children, both boys and girls, are dressed in a cotton cap called *teltopi*, covering the head and ears and tied under the chin, or a gold embroidered skullcap or *golva*, a short-sleeved frock, and a piece of cloth called *balote*, both rolled round the waist and tucked in front. Between four and seven, both boys and girls wear indoors a waistcoat, and out of doors a cap waistcoat and trousers. Between seven and ten, boys wear indoors a cap, a waistcoat, and either a waistband *langoti*, or trousers, and out of doors a cap, a coat, trousers, and native shoes. Girls, either at home or out of doors, wear a bodice or waistcoat and a petticoat. As it grows up a child's dress comes to cost as much as an adult's. For a boy the yearly expenditure in a rich family varies from about £5 to £10 (Its. 50-100) in a middle class family from about £2 to £4 (Rs. 20-40); and in a poor family from about £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 -20). For a girl in a rich family the expenditure varies from £4 to £7 (Rs. 40 - 70); in a middle class family from about £2 10s. to £3 10s. (Rs. 25-35); and in a poor family from 10s. to £1 (Rs. 5-10). A rich man's children have a full stock of ornaments; and few middle class or poor families are altogether without jewelry.



## **Condition.**

Though somewhat quarrelsome and revengeful the Bene-Israels are a well-behaved and valuable class, hardworking, sober, loyal and well-to-do. They are pensioned soldiers and hospital assistants, clerks, carpenters, masons, stationers, and moneylenders. As writers in Government offices, they draw monthly salaries of £1 10s. to £20 (Rs. 15 - 200), as pensioners 8s. to £13 (Rs. 4 - 130 and as masons and carpenters 10s. to £4 (Rs. 5 - 40) a month. On the whole the Bene-Israels are well-to-do. They are rather fond of drinking and their costly ceremonies and feasts force them into debt. Still they are vigorous hardworking and prosperous. They have no professional beggars. All their destitute are relieved by private charity or from the Poona Benevolent Society's fund.

## **Religion.**

The Bene-Israels worship one God and use no images. In their synagogues they have manuscript copies of the Old Testament and consider it of divine authority. [When worn out, their manuscripts are buried or sunk in deep water. Their loss is mourned as the death of a man.] They preach their religion only to people of their own tribe. The essence of their faith is given in the Hebrew sentence, The Lord our God He is one Lord. [Deuteronomy, vi, 4.] All through life this text is in the Bene-Israel's mouth When he repeats it, he touches the right eye with the right thumb the left eye with the little finger, and the forehead with the three middle fingers. Besides the belief in one God, the Bene-Israel confession of faith includes thirteen articles: That God is the Creator and Governor of the universe; that He was, is, and will be their only God; that He is without form and without change that He is the beginning and end of all things; that He alone should be worshipped; that the Old Testament is the only true Scriptures: that Moses excelled all the prophets, and that his laws should be obeyed; that the law in their possession is the same law as was given by God to Moses; that it will never change; that God knows all men and understands their works; that God will reward just and will punish the unjust; that the promised Messiah is to come; and that the dead will rise and glorify Him.

The Bene-Israel's have two kinds of years, a civil year and a religious year. The civil year begins from the month of *Tishri* in September, from the first of which they date the creation of the world. [The Bene-Israel's era is the creation B. C. 3671.] The religious year begins from *Nissan* which generally falls in March and is said to mark the date when the Israelites left Egypt. The names of the days or *yome* of the week are: *Rishon* or Sunday, *Sheni* or Monday, *Shalishi* or Tuesday, *Rebiyi* or Wednesday, *Hamishi* or Thursday, *Shishi* or Friday, and *Shabiyi Shabbath* or Saturday. They calculate by lunar months. There are twelve months in the year, each month with twenty-nine to thirty days. [The day of the new moon is called the first of the month. It is not observed by them unless it falls on a Sunday, when they keep it both in their houses and in the synagogue repeating prayers. From the fifth to the ninth of the month, when the moon is seen to increase, they read prayers standing on their toes and facing the moon.] Every third year an additional month called *Be-Adar* or the second *Adar* is added which always falls after the *Adar* month. The names of their months are: *Tishri* or September, *Heshvan* or October, *Kislev* or November, *Tebet* or December, *Shebath* or January, *Adar* or February, *Nissan* or March, *Iyar* or April, *Sivan* or May, *Tammuj* or June, *Ab* or July, and *Elul* or August. The following fasts and feasts are observed by the Bene-Israel's: The first month *Tishri* falls in September and has thirty days. On the first of this month the world was created. The feasts that fall in this month are: 1. *Rosh Hosana*, or the new year's day; 2. *Som Gadalya*, or the fast of the new year; 3. *Kippur*, or the atonement day; and 4. *Sukoth*, or the tabernacle feast. *Rosh Hosana* is known under four names: (1) the new year's day, (2) the day of remembrance, [The name Day of remembrance is given that people may remember the prophets before God, be saved from sin, and admitted into heaven.] (3) the judgment day, [The name Judgment Day is given because on this day God judges the dead. The names of the righteous are written in the book of life, and of the unholy in the book of death. Those whose good and bad actions are equal are kept till the day of judgment in order to allow them time to repent and be enrolled in the book of life.] and (4) the trumpet-blowing day. [It is the Trumpet blowing Day because the trumpet is blown one hundred and one times in memory of the sheep offered instead of Isaac on mount Moriah.] The feast begins from sunset and lasts for the first two days of the month. A week or so before this day the whole house is whitewashed, new clothes are bought, and all are merry. Except that cooking is allowed the first two days are kept as sabbaths.

At three in the morning, dressed in their best, they attend the synagogue. When service is over, the congregation divides into two parties facing each other, one standing and the other sitting. Those standing read the forgiveness prayers, asking to be forgiven their sins. Those sitting say, As we forgive you, so may you be forgiven from on High. Then those that were standing sit down, and those that were sitting stand, and in their turn ask and receive forgiveness. Then they kiss each other's hands and return home, where they kiss the hands of the women of the house, and sit down to a rich feast of apples, dates, pumpkins, honey, fish, and sheep's head. Early next morning they attend service and spend the day in the same manner as the day before. *Som Gadalya*, on the third of the month, is held in remembrance of Gadalya's murder, on the anniversary of which a month before the Bene-Israels begin morning prayers. This feast is commonly known as the New Year's *Day* feast or *Navyacha Roja*, when new rice mixed with milk and sugar is eaten. Tasting this dish is said to please ancestral souls which come and sit on the house tops. They hang ears of rice on their doors. The first ten days of the month are spent in repenting and confessing sin. The sabbath that follows this festival is called the Repentance Sabbath or *Teshuba Shabbath*. During these days the Bene-Israels attend service at three in the morning, repeating the forgiveness or *selihot* prayers. The prayers last for about two hours. When they are over they kiss each other's hands and go home and sit to a dinner of sweetmeats, mutton, [If they do not get the sheep's liver, which is an important part of the dish, they use in its stead a fried egg] and liquor. They offer a prayer over each plate, smell the *sabja* and put it aside, pour liquor on the ground to satisfy their ancestors, and make a hearty meal. In the afternoon they bathe in cold water or *tebila*, plunging in seven times and repeating prayers, or pouring water on their heads seven times with bathing pots, and being struck by the minister seven times across the back with a cord. When the bath is over and before lamplight, they finish their meals. Dressing in white clothes with the women and children in their richest robes, they go to the synagogue. This is beautifully lighted, and all the law books are taken out of the ark by the elders, and portions are read. The atonement fast or *Kippur* on the tenth day is kept strictly. A few families kill a cock. They spend the day and night in confession and prayer. They blow trumpets in their houses, and shutting themselves in their houses till the evening of the next day, [ From this the day is known as the door-shutting or *dar-phalayacha san*.] they do not

talk to or even touch people of other castes. Formerly the Bene-Israelis on the atonement day worshipped the moon, kissed their hands and bowed down to it, threw towards it a few grains of rice some sandal-paste or *gandh* and *sabja* leaves, and showed it a silver or gold coin which was then laid in a box. The house lamp was also worshipped. Now they pray for the Empress of India, the Governor of Bombay, and others in authority. On the eleventh day alms are given and friends and relations feasted. On the fifteenth day the feast of *Sukoth* is celebrated which lasts seven days. A booth is built near the synagogue and covered with branches of trees and adorned with flowers and fruit, and in it the feast of Palms is celebrated. On the eighth day called *Simhat Tora* all the law books are taken out of the ark and placed on the pulpit, the people dancing and jumping round it. This goes on seven times, each time with the repetition of Hebrew verses. This is observed as a feast of great rejoicing, men women and children dancing and singing Hebrew, Muhammadan, and Marathi songs. Wine is handed round, and all is merriment and joy. The second month *Heshvan* falls in *Kartik* or October- November and has thirty days, This month has neither a fast 'nor a feast. The third month *Kislev* falls in *Margshirsh* or November-December and has thirty days. On the twenty-fifth being the eighth day of the festival of *Hanuka* or temple cleansing, they light their houses, beginning with two lamps on the first night, three on the second, and so on till the eighth when they light nine lamps and repair to the synagogue, where also lamps are lighted, and there they pray both in the morning and evening. The fourth month *Tebet* falls in *Paush* or December - January and has twenty-nine days. A fast is held on the tenth of the month. The fifth month *Shebath* falls in *Magh* or January-February and has thirty days. Blessings are invoked on the new leaves and vegetables are freely eaten. The sixth month *Adar* falls in *Phalgun* or February -March and has twenty-nine days. On the thirteenth a fast is held and the fourteenth is a great feast day. All Bene-Israelis go to the synagogue to hear the story of Lot or *Megilla* read. The seventh month *Nissan* falls in *Chaitra* or March-April and has thirty days. The festival of the Passover begins on the fourteenth. On the first two days the Bene-Israelis use rice bread mixed with vegetables and during the next six days rice bread alone. On the first day they eat the right leg of a goat and while praying drink wine freely. The twenty-third of this month is called *Jimbag*, and is spent as a day of rejoicing. On the first and the last two days of the month prayers are repeated in the synagogues. On the thirtieth in every household all metal and

glass pots are sunk in water. If this is not done they are thought unfit for use. The first born, whether male or female, fasts on this day. The eighth month *Iyar* falls in *Vaishakh* or April- May and has twenty-nine days. In this month falls the second Passover, observed by those only who could not keep the first. The ninth month *Sivan* falls in *Jeshth* or May-June and has thirty days. The feast begins on the sixth of the month. It is kept for two days in memory of God's gift of the law to Moses, the people remaining awake at the synagogue during the night praying. The tenth month *Tammuz* falls in *A'shadh* or June-July and has twenty-nine days. The seventeenth is kept as a fast in memory of the breaking of the tables of the law by Moses. The eleventh month *Ab* falls in *Shravan* or July-August and has thirty days. On the ninth the Bene-Israel's fast on account of the destruction of their temple at Jerusalem. They eat only wet pulse or *valbirde*, do not wear the surplice, sit on the floor of the synagogue, cover the law boxes with black cloth, and hold it as a day of deep mourning. The twelfth month *Elul* falls in *Bhadrapad* or August-September and has twenty-nine days. The people fast and attend the synagogue for prayers before dawn.

### **Customs.**

The chief rites are marriage, birth, circumcision, a girl's coming of age, and death. The marriage ceremonies are quite as important and complicated as among Hindus and have a special interest from the curious mixture of Hindu and Jewish customs.

### **Marriage.**

When the boy's family fix to ask a certain girl in marriage, they send one of their nearest kinsmen and one of their nearest kinswomen to make the offer. At the girl's house the kinsman sits outside with the men of the house and the kinswoman sits inside with the women of the house. After general talk the messengers make an offer for the girl's hand. Her parents consult together and either accept or refuse, or, if there is some question as to the amount of dowry she should bring or the value of the ornaments she should receive, they put off their decision till the point is settled. A day or two after the two families have come to an agreement, the boy's father goes to the headman's or *mukadam's* house, tells him of the



agreement, and asks him to call the girl's father to fix the settlement day or *betavan*. The girl's father comes, and the same evening is generally fixed for the settlement. Guests are called, many or few according to the parties' means, and about seven in the evening meet at the headman's house. The headman tells the elders or *mankaris* the object of the meeting, and one of the elders explains to the guests the marriage that is proposed, and charges them if they know of any objection to declare it. If no one raises an objection, the headman fixes dates for the marriage and other observances, so that all may fall between one Saturday evening and the next Friday noon. He tells the parents how many dinners they should give, and how much they should pay to the synagogue. [Generally if the boy's parents give the synagogue £3 10s. to £4 (Rs. 35 - 40) and the girl's parents £1 10s. to £2 (Rs. 15- 20) they need give no caste dinners.] Then, at the boy's father's expense, liquor is brought in, and with some grains of parched gram or rice, is handed to the minister who blesses the cup and drinks it. The headman, his assistants or *chaugulas*, and the fathers drink next, and when the whole party have drunk, the minister asks a blessing, and the company, after eating betelnut and smoking tobacco, go to their homes.

### **Sugar-eating.**

Two to eight days later comes the sugar-eating or *sakarpuda*. About seven in the morning male and female guests meet at the boy's. When the elders are seated the father places before them, covered with a handkerchief, a metal plate full of sugar or molasses with a gold or silver ring hid in it. The bridegroom richly dressed, with a boy on either side holding lighted candles and repeating Hebrew texts, [The texts are: A true law hath God given to His people by the hand of His prophet, who was faithful in his house. God will never alter nor change His law for any other. He beholdeth and knoweth all our secrets; for He vieweth the end of a thing at its beginning. He rewardeth the pious man according to his works and punisheth the wicked according to his wickedness. At the end of days will He send our Anointed, to redeem those who hope for the accomplishment of his salvation. God in His great mercy will revive the dead; blessed be His glorious name, praised for ever more. These are the thirteen main articles of our faith. They are the foundations of the decree of God and His law.] is led to the door and set on a richly habited horse, and the party form into a procession with

musicians playing in front of them and go to the girl's. At the girl's they are met and led into the house, where the girl richly dressed is seated on a chair or stool covered with white cloth. When the boy has been brought in and made to stand facing the girl the minister asks the girl's father and the elders if the guests may eat sugar. When the girl's father says they may, the minister, picking the ring out of the sugar, hands it to the boy, and asks the girl to give the boy her right hand. The boy thrice repeats the words, Behold thou art sanctified unto me by this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel, and gradually draws the ring on the first finger of the girl's right hand. Then, in accordance with the minister's instructions, the boy drops sugar into the girl's mouth, and sits facing her on a low wooden stool. She then drops sugar into his mouth and is led into the inner room where the women are. After some sugar and liquor the girl's father gives the guests a feast generally of rice and mutton and rice and sweetened cocoanut milk, they return to the boy's house, and after more sugar and betelnut go to their homes.

### **Rice-Washing.**

About two days before the marriage, both at the bride's and bridegroom's houses, five bridesmaids or *karavalis* are called, and after being treated to molasses betelnut and tobacco, take baskets of rice to the well and wash it, amusing themselves by throwing the water at each other. In the evening they come back. Liquor and tobacco are served to them, and, singing Marathi songs, they smear the handmill with turmeric, tie mango leaves round it, and grind all the rice into flour. Meanwhile at both the houses other preparations go on. Supplies of rice, sugar, oil, molasses, spices, firewood, a sheep or two, liquor, clothes, and ornaments are laid in, and in some cases marriage booths are built. [The practice of building booths is dying out.]

### **Turmeric-Rubbing.**

Early in the morning of the day before the wedding, the boy's parents, or some members of his family, go with music, to ask their friends to come to the turmeric-rubbing. The women guests come about one, the boy is seated on a cot in a front room, and seven married women or unmarried girls with much

joking and romping rub him with turmeric. The boy who has now the brightness of God or *khudai nur*, upon him, may not leave the house, and is placed under the charge of two unmarried men of his family who are constantly with him eating, drinking, and sleeping by his side. When the turmeric-rubbing is finished a few unmarried girls tie the marriage crown or *shera* to the boy's brow. [The marriage crown is made of beads of sandalwood powder or of paper. It is given to the boy by his relations. Sometimes a boy gets several of them, and they are interwoven by his father with silver chains or false pearls. The ancient Jews crowned the married couple. The husband's crown was of salt and sulphur to remind him, it is said, of Sodom and so incline him to cleave to his wife and avoid uncleanness. Basnage, 472. The original choice of salt and of sulphur there seems little doubt was because they were great spirit-scarers.] After tying the marriage crown the women take the rest of the turmeric to the bride's house, rub her with it, and bathe her. On their return the boy is bathed and given a meal. Betelnut and leaves are handed round and the guests retire. They come back about seven, serve cooked rice and milk, fetch henna, and, seating the boy on a cot, paste henna over his hands and feet and tie them in cloth. They then go to the girl's house, and after rubbing her hands and feet with henna, go back to the boy's, eat a more or less sumptuous meal, and go home.

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### **Ancestral Dinner.**

Next morning the boy's and girl's hands and feet are washed and friends called to the ancestral dinner or *nith*. The bride's family are specially invited, and with the elders and office-bearers of the caste, are seated on a white cloth in the marriage hall. A brass dish, filled with wheat cakes, pieces of rice bread, sugar, cocoa-kernel, cooked rice, goat's liver, hemp, *sabja* leaves, a glass of liquor, and a piece of bread with a little molasses, is set in the midst of the assembly on a folded white cloth. At the headman's request, the preacher, after praying in Hebrew for about a quarter of an hour, distributes the contents of the dish among the guests. A great dinner follows. After the dinner the girl's relations leave, and soon after invite the boy's family to their house where a second feast is given.

## Shaving.

About two in the afternoon the boy is seated on a cot and his head is shaved by a barber, [This custom has lately been stopped.] While the shaving goes on, the boy's relations wave copper coins round his head and throw them to one side. After the boy's the heads of his father and of his two guardians are shaved, and the barber is paid 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* (Rs.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ) besides the coins waved about the boy. The boy his father and the two guardians are rubbed with cocoa-milk and spices and bathed, and the boy is dressed in fresh clothes. At the girl's a woman bangle-hawker is called in, draws three or four green glass bangles round the girl's and some of the other women's wrists, and is given rice cocoanuts and 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* (Rs.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ) in money.

## Present-Making.

About five in the evening men and women guests begin to drop in at the boy's house. As they come they are seated, the men in the marriage hall and the women in the house. In the house two plates are filled, one with a robe and bodice and ornaments either of gold or silver, five pounds of sugar, five almonds, five dates, and five betelnuts. In the other plate are five pounds of molasses, a cotton robe worth 10*s.* to £1 (Rs. 5-10), a cotton bodice worth 4*s.* to 6*s.* (Rs. 2-3), silver ornaments, and almonds and other articles as in the first plate. Both plates are covered with silk handkerchiefs brought into the marriage hall and set in the midst of the guests. Ten of the guests, some of them men and some of them women and one elder, taking the plates on men's shoulders go with music to the girl's house, and the men sit in the marriage hall with the plates before them, and the women inside with the women of the house. A low wooden stool spread with a white sheet is placed near the plates, and the girl is brought out by her father and seated on the stool, her father sitting behind her. The girl's relations are called to see the presents or *baris*, and when they come, about four or five of the boy's relations remove the handkerchief from the first plate. They examine the ornaments and the robe and the bodice, and if they are not satisfied with their value, quarrels arise that can be stopped only by the gift of more valuable presents. When this is arranged one of the boy's relations drops a little sugar into the girl's and her father's mouths, and the ornaments and clothes are presented to her. After the second plate has been presented in the same way the

girl is taken into the house and dressed in her new clothes by the women of the family. The boy's relations return to his father's house, and after a light meal the boy is dressed in silk trousers, along robe or *jama* with a dagger or *khanjir* at the waist, a turban, a shoulder-cloth or *dupeta*, and shoes. [During the five marriage days the bride and bridegroom are very Careful always to carry about the dagger. It is believed to keep off evil spirits.] In his hands he holds a tinsel-covered cocoanut, a silk handkerchief, and flower wreaths and gold ornaments encircle his neck, waist, arms, and fingers. On his brow is tied the marriage crown or *shera*, and long flower garlands cover him from head to foot. As he comes out of the house the guests stand up, and, repeating texts, lead him out side and seat him on a richly decked horse. At starting they either break a hen's egg under the horse's right forefoot or dash a cocoanut on the ground in front of him, and forming a procession start for the synagogue. [It there is no synagogue the procession goes to the girl's house.] Meanwhile the girl, richly dressed and covered with jewels with a shawl over her head, and with music and nine or ten women and one or two men, has been brought to the synagogue and seated on a chair facing the east covered with a white cloth. When he arrives the boy is led with the singing of songs into the synagogue and made to stand facing the girl, and the hems of their garments are tied together. Behind them on chairs, covered with a white cloth, sit their fathers and near kinsmen, their clothes also tied together. The rest of the male guests sit or stand in other parts of the synagogue and the women sit out side in the veranda. When all are in their places, the beadle asks the guests if they agree to the marriage and they answer they agree. The boy covers the girl with his flower garland and ties the marriage coronet or *shera* on her brow. The minister repeats Hebrew texts and the boy, standing in front of the girl, with a silver cup in his hand containing a silver ring and grape juice, looking towards the guests says, With your leave I perform the ceremony. The guests answer, With God's leave. The boy goes on: And with our elders's leave do I perform this ceremony. The guests again say, With God's leave. The boy exclaims, Praise be to the Lord for His goodness to us. The guests: And for His infinite mercy. The boy: May joy increase among the children of Israel. The guests: And may it spread in Jerusalem. The boy, May the holy temple be again built and may the prophets Ehjah and Moses come and gladden the hearts of the people of Israel. Blessed art Thou O Lord, King of the Universe, that created the fruit of the vine. Blessed art Thou O Lord, King of the Universe, who hath



sanctified us with Thy commandments, who hast forbidden fornication, and restrained us from the betrothed, but hath permitted us those who are married to us by means of the canopy and wedlock. Blessed art thou Lord who sanctifieth Israel by means of the canopy of wedlock. Thou *Rebecca* the daughter of *Mr. Awn Samuel* art betrothed and married unto me *Joseph David* the son of *Mr. David Benjamin* by this cup and by this silver ring that is kept in the glass of wine and by all that is under my authority in the presence of these witnesses and masters according to the law of Moses and Israel. Praised be the Lord who created the fruit of the vine and suffered men and women to be joined in wedlock. Looking towards the girl and calling her by her name he says: You have been betrothed and married to me, by this cup whose wine you shall drink, by the silver in the cup, and by all that belongs to me I wed thee before these witnesses and priest, in accordance with the laws of Moses and of the Israelites. He then drinks all the wine and says twice over: By this you are being wed to me, and then bending pours the rest of the wine, not leaving a single drop in the glass, into the girl's mouth. Then taking the ring he holds the girl's right hand, and pushing the ring over the tip of her first finger says: See you are married to me by this ring according to the law of Moses and the Israelites. After this has been thrice repeated, he takes a tumbler with some wine in it, and a necklace of gold and black beads, puts the necklace round the girl's neck, drinks some wine, and pouring the rest into her mouth, dashes the glass to pieces on the floor. [Some say the breaking of the glass typifies the frailty of life and others that it is done to remind the people of the destruction of Jerusalem. The original reason probably was to prevent the glass falling into the hands of a magician.] Then the priest reads the written covenant or *ketuba*. [In some places the reading of the marriage covenant forms the whole of the ceremony. The marriage covenant generally runs: This ceremony is being performed by people of good mark, in a good season, in a lucky hour, in the name of the Great Merciful One, whose name is exalted, who is worthy of the greatness, who is greater than all blessings and praise. May the communication between the bride and bridegroom and between the assembled congregation find favour with Him. And may the bridegroom be gladdened joyful and merry, may he receive final salvation, may he be kept from evil and may he be freed, and may his vows be fulfilled. ' May both the bride and the bridegroom be joyful and pleasant, be fruitful and multiply; may they live happily together and prosper. He who has gained a wife has gained what is best, and

has received grace from God's house. Riches are handed down from one's father, a wise wife is a gift from God. May your wife be as the fruitful vine by the side of your house and your children round your table like the *Jayitt*. Behold the man who fears God receives such blessings. May God bless you from Sion that all the days of your life you may wish well for Jerusalem, and wish contentment among the people of Israel with your children's children. In this city of *Poona* on the river which flows into the great sea and in the year (name of the year), month (name of the month), and day (name of the day), according to our calculation of the creation, *Benjamin Daud* the handsome bachelor, the son of the honourable gentleman *Mr. Aaron Daud* asked the maid *Rebecca*, who is as the roe and a crown of beauty, the daughter of the honourable gentleman *Mr. Abraham Solomon* to be his wife according to the law of Moses and Israel. Saying, as among the people of Israel men supply their wives with food and rich clothes by working and living in love with them, I will by the help of God furnish you with food and clothes by working and living with you in love. And I give you two hundred *juji* which are equal to the twenty-five *juji* of pure silver, being the value of your virginity. And I will give you food, clothes, and whatever is necessary for you, and will live with you according to the way of the world. As the virgin bride *Rebecca* has agreed to be his wife, and as the above mentioned bridegroom has taken from her in his own hands and has kept in his possession the dowry of the ornaments of silver and gold and of clothes of the value of £15 (Rs. 150) which she has brought from her father's house to the house of her husband, lie has kept the dowry with him as a debt and as goods like sheep and iron. This is the profit or loss that may arise from it. Besides this the bridegroom *Benjamin Daud* gives her, by his own will £13 (Rs. 130) more as consideration for the covenant. So the rupees of the dowry and the additional rupees together amount to £28 (Rs. 280). The above mentioned bridegroom *Benjamin Daud* said to us, The responsibility of this marriage covenant is on me and my children. I agree to it, and after me this must be paid from the best of my properties. The responsibility and the claim of this marriage deed is on the goods that I may have bought, and that I shall buy in future, and over that which has risk in it, and even on the cost on my back and that is also included in it. According to the custom and rule of the wise, whose memory is blessed, the responsibility of this marriage deed is as the responsibility of those marriage deeds of the daughters of Israel, that have been in practice from the times of old down to the present time. This is not

merely as a certificate or a copy. All sorts of right in the world over it are void. In the questions of heritage all must be done according to the custom of the country.

At this point the reader of the covenant stops for a short time; the signatures of witnesses are taken. The minister says God commands that he who marries shall feed his wife well, clothe her, and perform the duty of marriage. The bridegroom says All these I will do. After the signatures are taken the reader goes on, And we the undersigned witnesses have in a right manner made the above mentioned bridegroom *Benjamin Daud* swear to what is written and said in this; and all this is fair, clear, true, and steadfast.

Witnesses, at least two. \_\_\_\_\_ The  
signature of the bridegroom.

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The signature of the reader.

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] Before reading the last sentence he takes the fringes of the four corners of the boy's veil or *sisith*, and says thrice ever: God commands that he who marries shall feed his wife well, clothe her, and perform the duty of marriage. All these the boy promises to fulfill. Then the guests invoke a blessing, and the boy signs' the paper in the presence of two witnesses and the minister. [The witnesses are chosen by the girl's father. They

ask the boy whether he approves of them as witnesses.] The minister reads the last sentence of the marriage covenant, signs it, and rolling it up hands it to the boy, who delivers it to the girl, saying Take this marriage covenant, henceforth all that belongs to me is yours. She takes it in her open hands, and makes it over to her father. The guests then sing a song in praise of God, with whose will the ceremony was performed, and in praise of the bride and bridegroom. The minister then takes a glass of wine and repeats the seven following blessings, Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who created the fruit of the vine. Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hath created every thing for Thy glory. Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hath formed man. Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hath formed man in the likeness of Thy form, and prepared for him a like form of everlasting fabric. Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, who formeth man. She who was barren shall rejoice and delight at the gathering of her children unto her with joy. Blessed art Thou O Lord, who causeth him to rejoice with her children. Ye shall surely rejoice ye loving companions as your Creator caused your forefathers to rejoice in the garden of Eden. Blessed art Thou O Lord, who causeth the bridegroom and bride to rejoice. Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hath created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, love and brotherhood, delight and pleasure, peace and friendship. Speedily, O Lord our God, let there be heard in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the voice of merriment of the bridegrooms at their marriage feasts and the music of youth. Blessed art Thou O Lord who causeth the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride and causeth them to prosper. The minister then repeats three texts. At the end of the third text, the guests clap their hands, and the musicians catching the sound beat their drums. When the music is over the boy is seated on the right of the girl on another chair and wine is banded to all present. The minister, putting his right band on their heads, blesses the boy first and then the girl. He takes almonds betelnuts and other things from one of the plates, fills the girl's lap with them, and a relation, either of the boy or the girl, presents the minister with almonds, betelnuts, and other articles from the other plate.

## Gift-making or Aher

Next comes the gift-making or *aher*. [The presents are ornaments, clothes, and money. When cash presents are made the minister is paid 1½*d.* (1 *a.*) by each giver and the giver is not allowed to go until he pays it.] The girl's mother hands the minister a gold ring worth 8*s.* to £1 (Rs.4-10). The minister calls out for name, names the present, and, putting a little sugar into the boy's month, hands the ring to the boy. Others follow, each man or woman going to the minister whispers in his ear his or her name, and hands him the present. The minister calls out the giver's name, states what the present is, and putting a little sugar into the giver's mouth makes the gift over to the boy. When all the boy's presents are received, the girl's relations come forward, and in the same way through the minister make presents to the girl. In the same way the boy's and girl's fathers make presents to their relations ending with a special present of a shilling or two to the guests for leave to untie the knot that fastens the hems of the bride's and bridegroom's garments. The rest of the sugar is handed round or is melted in water and drunk. Then the boy and girl leaving their places are taken to a table, and blessed by the minister, laying 2*s.* to 10*s.* (Rs. 1 - 5) on the table. While the guests sing, the boy and the girl walk round the table and kiss the *torn* or roll of the law. When they come near the steps of the synagogue, the singing stops, and the boy is set on the horse and the girl taken away either in a palanquin or a carriage. The procession then starts with lighted torches music and fireworks to the girl's house. At the girl's house her brother, standing near the door, drops a little sugar into the boy's month, hands him a cocoanut, and squeezes his right ear. The boy gives him a cocoanut and he goes back into the house. Then the girl's relations, helping the boy and girl to alight, tie the hems of their garments, and walking together side by side they go and stand in front of the house steps. An elderly woman brings a handful of cooked rice or *ambat* at in a dish, and waving it round their heads throws the rice into the street. Then, with singing, the boy and girl are taken into the house and seated side by side, the women guests follow the pair, and the men sit in the marriage hall. In the house the women relations of the girl with their husbands wash both the boy's and girl's feet, the husbands pouring the water and the wives washing the feet. When their feet are washed, between eleven and twelve, the boy is led into the marriage hall and feasted with the men, while the girl feasts with the women in the house. When the feast is over betelnut and tobacco are handed round and the guests



take their leave. After they are gone the bridesmaids lead the boy and girl to a separate room where they pass the night. [Among the old Jews this would seem to have been one of the duties of the groomsman.] Next morning, the third day, the boy and girl bathe, and, dressing in their marriage clothes, are seated face to face on a sheet. About eight some cocoa or cow's milk with sugar is brought and they feed one another. Two hours later guests begin to come, the boy's friends are sent for, and a meal of rice, split peas, dry-fish, vegetables, and pickles is served. After the meal is over most of the men leave and the rest, sitting with the boy and girl in the marriage hall, watch the boy and girl biting pieces of betel-leaf and cocoa-kernel out of each other's mouths. Other married couples, even old men and women, do the same, and the morning passes in much merriment. Then the older people retire, and till about four the children play at odds and evens, or hide and seek. About four, with the singing of special songs, the girl's hair is combed and dressed with flowers, and her wedding robes are put on. A kinswoman leads the bride's mother and seats her near the girl, and while scoffing songs are sung, her hair is combed, and with much laughter and mockery decked with paper and tinsel ornaments. After the amusement has gone on for an hour or so they retire into the house. In the evening, when the guests begin to come, her mother fills the girl's lap with almonds betelnuts and dates, and gives the boy a silk handkerchief and a gold or silver ring. Five married Women touch the boy's knees shoulders and head with grains of rice, the boy and girl stand facing the women, and the boy bows low to each, and is given a silk handkerchief. Then the boy and the girl pass through the marriage hall, where the girl's father has been entertaining some guests, and with songs are led out and the boy is set on horseback, and the girl with her maids of honour or *karavlis* is carried in a palanquin or carriage. A big silk umbrella is held over the boy and on either side a silver' fan and a fly-flap, and to pacify evil spirits a cocoanut is broken or an egg is smashed under the horse's right forefoot. [This custom has lately been given up.] The procession moves on to the synagogue with music, lighted torches, and fireworks. [The expense '2s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. 1 - 1¼) of lighting the synagogue is borne by the girl's father.] At the synagogue door they begin to sing and the boy and girl are taken in and made to stand near the table before the law scrolls or *safar tolas*. The girl's father lays 2s. to 10s. (Rs. 1-5) on the table and the minister, placing his right hand first on the boy's and afterwards on the girl's head, blesses them. The boy and girl pass round the table, kiss the law scroll,

and with songs are led out and the procession moves on to the boy's house. [If the boy belongs to another village a feast is given.] At the marriage hall door some slay a goat, [The carcass of the goat is not eaten but thrown on the street to satisfy evil spirits. This is not now practised by the Bene-Israelis.] and sprinkle a line of blood from the marriage hall to the house door, for the boy and girl to walk along. When the guests are met a sheet is spread and the boy's father and mother are seated on it side by side. Then the boy is set on his father's lap, and while the girl is being seated on his mother's lap, the boy says to his parents, Take this your wealth. Then the boy's kinswomen wash the boy's and girl's feet, the boy presenting them with 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 - 2). After a dinner to the men in the marriage hall and to the women in the house the guests withdraw.

#### **Fourth Day**

About seven next morning, the fourth day, in the girl's house, after some biting of betel-leaf and games of chance, the boy and girl are set on two low wooden stools and bathed in cold water by five or seven married women. The boy leans over the girl, and, filling his mouth with water blows it in spray over her face, and she in the same way blows spray over his feet. [The boy blows water on the girl's mouth that she may not be talkative, and the girl blows water on the boy's feet to show he is her lord. The root idea is to blow off evil, water and blowing being both modes of spirit-scaring. As in other cases a happy symbolic explanation has saved a custom.] After the bath the boy and girl dress with the greatest haste, vying with each other who shall be dressed first. Relations present the boy's and girl's mothers with robes and bodices, and the boy and girl are led into the house and a feast is given. [This is a rich meat feast. If money has been paid into the synagogue fund, only relations stay for it; if no money has been paid all the guests must be entertained.]

#### **Fifth Day**

Next morning, the fifth day, the boy and girl bathe in hot water and feed one another. In the afternoon they are dressed and the boy asks his wife to lend him one of her ornaments to treat his friends to a cup of liquor. She hesitates, asks her

people, and after some delay gives him an ornament. The boy takes a party of friends and goes to his nearest relation's house, where a boy is dressed in woman's clothes. After some time the girl with some other women starts in search of her husband. When they are heard coming near the house the bridegroom hands the ornament to the boy in woman's clothes and all lie down, cover themselves with mats, and pretend to sleep. Presently the girl comes in and seeing her husband calls him, and shakes him, but he does not move. She searches for the ornament, and not finding it searches the boy in woman's dress. When she finds it she charges her with theft. The boy-woman denies that she is a thief and declares that she is a prostitute and that she got the ornament from the bridegroom as a present. When the girl hears this she asks the woman to let her and her husband go and promises to pay her all her dues. Then the master of the house entertains them, and they return to the girl's. When they reach the house the girl's sister stands at the door and refuses to let them in till her brother-in-law promises to give his first daughter in marriage to her son. He refuses, she persists, and in the end he agrees. This is only a form the agreement is seldom carried out.

### **Sixth Day**

Next day, the sixth, after bathing dressing and feeding, the girl is sent to draw water. When she comes back she asks her mother-in-law to help her to put down the waterpot. The mother-in-law is too busy and tells her son to help his wife. He lifts down the waterpot and the girl carries it to the cookroom. The rest of the day passes in biting betel-leaf and playing at odds and evens. In the evening about seven the boy and girl are rubbed with cocoa-milk, bathed in warm water, and led to the cookroom, and the girl bakes in oil ten or twelve pulse cakes or *vadas*. When they are ready the boy takes the cakes out of the pan and going into the outer room, he and the girl sit facing his father and mother. A married woman takes the marriage ornaments or *shera* off the boy's and girl's brows, and, after being for a few minutes bound round the brows of the boy's parents, they are thrown into water or fastened to the rafter of the house roof. The day closes with a supper.

## Seventh Day

Next day, the seventh, the girl's mother comes to the boy's house and asks the family to dine with them. [According to custom when one of the marriage families asks another to dine with them the minister must always bring some gift however small] They go, and are feasted. In the evening the girl and the boy are taken to the cookroom, and the girl makes rice-balls, fills them with cocoanut scrapings and molasses, and boils them. When they are ready the boy and girl pick five or six out with their own fingers. At the evening meal the girl's mother presents the boy either with a silk handkerchief or a gold or silver ring. Early next morning, the eighth, the boy and girl, with a few relations, are sent to the boy's home. They are then taken to the houses of such of their relations as were not able to be present at the wedding, and to the houses of friends and neighbours of other castes to whom sugar presents were not made during the wedding days. Besides this, which is the last of the marriage ceremonies, two dinners, called *mamjevan* and *vyahijevan*, are given within a month the first by the boy's father and the second by the girl's. A son's marriage costs a Bene-Israel £20 to £50 (Rs. 200 - 500) and a daughter's £10 to £20 (Rs. 100-200). Among Bene-Israelis a second wife may be married if the first is barren; if her children have died; if all her children are girls; if the husband dislikes his first wife; if her father refuse to sent his daughter to her husband; or if the wife runs away.

## Birth

After the rites during the seventh or eighth month of her first pregnancy, of which details are given below, the young wife, who is often not more than fourteen, is taken home by her mother. She is fed daintily and decked With flowers and rich clothes. A midwife, who is generally a woman known to the mother's family, attends her, and when the girl's time comes is called in. The girl is taken to a warm room, and one or two of the elder women of the family gather round her. As soon as the child is born, if it is a boy a metal plate or *thali* is rung, and cold water is sprinkled over the infant. Till the mother is washed and laid on a cot, the babe is allowed to lie in a winnowing fan. It is then washed in warm water, the navel-cord is cut, its head is squeezed to give it a proper shape, its nose is pulled straight, and its ears are bent. If a woman has lost any children the right nostril is bored, that if he is a boy the child may look like a girl

and if it is a girl her left nostril is bored that she may look ugly or *khodlele*. The child is bound in swaddling clothes, laid beside its mother generally to her right, and to ward off evil spirits a knife is placed under its pillow. The words Adam and Eve away from hence, or Lileth Adam's first wife, are sometimes engraved on a silver plate and hung round a child's neck. Word is sent to the child's father, and the midwife retires with a present of 1s. to 2s. 6d. (Rs. ½-1¼), a pound of rice, and a cocoanut. A dim brass lamp is kept burning near the child's face, and, for the rest of the day, except a few dates and a little cocoa-kernel and liquor the mother generally fasts in the name of the earth or *dharitri*. For three days she is fed on wheat paste mixed with butter and molasses, and for forty days she drinks hot water, and after the fourth day she is fed with chicken broth and rice. For seven days she does not leave her bedroom without tying a handkerchief round her head and ears, throwing a blanket over her shoulders, and wearing sandals or *vahans*. Every evening the babe is rubbed with turmeric, mixed with rice flour and the white of an egg, and bathed in hot water. Before drying the child, the midwife, to overcome the evil eye, takes water in a metal pot, and waving it thrice round the child, empties it on her own feet. [Bene-Israelis believe that the evil eye of jealousy harms a child if it is seen feeding or wearing good clothes. To overcome the evil eye they go either to a midwife or to some wise woman of their own caste. There are two kinds of evil eye, the dry or *suki* and the wet or *oli*. To overcome the dry evil eye the child is bathed in the evening and seated on a low wooden stool, and a woman, taking some salt and ashes in her hands, waves them fifteen to twenty times from the child's head to his feet muttering charms or *mantras*. She throws the salt and ashes into an oven, and, taking a pinch of ashes, touches the child's brow and the sole of the child's left foot. If the salt thrown into the oven crackles she says the evil eye was very strong and abuses the person whose sight had fallen on the child. To overcome the wet or *oli* evil eye, against which the salt and ash cure is powerless, the child is seated on a low wooden stool and is given a little salt, some grains of rice and turmeric, and told to chew them. The woman places two pots near, one with fire and the other with water, and takes in her left hand a shoe, a winnowing fan, a broom, and a knife, and asks the child to spit what is in its mouth over the fire. She pours the fire into the waterpot and waves it from the child's head downwards muttering charms. The evil eye is also cured by hanging to the child's neck a metal or cloth box or *thavij*, about an inch square, with a piece of paper scribed over by a sorcerer. This box not



only heals the sick and devil-ridden, but kills enemies, gives children to barren women, work to the idle, and to every one their special wish. According to the sorcerer's name for skill the box varies in price from a farthing or two to as many pounds. Ministers as well as sorcerers give these charms.]

During the first day the child is fed by giving it to suck a cloth soaked in coriander juice and honey. The second day it is fed on goat's milk, and it is given the breast from the third day. To keep off evil spirits lines of ashes are drawn outside of the mother's room. News is sent to relations and friends, and they come to greet the mother, bringing small presents of cloves and nutmeg. The guests are offered sugar betelnut and leaves, and after smoking a pipe of tobacco, retire.

### Third Day

In the afternoon of the third day the ceremony called *tikhondi* is performed. The mother fasts and a girl from the house starts to call women relations and friends. The guests begin to come between one and two. A lighted brass lamp and a plate with a mixture called *suthora* of dry ginger, turmeric, garlic, molasses, bishop's weed or *ova*, and cocoa scrapings, is prepared and placed before the guests. The mother is bathed and with the child in her arms is seated in the middle of the guests. The lighted lamp is brought before her and she kisses it. Then one of the elderly women, to satisfy the spirits called *chari bori* takes the plate in her hand and throws a little of the contents into each corner of the room. Songs are sung, and each of the guests is given some of the mixture and withdraws.

### Fifth Day

On the fifth day, in honour of *panchvi* or the spirit of the fifth, girls go round calling women friends and relations. The guests begin to drop in between one and two, bringing cocoanuts for the mother. As they come they are met by the elderly women of the house and seated on mats near the mother's room. When the guests have arrived, amid the din of music, the mother takes the infant in her arms, and holding in her right hand the knife that cut the navel cord, the *karav* [*Karav is a long and slender tree used in paling and fence work.*] stick on which the

navel cord was cut, and a prickly pear or *nilgut* twig, sits on a low wooden stool in the middle of the guests. An elderly woman brings a brass lamp with five lighted wicks, and on the lower part of the lamp the mother places the knife, the stick, and the twig. She takes a few grains of rice, lays some near the knife, and throws the rest about her. She holds both her ears, and three five or seven times kisses the lamp, muttering to herself the prayer *Me thene*, that is Two children in three years, repeated three five or seven times. Then the mother takes her seat on a cot facing east, and the *shejbharni* or grain-sticking ceremony begins. While the guests are singing [The words are: Five wicks in a lamp, each with a separate flame; such was the lamp which was waved before the prophet Elijah. Perform the shej or grain-sticking ceremony to this woman *Rebecca* now in childbed. Another song sung about the same time runs: O sun O moon ye go by the way leading to the abode of the child's grandfather. Give this our message to him, if indeed he is alive, that he should wash his hands and feet and pray to God live instead of three times a day, so that God may confer blessings upon the child. The words in both cases are Marathi.] an elderly woman brings a winnowing fan containing rice, a cocoanut, a betelnut, and two betel-leaves, and a copper. She takes some grains of rice from the fan, throws some at the mother's feet knees and shoulders, and the rest behind the mother's back. This is repeated either five times by one woman or in turns by five women chosen from the guests. The woman on whom the turn last falls has, in addition, to touch both the mother's and child's brows with grains of rice. Next follows the lap-filling or *otibharni*. A married woman takes about a pound and a half of rice and fills the mother's lap with it repeating the Hebrew words *Baalim adonya* that is In God's Name. After the filling comes the waving or *ovalni* when each of the women present waves a copper coin round the mother and child and puts the coin in the brass hanging lamp. [The whole amount from 3d. to 2s. (Re. 1/8-1) is distributed among the girls of the mother's family.] Then follows the vow-taking and after that the guests are served with boiled gram or parched rice, sugar, liquor, and betelnut and leaves.

### Sixth Day

Next morning, the sixth day, boys go round and invite men to come in the evening. About nine o'clock guests begin to drop in and as they come are seated on mats spread in the veranda.

Then to a tambourine or *daph* accompaniment they begin to sing in Hebrew Hindustani and Marathi, while the rest sit quiet. Parched rice or boiled gram and sugar are handed round and till dawn liquor is freely drunk. When she goes to bed the mother changes her child from her right side to her left, and in the child's place lays a stone roller or *varvanta* covered with cloth. At the dead of night the dread spirit Sati comes to scratch from the child's brow what God has written there in its favour, and finding a stone goes away disappointed. Next day the roller is taken away.

### Seventh Day

On this day, the seventh, the mother's room is changed and women relations and friends are asked to come. A brass hanging lamp is lighted and placed under a bamboo basket or *ravli*. The mother takes the child in her arms, and goes several times out and in from the house to the veranda or the street, while one of the guests keeps repeating in Marathi, 'O moon O sun, look at our child, it is out.' When the mother finally comes in, water and turmeric powder are dropped on her from above the entrance door. She lays the child in the middle of the cot on a small mattress covered with a white sheet and round the mattress drops seven or nine pinches of boiled gram and two pieces of cocoa-kernel. When this is ready each boy or girl of the party goes near the child, gently catches it by the ear, and says, Come away child, let us go to play and eat a dish of rice cakes. [The Marathi runs: *Yere bala khelaya java an satichi mutki vatun khaya.*] Then each boy takes some of the boiled gram, and, as he runs away, is struck with a twisted handkerchief by another boy who stands behind the door.

### Circumcision.

In the synagogue, [If there is no synagogue the rite is performed in the house where the boy was born.] on the eighth day after the birth of a male child, [Only males are circumcised. If the child is weakly the rite may be put off for a few days.] whether or not it is the Sabbath, two chairs are set side by side, one for the prophet Elijah who is believed to be present at the circumcision, [All Jews leave a chair for Elijah. The story is that he wished to die because the Jews disregarded the rite and could not be comforted except by a promise from God that the

rite should always be respected. Basnage, 422-423.] and the other for the operator who is either the minister, the boy's father, or some other man acquainted with the details of the rite. From ten to eleven in the morning guests begin to drop in. When enough have come, for at least ten should be present, the operator goes to the chair intended for the prophet, lifts it over his head, and muttering some Hebrew verses restores it to its place. If the child is to be circumcised at the synagogue, he is taken in a palanquin in his mother's arms, accompanied by men and sometimes by women guests, and, unless it is the Sabbath or a holiday, by music. When the party reach the synagogue the child's maternal uncle takes him to where the guests are sitting, and says *Shalom Alekham* or Hail in God's Name. To this the congregation answer *Alekham Shalom* or In God's name Peace. He hands the child to one of the elders who has taken the prophet Elijah's chair. The operator sits on the other chair and circumcises the child, the people singing Hebrew songs, and the boy's father sitting praying covered with a veil. Outside of the synagogue a cock is sacrificed and taken to be cooked at the child's father's house. Raisin wine and milk are thrice given to the child to quiet him. The wound is dressed with brandy and oil and the child is blessed by the minister and called by a new name chosen from the Old Testament. [Bene-Israel's are called either by Hebrew or Hindu names. The Hindu male names are Babaji, Dhondu, Dharmaji, Yesba, Kama, and Sakoba. The female names are Yesu, Ladi, Soni, Dhondi, and Baya. A child's first name is often changed. If a child is dangerously ill his parents vow that if the sickness abates they will change its name, and when a girl is married her husband's people give her a new name. Surnames are derived from names of villages such as Agaskar, Divekar, Majgavkar, Korgavkar, Nagavkar, Penkar, Punekar, Nagarkar, and Talegavkar. They call their father *aba* and *papa* ; mother *aya* or *ai*; brother *dada*; sister *baya*; daughter *sokri*; child *bala* ; brother's wife *bhabi*; father-in-law and maternal uncle *mama*; and paternal uncle, *nana* and *kaka*.] Then, except on the Sabbath or on a fast day when nothing but the raisin wine is used, the guests are treated to cocoa-kernel and sugar cakes. The child is presented with silver coins and silver and gold ornaments and the minister is given a fee of 3*d.* to 1*s.* (2-8 *as.*). No record of the circumcision is kept, but it is considered meritorious to be present at the ceremony. The party go back to the mother and sing a hymn, and eat sugar, parched gram, and liquor. The cock is presented to the minister and the guests retire. If a child dies before it is circumcised, the operation is performed after death, but no prayers are offered.

Boys, as noticed above, are named on the circumcision day. Girls are named at any time from the fifth day to one month after birth. [Some Bene-Israels do not ask the minister to give their girls a name and simply call her by some name they have chosen in the house.] On the night fixed for the naming the minister and relations are called, and a lighted lamp is set on a stool covered with white cloth near the mother's cot; close to the cot are arranged plates of fruit and cups of milk and honey. The minister, placing his right hand on the child's head, repeats Hebrew verses, in which the name to be given to the child occurs. He retires, and the night is spent in singing and drinking.

### **Cradling.**

On the morning of the twelfth day the mother and child are bathed and a cocoanut is broken and its water is sprinkled on all sides. The mother or some other woman lays the child in the cradle repeating the Hebrew words *Bashim adonya*, that is In the Name of God, and pulling the cradle by the string sings songs. Cocoa-kernels and sugar are handed round.

On the thirteenth day a few Bene-Tsraels perform the rite of redeeming their first-born sons. The father, taking his son and asking his friends and relations to come with him, goes to the synagogue, and coming before the sacrificial priest says, I present you this my first-born son, and gives him in his hands. The *cohen* [The sacrificial priest is called *cohen*. The post is hereditary, but as sacrifices are no longer offered, the *cohen's* only duty is to bless the congregation in the synagogue.] looks at the child, and, asking 4s. to £1 10s, (Rs, 2-15), hands him back to his father and blesses him.

### **Purification.**

On the morning of the fortieth day after a boy's birth or the eightieth day after a girl's birth, the minister is sent for. When he comes a pot full of water is placed before him. He takes a twig of *sabja*, dips it into the waterpot, pronounces a blessing, and retires. The mother and child are bathed together in hot water, and the mother, taking the child on her lap, pours both on herself and her child seven small pots full of the water that has been blessed by the minister and they become pure. [When the mother has to leave the house before the proper time, the



purifying has to be twice gone through at the time of quitting the house and after the end of the fortieth or the eightieth day as the case may be.]

### **Shaving.**

In the afternoon of the purifying day the child's head is shaved. [If the child is the subject of a vow its hair is allowed to grow from one to five years. The child is then taken in procession on horseback with music to the synagogue. A new handkerchief is spread on its lap, and that the hair may not weigh heavily the barber shaves its head without using water. At the end of the shaving the barber is presented with the handkerchief, a pound of rice, a cocoanut, a betelnut and two leaves, and a copper coin. The child is bathed in warm water, dressed, and seated on the pulpit or *teba*. Here the hair is weighed either against gold or silver and the metal is presented to the synagogue. The priest blesses the child and the hair is put in the mother's lap who throws it into water. When this is done the child is made to stand in the doorway of the synagogue and a metal plate or *thali* is held upside down over its head and rice flour balls are rolled one after another front the plate and scrambled for by children.] Some elderly person, either a man or woman takes the child on their lap, spreads a handkerchief over the child's knees, and the barber shaves its head. When the shaving is over the barber is presented with 6d. (4 as.) in cash together with rice and half a cocoanut, the other half being divided among the children of the house. The child is bathed, [Bene-Israel's think that a barber's touch defiles. After being shaved they do not enter their synagogue until they bathe or at least until the part shaved and their hands and feet are washed.] seated on a low wooden stool, and rice flour balls are rolled from a brass plate held over his head. In the evening a dish filled with pieces of rice-bread and mixed with molasses and pieces of cocoa-kernel is placed before the minister and he blesses the bread and distributes it among the persons present. This last rite known as *malida* is observed only by a few.

### **Mother's Return.**

Three or four months after the mother is purified the father's mother sends to ask that the child and the mother may be sent to her house. Two or three days after the girl's mother calls her

nearest relations, and with the child and young mother, takes a present of a robe, a bodice, child's clothes and ornaments, and a cradle, with bedding and toys, to the girl's mother-in-law's house. When they arrive they stand on the veranda, and a woman coming from the house with cooked rice or *ambat bhat*, waves it round the mother's and child's head, and throws it away to satisfy evil spirits. The mother, with the child in her arms, walks into the house followed by the women guests and the presents. A dinner is served to the guests, the girl's mother is presented with a robe and bodice, betel is handed round, and the guests leave. [Sometimes the girl's mother and a relation or two are asked to stay for a couple of days.] When the girl's parents live at a distance and she is confined at her husband's house, she and her child are removed to a near relation's for a few days, and return with gifts bought at her mother's expense.

### **Ear-boring.**

Any time after three months a child's ears are bored. [In some families when the child is to be sent to the father's house the lobes of its ears are bored before leaving.] A girl's ears are bored in three places in the lobe, and in two places in the upper cartilage. When the ears are healed a girl's nose is bored, generally through the right nostril, by a Hindu goldsmith, who, besides a present of rice receives for each hole bored  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -1a.). The holes are kept open by fine gold rings not by thread as among Hindus. [In former times the Indian Bene-Israelis bored the cartilage of a boy's ears. But when they came to pride themselves on Hebrew customs they gave up the practice, as among the old Palestine Jews a bored upper ear was the sign of a slave.]

### **Vaccination**

The ceremonies connected with vaccination and small-pox are generally performed with much secrecy, except in places without a synagogue where till lately they were done openly in the same manner as among cultivating Marathas and other lower class Hindus. The small-pox goddess Shitaladevi, seven married women or *savasins*, and a boy or *govla* are worshipped. When the lymph has taken, songs are sung in praise of the sores and of the goddess; the child is considered sacred and bowed down to, and neither fish nor flesh is eaten. Of late years

special vaccination services are said to have ceased.

### **Foot-lifting**

When, between a year and a half and two years old, a child begins to walk, the mother takes a cocoanut, breaks it in front of its feet, and divides the kernel among little children.

### **Skirt-wearing**

The first ceremony after marriage is, when the girl reaches her twelfth year, the putting on of woman's dress. This is known as the lucky dress, *mursada* or *padarsohla* that is skirt-wearing. [No ceremony of this kind is performed when the girl is twelve years old at the time of marriage.] On the morning of the girl's twelfth birthday a woman is sent with music from the boy's house to the girl's house, and asks the girl's mother to return with her and bring her daughter and friends. At the boy's house the boy and girl are bathed, dressed in rich clothes, and seated facing each other on wooden stools covered with cloth. A married woman fills the girl's lap with betelnuts, dates, almonds, and rice, and her hair is combed and decked with flowers. Five married women, lifting from her shoulder the end of the girl's robe, spread it on her head, and put a little sugar into the boy's and girl's mouths. The boy retires, and for about an hour the women sing Hindustani or Marathi songs accompanied by a drum, and are then dismissed with betelnut and leaves. The guests are feasted. After spending a day or two with the boy's family the girl gets a present and goes back to her father's house.

### **Puberty or Nahandcha Sohla**

When a girl comes of age her mother sends word to the boy's mother and asks her to come to her house on the eighth day, to fix whether the age-coming ceremony shall take place at the girl's or at the boy's. Unless the girl's parents are rich or are willing to undergo the expense the ceremony generally takes place at the boy's. When the ceremony is to take place at her house the boy's mother, on the morning of the eighth day, accompanied by music, goes to ask the girl's mother and other female relations. They come between eleven and twelve. The

girl is bathed in warm water, dressed in rich clothes, and seated near the women facing east. The boy comes richly dressed and sits facing the girl. About five married women, going near the girl, comb her hair and deck it with flowers, throw garlands round the boy's neck, sprinkle sweet-scented oil on both, and put a nosegay into the boy's hand. Another married woman fills the girl's lap with almonds and betelnuts, and five married women, taking rice in both their hands, wave thorn in front of the girl's knees shoulders and head. The boy and girl repeat each other's names and the boy retires. Sugar is handed to the guests, who, after a couple of hours of song-singing to a drum accompaniment, are dismissed each with a packet of betelnut and leaves. At bedtime the boy's mother takes the girl to the boy's room, and leaving her there shuts the door after her. [In honour of this event the boy's father gives his friends a present, and on a Sabbath, after morning prayer, treats them to liquor.]

### **Pregnancy or Garvaricha Sohla**

In the seventh or eighth month of a woman's first pregnancy female friends and relations are called to the boy's. About twelve, when the guests have come, the girl is bathed and seated on a low wooden stool facing east, and five married women comb her hair, fill her lap, and wave grains of rice round her. The sugar is served, special songs are sung, betel is handed round, and the guests withdraw.

### **Death**

A few hours before death, if the dying person is a male, a barber is called to shave the head, and when the barber leaves the nearest relations shave the whole body except the face. The dying man is then bathed, dressed in clean clothes, laid on a fresh bed, and, so long as sense remains, the minister reads the sacred books to him, and lays a copy under his pillow. When at the point of death sugarcandy and grape juice are dropped into his mouth, his eyes are closed, and he is comforted with the promise that his children and property will be cared for. When all is over the son rends his clothes, and the widow, dashing them against her husband's cot, breaks her bangles and black bead necklace. The body is covered with a white sheet, and round the body both men and women weep and wail. The great toes are tied together with a thread. The men sit on the

veranda or at some distance from the bed; and a friend or neighbour goes to tell the relations of the death. The body is measured, and a man goes with a few labourers to dig the grave. From 14s. to £1 10s. (Rs. 7 - 15) is handed to a friend to bring what is wanted from the market. [The details for a man are: Twenty-two yards of cloth worth 14s. (Rs. 7) are made into trousers, a small shirt or *kaphni* and a large shirt also called *kaphni* reaching the knee a cap, a shouldercloth or *dupeta*, a turban, a waistscarf or *kambarband*, a cloth to tie the hands, a cloth for the eyes, a pillow, a towel, a *lungior* pair of drawers and sheet or *mot*, a *sisid* or shroud worth 5s. (Rs. 2½), cotton worth ½ d. (⅓ a.), frankincense, needles and thread, a piece of soap, and scented oil worth 3s. (Rs. 1½), flowers and *sabja* or henna 1½ d. (1a.), seven earthen jars worth 1s. 9d (14 as.), the grave-diggers 4a. (Rs. 2), and liquor and tobacco 5s. (Rs. 2½) total about £1 13s. (Rs. 16½). For a woman the details are; A pair of trousers or *ijars*, a robe or *patal*, a headcloth, a large and a small *kaphni* or, shirt, a shawl or *odni* to put round the neck, a sheet or *mot*, a handkerchief for the hand, a handkerchief for the eyes, a pillow, a towel for wiping the body, and a *sarposh* or over-robe. Altogether 32 yards worth 18s. (Rs. 9), a *khol* of seven yards worth 5s. (Rs. 2½); incense, oils, needles, and flowers, as for a man 3s. (Rs. 1 ½), cotton worth ¼ d. (⅓ a.), seven earthen jars worth 1s. 9d. (14 as.), flowers and *sabja* worth 1½ d. (1a.), grave-diggers 4s. (Rs. 2), and liquor and tobacco 5s. (Rs. 2½); total about £1 17 (Rs. 1½). For a child the details are the same as for a man or woman, except that only about ten yards of cloth are used.] When he comes back others help in making the grave clothes, a pillow, a cap, and a pair of trousers. The cot on which the body is laid is then removed, the ground underneath is dug, and the cot replaced. [If the deceased has no relations it is now that he is shaved. The funeral ceremonies should be performed by a son. All Rene-Israels greatly desire male issue. Failing either a son or an adopted son a relation is asked to perform the ceremonies and for a year to pray for the dead in the synagogue.] The body is then rubbed with cocoanut milk, and soap, and twice washed in warm water. Then, while the minister stands by, seven jars of water are poured over it from the head to the feet and dashed on the ground. Then the body is carried to another room, the wet clothes are taken off, the body is wiped dry, laid on a mat covered with a white sheet, and dressed in the newly made grave clothes, in which spices are laid. Then the surplice or *sisid* is drawn, or a handkerchief and a *sabja* twig are placed in the right hand, the body is rolled in a broad sheet and the face left



partly open that the mourners may take a last look. [ A woman is dressed in the same way as a man with a robe or *sadi* in addition.] The minister asks the mourners to forgive the deceased any faults he may have committed. They answer, They are forgiven. Flakes of cotton wool are laid on the eyelids, and a handkerchief is placed over them, and the face is covered with the sheet. To keep the sheet in its place, cloths are tied round the legs, the waist, and the head. Meanwhile one of the mourners has gone to the synagogue and brought the coffin or *dolare*. He sets it in front of the door, washes it with cold water, and spreads a white sheet inside of it. After the minister has repeated Hebrew verses for about fifteen minutes the body is carried, head first, out of the house by four or five men, and laid in the coffin. A wooden frame is dropped over the coffin, and on the frame a chintz cloth and flower garlands and *sabja* leaves are spread. Headed by the priest the deceased's four nearest relations lift the coffin on their shoulders and, repeating Hebrew verses, walk to the burial ground, helped at intervals by the other mourners. Within a few paces of the graveyard the mourners halt, the minister repeats sacred texts and the bearers, entering the graveyard, place the coffin near the grave. Two men go into the grave, and three others, one holding the head, another the feet, and the third tying a cloth round the waist lower the body with the head to the east. [Formerly the grave was sprinkled with milk, water mixed with rice flour, cocoa-kernel, and rice grains.] Each of the mourners takes a handful of earth and stuffs it into the pillow case. The two men in the grave fill any hollows there are below the body, lay the pillow under its head, and come out of the grave. [If any one has dust from Jerusalem, a little of it is put into the pillow case. This dust is sold by merchants coming from Jerusalem at 4s, to 10s. (Rs, 2-5) an ounce. A little of it is kept in most Bene-Israel's houses. Earth, one of the leading spirit-scarers, is thrown on the body by Jews, Musalmans, Christians, and many Hindus.] A few mourners standing near repeat texts and throwing a handful of earth into the grave turn away. The rest come and each throws a handful of earth into the grave and goes quickly away. The diggers then fill the grave. When it is full the mourners going to the other side and facing west repeat prayers, and on leaving the graveyard, each thrice over plucks a little grass with both his hands and throws it behind his back. [This is said to mean that their people may grow in a number like blades of grass, or as a sign that all flesh is grass, and the glory of man like the flower of the field. The practice is observed by other Jews. Like the throwing of earth the throwing of grass

is originally with the object of scaring spirits. The holiness or spirit-scaring power of grass is shewn in many Hindu ceremonies. The origin of the spirit-scaring power of grass is perhaps the memory that the first food grains were grass grains such as Hindus eat on fast days. Or grass may have been eaten as medicine by early men as it still is eaten by dogs and cats.] The coffin is brought back on a carrier's head, and kept in its place in the synagogue. [If a Bene-Israel dies on Friday evening he is not buried till Saturday evening.] The funeral party go to the dead man's house, wash their hands and feet on the steps, sit on the veranda, and after smoking or drinking a draught of liquor go to their houses. In the evening near relatives and friends bring cooked dishes and dine with the mourners from the same dish. On the spot that was dug under the cot where the dead breathed his last, a mat is spread and near by are set a lighted lamp and an earthen pot filled with cold water. The women mourners for seven days sit, sleep, and dine on the mat, day and night feeding the lamp and keeping it a-light. [This is called keeping the mat alive, *chatai jagine*. This practice is observed by other Jews.] The first seven days are kept strictly as days of mourning. The members of the family neither go out, sit on chairs, bathe, eat any thing substantial, or drink liquor. [These practices are all observed by other Jews.] The men wear no turbans and do not salute their friends, and every morning ten religious-minded men read the sacred books in the house of mourning. On the morning of the third day the minister, helped by a few of the people repeats sacred texts. On the evening of the sixth day he comes and is presented with a plate filled with sweetmeats and sweet-scented flowers. Over this plate he repeats verses and together with the mourners eats sweetmeats. In the afternoon of the seventh day women relations and friends with cocoanuts in their hands go to the mourner's house, and with coconut oil rub the women's and their own heads, and after bathing them return to their own houses and themselves bathe. Meanwhile the minister with about ten men goes to the mourner's house, and the chief mourner, taking the waterpot that was placed on the spot where the deceased's cot stood, along with the minister and the others, goes to the burying ground. He makes a hollow about six inches deep on the spot where the deceased was buried, sets a stone at the head and a smaller stone at the foot, and at the right side six stones and at the left five. The hollow is partly filled with earth and the spot is well beaten. [If a slab is to be put on the tomb it should be done within a year. After that any one putting up a slab must first give a feast to his castefellows.]

Then the chief mourner, taking the waterpot in his hand, pours water on the right side, then on the left side, and then down the middle, always beginning from the head. When he reaches the foot stone he dashes the pot to pieces on the ground. He then takes a twig of *sabja* and plants it near the head stone and sometimes lays pieces of cocoa-kernel all over the grave. The mourners turn their backs on the grave, repeat prayers, eat some cocoa-kernel, smell the *sabja*, smoke a pipe, and return to their homes. At the mourner's house the *jarat* is read and in the evening a feast of meat and sweetmeats is given. To this feast guests are not specially called, but as a rule all who hear that a *jarat* is being held, come unasked, prayers or *jikhir* are said, the food is blessed by the minister, and is shared among men and women. In the evening, either of this or of the next day, his relations and friends take the chief mourner to the synagogue. The minister repeats texts, and in the name of the deceased the synagogue is presented with two to five pounds of oil. On leaving the synagogue all sit on the veranda, and except the chief mourner subscribe for a drink. [Where there is no synagogue the liquor is drunk at a tavern.] When the liquor is finished the mourner is taken to his house and there entertains the rest with drink and tobacco. After the men have done, the women mourners are taken to a neighbour's house and entertained with a draught of liquor. About a month after the death the chief mourner feasts his nearest relations and three months later another small feast is given. At the sixth and twelfth month a feast is given to a large number of castefellows, when both the *jarat* and the *jikhir* are read. The chief dish is mutton. Where there is no synagogue liquor is served, but if there is a synagogue the liquor money is made over to the synagogue fund.

### **Community**

In each village caste questions are settled by the headman at a meeting of the adult members of the community. He is helped by the hereditary minister or judge and the four elders called *chau-ghulas*. All persons present at such meetings are allowed to take part in the discussion, and, if necessary, to record their dissent or petition for a new trial. In taking evidence they caution witnesses to speak the truth, but do not exact a formal oath. The marriage covenant is in general strictly respected and adultery punished by a fine varying from 2s. to 4s. (Rs. 1 - 2). In aggravated cases the innocent party is allowed a divorce and

the liberty of remarriage. In some places, in consequence of difference of opinion, some members have left the old community or *phad* and set up a new one, building a synagogue of their own if they can afford it. To draw more persons towards it the rules of the new synagogue are generally simple and less costly than those of the old one.

### **Mankari**

Among the Bene-Israels each synagogue has six office bearers or *mankaria*; the *mukadam* or headman, the *chaughula* or assistant, the *gabai* or treasurer, the *hajan* or minister, the *kaji* or judge, and the *sammash* or beadle. The *mukadam* or headman acts as president at caste meetings. No meeting is called without his leave. His office is hereditary. He receives a double share of any thing distributed at caste entertainments and feasts. If each guest is offered one cup of mutton or liquor the *mukadam* gets two. Sometimes a host may not entertain his relations and friends, but, however poor he may be, he must feast the headman. His office is not essential to a synagogue. Formerly he was much dreaded, but now he has little actual power. *Chaughulas* or assistants help the headman and devise plans for bettering the synagogue. They are chosen by the castemen from the old and respected members of the community. One of these may be asked to resign in favour of another, but he is eligible for re-election. Any one, provided he is honest, may be chosen to fill the post. The duty of the *gabai* is to recover outstandings and to keep an account of the receipts and disbursements of the synagogue fund. The minister or *hajan* is a paid officer. He conducts public services, blesses those who make offerings of oil or money, celebrates marriages, and performs funeral and other religious ceremonies. Any Bene-Israel who can read Hebrew pretty fluently and lead the holiday service, may be appointed minister and paid £1 to £3 (Rs. 10-30) a month. For circumcising children, slaughtering cattle and fowls, and marrying, he is paid special fees varying from 1s. to 6s. (Rs. ½ - 3). *Kajis* are religious teachers, the descendants of men chosen when there were no synagogues. No fresh *kajis* are now appointed. They are not paid office bearers like the minister, but in villages where there are no synagogues, they perform religious ceremonies and get special fees for slaughtering cattle and fowls, administering oaths at caste meetings, and helping the headman and his assistants in settling caste disputes. The *sammash* or servant of the

synagogue has to sweep and light it, to prepare the wine, to gather sums due to the synagogue, and to make them over to the treasurer. He tells people of caste meetings, of births marriages deaths and excommunications, and in a case tried before the headman calls out the names of witnesses. He is paid about 10s. to 16s. (Rs. 5 - 8) a month.

### **Admission**

No man can be admitted a member of the Bene-Israel community without being circumcised. Before either a man or woman, who has been put out of caste, [ The faults generally punished by excommunication are adultery with a Mhar, Mang, or other degraded Hindu, or embracing Christianity or Islam.] is again received, their back is stripped bare, they are seated in a plate filled with cold water, and the priest gives them thirty-nine gentle lashes with a twisted handkerchief or *korda*. This ordeal is called *tobat*. The Bene-Israelis send their boys to school and are a well-to-do and rising class, owning properties worth £50 to £500 (Rs. 500 - 5000).

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## **POPULATION**

### **CHRISTIANS**

### **CHRISTIANS**

**Christians** are returned at 9500, of whom 4335 are Europeans, 811 Eurasians, and 4354 Natives. Of Europeans and Eurasians who are mostly found at military stations in the district, 2774 or more than sixty per cent of the Europeans and 602 or more than seventy-four per cent of the Eurasians are found in the cantonment of Poona. They are chiefly military officers and soldiers, with a few civil officers and some Government pensioners. Of the Europeans 987 and of the Eurasians 332 belong to the Roman Catholic church and the rest to the different Protestant churches. Of 4354 Native Christians 2446, or more than fifty-six per cent, are found in the cantonment of Poona. They belong to the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Of 3720 Poona Native Roman Catholics, nearly two-thirds are Goanese. They are mostly house servants as butlers and cooks to European and Eurasian residents, a few clerks, wine shopkeepers, petty traders, coach-builders, carpenters, and painters. In food, drink, dress, and customs they do not differ from their brethren of Goa. The remaining one-third, mostly Mhars and Mangs, are converts made by Roman Catholic missionaries. In food, drink, dress, and customs they differ little from Hindu Mhars and Mangs. The Poona Protestant Native Christians are mostly Mhars and Mangs with a few Brahmans, Marathas, and other high and middle-class Hindus. Brahmans, Marathas, and other high and middle-class converts who can read and write are teachers and catechists, and a few pastors and missionaries. Except a few who can read and write, Mhars and Mangs follow their hereditary calling of removing dead cattle and rope-making. They belong to several Protestant missions the chief of which are the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Baptist Mission, the Church Mission of England, and the American Marathi Mission. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organised in 1701 under a charter from William III. In 1817 the Society began its labours in India. In

1827 Bishop Heber, while in Bombay, formed a committee in connection with the Society, but it was not until 1859 that a mission was established. At Poona the Mission has a resident missionary. The Baptist Mission, which began work in India in 1793 has at Poona, a church and two resident missionaries. The Church Missionary Society was organised in 1799. In 1807 the Society made a grant of £150 for missionary work in India. In 1818 the Society began its work in the city of Bombay and a corresponding committee was formed. The first missionary, the Reverend R. Kenney, was sent out in 1820. He preached in the city of Bombay and opened schools among which was the Robert Money Institution at Bombay. In 1846 Junnar in Poona was taken up as a field of labour where the Society has a permanent resident missionary and a bungalow. The American Marathi Mission Society was formed in America in 1810, and in 1812 the Society sent missionaries to Calcutta. The missionaries were ordered to leave the country, and two of them escaped to Bombay where they were forbidden to preach. In 1813 the missionaries earnestly appealed to Sir Evan Nepean, then Governor of Bombay, and obtained permission to preach. They preached and opened schools for boys and girls. In 1842 the Reverend O. French of this mission occupied Sirur in Poona, where they have a church under a native pastor. In food, drink, dress, and customs the Poona Protestant Native Christians do not differ from Ahmadnagar Protestant Native Christians.

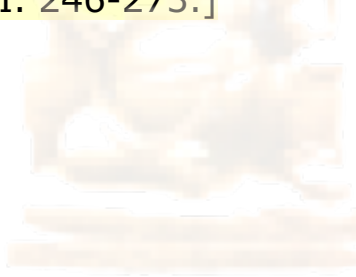
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## POPULATION

### PARSIS

### PARSIS

**Pa'rsis** are returned as numbering 1574 and are found mostly in the town and cantonment of Poona. They are mostly shopkeepers, traders and liquor-sellers, and a few clerks, contractors and house and land owners. Most of them are well-to-do and on the whole they are a rising class. [A detailed account of Parsis is given in the Thanas Statistical Account, Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 246-273.]



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## POPULATION

### CHINESE

### CHINESE

**Chinese**, who call themselves Thongians, are returned as numbering twenty-three and are found in Haveli and Maval and in the city and cantonment of Poona. They say the first Chinaman who settled in Poona was Jokwangtai-tai who came into the district about twenty-five years ago from Bombay where he and some others came as sailors in Chinese ships. They say that they have a hundred surnames. People bearing the same surname do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Afuk, Ahi, Asao, Athaun, and Ann. They have no subdivisions, and the children of a kept woman are admitted into caste if the father gives a caste feast. The men are strong built and fair with flat hairless faces, broad brows, long narrow eyes, and snub noses. Among themselves they speak the Thanganva and Fukinva dialects of Chinese and out-of-doors corrupt Hindustani mixed with Chinese. They own no houses and pay 4s. to 8s. (Rs. 2-4) a month as rent. They cook in metal vessels, and their furniture includes tables, chairs, china plates, cups and saucers, forks and spoons. They do not eat with their fingers but with two bits of sticks. They keep no domestic fowls. Their staple food is rice, wheat, mutton, and fish. They have no scruples about eating deer, hare, cattle, hogs, and rats. Except crows and kites they eat the flesh of almost all birds. They drink both country and European liquor and freely indulge in opium, both smoking and eating it. The men wear loose rather short trousers jackets and English caps and have a long pig-tail or top-knot which falls down the back, sometimes to the ankle. They brought no Chinese women with them to India but keep Deccan women, generally Musalmans, Mhars, or Mangs. They are carpenters, shoemakers, and workers in cane. They earn £2 10s. to £3 (Rs.25-30) a month. They are of the Thongian religion and their chief god is Jokwangtai-tai. They have house images and the names of the house-gods are Kankong, Taisan, Thinsan, and Phosak. When they worship these gods they burn frankincense sticks and

candles before them, and pray to them daily. Those who have no house-gods are not required to offer daily prayers. They fast every full-moon and new-moon, and on these days they live on rice and vegetables and do not touch fish flesh or liquor. Their holidays are Coconut Day *Channusabasi* in August, the full-moon of *Bhadrapad* (September), and *Kaomirchhan-gyao* in *Ashvin* (October). They say they believe in evil spirits but not in sorcery, witchcraft, or soothsaying. They allow child marriage, widow marriage, and polygamy, but not polyandry. They bury their dead except the unwed, who are burnt. They say they are not so prosperous as they were ten years ago owing to the competition of English shoes and the opening of European shops. Still as a class they are well-to-do.



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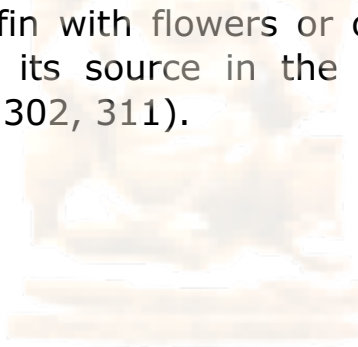
## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX A

#### SPIRIT BASIS OF THE RULE IN FAVOUR OF CHILD-MARRIAGE

OF all the classes of dead who are believed likely to walk and trouble the living none are believed to be more troublesome and dangerous than those who die with unfulfilled wishes. The great wish of a Hindu's life is to get married and have children. Therefore no class, is so likely to prove troublesome to the living as the ghosts of the unwed dead. As prevention is better than cure the Hindus seem to have arranged to keep the class of unwed dead as small as possible by, whenever they could afford it, marrying their boys and girls in infancy or in early childhood. The following examples show how strong and widespread is the Hindu fear of the unmarried dead. Among the higher classes it is laid down in the Garud Puran which treats of the state of the dead, and this is the universal belief, that boys who die after thread girding and before they are married become those most mischievous ghosts known as *munjas*. Other spirits of unmarried upper class dead are called *athavars*. To prevent them becoming *athavars* the bodies of the unmarried dead are rubbed with turmeric. Even the spirits of the most learned and pious high class ascetics or *brahmacharis* are apt to become ghosts if special rites are not performed. To prevent him becoming a ghost the Brahmachari's body is washed with water, rubbed with turmeric and oil, again washed, married with the usual rites to the great spirit-scaring swallow-wort *rui* *Calotropis gigantea*, and finally burnt along with the *rui* bush. Among the Mahadev Kolis of the Deccan an unmarried youth who dies becomes an *athavar* and receives offerings whenever a wedding takes place in his family (Mackintosh in Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc. I. 224). In North Gujarat the common village ghost is the *chudel* who is the unmarried daughter of the headman of the village. The most feared spirit in the Konkan, perhaps in the Presidency, is the *cheda*, originally the same as *chela* a child, who is generally supposed to be a Dhangar or a Thakur lad. In the Kanarese districts, as in other parts of the

Presidency, the most dreaded ghost is again the ghost of the unmarried dead. They are called Virikas and are as widely feared in Telugu as in Kanarese countries (Sir W. Elliot in Journal Ethnological Society, I.116). The Kurubars or shepherds, one of the chief Kanarese tribes, make yearly offerings of molasses red cloth and rice to please the Virikas. If no offerings are made the Virikas grow angry, send sickness and bad dreams, and strike people on the back when they walk at night (Buchanan's Mysore, I. 397). The practice among the polyandrous Nairs of marrying the corpses of their women to Brahmans, or, if they cannot afford a Brahman, to a palm tree has probably its root in the fear of the unmarried dead (Dr. Wilson's Castes, II. 75). Few examples of the fear of the unmarried dead have been traced in other nations. The Chinese think that women who die unmarried become ghosts (Gray's China, II. 16). The old English practice of strewing the path before the virgin's coffin with flowers or of carrying a garland before her may have its source in the same idea. (Brand's Popular Antiquities, II. 302, 311).



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## **APPENDIX**

### **APPENDIX B**

#### **SPIRIT BASIS OF THE RULE AGAINST WIDOW MARRIAGE**

AMONG early men the belief that disease and death are caused by the spirits of the angry and unfriendly dead seems to have been universal. This widespread if not universal belief in the spirit-origin of disease explains why the original object of funeral rites was to keep the dead from coming back to plague the living. In ordinary cases the Hindu ritual was believed to be sufficient to keep the dead from coming back, or, as it was expressed in more kindly and modern phrase, to help the dead to heaven. Still the commonness of disease and of spirit-possession must in practice have raised doubts of the power of the funeral rites. Certain classes of people, those who died with unfulfilled wishes, those who died leaving objects to which they were strongly attached, and those who died leaving much property were specially likely to come back. The objects dearest to a man are his wife and his favourite belongings. If he has these with him it is probable he will not feel inclined to come back among the living. This object was believed to be secured by burning or burying with the dead his wife and his pet property. When the practice of sending his property with the dead ceased, a new system was introduced. The pet property was made over to a Brahman and the wife was set apart for the use of the dead husband. Of the practice of making over the dead man's dearest belongings, his bed, his turban, his stick, and in some cases his books, to an outside Brahman, and of driving the Brahman to a distance from the dead man's house, details have been given above under Chitpavans. The risk of possession by the angry spirit of the dead is what makes the acceptance by a Brahman, or by any one else, of a dead man's property a sin. For the same reason, as the Brahmans were careful to prevent any member of his family using the dead man's property, they were careful that no one should make use of the dead man's dearest property his wife; they therefore set her apart for his use. The special treatment of a widow in a high class Hindu family which forbids widow marriage finds its

explanation in the fact that the widow is set apart for the dead husband's use. When her husband dies the Brahman or other high class Hindu woman has her head shaved, her lucky necklace or *mangalsutra*, her nosering, her glass bangles, and in some cases her bodice stripped off; she is not allowed to wear gay or coloured clothes or flowers; her brow must not be marked by the spirit-scaring redpowder or spangle, or her eyes by the spirit-scaring lampblack; she must take no evening meal and must attend no lucky ceremonies. The object of most of these rules, the stripping off the lucky neck thread and bracelets and the order against the red browmark and the black eyesalve, seems to be to prevent the use of spirit-scaring articles which might prevent the dead husband from taking possession of his wife, and so annoy him and tempt him to break his wrath by bringing sickness on the family. Among Brahman and other high class Hindus who forbid widow marriage no direct proof can be given that, what is shown later on to be a common belief among the lower classes, the marrying of the widow is supposed to enrage the dead husband. Still the prevalence of such a fear seems probable from the dread with which Brahmans regard the spirit of the dead first wife, when, as is lawful and common, her place is supplied by a second wife. Among Gujarat Brahmans there is said to be no commoner cause of family quarrel than the fear of the first wife. When the second wife sickens she is believed to be worried by the first wife's ghost. The friends of the second wife go to the friends of the first wife and tell them to keep the first wife's spirit in order, and to lay it by *shanti* or soothing rites. The first wife's friends say she is quiet. Why should she become a ghost? We can and will do nothing. The strength of the fear of the dead husband among Brahmans and other high class Hindus may be judged by the strength of the fear of the dead husband among low class Hindus. Even those who allow widow marriage think it unlucky. The Deccan Ramoshis allow widow marriage, but they think it unlucky if not disgraceful. No women are allowed to attend a widow's marriage, and pregnant women leave the village in case they may overhear some of the words of the ceremony. The service is read in a low tone and the houses near are deserted. The Poona Dhangars allow widow marriage but money has first to be paid to the dead man's family [apparently to make up to them for the risk they run in being attacked by the angry and homeless dead]. The Lonaris, a widow-marrying Ahmadnagar class of limeburners do not allow the widow to see any one for three days after marriage. [Because apparently her eyes are evil as she is haunted by

angry number one whose spirit looking through her eyes may blight any one who falls under their gaze]. The Sholapur Mangs hold widow marriage at night and will not look at the couple till the sun, the great spirit-scarer, has been up five hours. The Belgaum Korvis, a low class of basket-makers, do not allow a widow to be present at a wedding. Even the Karnatak Lingayats who ought to believe that number one is safe in heaven hold the widow unlucky. Again, among the widow-marrying classes sickness in the newly married couple is believed to be caused by the angry spirit of number one. In Belgaum when a woman of the widow-marrying classes has married a second husband if she sickens or if her husband sickens or if they have no children the woman goes to an exorcist and tells him. On a no-moon night the exorcist bores a hole in a *nim* tree, puts turmeric in it, and allows it to remain for three days. On the fourth day he takes the turmeric out and enclosing it in three *pipal* leaves burns the whole and mixing the ashes in water turns them into ink. With this ink he writes on a piece of paper and tells the woman to put the slip of paper in a box and to wear the box round her neck. Among the Somvanshi Kshatris or Chaukalshis of Alibag in the Konkan the belief is strong that, when a woman marries a second husband her first husband becomes a ghost and worries her. Whenever a woman who has married a second husband sickens she thinks her first husband, who is known as *purushvara* or the Man Spirit is troubling her. She tells an exorcist and asks how she can get rid of him. The exorcist gives her charmed rice, flowers, and basil leaves, and tells her to put them in a small copper box and wear the box round her neck. Sometimes the exorcist gives the woman a charmed cocoanut and tells her to worship it daily and he sometimes tells her to make a small copper or silver image of her husband and worship it daily. If an Ahmadnagar Mahadev Koli widow-bride sickens or if her husband sickens they think it is the work of the former husband. The widow-bride gives a feast and makes a silver image and either wears it round her neck or puts it with the house-gods. (Mackintosh in Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc. I. 224). The spirit of the dead husband is much feared by low class Gujarat Hindus. They strive to please it by leaving food for it at the meeting of four roads or near the house corner. The Bijapur Shimpis allow a widow to marry once. If her second husband dies she must stay a widow for the rest of her life. [Apparently they think that the second husband was killed by the spirit of the first husband]. Among the Poona Ramoshis if a woman who has had three husbands all of whom have died wishes to marry a fourth husband, during the marriage service she keeps a cock



in her arms that the cock may lose his life and the life of the fourth husband be spared. [Apparently the object is that the spirit of number one who destroyed numbers two and three for meddling with his property may pass into the cock and let number four escape]. Some examples of the belief in the unluckiness of widow marriages in other nations besides Hindus may be given. The Chinese hold widow-marriage a disgrace (Gemelli Careri [1695] Churchill's Voyages, IV. 332: Jour. Eth. Soc. II. 16). In Peru when a chief died his wives did not marry, but his housewives and children remained as in his lifetime and a statue of gold was made in his lifetime and served as if it had been alive (Spencer's Principles of Sociology, I. 330). Other nations seem also to share the Hindu dread of the dead husband and set apart his widow that the dead may go to her. In the Andamans the widow wears her husband's skull round her neck (Spencer's Prin. of Soc. I. 326). The Motu women of New Guinea when a husband or a child dies shave the head, lengthen the girdle, and wear the dead husband's hair and a piece of the dead husband's or child's bone round their neck. (Journal Anthropological Society, VII. 485). The West African negresses throw the ashes of their dead husbands into water that they may not come back and trouble them (Spencer's Prin. of Soc. I. 175). [This is important as showing the original object with which the Hindus threw the ashes of the dead into water. Compare Note on Ramtirth Belgaum in Statistical Account pp. 598-599.] Among the Amazulu American Indians if the widow marries and leaves the first husband's children his ghost comes and asks her with whom have you left my children ? What are you doing here ? Go back to the children or I will kill you (Ditto, 261).

## **APPENDIX**

### **APPENDIX C**

#### **TRACES OP POLYANDRY**

AMONG the tribes of India the rules regarding marriage vary from a practical monogamy, through polygamy and polyandry of several forms, to promiscuousness. One of the chief points of interest in the study of Hindu customs is the evidence they furnish that many of the tribes and classes which are now monogamous or polygamous were once polyandrous. The following evidence is offered with the object of making it appear probable that through promiscuousness and polyandry most modern Hindus have risen to polygamy and to a practical monogamy. The Buteas of Bengal (Dalton, 97) have no marriage ceremony and no care for the conduct of their wives. The Tihars of Oudh (Spencer's Prin. of Soc. I. 661) have only a nominal marriage tie. In North Arcot in Madras (Cox's North Arcot, 301) the Irulas rarely contract marriage, the association of man and woman ending at the wish of either. According to Captain Taylor some tribes in the Piney Hills in Madura have few restrictions on promiscuous intimacy (Spencer's Prin. of Soc. I. 661). The Woddas of North Arcot allow their women to change their partners eighteen times (Cox's North Arcot, 301), and among the Kathi Korvas of the same district, when any man is sent to jail, the wife chooses a new partner for the term of her husband's imprisonment (Ditto, 300). According to Dubois (I. 5) among (1800) the Totiers of Madura, brothers uncles nephews and other relations had the women in common. In the Bombay Presidency many low-class Hindus in North Kanara, though strict in punishing their wives if they associate with men of low caste, allow them to associate with men of their own or of higher castes. The Bandis of North Kanara (Bom. Gaz. XV. 333) allow their wives to cohabit with any one they please except with men of impure caste. The Atte Kunbis of Kanara allow adultery with caste people only. Some Kshatris and Nairs in North Kanara allow their wives to cohabit with Namburi Brahmans. In North Bombay among the Bhatias of Gujarat the practice formerly prevailed of letting the priest pass the first

night after marriage with the bride. Wives are in this way still sometimes devoted to the Maharajas, but as a rule a money offering has taken the place of the bride-offering. In Chandod, a place of pilgrimage on the Narbada, the local Brahmans, some of whom are of the high Nagar subdivision, at the holy or fair seasons leave their houses and allow strangers of good caste to live with their wives. Polyandry, the marriage of one wife to several husbands, is practised in many parts of India. It is found among several of the Panjab hill tribes (Ibbetson's 1881 Census). Among the Jats when the younger brothers are too poor to bear the expenses of separate weddings the wife has sometimes to accept her brothers-in-law as joint-husbands (Hunter's History of India, 128). The polyandry of the Ghakkars of Rawalpindi struck the early Musalmans (A. D. 1000). (Ditto.) In Southern India Tipu (1784) accused the Coorgs of practising polyandry, and, though the practice seems to have since ceased, Wilks (Southern India, II. 532) states that in his time (1811) the accusation was true. Polyandry is still prevalent among the Todas, the Kapillis of Dindigal valley, and some tribes in Coorg and the Nilgiris (Jour. Ethno. Soc. I. 119). Buchanan (Mysore, III. 17-18) mentions that though the family of the South Kanara Chief of Kumli professed to be Kshatriyas from North India, the eldest daughter, who had Brahmans to live with her and changed them as often as she liked, continued the line. According to Wilks (Southern India, I. 54) the Totiers of Madura, like the Jats of the Panjab, when poor, have one wife for several brothers. In Malabar, besides among the Nairs, who furnish the best example of a polyandrous society in India, polyandry is prevalent among the Kshatris (Buchanan, II. 350) and the Shanars or palm-tappers (Ditto, 417). In places where polyandry has ceased, among certain tribes polyandrous customs linger. Among certain Upper India tribes the rule prevails that the widow marries the dead husband's younger brother, and this rule is followed in the Bombay Presidency by the Ahirs and Kathis of Kathiawar and by the Sikalgars or armourers of Dharwar. In Dharwar also among the Holayas, a depressed class, one daughter sometimes remains unmarried, inherits her parent's property, and has her children received into caste. Polyandry is found in many parts of the world besides in India. So widespread is it that McLellan, one of the leading authorities on the subject of Primitive Marriage, holds that all nations have passed through a polyandrous stage. Mr. Herbert Spencer (Prin. of Soc. I. 679), while admitting the wide spread of the practice, prefers to hold polyandry a peculiar phase of the marriage-relation rather than a stage through which all the

higher races have passed. In either case several facts in Indian history and custom show that many classes which are now monogamous or polygamous have like the British passed through polyandry. Of polyandry in Indian history there is besides the well-known case of Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandav brothers, the case of the Vedic deities the Ashvins or Ashvini Kumars who had only one wife among them, of Madhavi the daughter of Yayati who had four husbands, and of another holyman's daughter who had ten. (Dabistan, II. 68). In another passage the author of the Dabistan (I. 117) seems to have thought it was the rule that in ancient India several men married one woman.

In a polyandrous people the maternal uncle holds the position which in a people among whom succession passes through the male and not through the female belongs to the father. Races and people among whom the maternal uncle holds a position of special honour may therefore be judged to have passed through a polyandrous stage. According to Ward (Views of the Hindus, I. 150) no Hindu may offer his maternal uncle in sacrifice. Inquiry shows that in many monogamous or polygamous castes in the leading family rites, first shaving or hair-cutting, thread-girding, marriage and death, the maternal uncle holds the position which in a community among whom succession had always been through the male would be held by the father of the child. In the Bombay Deccan and Karnatak among five castes the maternal uncle holds a special position at first hair-cutting or shaving. In three of these five castes the Havig Brahmans of North Kanara, the Ghisadis or tinkers of Poona, and the Poona Velalis, a Madras caste, when a child has its head shaved or its hair cut for the first time it is set on its maternal uncle's knee. The Halalkhors or scavengers of Poona, a North Indian tribe, when they first clip the child's hair also clip the maternal uncle's hair and make him a present, and the Kilikayats, a wandering Telugu tribe in Bijapur, have the child's hair cut by its maternal uncle before it is three months old. Among three castes the maternal uncle holds a special position at the thread-girding. Among the Havig Brahmans of North Kanara the maternal uncle becomes a guide and protector of the boy in his mock journey to Benares; at his thread-girding the Chitpavan boy is shaved sitting on his uncle's knee; and among the Shenvis of Poona the maternal uncle advises the boy to give up a recluse life. Among sixteen Bombay castes the maternal uncle holds a special position at marriages. Of the sixteen castes three are high,

seven middle, and six low or early. Of the high castes Chitpavan Brahmans call at the uncle's house on their way back from showing the child to the village god. Shenvi maternal uncles lift the bride from the marriage altar and set her on a heap of rice and at the lucky moment the maternal uncle brings the bride's marriage dress and ties on the wedding coronet and the wedding wristlet. Among Poona Govardhan or bastard Brahmans the maternal uncles carry the boy and girl on their shoulders and dance. Of the middle classes Patane Prabhus, Panch Kalshis and Sonars, maternal uncles, like Shenvi maternal uncles, lift the bride from the marriage altar, set her on a heap of rice, and, at the lucky moment, bring the bride's marriage dress and tie on the wedding coronet or *bashing* and the wedding wristlet or *kankan*. The Raddi maternal uncle, a Telugu class found in Poona, carries the girl to the bridegroom's house on his back; the Bangars, southern spice-sellers in Poona, make the maternal uncles stand behind the boy and girl when the marriage is going on; the Jain Shimpis of Ahmadnagar have the same custom; the Khandesh Kunbi maternal uncle clasps the hands of the bridegroom over the hands of the bride. Among low and early tribes the Halepaik maternal uncle in Dharwar goes with the boy and girl round the marriage shed; the Korvis or Sanadi Korvis of Bijapur divide the sum paid by the boy's father equally between the girl's father and her maternal uncle; in Ahmadnagar the Mochi or cobbler maternal uncles take the boy and the girl on their shoulders and dance in a circle throwing redpowder; in Bijapur the Pangul maternal uncle draws ash marks on the brows of the boy and girl; among the Ramoshis the typical early tribe of the South Bombay Deccan at the *kanyadan* or bride-giving, the priest asks 'Is the bride to be given?' Her maternal uncle comes forward and says 'Yes, she is to be given.' The boy and girl are called. The boy's toes are put in a metal plate; water is poured over them and sipped by the uncle who says 'I have given you my sister's child. She is now in your keeping, see you guard her.' At their weddings the Uchlas or pick-pockets of Poona, a tribe with Telugu ways, give the girl's maternal uncle £5 (Rs. 50). In the funeral rites of the Khandesh Dang and Akrani Bhils the son of the dead man's sister receives the chief mourners turban, and the Pavras, another early Khandesh tribe, present the dead man's cow, money, and shoes to his sister's son. Outside of Bombay in shaving the young child the Yanadis of North Arcot make the maternal uncle cut off a lock of hair from the child's head and tie it to an areca or betel palm: so the Irul maternal uncle, also in North Arcot (Cox's Stat. Account, 301) cuts a lock



of hair and ties it to a *rugi* tree. In marriage among the Kois of the lower Godavari (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. XII. 421) the mother's brother, and not the father or the mother, settles who the child is to marry. In death among the Gurvas, an early Bengal tribe (Dalton, 63), the sister's son is the chief mourner. Among the palm-tapping Bilnars of Mysore a man's eldest sister's son succeeds him (Buchanan's Mysore, III. 52); succession also goes to the sister's son among the upper and middle classes of Jains, Buntars, Massudis, and Parivaradus of South Kanara (Buchanan's Mysore, III. 17). In Connection with the view that children were heirs to their maternal uncles before they were heirs to their fathers the use of uncle as a term of respect is worthy of note. In the Konkan among the middle and lower classes an elder stranger is addressed not as *dada* or father but as *mama* or maternal uncle. It is interesting to note that King Lear addresses the fool as uncle which is perhaps a trace of the early polyandrous British form of respectful address. In Gujarat where the good or guardian deities are fathers and mothers the hostile or earlier spirits or *bhuts* are addressed as uncles. Sir John Lubbock has suggested that the special respect shown in many parts of the world to dancing girls and female temple servants has its origin in the feeling that the wives of the community, that is those women who keep to the old fore-marriage customs, are worthy of special respect. At one time, says the author of the Dabistan (II. 154), dancing girls were so highly respected in India that they were called *devkanyas* or daughters of the gods. The Bombay Presidency furnishes several examples of respect shown to dancing girls and temple women. Dancing girls hold a position of special honour in Kanara Dharwar and other southern districts of Bombay. They take a leading part not only in the temple service and in temple festivals but in marriage and other family ceremonies. In Kanara almost every wedding procession of Any importance is headed by a group of dancing girls. The Kalavants or Naikins of Kanara are much honoured. They trace their origin to the heavenly nymphs whose office was to entertain the gods and to lead astray the seers or *rishis*, when their penance had amassed a store of merit dangerous to the gods. These Kalavants or dancing girls have certain hereditary rights in Kanara as beginning dances in certain temples and receiving betel leaf cigars from their own people in marriage and puberty ceremonies. The Devlis or temple attendants of Kanara sweep and cowdung the floor of the temples and wave a fly-whisk before the idols. The Patradavarus or high caste courtezans of Dharwar are treated with honour. They are allowed into all

temples and into all houses and are considered wedded women who can never become widows. The Dharwar Lingayats have a female attendant or Basavi, the wife of the god Basav or bull, who attends religious meetings holding a brass cup and helps in calling guests. Further north Khandoba, the guardian of the Deccan, has his *murlis* but they are not held in any special respect. Beyond Bombay limits in Tulava or South Kanara (Buchanan's Mysore, III. 65, 95) the Moylars or temple women are held in great honour. Any woman of the four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, who is tired of her husband, or any widow in a caste which forbids widow marriage may go to a temple and eat some of the rice that is offered to the idol. She is then taken before the officers of government who call some people of her caste to enquire into her case. If she is a Brahman, she is offered the choice of living either in the temple or beyond its precincts. If she choose to live in the temple she is given a daily allowance of rice and a yearly suit of clothes. She is to sweep the temple, fan the idol with the Tibet cow's tail, and confine her amours to Brahmans. The Bhogams or Devadasis of North Arkot are said (Cox's North Arcot, 296) to have once been a body of vestal virgins whose duty was to sweep the temple and ornament its floor with devices in rice-Hour. After a time, according to the local story, they became immoral. They dance and sing before the idol and hold before him the sacred light or *kumbharti*. So much respect is paid to these Bhogams in North Arkot that no marriage would be considered likely to prove happy if the bride's *tali* or lucky thread and clothes were not touched by a Bhogam. The common explanation of this custom is that as the Bhogams never become widows, the bride whose *tali* they touch will never lose her husband. One of this class is always the bride's companion or head bridesmaid and gives her hints how to secure her husband's favours by graceful movements and other blandishments (Cox's North Arcot, 296). Though, in deference to Sir John Lubbock's suggestion, the respect for temple women has been cited as perhaps a trace of polyandrous feeling, taken in connection with the object of other temple rites which seems in all cases to be spirit-scaring, the holiness or luckiness of the dancing girl or temple-woman seems to be due not to the fact that she represents the old customs which were in force before the introduction of the immoral monopoly of matrimony but because dancing, especially naked dancing, has, like King David's naked dancing before the Ark, same religious or spirit scaring power.

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX D

#### ORIGIN OF ORNAMENTS

##### ORNAMENTS.

CHITPAVAN women, like other Maratha Brahman, women, dress their fine black hair with much care and neatness. The front hair, which is kept faultlessly smooth and glossy, has a main and two smaller partings. The main parting or *bhang* runs up the middle of the head to within about an inch of the crown. From the end of the main parting side partings, about two inches long, are drawn back with an outward slant from the main line so as to leave between the two side partings an angle of about 45°. The hair is drawn tightly back and is generally divided into three strands which are braided into one stout plait. [As, in Sanskrit, the word *veni*, plaited or woven hair,, also means the meeting of waters, Brahman women have a somewhat confused idea that the point where the three partings meet is a *tri veni sangam* and is typical of the famous *triveni sangam*, the meeting of the Jamna, Ganges, and underground Sarasvati at Prayag or Allahabad. When a Maratha Brahman woman goes with her husband on pilgrimage to Allahabad, she makes a hair gift or *veni-dan* by throwing into the stream the tips of her braided hair. The object is that the river may be pleased and the offerer may keep her *veni*, that is may not lose her husband and become a shaven-headed widow.] The stout plait of hair is worn in one of two ways. Young married girls, before they come of age, occasionally wear the plait hanging down the back. At other times young unmarried women, and older married women at all times, catch back the tip of the plait, and passing it through some hair close above the root or beginning of the plait, coil it at the back of the head, so that it forms a solid ring of hair two to three inches deep according to the quantity of hair. This circular knot or back knot is called *khopa* that is a nest or *buchada* that is a knot or knob. In shape it is thought to be a cobra with spread hood guarding the back of the wearer's head.

Both the front hair and the back plait are decked with ornaments. The ornaments worn in the front hair are, in the angle between the two side partings, a cobra or *nag* or a crescent moon called *Chandrakor*. The shape of this ornament varies. A common form is a nine-headed gold cobra seated in the hollow of a crescent moon, with, over the cobra's head, a ring of pearl-tipped rays, and below the crescent moon a fringe of seed-like gold beads. The whole is commonly about the size of a rupee. The hollow of the crescent moon is sometimes filled with a plain plate or with some other figure than a cobra. Behind the crescent moon, almost on the crown of the head, is a lozenge-shaped plate of gold with a raised central boss. This plate, which is generally about two inches long, broadens from the pointed ends to about an inch across at the middle. It is known as the *ketak* (S.) or *kevda* (M.) that is the flower of the sweet-smelling *Pandanus* which is used as a medicine and whose scent scares evil. Behind the *ketak*, at the point where the line of the skull begins to fall, a woman ought to wear a star or *chandani*, ablaze with precious stones. Few women are rich enough to wear a jewelled star. In its place the usual ornament is either a gold *chandani* without jewels or a *rakhdi* apparently a guardian, a gold circle, perhaps intended for a sun, about twice as big as a rupee with a raised ornamental central boss. On each side of the *nag*, a little above the temples, a few women of very rich families wear two richly jewelled ornaments, *surya* or the sun on the right and *chandra* or the moon on the left. This completes the ornaments of the front hair. The ornaments, worn by married girls on special occasions in the plait which hangs down the back, differ from those worn by married women in the circular plait coiled close into the back of the head. On festive occasions a girl who wears her back hair in a falling plait decks it with nine golden ornaments which she gets at marriage and wears on special occasions until she comes of age. These ornaments, which are strung in a silk cord and braided with the back hair into a plait ending in two red silk tassels in golden holders, are known as *nag-gonde* or the trinket-tassels. They are now often made of conventional spangles called flowers, the whole being known as *phul-gonde* or flower tassels. The trinket-tassels or *nag-gonde* differ from each other and represent certain plants and animals. The arrangement varies, but the following order is not uncommon. At the root or beginning of the plait, near the nape of the neck, the first ornament is a *mud* like the *kolas* or water-pot temple

spire with a round knob in the mouth of the water-pot. Below the *mud* hang nine lucky or spirit-scaring ornaments. The first is a cobra or *nag*, the second a peacock or *mor*, the third a tortoise or *kachha*, the fourth a bull or *nandi*, the fifth a fish, the sixth a chrysanthemum or *shevti*, the seventh a cowitch pod or *kuiri* used in medicine, the eighth a lotus flower, and the ninth the lotus-loving *bhunga* or black bee. Below the bee the end of the braid is hidden in two red silk tassels with golden holders. Married women and girls wear three ornaments in the circular knot of hair which stands out from the back of the head. [Women and girls whose hair is scanty braid into the back plait hair called *gangavan* said to come from the tail of a *van gay* or wild cow found in Upper India, The practice of using false hair has of late become common; thirty years ago it was rare, if not unknown.] At the root of the plait there is the *mud* or water-pot spire ornament, about the middle of the circle or ring are two gold flowers, one on one side about the size of a rupee and one on the other side about the size of a shilling. Of these the rupee size flower on the outer side of the plaited ring is called *phirkiche-phul* or the screw-flower, because it is screwed into its place. At the end of the braid, which is caught back and fastened close to the head, is a conventional gold *shevti* or chrysanthemum called *agraphul* or end-flower.

The character of the articles used as hair ornaments suggests that hair ornaments were originally substances which were esteemed as spirit-scarers. The moon, the sun, the sweet pandanus, the cobra, and the tortoise are all guardians. A comparison of the shapes and an inquiry into the names of the metal and gem-studded ornaments worn by high class Hindus suggests that they have their origin in the grass ornaments and in the holy fruit or holy flower ornaments of the early Hindu tribes, and, as is shown by the position which the *durva* and other grasses hold in the Brahman ritual, that the origin of wearing the holy grasses, fruits, and leaves, like the origin of the practice of wearing teeth and other parts of holy animals, was to keep off evil spirits. The places chosen for protection were at the chief openings by which spirits were believed to enter the body, the suture in the skull, the ears nose and mouth, the throat which the movements of the uvula seem to have suggested as the abode of one of the body's vital spirits, at the wrists and ankles where the pulse beats, and at the fingers and toes through which the spirit passed in and out.



One of the plants of spirit-scaring power, which is worn by Hindus both in its natural state and in the form of metal ornaments, is the *tulsi* or sacred basil *Ocimum sanctum*. This *tulsi*, chiefly apparently for its value in hysteric complaints, is with many Hindus the great guardian. A pot of *tulsi* is grown close to the house to keep evil from the doors; so every November the *tulsi* is married to Vishnu the Preserver, and a *tulsi* wood necklace is worn by Varkaris and other devotees of Vishnu. Besides in its natural form, the *tulsi* is worn in gold by Hindu women in the ornaments known as *tulsipatti* or *thushi*. Of grass the *darbha* and *durva*, worn as rings and in other ways, have a high place as evil-scarers in many Brahman rites, and rings of these grasses are known as *pavitris* or purifiers, that is sin or evil-spirit scarers. In the Konkan rice is the staple grain, the chief scarer of the bend hunger. To keep off spirits heads of rice called *bugdi* were worn and are the origin of the present ear ornaments of that name. The Malhari Kolis of Thana, as a cure for pimples, scratches, and other skin diseases, which they believe to be spirit-caused, wear a necklace of *gulvel* *Menispermum glabrum*. They also wear an armlet of the creeper called *bhutamalli* or spirit-wrestler to keep away evil, and children wear a necklace of *bajarbattu* beads to keep off the evil eye. The shreds of the holy palm tree, holy because liquor-yielding, are worn by some of the early Konkan tribes and by some of the Konkan village gods. The strip of palm leaf is the origin of the shape of one of the favourite Hindu gold bracelet patterns.

Of guardian or spirit-scaring animals a trace of the holiness of the cow remains in the Hindu women's ornament *patli* literally pale red or cow-coloured. A tiger claw enclosed in gold or silver is tied round the neck of Hindu children to guard them against spirit attacks and the ivory *patalis* or bracelets worn by Hindu women are held to be luckier or more spirit-scaring than any metal or gem-studded ornaments. Other things which early men supposed to be lucky and have lasted into modern Hindu metal ornaments are the knot and the black bead. To it the Brahman knot or *Brahma-granthi*, the sacred thread, owes much of its spirit-scaring power. So among the modern metal jewelry of low class Hindus is the *ganthale* or knotted necklace and the *gantha* or knotted earring. Beads especially black beads are worn as spirit-scarers by the early tribes, and the regular marriage

necklace of all Hindus, the *mangalsutra* or lucky-thread, is of black beads. Other traces of original black appears in the names of gold and pearl ornaments *tanmanis* or life-beads and *kali-ganthis* black beads or black knots. It was not only, perhaps not at all, their greater beauty that made metal and gems take the place of the old spirit-scaring grass, fruit, and teeth. The metals are greater spirit-scarers than the vegetables. The ashes of iron or *loha-bhasma*, the ashes of copper or *tamra-bhasma*, and the ashes of silver or *raupya-bhasma* were found healing or spirit-scaring and, when heated, the metals were also spirit-scaring as they cure disease by actual cautery. The holiness or spirit-searing power of copper is shown by its being put in the dead man's mouth or tied to his skirt and by its use in exorcism. So in the Konkan a barren woman wears a small copper box to keep off the evil spirit which possesses her and makes her barren. So also and still more were iron, silver, and gold spirit-scaring; and most of all had the precious stones virtues, that is spirit-scaring powers, a belief which was once universal in England and was strong at the time of Butler (1640), who made pearl-wearing a cure for one form of melancholy or bad spirits or blue devils, and still lives in the belief in the virtues of the bishop's sapphire and the baby's coral. Hindus use precious stones to scare fiends when they bury them to scare the place-spirit, or dig them in round a *ling* to keep spirits from worrying the *ling*. On several occasions Hindus wear ornaments to keep off evil rather than for show, illustrating the rule that fear is an older passion than vanity, that most things now done for show or *shobhesathi* have their root in the wish to scare evil-spirits or *bhutasathi*. Among the Bombay Dhruva Prabhus, before he is girt with the sacred thread, the boy is decked with gold and silver ornaments and his head marked with red lines. In the Chitpavan Brahman thread-girding when the mother presents alms to her son from a ladle she puts a gold wristlet round the ladle's handle. At their wedding Chitpavans hang mango leaves and neck-ornaments round a pestle. The Poona Kunbis put on their children a wristlet of black beads and a neck lace of bear's hair and tiger's claws to ward off spirit-attacks. The Poona Kunbis put necklets and anklets on their cattle to keep off evil spirits (Trans. Bombay Lit. Society, III. 219). The Jain Marwaris of Ahmadnagar tie a piece of lac bangle to the bride's right foot and the boy's hand. Some Namdev Shimpis of Ahmadnagar wear a necklet of *tulsi* beads and put on the babe's neck an embossed figure of Sathvai. The Bijapur Raddis deck the drill plough with bangles and women's gold and silver ornaments. The maces or *chobs* carried, before the Gaikwar of Baroda are

at one end ornamented with a silver bracelet and at the other end with a bell anklet. Karnatak Shrivaisnavs fasten a sacred thread round the boy's arm as well as round his neck. In Gujarat Musalman women tie black threads round their children's wrists to keep off evil spirits, and a red thread worn round the wrist is a common Deccan cure for fever. The Daudi Bohora women of Gujarat put collyrium on the eye, antimony on the teeth, and henna on the head and feet to keep off evil. According to Dubois (I. 470) in Southern India decency forbade that the ear should be without ornament. Women wore necklaces of gold and chaplets of pearls and diamonds which fell to the breast, a waistband of gold or silver, and heavy armlets. Married women wore silver toe-rings and many fastened above the ankles silver or gold tubes in which magic texts were written, talismans which kept them from evil (Dubois, I. 470). That earrings are worn to guard the ears against evil spirits is made probable by the fact that Hindu ascetics who give up all ornaments continue to wear copper earrings (Dubois, I. 469). The Bene-Israelis scare evil by hanging a metal or cloth-box with a piece of paper written by a sorcerer round the child's neck. The Jews wore prayer signs or *tephillin* on the brow and arm. Taking with the washing, filling, and covering with flowers, the bell-ringing and the incense-burning, it seems probable that the original object of decking the Hindu god with ornaments was to keep evil spirits from troubling him. A few examples from other nations than the Hindus may be given of the use of ornaments apparently not as decorations and therefore probably as evil-scarers. In Egypt the holy crocodile was adorned with crystal and gold earrings (Tiele's Egyptian Religion, 98). The people of the Andaman and Nikobar Islands use the bark of a creeper called *rada* as a waistband and a necklace fastener (Journal Anthropol. Inst. VII. 462). The Nikobar islanders also make necklaces of pigs' flesh and teeth (Journal Ethnol. Soc. II. 138). The Motus of New Guinea pierce their ears with rings of tortoiseshells and strings of small red beads or plates of tortoise-shell ornamented with red beads (Ditto, 478). Necklaces made of small shells are worn both by Motu men and women. A necklace much worn by young women is made of pig's or dog's teeth strung together (Ditto, 478). The most common neck ornament among the Motus of New Guinea is a piece of mother-of-pearl, the shape of the moon in the first quarter (Journal Anthropol. Inst. VII. 479). The Motus also wear ornaments made of skin or some plaited material. The toe or white-shell armlet is one of the most valuable ornaments they have. It is made out of the lower segment of a conical shell and

is valued because ten of these armlets is the price of a wife (Journal Anthropol. Inst. VII. 479). The Papuans of New Guinea wear in the large lappets of the ears shells, pieces of wood, and animal's teeth (Earl's Papuans, 26). The Papuans of West New Guinea wear hog's teeth in the nose, neck, arms, and waist, and bracelets of twisted cane and necklets of plaited rushes (Ditto, 48). Over the breast they wear necklaces of cord fringes (Ditto, 19). In their nose the Papuans wear a nose-stick, an ebony cylinder tipped with mother-of-pearl, or part of a shell with human hair attached to it. They also wear boar's tusks in their lips to make them brave (Ingle's Australian Colonies, 33). The Caroline Islanders north of New Guinea wear fragrant flowers in the nose (Wallace's Australasia, 538). The Solomon Islanders wear nose-ornaments of various shapes and necklaces of shells (Ditto 473). The buffoons of Niam-Niam in the heart of Africa wear fantastic feathers with bits of wood and roots and the feet of earth-pigs, tortoise shells, eagle's beaks, and bird's claws (Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa, II. 30). The Bongos of the White Nile wear as ornaments bits of wood, roots, and the teeth of dogs crocodiles and jackals (Ditto, I. 296). Circular plates nearly as large as a crown piece made of quartz, ivory, or horn are worn in their lips by the Mottu women of the White Nile (Ditto, 407). The Motu chiefs wear chains of iron as thick as their fingers and necklaces of leather strong enough to bind a lion (Ditto, 412). The Dyoors of the White Nile wear rings of iron round their wrists and ankles and their women wear a great iron ring in the nose and a number of rings in their ears (Ditto, 202). Schweinfurth says that old Shol, the Dinka queen-of the White Nile, when she came to see him had a number of necklets of iron, brass, and copper about her neck, also chains of iron, strips of leather, and wooden balls (Ditto, 132). Among the Niam-Niams of Central Africa dog's teeth strung together are worn across the forehead (Ditto, II. 9). The king of the Source of the White Nile used to wear a plumed hat on the top of the hair-knot. His ears were pierced with bars of copper and his body was smeared red (Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa, II. 45). Among the Dinkas of the White Nile men and women bore their "ears and put in iron rings and the women bore the upper lips and put in iron pins (Ditto, I. 152). Some West Africans wear strings of white beads, others decorate their hair with sea-shells, and others with coral (Park's Travels, I. 21). Dr. Livingstone says that a chieftainess in South Africa had a number of ornaments and medicines hung round her neck, the latter as charms (Livingstone's South Africa, 276). Women of the Sherifs of Batnel Hadgar who go naked wear leather

necklets, copper armlets, and silver earrings (Burkhardt's Nubia, 46). Some East African women wear coils of brass wire round the neck and the men wear copper and brass wristlets and armlets (Stanley, I. 254). The women of some tribes in South Central Africa bore a hole in the upper lip and put tin in it (Livingstone, 597). In Loanda in South-West Africa Dr. Livingstone saw a man with a necklace of twenty or thirty charms (Ditto, 435). The Balonda women of South-West Africa, who believe in the habitual agency of spirits, wear pieces of reed in the cartilage of the nose (Livingstone, 460). The Katirs of South Africa wear bracelets, armlets, and anklets of brass and feathers in their girdles (Cunningham's South Africa, 165-167). The Wanikas of East Africa have charms on their legs, arms, neck, and hair to cure diseases and to drive off' evil spirits (News' East Africa, 106). The American Indians wear armlets made of deer horns, hyaena's, alligator's, and boar's teeth to keep off wild beasts (Spencer's Prin. of Soc. I. 267). Solomon had a ring half brass half iron, of which all spirits stood in awe. On the Troy Crowns was an idol of the guardian goddess of Troy (Jones' Crowns, 13). The Greeks wore on their fingers the Dactyli idaci which were stones of sovereign value (Journ. Ethn. Soc. I. 44). A collar studded with jewels is worn by freemasons (Mackay's Freemasonry, 60). In Sweden till 1693 the early custom of putting the king's crown in his coffin was continued (Jones' Crowns, 23). In Spain they make an Easter king with a tin crown and a spit as a sceptre (Ditto, 17). The Celts, Germans, and Slavs worshipped horses, kept them in temples, and adorned them with earrings and anklets (Tiele's Egyptian Religion, 101). In early Christian Europe it was common to give a votive crown to the church which was hung over the altar, and in early Christian times the cross was crowned (Jones' Crowns, 13). The Anglo-Saxon king is the giver of bracelets called garters or girders (Ditto, 76). In Devonshire in 1877, a woman collected pennies till she had 4s. 6d. With this she bought earrings and wore them to cure bad eyes (Dyer's Folklore, 152).

## **TATTOOING.**

The original object of marking or tattooing, a practice which in later times passed into decoration or ornaments, seems to have been for luck, that is to scare spirits. The position of the tattoo marks near the eyes and on the hands, the dark colour like the spirit-scaring black, and the shapes made, the sun the



*tulsi* and other guardian leaves and the dog and other guardian animals, all point to the same object. The frightful gashing, tattooing, and other tortures through which the Australian and many other savage youths passed when they reached manhood seem to have originally been less for looks or for a test of endurance than, like the Brahman and Persian sacred threads, as a guard against evil. The spirit-scaring power of earth and also of black yellow and red seems to be the basis of the African and other savage practices of rubbing the body with coloured earth. The practice remains in India in the ascetic's ashes or yellow earth and in the brow sect-marks of almost all Hindus. One of the chief sect-marks is red. Red seems originally to have been the great spirit-scarer blood, the old savage drink, the driver of the fiend of fatigue. It was by smearing the door posts with blood that the Israelites kept the angel of death from entering their houses. So the Rajput chief, who like all chiefs on their crowning day, is specially open to spirit attacks, has his brow marked with blood. This has been supposed to show that the chief of Rajput race admitted that the low caste man whose blood was put on his brow had a prior claim than his own to be chief. The true explanation of this practice seems to be that a man from one of the low tribes was formerly sacrificed and the chief's brow smeared with his blood to keep off the attacks of evil spirits. The proof that the red mark in the chiefs brow was a relic of human sacrifice comes from Bengal. Colonel Dalton (Ethnology of Bengal, 146) records that among the Bhinyas of Kronghir in Bengal, a family holds land on condition of furnishing a victim when a new chief succeeds. At the installation of a new chief a man rushes forward, throws himself at the chief's feet, and has his neck touched with a sword. He disappears for three days and comes back as if miraculously restored to life.

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX E

#### SPIRIT- POSSESSION

[Compiled chiefly from papers on Spirit-possession received from the Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants of the Deccan districts through the kindness of Surgeon-General Beatty. The most useful papers were written by Rav Saheb V. R. Ghollay, Assistant Surgeon, Poona, and Mr. S. V. Kantak, L.M., Assistant Surgeon, Pandharpur.]

IN the Deccan if a person cries or weeps incessantly, if he speaks at random, if he sways his body to and fro, if he lets his hair fall loose, if he spits blood, if he does not speak or if he refuses his food for several days, and grows day by day paler and leaner, he is believed to be possessed by a spirit. All people are liable to spirit-possession and at all times of life. Women are very liable to spirit-seizures, children are less liable than women, and men are less liable than children. Women are specially liable to spirit-seizures during their monthly sickness, in pregnancy, and in child-bed; and barren women are at all times open to spirit attacks. Infants are most liable to be attacked by spirits during the twelve days after birth, especially on the fifth and sixth days and when teething. Spirits are divided into two main classes *gharche bhut* or house-spirit and *baherche bhut* or outside spirit. The influence of the house-spirits is confined to the family to which they belong. Unless they are molested they do not trouble outsiders. They are generally the ghost of a member of the family who died with some desire unfulfilled. By some they are called *samandhs* or connexions, but they are usually known by the name of the deceased member of the family whose ghosts they are, and from whom they do not differ in appearance or character.

The chief outside spirits are Akhabusa, Asras, Brahmapurush,

Brahmarakshas or Khavis, Chudel, Chandkai, Dankhin, Hadal, Jakhin, Lanv, Mhasoba, Mhaskoba, Munja, Najis, Navlai, Nirvanshi, Pir, Rajis, Talkhamba, Vetat, Vir, and Jhoting. Vetat is the king of spirits. His features and his body are like those of a man except that his hands and feet are turned backwards. His eyes are of a tawny green, his hair stands on end, and he holds a cane in his right hand and a conch shell in his left. He lives on air. When he goes his rounds, which he generally does at midnight on no-moon and full-moon days, he wears a green dress and either sits in a palanquin or rides a horse, while some of his attendants walk before and others walk after him, holding lighted torches and calling aloud. Vetat lives in large stones covered with oil and redlead. Asras are the ghosts of young women, who, after giving birth to one or more children, committed suicide by drowning themselves. They always live in water and attack any person who comes to their place of abode at noon, in the evening, or at midnight. When they make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women. They always ask for one offering for the band of spirits, each does not ask something for herself. Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric and redpowder, and bodicecloths.' Brahmapurusha is the ghost of a married Brahman who, during his lifetime, was a miser and who died miserably, his mind intent on adding to his hoard. He lives in burning grounds, on the banks of rivers, and in the lofts of houses. When he lives in his own house he attacks any member of his family who spends his money, uses his clothes, or does any other thing which had he been alive he would not have allowed him to do. Dankhin, also called Dakhin, is the ghost of a lonely woman, especially a widow who dies without children, relations, or friends. She haunts street-crossings, and like Jhoting wantonly attacks children. Hadal or Hedali is the spectre of a woman who dies in pregnancy or in childbed. She dresses in a yellow robe and Bodice, wears her hair loose, and is said to be plump in front and a skeleton behind. She lives in wells, trees, or in out-of-the-way nooks and house corners. She always attacks women. In the Deccan are many stories of Hadals visiting men at night in the guise of beautiful women, and living with them for some time till their fiend nature or spectre body showed itself Lanv is a female spirit who lives in burning and burying grounds, feeding on human intestines. She often appears in the form of a cat, dog, or goat, and suddenly turns into a woman, frightening children into a swoon. Mhasoba or Mhaishasur is a male spirit, who usually lives in a red painted stone in the corner of a field. Some villagers consider him a

guardian and worship him. Sometimes a villager who is Mhasoba's devotee makes him a vow that he will give him a cock or some other dainty if he will attack and sicken or kill the devotee's enemies. In this way, though otherwise harmless, to oblige a devotee Mhasoba sometimes causes sickness or death. Munja is the ghost of a thread-girt but unmarried Brahman lad. He lives in a *pipal* or *Ficus religiosa* tree. He is fond of attacking women whom he torments, pricking their eyes with thorns, scorching them with fire, or making them sick or barren. Any one who pelts his *pipal* with stones or otherwise disturbs him is sure to be attacked. To appease him those whom he attacks gird the *pipal* tree with a *munj* or sacred thread, and build a platform or *par* round its roots. Najis is the spectre of a Musalman who died with unfulfilled desires. When a Najis seizes a person the usual symptoms of spirit-possession are not observed. He is very difficult to drive out; Musalman exorcists alone can expel him. Pir is the ghost of a dead Musalman who lives in his tomb and seizes only those who annoy him by sitting on his tomb, spitting, or pelting stones at it, or doing any other mischief. Virs are the spirits of persons who die in battle. They are not harmful and only seize members of their family who play the coward. In some Deccan families during the Holi holidays a family Vir is asked to come into the head of the house. The man into whom the spirit comes is fed richly, dressed in war attire, and carried in procession accompanied by friends and music to Maruti's temple. On his way to the temple he dances to music and becomes inspired. At the temple he worships the image of Maruti with flowers, redlead, oil, and frankincense, and the whole party return home. If this rite is not observed the Vir troubles his family, otherwise he acts as their guardian. Jhoting is the ghost of a man who dies unmarried leaving no relation. He seizes and annoys any one without provocation. He lives in old empty houses, burial grounds, and old *pipal* trees. He is the most obstinate and faithless of spirits. His promises and oaths have to be received with caution. He extorts offerings of kids, chickens, cooked rice, and clothes, which he demands at most inconvenient times, and even after getting what he asks he will come again and demand a fresh offering. Many are the pranks and tricks played by the Jhoting. He often personates absent husbands and deceives women for days together. He has walked long journeys with wayfarers, conversing with them on all topics and generally leading them to a pond or river and drowning them. He often runs alongside of post-runners and persuades them to lay down their post bags, for, so long as the runner has his bag on his

back, Jhoting can do him no harm.

The life and influence of spirits last for four generations. In the Deccan the ghost of a great grandfather or mother is almost the oldest known. After three or four generations ghosts disappear and make room for new ones. In the Poona district, places which about seventy-five years ago were haunts of devils and which were carefully shunned, are now smiling gardens or the sites of beautiful buildings.

People who die an unnatural death and people who die with a wish unfulfilled, as an unmarried person or a miser who leaves his hoard behind, and a woman who dies in child-bed, monthly sickness, or pregnancy, are believed to come back as ghosts and trouble the living. To prevent ghosts of this kind from coming back and troubling the family special rites are performed. To prevent a dead person likely to become a ghost from coming back in the Deccan *rala* Panicum miliaceum grains and water are thrown after the body from the house to the burning ground. Sometimes a handful or two of the same grain is buried or burnt with the body. If the deceased is a woman who died in child-bed, grains of barley are used and an old horse-shoe or iron nails are driven into the threshold of the house that the spirit of the dead may not come back. In rare cases, among the lower classes, needles or small nails are driven into the heads of women who died in child-bed, and in some cases the tendons of a man who has been hanged are cut to prevent the ghost from walking. The attacks of outside spirits cannot be prevented by any fixed means. They have to be appeased each time as Vetāl or other guardian spirit may dictate, or as the spirits themselves may demand.

When a person is believed to be seized by a spirit, before an exorcist is called, several home-cures are tried. Incense is burnt and the head of the person is held over it, or eggs and lime are waved round his face and thrown on the road. If a vow has been made to any spirit or deity the vow is fulfilled and a fresh vow is made, to the household or the village god. If all these means fail the relations of the patient consult an exorcist, who gives them *angara* or charmed ashes to be rubbed on the patient's body or tells them to perform some other rites. The



exorcists in the Deccan are called *bhagats* or devotees, *devrishis* or divine seers, *mantris* or enchanters, and *panchaksharis* or men of five letters. They belong to all classes of Hindus and Musalmans, but they are generally recruited from the lower classes. Exorcists may be divided into two classes, professional and non-professional. Non-professional exorcists are for the most part persons who get naturally inspired by a guardian spirit or dev, or who have been favoured with a mystic spell or incantation by a *fakir*, *sadhu*, or saint. Most professional exorcists learn the art of exorcism from a *guru* or teacher, as it is believed that anything that is learnt without a guru's help proves unavailing. Deccan Hindus have various ways of learning exorcism. The following are the most common: The first study is begun on a lunar or on a solar eclipse day. On such a day the teacher, after bathing and without wiping his body or his head hair, puts on dry clothes and goes to the village Maruti's temple. The candidate having done the same also goes to the temple, He spreads a white cloth before the god, and on one side of the cloth makes a heap of rice, and on another side a heap of *udid* *Phaseolus radiatus*, sprinkles redlead on the heaps, and breaks a cocoanut in front of the idol. The teacher tells him the *mantra* or incantation and he learns it by heart. An ochre-coloured Hag is tied to a pole in front of the temple and the teacher and the candidate, return home. After this, on the first new-moon which falls on a Saturday, the teacher and the candidate go together out of the village to a place previously marked out by them on the boundary of the village. A servant accompanies them, who takes in a bag *udid* or *Phaseolus radiatus*, oil, seven earthen lamps, lemons, cocoanuts, and redpowder. When they reach the spot the teacher and the candidate bathe and the teacher goes to the temple of Maruti and sits praying to the god for the safety of the candidate. The candidate, who has been told what to do, starts for the boundary of the next village accompanied by the servant. On reaching the village boundary he picks up seven pebbles, sets them in a line on the road, and, after lighting a lamp near them, worships them with flowers, red-powder, and *udid* beans. Incense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken near the pebbles which represent Vetala and his lieutenants, and a second cocoanut is broken for the village Maruti. When this is over he goes to a river, well, or other watering place, bathes, and without wiping his body or putting on dry clothes, walks to the boundary or ves of the next village. There he repeats what he did at the first village boundary. He then goes to the boundary of a third village, and in this way goes to seven villages repeating the same ceremony at each. All

the while he keeps muttering charms. After finishing his worship at the seventh village the candidate returns to his own village, and going to the temple of Maruti, visits his teacher and tells him what he has done. In this way by worshipping and pleasing the Vetals of seven villages he becomes a *devrishi* or exorcist. After learning to exorcise he has to keep certain rules, a slight breach of which destroys his power as an exorcist. On every solar eclipse he must go to the sea-shore or to a river bank, bathe in cold water, and, while standing in the water, repeat incantations a certain number of times. Daily after bathing he must neither wring his hair nor dry his body. While he is taking his meals he should leave off eating, if he hears a woman in her monthly sickness speak or if a lamp goes out. The Musalman methods of learning exorcism are different from the Hindu methods and are rarely studied by Hindus. One of them may be mentioned. The candidate begins his study under the guidance of his teacher or *ustad* on the last day of the lunar month provided it falls on a Tuesday or a Sunday. The initiation takes place in a room whose walls and floors have been plastered with mud and daubed with sandal-paste. On the floor a white sheet is spread and the candidate, after washing his hands and feet and putting on a new waistcloth or turban, sits on the sheet. He lights one or two incense-sticks and offers a white cloth and meat to one of the leading Musalman saints, as Barhena, Hatila, Mehebat, or Sulaiman. The *ustad* or master teaches the candidate spells which are generally passages from the Kuran. As the course of studies which a Hindu exorcist follows differs in many points from those followed by Musalman exorcists so the plans and procedure adopted by the Hindu exorcists to scare spirits differ much from those adopted by Musalmans. Eleven modes of scaring spirits are commonly practised by Deccan Hindu exorcists. 1. Limes or lemons, which have been held over the fumes of burning incense and charmed by repeating incantations over them, are kept under the pillow of the person affected. 2. Charmed ashes, healing herbs, and a paper, written with the names of some Hindu gods, of the patient and his mother, and some mysterious words are put in a small copper or silver box, tied round the patient's neck or arm. 3. Charmed ashes are rubbed on the patient's brow. 4. A ruffle-feathered fowl and less commonly a goat or sheep is waved round the patient, carried to a place named by the exorcist, and slaughtered. 5. Cooked rice and flesh, curds, eggs, cocoanuts, flowers, and redpowder are put in a bamboo basket, waved round the sufferer and laid at the crossing of four roads. 6. The exorcist takes a few grains of *udid* or *Phaseolus radiatus*,

charms them, and throws them on the sufferer's body. 7. When the patient is possessed by an Asra or Satvai or other guardian spirit, a red and yellow cotton thread called *nadapudi* is charmed, fumigated with incense and tied round the sufferer's arm. 8. Some exorcists by the power of their charms cause the spirit to come out of the body of the possessed and enter a bottle which the exorcist corks and buries head down in some lonely place. 9. Some exorcists draw a figure and write mysterious words on a leaf of the *bhurj* or Indian birch tree, dissolve the leaf in water, and give the water to the possessed person to drink. 10. In some cases the exorcist takes the possessed person to a large tree, pronounces some mysterious words which force the spirit into the tree, and fix it there by driving a nail into the tree. 11. When a person is seized by a Brahman spirit Brahmans are fed and presented with money, and, when a person is seized by Vetala, boiled rice, curds, lime, cocoanuts, betelnuts and leaves, a cane, a garland of *rui* *Calotropis gigantea* flowers, camphor, incense, cocoanuts, and sometimes a goat are offered at Vetala's stone, which is anointed with oil and redlead, and some hemp water and leaves and some tobacco are left for Bhangya-buva, Vetala's doorkeeper.

The Musalman devices for scaring spirits are fewer and simpler than the Hindu devices. The following are the chief: 1. The name of Allah, the patient's name and his mother's name, and some spells are written on paper, put in a copper or silver box of nine or sixteen compartments, and tied round the sufferer's arm or neck. 2. Spells or verses from the Kuran are written on a paper which is curled into a wick and burnt, the sufferers' head being held over the fumes. 3. The red and yellow cotton thread called *nadapudi* is charmed, held over a pot of burning incense and tied round the sufferer's arm or neck. 4. The exorcist reads passages from the Kuran and blows on the possessed person. 5. The name of Allah is written on paper, bark, brass, or on a knife blade, the article written on is washed, and the sufferer drinks the water.

Though some classes of spirits are affected by both, the Hindu modes of exorcism have more effect on Hindu spirits and the Musalman modes on Musalman spirits.

The following examples illustrate cases of spirit-possession and the modes adopted for driving out the possessing spirits.

(1) Radha the second wife of Narayan, a Konkanasth Brahman of Poona, one day on coming home after drawing water began to cry, to shake, and to vomit.' From these symptoms her husband guessed she was possessed. He burnt incense and hair and held her head over the fumes, and struck her with a cane, but the spirit would not go. Narayan sent for Raghu a Maratha exorcist. Raghu asked for some incense, fire, and lemons. He waved the lemons round the girl, cut them in pieces, and, putting the incense on the fire, set it before the girl and began to mutter charms. After he had spoken few words the girl came forward and sat in front of him. Raghu asked her to say who the spirit was. The girl, answering in the spirit's name, said that she was Narayan's first wife, and that she attacked Radha because she had taken her place and used her things. The exorcist called on her to leave the girl. She answered that she would leave if Radha wore round her neck a golden image of her, and presented women with robes and bodices in her name. The golden image was worn and women were given robes and bodices but Radha did not get well. Then the exorcist asked the spirit of the first wife whether any other spirit troubled the girl. After much hesitation she admitted that besides herself a male spirit possessed the girl. The dead wife was asked to leave the girl till the male spirit was driven out. When the spirit of the dead wife had gone, the exorcist burnt more incense and repeated verses. He threw water over Radha, slapped her on the face, and cut lemons on her head. Radha, or the man-spirit in her, began to speak. He said he was the son of the village accountant of Karad in Satara, and that as he had failed to get Radha as his wife he attacked her during her last visit to Karad, where she had gone to visit' her grandmother. In proof that his statement was true he was asked to write all about himself. This he did though Radha is said not to know how to write. He was told to go, but refused. The exorcist began to throw water over Radha, and to repeat charms. He cut several lemons, squeezed them over her head, and after a while the spirit agreed to leave. The girl was carried to a distance from the town, and there the spirit was nailed into a tree. Before he was nailed he was asked whether any more spirits were in the girl. He said there were five more. The girl was then taken to Pandharpur along with the exorcist. On holding her head over incense fumes the exorcist found that the five spirits were two Maratha women, one Kunbi man, one Munja or thread-girt lad, and one drowned Brahman. The two Maratha women said they attacked Radha because she

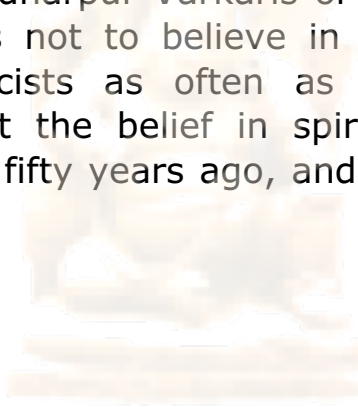
happened to come in their way one day while walking along the road. They were easily removed, and were not nailed into the tree, as they promised not to trouble her. The Kunbi man said that Radha had crossed his path in his field and he attacked her. He said that he had become a ghost because he died from the effects of snake-bite, and prayed that he might not be nailed into a tree out be allowed to go to his native country. The exorcist saw no reason to humour the Kunbi, and nailed him into a tree. The Brahman man had no reason to give to explain his attack on the girl, but as he promised never to molest Radha again he was allowed to go. The next spirit was the Munja or Brahman lad. On being asked to leave he refused. The exorcist threw several handfuls of water over the girl and repeated charms until the Munja agreed to go, and was nailed into a *pipal* tree. The exorcist then wrote some mystic spells on a piece of paper, enclosed it in a silver box, and after tying the box round Radha's neck sent her back to Poona. (2) Kashi, the daughter of Narayan, an oil-maker of Poona, one day threw some bones near a *pipal* tree in which a Munja lived. One Rupchand Daulata told the girl's father, and advised him to prevent his daughter polluting the Munja's abode. Instead of reprimanding his daughter Narayan abused the Munja. One day about nine in the morning a shower of stones and broken tiles fell on Narayan's roof. So great was the shower that many people came to see it. One of the spectators, who was a medium, told Narayan to bring an egg and fire. No sooner had he said this than thirty or forty eggs and some live coals fell from the ceiling. On this some one suggested that cow's urine should be brought and sprinkled over the house, when suddenly a large quantity of water fell from the ceiling. The owner of the house began to despair, when suddenly pieces of silver anklets fell from the ceiling. Those present cheered Narayan and said the anklets were lucky. Narayan thought the pieces of anklets were his own and asked his wife to see whether her anklets were safe in the box. She opened the box and found the anklets missing. All the links were gathered and were found to make up the missing anklets. The same evening the oil-maker's daughter became inspired, and an exorcist was called. He threw charmed grains of *udid* *Phaseolus radiatus* over the girl, and called on the spirit to go. After some hesitation the spirit agreed to go, provided the oil-maker cleansed the platform of the *pipal* tree where he lived, gave him cooked food and flowers, and fed five Brahmans in his name. All this was done and the spirit ceased to give trouble. [This case is said to have happened at Poona. about four years ago and is corroborated by several persons, Rav



Saheb V. R. Ghollay, Assistant Surgeon, Poona.] (3) Esu, a Maratha woman, during her monthly sickness, went to the river Mula to wash her clothes. She began to wash her clothes when the stone on which she was standing upset, and she fell in water. She got up, washed her clothes, and went home. In the evening she began to shake and cry. She refused to eat, and continued in this state for a fortnight. Her husband called an exorcist who gave her some ashes to rub on her brow and promised that for a fortnight she would be untroubled. Accordingly she was well for a fortnight. At the end of the fortnight the exorcist came. He asked for seven pomegranates, seven almonds, seven dry dates, seven lemons, a cocoanut, a sheep, a piece of green cloth, redpowder, turmeric, incense, camphor, flowers, and a cotton thread dyed black, yellow, and red. The exorcist then took Esu with her relations to a field near the river. There he brought seven pebbles, washed them with water and anointed them with oil and redlead, burnt incense and camphor, and killed a sheep before them. A bamboo basket was filled with cooked rice and the sheep's flesh, a flour-lamp was lighted and kept over the rice, the piece of cloth, cocoanut, and other articles were kept in the basket and the basket was floated down the river. No medicine was given to Esu, and after a few days she was well.

It sometimes happens that even the best exorcists fail to cast out the spirit. In such cases the patient is taken to one or other of the following places: Narsoba's *vadi* in Kolhapur, Alandi and Narsingpur in Poona, Phaltan in Satara, and Gangapur near Sholapur. At Narsoba's *vadi* is a famous spirit-scaring image of Guru Dattatraya the three-headed god. The possessed person is told to worship the idol daily and to go round the temple three to a thousand times. At the time of *arti* or lamp-waving a lighted lamp is waved round the god and drums beaten and cymbals clashed. The possessed person becomes inspired, and cries 'Do not beat me: I will depart.' The spirit, through the medium of the possessed person, promises to go if it is given what it wants. Some spirits demand the money which the possessed person owes them, some demand food, and some other offerings. When the demands of the spirit are satisfied, the possessed person throws himself into water. His relations, who accompany him, instantly take him out of the water, and when he is taken out he is well. At Phaltan in Satara, is a temple belonging to the class of religious beggars called Manbhavs. [Details of Manbhavs are given in the Satara

Statistical Account, 120-122.] The temple contains a *samadh* or tomb of a saint named Aba Saheb. At the time of *arti* or lamp-waving round the tomb the possessed person gets inspired and cries out ' Do not beat me. One of the Manbhav ministrants calls on the spirit to leave the person and stay in a tree or a stone pillar in the temple yard. In the trees in the yard are many nails, each nail representing a spirit who has been fixed into the tree. In the Deccan the belief in the frequency of spirit-attacks is strong, though not so strong as in the Konkan. Among the lower classes the belief is universal, and it is by no means uncommon among the higher classes, especially among women. The only persons who profess not to believe in spirit-possession are Kabir-panthis or followers of Kabir, the Nanak-panthis or followers of Nanak, the Ramanuj-panthis or followers of Ramanuj, and the Pandharpur Varkaris or devotees of Vithoba. Lingayats also profess not to believe in spirit-seizure, but in practice consult exorcists as often as other Hindus. It is universally stated that the belief in spirit-seizures is not so strong as it was some fifty years ago, and that day by day it is growing weaker.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX F

UNDER special circumstances one or two peculiar forms of marriage and funeral service are performed:

#### SUN-MARRIAGE

*Arka-vivaha*, literally sun-marriage, is the phrase used for marriage with the holy *rui* bush *Calatropis gigantea* in which the sun is believed to live. When a man has lost two wives it is the general belief that if he marries a third wife either he or his bride will die soon after the wedding. The evil is turned aside by the man marrying the sun's daughter the *rui* bush before he marries his third wife. The *rui* bush marriage is performed either in the house or near a *rui* bush on a Saturday or Sunday when the constellation Hasta is in the ascendancy, or a couple of days before the marriage with the third wife. The bush should have fruit, flowers, and leaves. A square is traced in front of the bush with lines of quartz-powder, and the bridegroom sits on a low wooden stool in the square facing the bush. The family priest sits on another low wooden stool to the bridegroom's right as also does the father of the girl whom the bridegroom is afterwards to marry. The bridegroom pours water on the palm of his right hand, and throws it on the ground saying, 'I make a sun-marriage to turn aside the evil which might fall on me if I married a third time.' Then, as at other marriages, come the holyday-blessing or *punyahavachan* and joyful-event spirit-worship or *nandishraddh*. The girl's father performs the *madhupark* or worships his son-in-law by offering him clothes, rubs sandal-paste on his brow, throws flower garlands round his neck, and with joined hands, looking towards the *rui* bush and calling on the bush as the sun-daughter, begs her to show favour to his daughter and her husband and to overlook his son-in-law's sin in marrying a third time. The girl's father pours a little water over the bush, rolls a white sheet round it, winds a cotton thread round the sheet, and lays a betel packet and raw sugar before it. The bridegroom, standing with joined hands in front of the bush, prays, saying 'Thou who art chief among trees, in whom lives the sun-god Surya-Narayan, who art a Brahman loved by the gods, do thou guard with care the girl I

am about to wed and be kind to us both.' The girl's father and the priest hold a cloth or *antarpāt* between the bush and the bridegroom and as far as the girl-giving or *kanyadan*, the service is almost the same as at an ordinary Brahman marriage. The only difference is that instead of the girl's father's name the name of Surya or the sun is repeated. A thread is passed four times round the bridegroom's waist and the stem of the bush, and a second thread is wound four times round his neck and the branches of the bush. The thread which was passed round the bridegroom's neck and the branches is tied to the bush with a piece of turmeric, and the thread that was passed round the bridegroom's waist and the bush-stem is tied to the bridegroom's right wrist also with a piece of turmeric. Four waterpots are set round the plant and on each pot an image of the god Vishnu is placed and worshipped by the bridegroom. The bridegroom then sits on the left of the plant, kindles a sacrificial fire, and feeds the fire with butter. The priest repeats the *shanti sukt* or peace-bringing verses. The bridegroom leaves his place and puts on new clothes which are given him by the girl's father, and the clothes he wore during the ceremony are made over to the priest along with a money present. Brahmans are feasted and on leaving are presented with money or *dakshana* [The root of this sun or *rui* bush marriage seems to be the fear of the ghost of the dead wife. In the lower Deccan and Konkan classes who allow widow-marriage the fear of the dead husband leads to similar special services before widow marriage. The fear of the husband's ghost seems to be at the root of the Hindu high caste rule against widow marriage.]

## FUNERAL RITES

Special funeral services are performed for an unmarried lad, for a woman who dies in her monthly sickness, for a pregnant woman, for a lying-in woman, for a heirless man, for a child under three, and for an ascetic. When a *Brahmachari* or Brahman lad dies after he has been girt with the sacred thread and before the *sod-munj* or loosening of the *munj* grass waistband, or according to others between the time he is girt with the sacred thread and his marriage, there is no mourning. The body is laid in the women's hall. The father sits on the ground near the body and performs the *punyahavachan* or holyday-blessing and *nandishraddha* or joyful-event spirit-worship. An earthen mound is raised near the body and the father kindles a holy fire on the mound and feeds the fire with

butter. He loosens the patch of deer skin and the *munj* grass from the dead loins and casts them outside of the house. If the ceremony is performed in the house, to prevent weeping and wailing, preparations are at once made for carrying the body to the burning ground. A bier is made ready and the body is taken outside and laid on the bier. The bier is raised on the shoulders of four of the nearest relations and they start for the burning ground, the father walking in front holding an earthen firepot. At the burning-ground the whole of the sun-marriage or *arka-vivaha* is gone through. [The root of this sun marriage is the fear of the unwed ghost. In the Kanarese districts no spirit is more feared than the *vir* or ghost of the unwed. He belongs to the class of uneasy ghosts who walk and worry the living, because they die with one of the great objects of life unfulfilled. Among the Malabar Nairs the fear of the unwed takes the curious and costly form of marrying the Nair woman's corpse to a Brahman.] A twig of the *rui* or *Calotropis gigantea* is brought and the twig and the body are bathed, rubbed with turmeric, a yellow thread is passed round them, and each is dressed in a piece of white cloth. An earthen mound is raised and a holy fire is kindled and fed with butter. The father of the boy now becomes impure and from this moment the mourning begins. The body of the boy is burnt with the same observances as at the death of a married man. The only difference is that on the thirteenth day thirty Brahmacharis, or boys who have been girt with the sacred thread but are not married, are asked to the house of mourning and presented with loincloths or *langotis*, deer skins, earrings, shoes, umbrellas, balls of *gopichandan* or white clay, flower garlands, sacred threads, money, and coral.

When a woman dies in her monthly sickness, her body is carried out and burnt without any ceremony or the repeating of any verses. On the fourth day the bones are gathered and burnt again with the same ceremonies as if the bones were the body. If the family objects to dispose of the body in this way, the body is carried to the burning-ground as usual, laid near water, and covered from head to foot with dough. The chief mourner bathes, and, with a new winnowing fan, scoops water a hundred and eight times from the pool so as to dash on the body and wash off the dough. He then mixes ashes with water and pours it over the dead, then cowdung and water, then earth and water, then *darbha* grass and water, and lastly the five cow-gifts and water. The body is dressed in a new robe, the old robe is cast away, and the body is burnt with the usual ceremonies.



When a woman dies after the sixth month in pregnancy she is bathed and decked with flowers and ornaments, and then carried to the burning-ground. There her husband or son sprinkles water on her body from the points of *darbh* or sacred grass, and says sacred verses. Then he cuts with a sharp weapon, generally a razor, her left side below the navel and takes out the child. Should the child be alive, it is brought home and taken care of, but should it be found to be dead, it is there and then buried. Then the belly of the dead woman is filled with curds and clarified butter, and covered with cotton threads, and is burnt with the usual rites. Of late the practice of cutting the stomach and taking out the child whether dead or alive is not much regarded, especially in cases in which pregnancy is not far advanced and the hope of taking out the child alive is little. If a pregnant woman is burnt with her child in the womb, the chief mourner of the pregnant woman is said to commit murder and to avoid the sin of murder the chief mourner must perform cleansing rites.

When a lying-in woman dies during the first ten days, her body is carried out and burnt without any ceremony or the repeating of any verses. If the family objects to dispose of the body in this way, the body is covered from head to foot with dough of barley, and, like the dead body of a woman in monthly sickness, is washed with water, ash-water, cowdung water, earth water, *darbh* grass water, and lastly with water and the five cow-gifts. The old robe is thrown away and the dead body is wrapped in a new robe, and burnt.

When a child dies within the first twelve days or before the naming ceremony, it is always buried; and if it dies between the twelfth day and the third year or between the naming ceremony and the first cutting of the child's head hair it is either buried or burnt without any ceremony or the repeating of any verses. If a boy dies after the naming ceremony and before teething and if the body is burnt his parents are impure for three days and other members of the family for one day; and when the body is buried the parents become pure after three days and other members of the family by bathing. If a girl dies after the naming ceremony and before teething, her parents are impure for three days and other members of the family become pure on the first day by bathing whether the body is burnt or buried. If a boy or girl dies after teething within the third year or before the

cutting of the head hair, the parents are impure for three days and other members of the family for one day, whether the body is burnt or buried.

When a heirless person dies, any of his castemen out of charity burn the dead body and perform the usual death rites. To perform the death-rites of a helpless and heirless man is considered highly meritorious. If none of his castemen is willing to do the rites or to burn the dead body, Hindus of any caste except the impure castes may burn the body without any ceremony.

When a *sanyasi* or ascetic dies his funeral ceremonies are performed either by his disciple or *shishya*, or by his son if he has a son. The son's, or, if the son is absent, the disciple's head is shaved except the top-knot and his face except the eyebrows. If the *sanyasi* has no son his disciple cannot shave his head and face. The chief mourner pours cold water over the body and covers it with sandal-paste. Flower and *tulsi* garlands are fastened round the neck and arms and the body is seated cross-legged in a bamboo frame, scented powder is thrown over the body, and flowers and burning frankincense sticks are stuck round the frame, and with musicians friends relations and townspeople the body is carried at a slow pace to the burning-ground. Here a pit is dug about five and a half feet square and deep, and in the bottom of the pit is dug a second hole about two feet three inches square and deep. The five cow-gifts or *panchagavya* are sprinkled over both the pit and the hole and blades of *darbha* grass are laid at the bottom both of the pit and of the hole. Over the dead head the chief mourner sprinkles water from a conch-shell and worships the dead, offering flowers and burning incense. The body is seated cross-legged in the hole, a stick or *dand* with three crooks or *vanks* is placed in his right hand, and the chief mourner lays his right hand on the dead breast, eyebrows, and head. Then, as the skull of the dead must be broken, it is struck with a conch-shell or with a hatchet. If, either through fear or through love the mourner is unwilling to break the skull, a lump of coarse sugar is laid on the head, and the coarse sugar is broken with a conch-shell. Then the pit and the hole are filled with salt and covered with earth and stones. The burial of an ascetic is believed to give merit not only to the chief mourner but to all who attend. There is no weeping and no mourning. When the burial is over all are careful to bathe and rub sandal-paste on their brows and return with joy

to the mourner's house. No mourning rites are performed, but for ten days the chief mourner does not defile himself by touching any one or by talking with a Shudra. Either on the same or on the following day he washes the house-gods, gathers the water in a pot, and four times pours a ladle of water on the ground in the names of Gurudev, Parama-gurudev, Paramesthidev, and Paratparagurudev, as if four generations of spiritual fathers. Then, if the death happened in the first fortnight of the month, the first twelve of the twenty-four names of the deities are repeated, and, if the death happened in the second fortnight, the second twelve names are repeated by the mourner, and after each name a ladle of water is spilt On the ground. [The gods twenty-four names are: Keshav, Narayan, Madhav, Govind, Vishnu, Madhusudan, Trivikaram, Vaman, Shridhar, Rishikesha, Padmanabh, Damodar, Sankarshan, Vasudev, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Purushottam, Adhokshaja, Narasimh, Achyut, Janardan, Upendra, Hari, and Shrikrishna.] For ten days the mourner goes daily to the burning-ground, cooks rice in milk and butter, and after making on the grave a sand or earth *ling* and worshipping it, offers the rice and butter to the *ling*, and then throws it into water and returns home. On the eleventh day he goes to the burning-ground, and sitting near the grave or near a pool of water, repeats the name and the family name of the dead, and says, 'I perform the ceremony of joining the dead with his dead fathers, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. He asks five Brahmans to sit near him, and goes through the *shraddha* or memorial service, except that he offers no rice or dough balls or *finds*. On returning home he feasts the five Brahmans and dismisses them with a money present. On the twelfth day he performs the Narayanbali or god-offering. He asks thirteen Brahmans to a feast. He seats them in a row on thirteen low wooden stools, repeats one of the god's twelve names, and places a blade of *darbha* grass in the right hand of each of the twelve Brahmans. The thirteen Brahmans he takes to be the god Vishnu. He places a blade of *darbha*, grass in his right hand and in a metal plate near him sets an image of the god Vishnu. He washes the feet of the thirteen Brahmans, and sitting with his face to the east makes a mound of earth, lights a holy fire on the top of the mound, and puts in a brass pot a hundred and fifty-two pinches of rice, washes the rice in cold water, and mixing it with butter and milk cooks it on the mound. When the rice is cooked he throws some of it thirty-two times on the fire. He presents the Brahmans with woollen beds or *asans* and waistcloths or *achhadans*. Buttered leaf plates are laid before

them and dishes cooked in the house are served on the plates. After they have dined the Brahmans go out, wash their hands and mouths, and again take their seats on the low wooden stools. The mourner makes thirteen balls of the rice that remains and places them in a row before him and worships them in the name of Vishnu and of twelve of the twenty-four names of the gods. Packets of betel and money are given to the thirteen Brahmans and they withdraw. The family priest receives some money, the image of Vishnu, and the plate in which the image was set and goes home, and the ceremony of Narayanbali or god-offering is over. On the thirteenth day sixteen Brahmans or *sanyasis* are asked to dine. When they come they are seated in a row on low wooden stools. The mourner washes their feet in a plate and gathers the water in a jar. The sixteen men are worshipped as house-gods are worshipped, and, after the worship is over, leaf plates are spread and sweetmeats are served. When the dinner is over they take their former seats and are given water jars, shoes, waist-cloths, money, and betel packets. A high wooden stool is set near them, and on the middle of the stool some grains of rice are strewn, and on the rice a water jar is set. The chief mourner worships the water jar in the way he worships his house-gods. He sets the jar on his head, and followed by his brothers, sisters, and other members of the family, walks once round the Brahmans. The Brahmans shout verses and the chief mourner dances with the jar on his head, so as to make the water from the jar spill over him. A Brahman takes the water jar on his head, thrice pours a ladle of water from the jar on the mourner's hands who sips the water. The service ends with a blessing. The service is repeated every year instead of the usual memorial or *shraddha* service.

### **SYMBOLIC CREMATION**

Special funeral rites are sometimes performed when there is no body to be burnt. This may happen either because the deceased died in a distant land or was drowned at sea; or the burning may be symbolic, done while the person is alive, to show that he is dead to his family and caste. Sometimes when a wife has gone wrong and will not come back to her husband, he performs her funeral rites, and from that she is to him as one who is dead. Or if a Brahman gives up his father's faith and becomes a Christian or a Musalman, either at the time of his change or afterwards when his parents hear of his death, they

perform his funeral rites. In these cases, the chief mourner, with the family priest and one or two near relations, go to the burning-ground and in a corner spread the skin of a black antelope. On the skin the chief mourner lays three hundred and sixty *palas* or *Butea frondosa* leaves for the head, ten for the neck, forty for each arm, ten for the ten fingers, twenty for the chest, forty for the stomach, sixty-five for each leg, and ten for the ten toes. He ties the leaves by their stems into separate bunches with sacred grass, and laying them in their former places, spreads grass on the leaves, and rolls the whole into a bundle. He holds the bundle in front of him, mixes about a pound of wheat flour, honey, and butter, and rubbing the mixture on the bundle, fastens a piece of white cloth over it. At its top, for the head he places a cocoanut, for the brow a plantain leaf, for the teeth thirty-two pomegranate or *dalimb* seeds, for the ears two pieces of shell-fish, for the eyes two *kavdi* shells their corners marked with redlead, for the nose sesame flower or seeds, for the navel a lotus flower, for the arm bones two carrots, and for the thigh bones two brinjals, for the breasts lemons and black and red *gunja* berries *Abrus precatorius*, and sea shells or a carrot for the other parts. For the breath he puts arsenic, for the bile yellow pigment, for the phlegm sea foam, for the blood honey, for the urine and excrement cow's urine and dung, for the seminal fluids quicksilver, for the hair of the head the hair of a wild hog, for the hair of the body wool, and for the flesh he sprinkles the figure with wet barley-flour, honey, and butter. He sprinkles milk, curds, honey, butter, sugar, and water on the figure, covers the lower part with a woollen cloth, fastens round its chest a sacred thread and round its neck a garland of flowers, touches the brow with sandal-paste, and sets a lighted flour-lamp on its stomach. This figure, with its cocoanut head to the south, is sprinkled with rice and the life of the dead is brought into it. When the lamp burns low and flickers the mourner offers gifts and performs the dying ceremonies. When the lamp goes out he raises a pile of wood and burns the figure with the usual rites. He mourns ten days and performs the usual memorial or *shraddha* rites. [Compare, The Mexicans after a battle made figures of the missing dead, burnt them and buried the ashes. Spencer's Principles of Sociology, I. 328.]