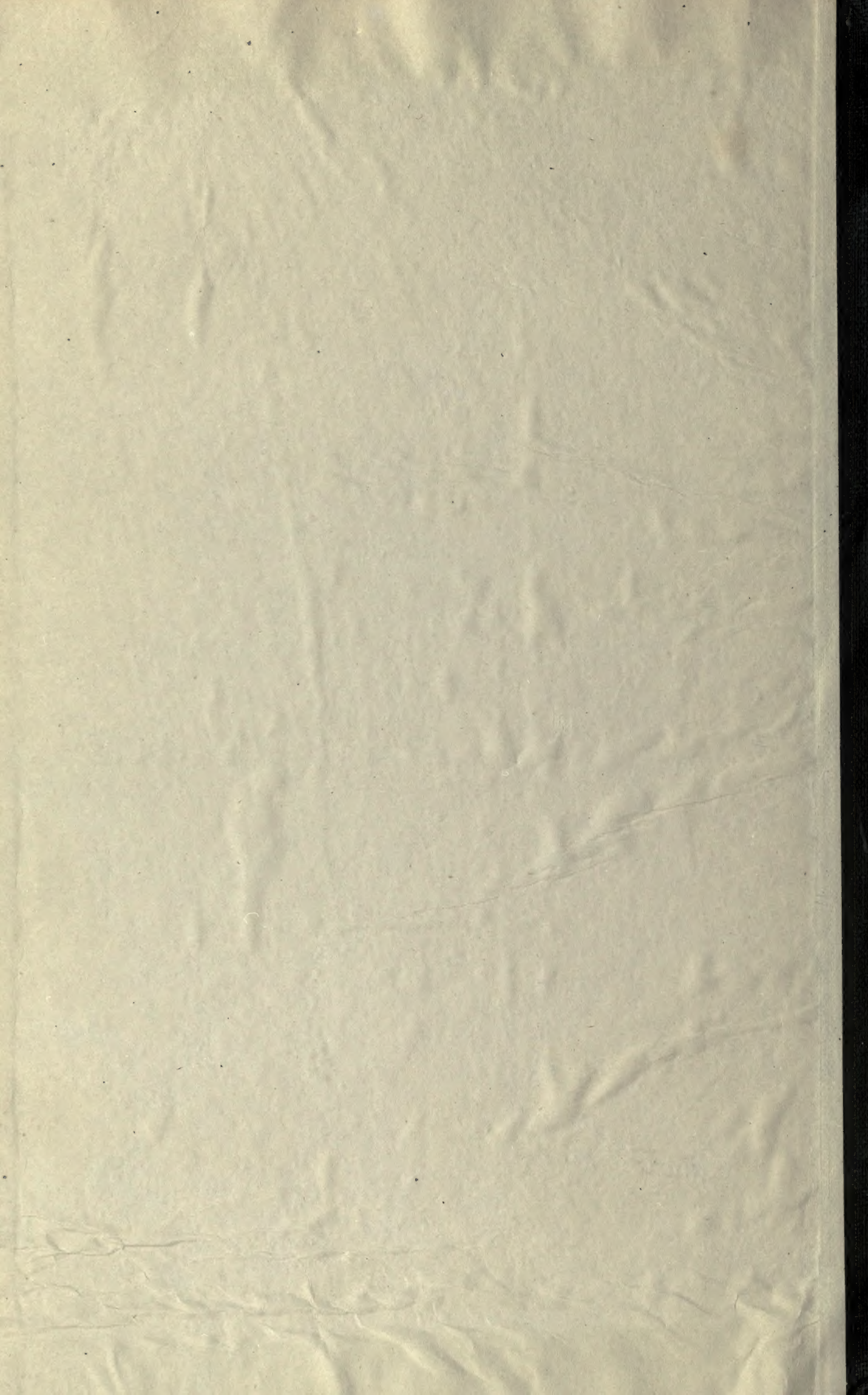




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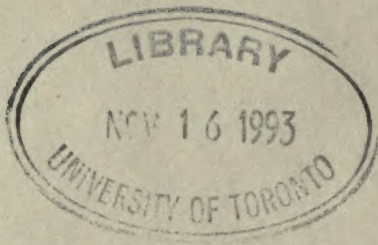


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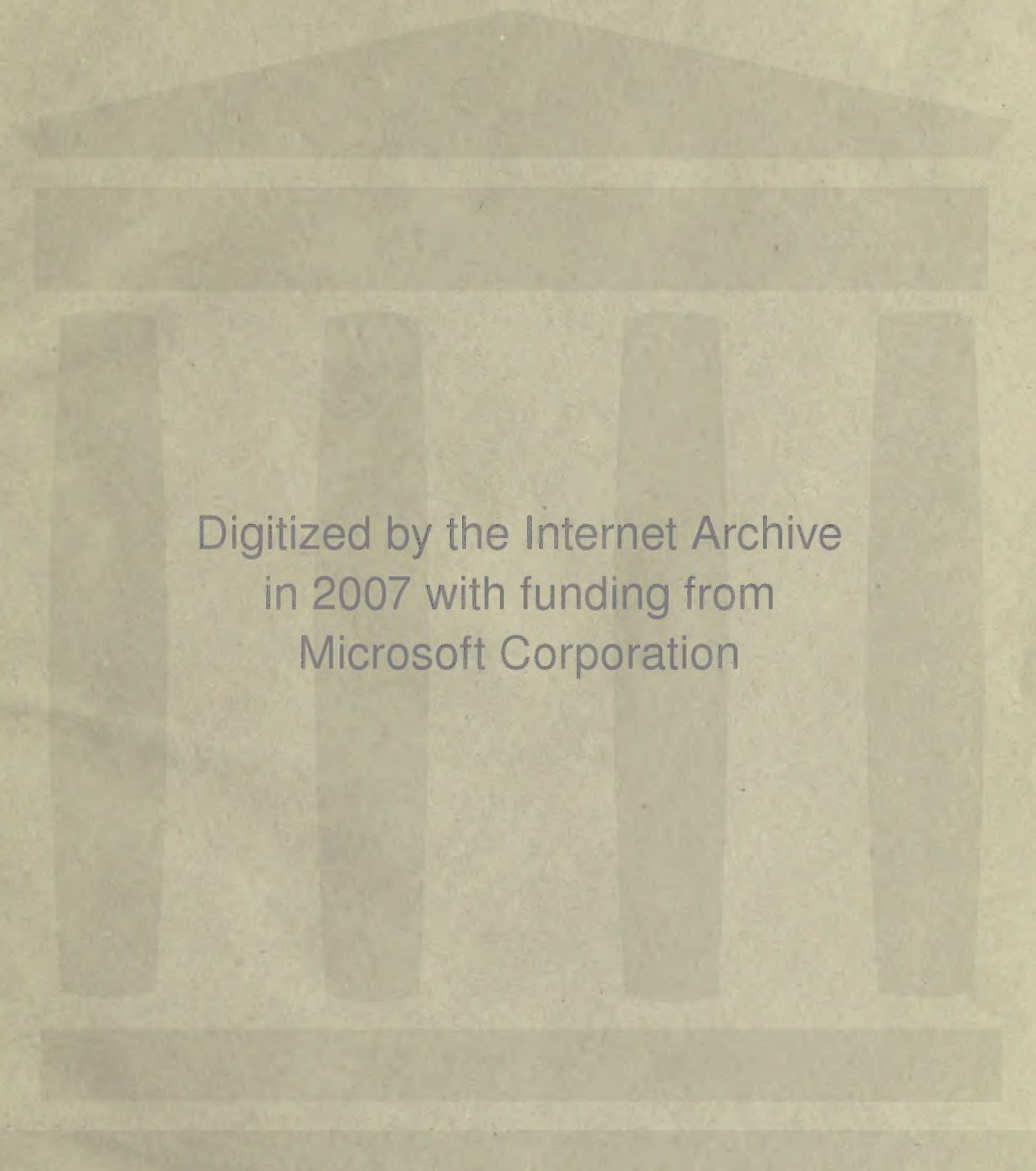
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# SOME CRIMINAL TRIBES OF INDIA.

## INTRODUCTION.

These lectures were never meant for publication and have only now been published "by order." There is no pretence that they are the outcome of original research; all that has been done in the majority of cases was to collate the accounts written by others and from these to bring our knowledge up to date. They were written for the Probationers of the Training School, all of whom had their "Gunthorpes," and were intended to understand that the last word on criminal tribes had not by any means been written, and that "Gunthorpe"—though selected as their text-book—was written more than a generation ago.

In writing the lectures reference was made among others to the following sources of information, other official papers containing notes on criminals were not within reach :—

- Crooke's ' Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces ; '
- Sherring's ' Hindu Tribes and Castes ; '
- Gunthorpe's ' Notes on Criminal Tribes ; '
- Paupa Rao Naidu's ' History of Railway Thieves ; '
- Mullaly's ' Notes on Criminal Classes ; '
- Sir H. Elliot's ' Races of the North-Western Provinces of India ; '
- Notes on Criminal tribes published from time to time in the *Police Gazette* ;
- Articles which have appeared in the "*Indian Police News*."

Where possible the information already obtainable in Major Gunthorpe's book was omitted. Invaluable assistance was also given by Inspectors Mahfuzal Rahim, Mahadeo Prasad and Durjan Singh, who have had considerable experience of criminals, and many opportunities of studying their ways. Inspector Mahfuzal Rahim had himself been gathering information concerning the various tribes with the object of publishing a book: the help given by him was therefore particularly valuable, and it was given in the most public-spirited manner, without a thought of self-interest; the only cause of regret I have is that he was not at hand while each lecture was being prepared.

One might easily be deluded into the idea that every tribe has such marked characteristics that any one ought to be able to recognize members of it at sight. Nothing could be further from the truth: the man who could unerringly pick a Bhampta out of a train-load of travellers, or a Sanoria out of a well-packed sarai or crowded bazar, would deserve the grateful acknowledgments of his fellow-beings. Criminals when on the warpath naturally do all they can to hide their identity and to evade observation. In the lawless days of the past, when criminal tribes were openly kept by petty Chiefs to provide them with the wherewithal to fill their coffers, many tribes gloried in their skill and daring, and did not hide their light under a bushel, but they have had to alter their tactics with changing times. Some have found first one form of crime, then another, too risky; all have become more cautious and been obliged to use the utmost cunning to throw their enemies off the scent; each prosecution has given them some clue to the points which have helped the police to establish their identity; intercourse with an advancing civilization has taught them fresh and improved ways of enriching themselves, and experience has taught them where and when to refrain from exercising their calling. It is therefore now out of the question to give cut and dried descriptions of any tribe which will cover all conditions. Each band has



its own ways and keeps them as secret as possible. One can therefore only generalize. Customs, however, die hard in this land of caste, where the help of tribal gods is invoked by their votaries in their criminal expeditions; so we still have in many instances marked circumstances to help us to distinguish tribes both from one another and from their non-criminal brethren.

Every one who takes the trouble to read this pamphlet will note that detailed and authentic information about the tribes is now and then asked for. Every particular that can be sent will be most gratefully received, whether written by a man of long experience, or a keen young officer who has taken careful and accurate notes of his first contact with these public pests, whether it refers to particulars picked up in the past or to fresh cases, or whether it is meant to correct a mistaken assertion made in these lectures or to add a fresh item to our present stock of knowledge. The only thing asked is that each officer who sends a contribution will bear in mind that the information should give careful and accurate details taken as far as possible from the criminal records at the termination of a trial (if there has been one). It should aim at giving when practicable—

- (a) the real home of the gang and its mother tongue;
- (b) its composition;
- (c) the places visited by it and the dates and duration of visits, and the places chosen for camping, and mode of conveying equipage;
- (d) a full description of the offences actually committed, showing in detail the methods adopted, and disposal of stolen property;
- (e) a description of the members of the gang and disguises used;
- (f) its religious beliefs and observances, its tribal gods and the shrines it considers most sacred and to which it makes pilgrimages;
- (g) miscellaneous interesting facts, such as omens observed, slang expressions used, &c.

Criminals may frequently alter their methods of crime when the crime is not a religious function; but they will only change their religious beliefs and customs by imperceptible degrees. They may lie freely about everything else, but will hesitate to lie about their religious observances and sacred places; and in the near future we may have little we can rely on, but religious characteristics to guide us in fixing the tribe to which a gang belongs unless the finger impressions of some of the members betray them. In writing of a single gang of a tribe it must be remembered that every gang of that tribe will not necessarily behave similarly.

A few words on the force of habit when applied to criminal propensities may interest some of the younger members of the force. In countries where criminology has been scientifically studied it has been established that the bulk of what may be called "organized" and serious crime against property is committed by what the French call the *récidiviste* or criminal who reverts to his habits of crime after conviction: with us this individual comes under the title of "habitual." You will find—and this will perhaps become truer as time goes on—wherever there is a run of serious offences against property, that "habituals" are at work, and there are no habituals so bold or successful as those belonging to a tribe



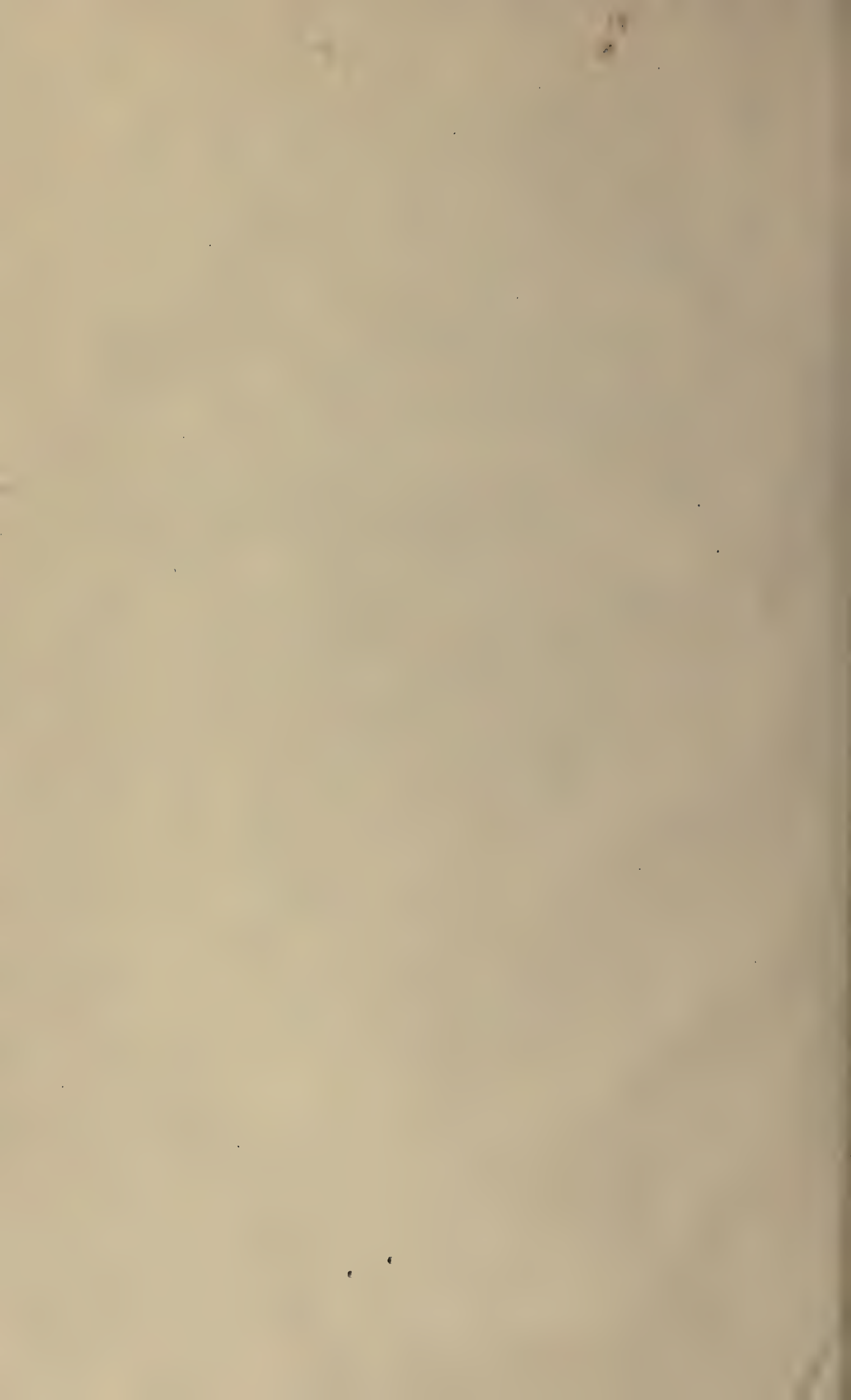
which has made that particular form of crime its chief study for generations: they are people whose blood tingles with pleasure at each fresh *coup* and urges them on to fresh triumphs, whose daily companions are accomplices ever ready to propose or co-operate in new exploits, and whose chief deity is best pleased when they are employed in enriching themselves under his or her auspices. Récidivism will not quickly die out among such people, and it behoves the police to pay very marked attention to them; for only so long as they are under proper control will they be innocuous.

Once more forgiveness is craved for imperfections in these lectures; it is hoped that later—when readers have rendered it possible by the supply of authentic information—a better thought out and more reliable account of these and other tribes may be compiled and published with the photos and illustrations which the Inspector-General hopes to obtain.

G. W. GAYER,

*Principal, Police Officers' Training School, Saugor.*







## ERRATA:

- Note to preface.*—The page should be 109 and not 108.
- Page 3, 2nd paragraph, 8th line.*—Gunthorpe not Gunthrope.
- Page 10, 5th paragraph, 7th line.*—Insert “the” before “tribes”.
- Page 17, 6th line from bottom.*—Insert “an” before “oval”.
- Page 29, paragraph 3, line 11.*—“is” should be “in”.
- Page 30, paragraph 6, line 6.*—“Purpose” should be as now given.
- Page 39, last line of first paragraph.*—“women” should be “woman”.
- Page 50 (2), last word in line.*—“Marwari” should be as now given.
- Page 60, 6th line, from bottom.*—“returned” should be “return”.
- Page 62, 4th paragraph, line 3.*—“Which it set fire” should read “which is set fire”.
- Page 66, last line.*—“leave” should read “leaves”.
- Page 67, paragraph 5, line 6.*—The “s” of “Doms” should be omitted.
- „ *paragraph 6.*—The “k” in “necktar” should be omitted.
- Page 77, 7th line.*—“person” should be “persons”.
- Page 87, paragraph 3, line 11.*—Insert “a” before “large”.
- Page 93, paragraph 2, line 8.*—Omit “k” from “workship”.
- Page 94, line 8.*—Omit “p” from “separate”.
- „ *line 15.*—Add “t” in “hororoughly”.
- Page 114, paragraph 29, 2nd line.*—The last “r” in “Pitrir” should read “s”.
- Foot-note.*—“made” should read “make”.
- Page 115, paragraph 35.*—“Vishn” should read “Vishnu”.
- Page 116, paragraph 42, line 2, line 7 and line 12.*—“Tulsidass” should be spelt with one “s” (final).
- Page 118, lines 11 and 12.*—“Parama Hansa” should be spelt as shown here.
- Page 119, 10th line.*—“spashta” not “spastha”.
- „ *8th line from end.*—The “u” in “Quadiria” to be omitted.
- Page 123, paragraph 57.*—“Parama Hansa” whenever found here and hereafter should be as now given.
- Page 124, paragraph 58, last line.*—“( )” before and after “Bhattacharjee”.
- Page 125, 2nd line from bottom.*—Add “n” in “medicant”.
- Page 126, paragraph 72, 4th line.*—Insert “l” in “wordly”.
- Page 128, line 3.*—“delineate” not “delienate”.
- Page 129.*—Last word of note (2) should read Sessa.
- Page 131, paragraph 98, line 4.*—Mallik should read Malak.
- Page 133, line 3.*—Bhattacharjee should be in brackets.
- Page 137, last line.*—alms not alm.







## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The number of copies of these lectures originally printed proved insufficient, instructions were therefore issued for the preparation of a revised edition. Since the publication of the first edition much useful information about criminal tribes has come to hand, with the result that many of the lectures have had to be rewritten, others developed, and some fresh ones added; the occasion has also been seized to add three new sections, the last of these contains three lectures on religious mendicants. With the kind permission of Mr. C. R. Cleveland, C. I. E., I reproduce at the foot of this preface the memorandum which led to the writing of the lectures on Sadhus. Every endeavour has been made to exclude anything which is likely to arouse the susceptibilities of orthodox Hindus; with this object the rough drafts were submitted to Rai Saheb Ganga Singh, retired Extra-Assistant Commissioner, and Pandit Hari Shastri, Professor, Training Institute, Jabalpur, and I take this opportunity of thanking them for the trouble they have so kindly taken, and sincerely hope that no exception can be taken to the lectures as they now stand.

My warmest acknowledgments are also due to my brother, Mr. W. A. Gayer, for his generosity in placing at my disposal the whole of his extensive notes, to Mr. C. M. Seagrim for permitting me to make use of his pamphlet on Chandrawedis, and to Messrs. Merrick and White, for kindly letting me reprint their memoranda on Patharries.

G. W. GAYER,  
*Principal, Police Officers' Training School, Saugor.*

### MR. CLEVELAND'S MEMORANDUM.

MR. GAYER, *Police Training School*.—The case below will probably interest you as throwing light on the life of an absconded murderer\* in India. It could form a peg on which to hang an interesting essay on Sadhus. Recently a native member of the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Chitnavis I think, said the Sadhus were one of the curses of India (Budget Debate, 1907). I think, if you feel inclined to write an essay, the Census of India figures for Sadhus, *et hoc genus omne*, would be worth quotation. I think in mediæval days Europe was overrun by lazy able-bodied monks who have mostly disappeared with civilization, enlightenment, industrial development and conscription. I think if Hindus are to take a place with modern nations they will have to purge their system of several relics of barbarism and the Sadhus are one such relic. Possibly the Hindu system would be stimulated by advice from Government. That the question is not one we need fear to touch is, I think, clear from the fact that such an orthodox Hindu as Mr. Chitnavis, took it up in a public speech. I should like to establish that the system of Sadhus is bad for public morality: that it encourages crime and criminals; that it prejudices industry and agriculture by shortening the supply of labour: that it is a wasteful and unjustifiable diversion of charity and that with all these defects it is unworthy of support by the Hindu community, by the religious leaders thereof and by native princes and landlords.

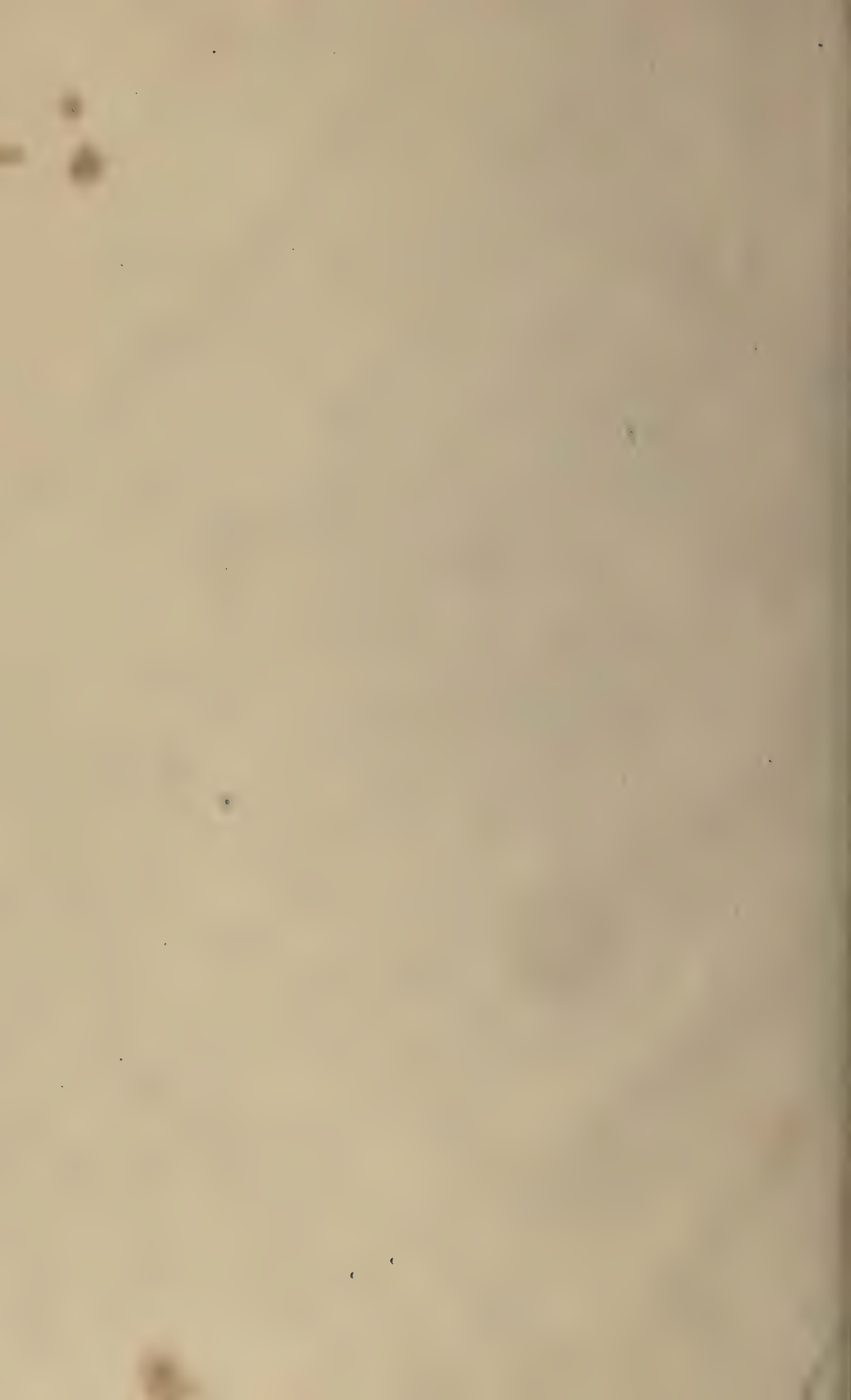
Will you see if you can make something of the subject? If you could write a lecture on the question and make it square with the enlightened opinion of orthodox Hindus I would publish it. You might perhaps introduce it as supplementary to your Criminal Tribe lectures as so many of these gentry masquerade as Sadhus.

C. R. CLEVELAND,  
*Inspector-General of Police.*

*The 28th July 1907.*

\* *Vide* page 108 about Chand Prasad.







## PART I.

### I.—DAKAITS AND HOUSE-BREAKERS.

#### MINA.

Minas are ethnologically as well as criminally a very interesting race. Recent researches point to the conclusion that there were two successive waves of Aryan immigration into India, and that the first settlers brought with them their womenkind, a circumstance which has enabled them to retain their physical characteristics in a very pure form. The type, known as the Indo-Aryan, is represented by the Rajputs and Jats as found in the region round about Rajputana. The following passage from the 1901 Census of India Report indicates the connection of the Minas with both these Indo-Aryans and with the Bhils :—

“Except among the Meos and Minas of Rajputana, where a strain of Bhil blood may perhaps be discerned, the type shows no signs of having been modified by contact with the dravidians.”

Minas are broadly divided into two classes “Ujle” and “Maile”; the former more nearly approach the Indo-Aryan type and the latter the Bhil type, and the sub-divisions of these two classes mark the gradation, for the Ujle are divided into cultivators and village-watchmen and the Maile into Khairwadi and Bhilwadi; these last speak the Bhil dialect and are closely associated with them, whereas, in Karaoli at least, the cultivating Minas are nearly on the same level as the Jats and Gujars.

The importance of the Minas in the olden days is well shown by Sherring in his “Hindu Tribes and Castes” he says :—

“In former times Rajput and Mina chiefs in subordination to the Tuar Kings of Delhi ruled over a considerable tract of country. Towards the end of the 10th century the Kachwahs dispossessed them all from what is now the State of Jaipur.”

In Jaipur the Mina applies the mark of sovereignty to the forehead of every new chief; from this Tod concluded that the country was obtained from them originally by adoption rather than by conquest; in the early stages of Kachwaha rule the Minas he says “had the whole insignia of State as well as the person of the prince committed to their trust.” He further says this custom prevailed elsewhere “it was a Bhil who invested Goha, the founder of the Gahlot Rajputs with a *tilak* made by the blood of a young Bhil tribesman”. According to the Census of India figures the Meo, Mina, Mewati or Miana\* numbered very nearly a million souls; of these the vast majority are law-abiding cultivators, for many centuries they have been the chief and most important cultivators in the Jaipur and Karaoli States, and they form a considerable portion of the agriculturists of Alwar, Bharatpur and Dholpur, and are pretty thickly scattered all over the States of the Rajputana Agency, over Ajmere and Merwara and over the Punjab Districts along the Jumna, *viz.*, Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgaon; in the lastnamed district Sherring says there are over 100,000 cultivating Minas †, there are about 61,000 in the adjacent districts of the United Provinces as well. Nearly half the number are Hindus, about two-fifths Muhammadans and a tenth Animists.

Criminally we in these Provinces have to deal with only a small portion of the Hindus and a few of the Animists, for the agricultural Minas do not wander in order to commit crime. Minas are usually divided into 36 clans (in the Alwar State there are 146 branches of the race). The cultivating Minas of Karaoli have steadily refused to intermarry with the predatory chokedar class; and the

---

\* The Mianas though lumped (for convenience sake) with Minas in the consolidated figures for India, belong to a different race inhabiting Kathiawar and Kutch.

† Only 344 Minas are registered under the Criminal Tribes Act in the Punjab and they are all residents of the Gurgaon District.



Parihar Minas of the Bandi State, who also have the reputation of being daring marauders, are looked down on by other Minas who will not enter into matrimonial alliances with them. A very low type of Mina is that found in the Aravalli Hills north of Serohi, and he is noted for his lawlessness but does not as a rule travel far from his wild fastnesses.

Minas bent on crime appear to come from the following places, they may also come from other Rajputana States:—

- |                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Rohtak.         | † 8. Bharatpur.               |
| 2. Delhi.          | † 9. Bikaner.                 |
| *3. Gurgaon.       | †10. Kishengarh.              |
| 4. Ajmere-Merwara. | †11. Jodhpur.                 |
| 5. Jaipur.         | 12. Bandi.                    |
| 6. Alwar.          | †13. Sirohi (Aravalli Hills). |
| 7. Nabha.          | 14. Udaipur (Mewar).          |

It will be seen out of the 14 places mentioned the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act have been enforced in only 6, and that in the remaining 8 localities the movements of these Minas are not systematically watched.

When they determine on a raid Minas usually set out after the Dasehra and they all try to get back for the Holi, but occasionally they will remain absent the whole year round. Their gangs usually consist of from 5 to 10 and they always assume some disguise, usually that of Brahmans; not infrequently they take a genuine Brahman with them to answer awkward questions. Having travelled by road to a convenient railway station, they take train to the territory selected, which may be anywhere in India; as a rule however they move south, for they say the dwellers of the "Dakhan" think more highly of Brahmans than do the natives up-country, therefore Khandesh, Berar, the Central Provinces, Ganjam and Hyderabad have come to be their favourite hunting grounds. After they have left the railway they move on till a convenient spot is found; from it they work their way slowly, during the light half of the month, from village to village as Brahman mendicants—when begging they are said to favour the expression "Jai-Balaji ki-Jai"—putting up in temples or Marwaris' houses, in gardens or on the banks of rivers. They frequent wells and bathing places and quietly shadow women heavily laden with jewellery to their houses. During this period they probably mark down a number of houses and cover some 50 miles or so, as soon as the dark nights commence they double back along their track and break into the marked houses in their reverse order.

One account says the implement used is an iron spoon with a strong and pointed handle which at first sight does not look like a burglar's tool; but another, and possibly the more accurate one, says they have no special instrument and either purchase an iron bar from the nearest Lohar, or abstract a large iron nail from some convenient bullock cart. The slang term for the house-breaking implement is "Rumal" and they will say "rumal rukh do" when they want to get it out of the way without attracting attention. They do not however dig into a house unless it is necessary, preferring to obtain ingress by climbing a wall, breaking a lock or removing a door from its hinges; when they do dig through a wall the hole is usually a large one near the side of the door. Only one man enters, the rest keeping guard, and violence is avoided as much as possible. In order to put the police off the scent Minas frequently leave stolen clothes near the houses of low-caste people against whom suspicion may easily be diverted, or stuff them under the thatch of such houses with their ends showing. Minas are also adepts at removing ornaments from the persons of sleeping women; they seldom take property unless it is valuable and small in bulk, for they are in the habit of conveying it about with them till they return to their homes. It is customary for them to stay down country until they have made a satisfactory haul. Mr. Seagrim in 1903 recovered some Rs. 12,000 from a party of Minas in Khandwa, and about Rs. 30,000 worth of property, believed to have

\* 344 Minas in this district declared under Section 5 of Act XXVII of 1871 to be criminal.

† Minas in these States proclaimed and registered as criminal.



been stolen, from their houses ; from this it is evident they are not content with petty earnings. The property is in most cases taken home before it is disposed of, unless the party has visited the tract before and has become acquainted with reliable receivers. Property not disposed of is said to be buried about a mile ahead of the halting place, and a member of the gang is told off to keep watch over it ; in order to avert suspicion he spends his time in cooking, praying, and, if water is near, in bathing.

When disguised as Marwari Brahmans they carry a rope, a lota and an iron pan as well as the articles used in ordinary worship ; they paint their foreheads and speak Marwari. Minas also disguise themselves as Gour Brahmans and pretend they are cooks employed by Marwari Seths. Marwaris in Berar are known to employ Minas as watchmen to guard their goods ; these watchmen are said to be very faithful to their masters and serve as a protection against the depredations of wandering gangs. I know little about their religion, nor have I been able to find anywhere a connected account of these criminals ; Gunthrope does not even mention them. They evidently hold the dagger to be sacred—at least in Bharatpur—for there it is said the most binding oath a Mina can take is by the dagger. In the 15th March issue of "The Illustrated Criminal Investigation" is an account which shows that a party of Minas joined forces with a gang of Baoris and committed several house-breakings and dakaitis with them in Ganjam.

Minas are declared under Section 5 of Act XXVII of 1871 to be a Criminal Tribe in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab ; and they are also proclaimed and registered in the following States of the Rajputana Agency :—

- |                |  |                 |
|----------------|--|-----------------|
| (1) Jodhpur.   |  | (3) Bikaner.    |
| (2) Sirohi.    |  | (4) Kishengarh. |
| (5) Bharatpur. |  |                 |
-



## BAORI.

## 2.—BAORI (INCLUDING COUNTERFEITERS OF COIN).

Since I wrote my original lecture on Baoris a very interesting monograph on this tribe has been issued by Mr. Paupa Rao Naidu, who tells us in his introduction that part of his information was derived from unpublished reports by Sir W. Sleeman and Captain Harvey. I have been fortunate enough to secure a copy of Sir William Sleeman's—

“Report on Budhuck *alias* Bagree decoits and other gang robbers by hereditary profession, and on the measures adopted by the Government of India for their suppression.”

it is a very large volume, long ago out of print, published in 1849 and purports to be a complete review of the measures adopted for the suppression of these and other dakaitis, it does not deal directly with the manners and customs of the Baoris, but much information about them can be gleaned from its pages. Bits of this information may prove valuable to you some day, even though the Baoris have to a great extent given up the more violent forms of crime which he describes, and so I will simply give an epitome of what appear to me to be the most useful parts. The book has taught me much about the tribe which I did not know before, and has explained among other things how they came to be known by so many different names. I have no intention of repeating what Mr. Naidu has written, and I advise those who have not already done so to buy his booklet without delay.

Sleeman established the fact that a class of criminals had spread themselves, and formed colonies, all over India, that these colonies sometimes changed their places of abode, and that the people forming them had come to be known by a large variety of names which had been given them by the inhabitants of the territories they settled in, so that it was not uncommon to find colonies of the same tribe in close proximity going under entirely different names; but that they one and all had a common origin, belonged to the same tribe, spoke the same language—a corrupt form of Gujarati—inter-married and on occasion associated for criminal purposes. The name they knew themselves by was Baori; Gunthorpe has mentioned some of the names given them by the public and Mr. Naidu has added to the list, but even he has omitted some I have come across in Sleeman's book, and so I will give you as many as I have noticed; probably even my list is not exhaustive, and may now be out of date not only as regards names, but also in respect of the parts they are said to reside in :—

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Territory.</i>
(1) Badak ... ..	... Many parts of Upper India, most of the Central India States and Oudh.
(2) Bagri ... ..	... Malwa and Rajputana.
(3) Bagora ... ..	... Central India States.
(4) Marwari ... ..	... North-Western Oudh tarai, Marwar and Baroda.
(5) Malpura ... ..	... Unknown.
(6) Delhiwal ... ..	... Upper Doab and Delhi (tent-robbers).
(7) Moghia ... ..	... Rajputana and Central India.
(8) Secar Khowa ... ..	... Eastern Oudh forests and tarai.
(9) Kerolia ... ..	... Mangaoli (Gwalior) Raisen (Bhopal) and generally over the Central India States.
(10) Makwari, Barriari, Khoili	... West of Delhi in Marwar.
(11) Madana ... ..	... Manikpur Gotra in Alwar.
(12) Takungarh, Takenkar	... Berar, Khandesh, Dakhan.
(13) Pardhi (including Langoti)	... Do. do.
(14) Kichak ... ..	... North Bengal.
(15) Morgia ... ..	... East of Jodhpur.
(16) Baoria ... ..	... Mewar (Udaipur).
(17) Bodhara ... ..	... Not stated.
(18) Habura or Karwal ... ..	... Malwa, United Provinces (Moradabad, Mathura, Aligarh, Mainpuri, Eta and Unao).
(19) Thori ... ..	... Banswara (Rajputana).

Baori approvers have declared all the above to be Baoris, nevertheless some names have been mentioned by one or two approvers only. The three names given under



(10) were given by one approver only; the Morgias were only named by one informer, as also the Bodharas. One approver included Haburas among Baoris, while another said Haburas were nearer akin to Baoris than Moghias were, and it was generally agreed Moghias were true Baoris.

According to Sleeman the serious attention of the Government of India was first called to the depredations of these and other dakaitis about a century ago; at that time the Government of the country was very unlike the Administration as you now know it, large tracts now administered by the Government of India direct or by enlightened Chiefs were then under the sway of Native Princes who harboured large colonies of bandits. These marauders used to sally forth in great gangs sometimes numbering 200 and more with the object of looting treasuries or treasure while on the move under military escort from one place to another, and they had to pay heavy tribute to the lords who protected them. They fearlessly attacked armed regimental escorts and guards and usually succeeded in carrying off enormous amounts of treasure; the biggest haul I have read of was that looted by a gang from the treasury of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao (then residing at Bithur), they carried off over Rs. 2,50,000. Spasmodic attempts to suppress them were made for several years, notably by Mr. Hodgson, Resident of Nepal, who in 1823 accounted for a whole colony of Baoris (known locally as "Shighal Khoris") who had taken up their abode in the eastern tarai and numbered many thousands, it was not however till 1837 that a special department was organized for the purpose of taking concerted action against them throughout India. As Sleeman then said "every body talked of Budhuk dacoits, and their daring robberies, but no one knew, who or what they were, whence they came, or how their system was organized." In 1839 many Badaks in jail were given conditional pardons, that is, they were allowed their liberty on condition they would turn approvers; the trust imposed on them was never betrayed, and with their help in a few years organized dakaitis on a large scale by powerful armed gangs were practically a thing of the past. The system of collecting evidence and identifying the dakaitis is worth relating: When several approvers had each given a separate narrative of any particular dakaiti, two or three of them were sent with columns to arrest such of the dakaitis as were still at large, and were promised large rewards if they effected their capture; when arrested and brought in the approvers, who had guided the police to their haunts, were put aside, and the other informers were separately told to pick out of a long line of Badaks those that had been concerned in that special dakaiti and to tell their history and parentage. This they invariably did without hesitation and the dakaitis, seeing the game was up, generally confessed freely.

Mr. Naidu on page 2 of his pamphlet mentions a circular issued by Sleeman in 1839, appended to that circular is a short vocabulary of Baori words which may prove of assistance and so I will give it—

Baori	...	...	... a person of the clan in contradistinction to all other persons.
Bawun	...	...	... a woman of that clan.
Munsee or munkhee	...	...	... a woman, not a Baori.
Munsa or munkha	...	...	... a man, not a Baori.
Tardo	...	...	... cold.
Taton	...	...	... hot.
Rotala	...	...	... bread.
Tureear or paturra	...	...	... a sword.
Dhando	...	...	... a bullock.
Dhantee	...	...	... a hare.
Khumree	...	...	... a kite.
Meenkee	...	...	... a cat.
Khap	...	...	... a snake.
Londeo	...	...	... a dog.

Neyturree, or chureo or dhātun	...	...	... a knife.
Khakuree	...	...	... a shoe.
Beekhee or Beeshee	...	...	... sitting down.
Raton	...	...	.. red.
Soee or Khoee	...	...	... sleeping.
Hirndo	...	...	... walking, going.
Nohree	...	...	... a jackal.
Deekro or cheea	...	...	... son of a Baori.
Deekree or choree	...	...	... daughter of a Baori.
Agoo	...	...	... father (of any person).
Aee	...	...	... mother ( do. ).
Ehwalnee	...	...	... girl or daughter (not of a Baori).
Ehwaleea	...	...	... son (not of a Baori).
Bhāthoo	...	...	... a stone.
Turkee or Tursee	...	...	... thirsty.
Tokon	...	...	... signs left on a road by a gang to indicate it to their friends.
Bhandow	...	...	... bad.
Khao	...	...	... good.
Kheekkee	...	...	... a rupee.
Kor (for soour)	...	...	... a pig.
Mooreea or moor moor	...	...	... slowly.
Wadran	...	...	... a cloud.
Lote	...	...	... flour.
Ghurtee	...	...	... a grinding stone.
Bhagra or bhogla	...	...	... dividing, as booty.

*Baori Conjugation of the verb—To go.*

I go	...	Ho hindo cho.	We go	...	Humeen hindoo cho.
Thou goest	...	To hindey che.	You go	...	Tumhee hindoo cho.
He goes	...	Pelo hindey che.	They go	...	Pela hindey cho.
I went	...	Ho hindoo to.	We went	...	Humeen hindoo tha.
Thou wentest	...	To hindoo to.	You went	...	Tumhee hindoo tha.
He went	...	Pelo hindoo to.	They went	...	Pela hindoo tha.
I will go	...	Ho hindes.	We will go	...	Humeen hindson.
Thou wilt go	...	To hindse.	You will go	...	Tumhee hindson.
He will go	...	Pelo hindee.	They will go	...	Pela hindseyn.
Let me go	...	Munhee hindova do.	Let us go	...	Human hindwa do.
Go thou	...	To hind.	Go you	...	Tumheen hindoo.
Let him go	...	Pelan hindova do.	Let them go	...	Pelan hindwa do.

Going—Hindooc.

I	...	Meen.	Their	...	Pelana.
Mine	...	Marho.	To them	...	Tehoon.
We	...	Humeen.	To me	...	Munheem.
Ours	...	Humara.	To him	...	Pelan.
Thou	...	Teen.	To us	...	Humon.
Thine	...	Tarhon.	To them	...	Pelaan, Teehoon.
You	...	Tum hee.	They	...	Tae, Tehonon.
He	...	Pelo.	To you	...	Tumhan.
His	...	Pelanoon.	It	...	Teo.
They	...	Pela.	Its	...	Teenhoon.

in this language the "Kh" and "S" are interchangeable, and Captain Ramsay wrote that he found a tendency towards making "r" and "b" interchangeable. Some of the words too are Marwari, *i. e.*, "Meenkee" a cat and "Bhathoo" a stone.



Replies to Sleeman's circular showed that some of the 8 Gotras quoted by Mr. Naidu were also known by other names.—

- (1) Chowhan.
- (2) Rathor or Tunwar.
- (3) Powar.
- (4) Charan.
- (5) Salonki or Khorunki.
- (6) Bhatti or Bharti, Dabi, Dubas.
- (7) Dhandul or Dhadara, Dhandura, Koli.
- (8) Gaklot or Gordhi.

All Baoris agreed in stating that when a dakaiti was committed every man, woman and child in the colony got a share of the plunder: it therefore was very profitable for a woman to adopt children, and such adoptions were permitted from nearly all castes except Dhanuks, Chamars and Bhangis, and from Musalmans. An adopted child was known as a "pārha" and when he grew to manhood was called a "Gulami" Badak and allowed to marry into the tribe; but intercourse with prostitutes was very strictly prohibited (see lecture on Pardhis).

A description of the manner in which dakaitis were committed may prove of service, as perhaps some of the old traditions yet exist among those who still favour that form of crime. When it was decided to prepare for an expedition the omens were consulted by throwing grains of prepared wheat as described by Gunthorpe, a process which went by the name of "Okat." If the omens proved favourable the "hirowas" or spies were sent out in all directions: directly a *hirowa* brought in satisfactory "khabbar" the jemadar assembled his followers and a consultation was held; sometimes a *rendezvous* near the place to be attacked was fixed on, and they all started for it in small parties variously disguised. At other times the entire gang used to go to the place together, disguised as Ganges water-carriers, as Banjaras, or as a funeral or marriage procession, or perhaps as a party of religious mendicants, in which case the jemadar was usually disguised as a very holy *sadhu* and the rest of the gang as his *chelas*. They all carried spear heads and axe heads concealed in their clothes, and swords concealed in bundles of *juar* or other stalks; innocent looking bamboos to fit the spear and axe heads were carried openly in the hand. On reaching the *rendezvous* all weapons were buried in the sand, and the rates of the shares (called "barats") settled on. The leaders and spy having reconnoitred the place to be dakaited, and having settled on the plan of attack would return and tell off the men of the gang, apportioning to each his special post and duty. When the time to move came round, the weapons were all unearthed and they went to the place as quietly and secretly as possible. The parties told off to guard the different avenues of approach having taken up their posts, those selected for the purpose rushed to the attack, breaking open doors till they reached the treasure, and cutting down any one that opposed them, but never going out of their way to hurt any that kept clear: the treasure was taken up by those to whom the duty was apportioned and the retreat was commenced, all covering parties falling in. A detachment quickly formed themselves into a rear guard in case of pursuit. If pursuers were heard the rear guard divided and laid an ambush with one party on each side of the road, as soon as the pursuers passed they rushed in on them with their spears from behind and scattered them. The retreat was immediately continued and kept up until break of day, the treasure was then buried until nightfall, when the retreat was recommenced, this time in detached parties among whom the treasure was equally divided for convenience of transport. On reaching their homes offerings were made to the god and then the booty was divided in shares among the whole colony. Baoris prided themselves on never injuring women.

Since their organization was broken up half a century or more ago Baoris have given up dakaitis on a large scale, and many have practically given up dakaitis altogether, but they still commit crime against property, and some have made specialities of specific kinds of crime. Badaks, for instance, are specialists in house-breaking, Delhiwals are robbers of tents, Marwaris of the Gahlot, Powar and Rathor Gotras are expert counterfeiters of coin and so on. It is these false

coiners I will tell you about now, they are dwellers of Jodhpur and Baroda and their *modus operandi* is described in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette*, dated the 28th November 1906.

The way they make their moulds is given as follows:—

“The mould consists of an outer frame of coarse clay with a core of fine clay or prepared powder. The outer frame is made up of clay roughly fashioned into two square blocks, each about two inches square and one inch deep. Into the face of one, at two diagonally opposed corners, pegs are driven fitting into holes in the superposed block. Through one of the blocks a hole—slightly larger than a rupee—is cut and a similar hole is scooped out of the inner face of the other block. The channel for admitting the molten metal is also cut along the inner surface.”

“The cavity in the lower block is then filled with the mould proper or core, which consists of a fine powder of a particular kind of stone mixed with a little ghi. A rupee is half embedded in this and the upper block fitted on and the perforated holes filled with the same substance. On separation of the two the rupee is tilted out and the mould is ready to receive the molten metal. The alloy\* used is peuter, tin and a little copper. The milling is said to be made by working the rim of a genuine coin against a counterfeit coin.”

The Baori coiners travel with their families, and though they may call themselves mendicants on pilgrimage or more often Wagrís, Kunbis or even Rajputs famine stricken and in search of work, they do not adopt any disguise. When searching them you may not be able to find complete moulds with them, but the blocks with the circular holes will probably be found. These are kept by the women who accompany them. When passing false coin they are said to hold something, a leaf or some other article in the hand to help them to palm successfully.

A favourite trick is to tender a Farukhabad rupee in payment of some small purchase: this is usually refused and the Baori asks what rupees are current, on being handed one he returns a counterfeit coin in its place. They conceal these coins in a stick they carry; more coins are kept in a pocket in the folds in the front part of the “dhotie,” and below the right hip is another pocket in which genuine rupees are kept. The “kanch” of the dhotie is pulled across to the right hip to form the fold for this second pocket. They call counterfeit coins “Lasuria” or “phagri.”

All Baoris are branded soon after birth with a hot iron in three places, but not always near the navel. The scars are large and unmistakable. In addition to these marks the women are all tattooed in five places,† on the outer corner of each eye, on the inner corner of the left eye, on the left cheek and on the chin.

They also counterfeit gold mohurs and carry numerous iron spoons with them, and these usually have traces of baked mud on them.

The members of the gang leave a track behind them which their comrades can easily follow. The women trail a stick in the dust as they walk along and thus leave a mark like that made by a snake. The men place a newly picked leaf by the side of the road with a stone on it at intervals to show the route they have taken.

Baoris have been declared a criminal tribe under Section 5 of Act XXVII of 1871 throughout the Punjab and they have been proclaimed and registered throughout the States of the Central India Agency, and in the following States of the Rajputana Agency, (1) Jodhpur, (2) Jaisalmar, (3) Bikanir, (4) Jaipur, (5) Kishengarh, (6) Mewar, (7) Partabgarh, (8) Banswara, (9) Kotah, (10) Tonk, (11) Shahpura, and (12) Alwar. They are also registered in Ajmir though not formally declared criminal under the Act. There are also settlements of Baoris in 22 States in the Central India Agency, *vide* the statement on page 100.

\* Compare with the Chhapparband alloy. (*Vide* page 94).

† Mr. Latham tells me he had a female informer at Khandwa who was only tattooed on the left side, but he is not sure this was not accidental.

Mr. Croke says that sometimes Baoris will wear a necklace of small wooden beads in the place of the “tulsi mala,” he also mentions that some Baoris fix a golden pin in their front teeth, and a gang of Baoris who called themselves “Naiks” lately arrested in Saugor had “Bairagis” among them who had their teeth so studded.



The following note from Madras on Baoris has been received in time for insertion before the lectures are finally published:—

1120 (a). *C. I. D., Madras.*—The following information, which has been furnished by the Assistant Agent in Central India, is published in continuation of the note on Bauriahs published in the Appendix to *Police* \* *Vide* paragraph 1079 (C. I. D., C. P.).

*Gazette Confidential Supplement, No. 43 \**, dated the 31st October 1908:—

The generic name of the tribe, commonly spoken of now as the Moghia, is not Moghia but Baori and the tribe, with its name, according to its own traditional history, was brought into existence in the following manner:—

About 360 years ago, probably in the time of the Emperor Akbar, a Rajput Chief of Gujerat had to send a Princess of his house to Delhi to enter the Harem of the Emperor. Naturally she was escorted by a large armed force which consisted of Rajput Thakurs, servants of her father's Raj, and in her company were many servants, male and female of all conditions and castes. At one halting place the camp was situated round a large stone well (Baoli or Baori) into which owing to some insult offered her or because of shame at the thought of entering the Harem, the Princess threw herself and was drowned. This well is variously stated to have been in Alwar or Jodhpur territory. The escort, with its convoy, now dared neither to go forward to Delhi, nor to return to Gujerat, and halted where they were until all their food supplies and funds were exhausted. By this time their encampment had become a permanent village and they took to looting travellers and committing dakaities and robberies all round about them. The Rajputs, having taken to wife the various servant girls and female attendants of the late Princess, raised families which of course were outcasted by other Rajputs but which, amongst themselves, kept up the caste distinctions of their fathers and so have handed down to their descendants the same caste names and distinctions as exist among real Rajputs. The camp followers married such women of the surrounding country as they could obtain and one and all became known as the Baoliwallah Thakurs, while from their depredations they became notorious as the Baoliwallah or Baoli and finally Baori tribe of robbers and dakaitis.

At last the community grew too large for maintenance in one place and their leaders decided to break up into parties and go in various directions. One party made for Delhi near which they settled and gained the title of Delhiwal Baori amongst themselves, and that of Badhuk amongst the people of the country. This name is said to have been derived from *Bad Karm*, Bad Kar and then Badhuk which means executioner or murderer, from the Sanscrit Budh or Wudh बध् to kill and बाधक murderer.

Here again they had to take lower caste women of the country as wives with the consequence that their children fell in caste. Owing to increase in numbers parties had again to emigrate and did so, principally towards Oudh where eventually they formed large settlements in the Terai and finally became so powerful that they committed very heavy dakaitis on treasure and even attacked treasuries and went down quite close to Calcutta on their expeditions so that eventually military operations had to be undertaken against them in the early forties when their strongholds in the Terai were destroyed and themselves scattered. One section of the refugees appears to be that now known as Bauriahs who are settled at Muzaffarnagar and Gorakhpur in the United Provinces, and who are certainly connected with another which came down into Gwalior and Bhopal and are now chiefly settled round Raisen in Bhopal and at Mangaoli in Gwalior and are still known as Delhiwal Baoris or Badhuks, and often call themselves Byragis. Bauriahs of the United Provinces have often, when they have absconded, stopped amongst the Badaks around Raisen and they can be recognised at once by Bhopal Badaks and have apparently the same "slang" language.

Another portion of the Delhiwal Baoris or Badaks came down into the Kerrowli State and are now known as Kerrowlis Badhuks. They intermarry with the Bhopal Badhuks and many of them, owing to famine, have come down at various times into Central India, where several families are now located at the Gwalior settlement at Mirkabad Mangaoli. These people too keep up connection with the United Provinces Bauriahs.

The remaining large branch went back into Rajputana and became known as Baori, Bagri or Moghia according to the localities in which they finally settled.

The name of Bagri must not be confounded with the surname of an apparently aboriginal tribe who are merely hunters and are in no way connected with the Baori Bagri. The latter are Baoris and are only called Bagris because they originally happened to settle in that part of Rajputana called Bagur from which this name, which most Baoris repudiate, is said to be derived as also other names of the same branch such as Bagora, Bagur or Wagri, the last being now generally known as Takinkars in the Berars and the Deccan.



The Baoris who remained in Marwar, and all their descendants who migrated south and east are to this day called Baori except a division of them which got the name of Moghia, now so often used as a general name for all sorts of Baoris in the following manner:—

A colony of Jodhpur Baoris lived near the borders of Mewar (Udaipur) the Chief of which State employed them against a band of truculent Bhils or Minas (accounts differ) who had defied his authority whom they so successfully exterminated that the Maharaja, in his gratitude held a Darbar at which he took the whole colony into his service, gave them land and said they should be to him as precious as the "Moongas," *i. e.*, coral beads of his necklace.

Thus this band came to be called the Moongias and finally Moghias, and they settled down around Chittorgarh whence they spread southward into Malwa and the States bordering that country, losing in the operation touch with their Jodhpur brethren and forming a new branch of the family with new divisions such as Marwara, Kherara, Malwi and Godwara, and because they were the first to be brought under regulations, giving their name to the Department which eventually was formed for the control of themselves and their kinsmen in Rajputana and Central India. From the connection of the Department so-called the whole of the branches of the tribe in Rajputana and Central India became known generally as the Moghia tribe, a title which the majority of the sects do not acknowledge.

Such is the tribal history handed down from generations past; but the real origin of all branches of the Baori tribes would appear to be identical with that of the Sansi or Sansya, who also claim Rajput descent and have the Rajput Gots or sub-divisions. The Sansi have a mythical ancestor Sans Mull, from whom sprang the Haburahs, Badhuks, Bagris, Baoris, Kajars, Gidias, Keechuks, Bauriahs, Moghias, and other tribes, who are all professional thieves who will eat, drink, smoke and sometimes commit dakaitis together but who will not intermarry except in their brotherhood. These again must be all connected with the supposed descendants of Sans Mull's younger brother, Mullanoor, from whom the Beriahs, Kolhetis, Domes and Domras, Naths, Bedyas and Bindis trace their descent, so that the majority of tribes now known as criminal tribes in the northern half of India have probably arisen from a common stock, a proof of this theory being the great similarity of their "slang" or thieves talk, which has its roots in Guzerati and is very similar for all tribes, even though these tribes now have names so dissimilar to each other and varying according to the country they inhabit.

The Sansis were originally Bhats to the Jat races but as they increased in numbers and found it impossible for all to live upon the Jats, they scattered over Marwar and Mewar and then on south and east over Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda to Nagpur and Hyderabad and gradually broke up into separate branches with distinctive names which lost touch of each other and wandered farther and farther over India. Soon after this happened each tribe, according to its surroundings, invented for itself a better ancestry and so cut itself still further from its parent stock until, in the course of time, some of tribes came to be no longer recognised as being connected with the main branch of the Sansis which still flourishes as a separate tribe.

The Baori portion of the tribe under various clan names and with a certain amount of clan cohesion became settled in Rajputana as Baoris, Bagris and Moghias. In Central India as Badaks (Delhiwal and Karaulia), Baoris, Bagris and the Moghias.

In Berars, the Central Provinces and the Deccan, Wagriss or Takenkars, and Baoris with various local names.

In Bombay as Bagodi, Takari, Phanspardii.

In the United Provinces as Badaks, Haburahs, Bauriahs, Gidias, Keechuks, Aruka.

In Bengal as Keechuks and Badaks, Bagdis and Baoris.

In the Punjab as Bauriahs or Baoris, Delhiwal Badaks and Dhanderia.

II. Gujerat as Baoris (who go in for coining).

That these sects of the tribe do keep up a certain amount of touch with each other and recognise relationship is evidenced by the fact that members settled in Northern India, as for instance, those of the United Provinces (known as Bauriahs) and in Central India (known as Badaks and Baoris) when they abscond generally go south and remain away for years at a time, amongst their clan brethren of the locality they visit. Muzaffarnagar Bauriahs have often visited the Badaks round Raisen in Bhopal and there have been cases in which some of them have been arrested in the Central Provinces and Bombay through Badak informers. In the same way Bhopal Badaks have stated that absconders of their settlement have gone up to the Muzaffarnagar Bauriahs, while very many of them have stopped for years with Baoris, *i. e.*, Wagriss or Takenkars and other tribal relations in the Berars and the Deccan.



All of these tribes keep up a pretence of Rajput descent and their caste sub-divisions or "Gots" are those of the Rajput, *viz.* :—

(1) Chohan, (2) Puar, (3) Rhatore, (4) Solanki, (5) Dabi, (6) Charan, (7) Dhamdhara and some later added ones such as Bhariars Bhatti and their marriages are arranged according to the rules of these castes amongst the Rajputs while the birth and death ceremonies are likewise governed by Rajput customs with local variations which will be noted later.

Settlement and control under the Criminal Tribes Regulations has done much to break this large brotherhood which practically stretches right across India, of its criminal propensities more or less according to local conditions, but in almost all its sects the propensity to crime is still inherent and is easily brought to the surface.

Time and distance have caused greater or less severance of kinship between the various branches, and when the "Moghia Department" was instituted, the only Baoris that came under its operations were those of Rajputana and Central India and consequently these have come to be known more generally as "Moghias" and are considered as distinct from various sects of their original tribe which are now known under new local names which have obliterated the memory of their descent from and kinship to the Badak Baoris and their original ancestors, the Sansis.

The first attempt at bringing the Baoris or Moghias under rule was made in 1869, when the Political Agent in Mewar proposed a set of rules which he had drawn up and which, many years afterwards, developed into the rules laid down for the guidance of the Moghia Department and eventually became embodied in the rules for the control and reclamation of criminal tribes for the guidance of the Native State in Rajputana and Central India issued by the Government of India. The members of the tribe affected by these regulations, and now generally referred to as Moghias (instead of Baoris which should be their distinctive title) are, in Rajputana and Central India, known under the following tribal names :—

Merwara Baoris, Bagoras or Bagris.

Kherara Baoris or Bagris.

Karaulia Badaks and Bagris.

Badaks or Delhiwals.

Godwara Baoris.

Malvi Baoris.

Moghias.

In Central India, the Moghias, who at the close of the year 1906, numbered 2,293 registered members, that is males, and were shown in the census of 1901 as totalling males and females of all ages 6,381, are of the Badak, Karaulia, Godwara, Kherara, Marwara, Malvi and Moghia sects.

Of these, the Kheraras are most numerous and are to be found in the States of Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Dwas, Rutlam, Sailana, Sitamau and Jarora, Muksudangarh, Khilchipur, Narsingarh and Raigarh, in that portion of the Agency known as Malwa. All these are named after the country in which as Baoris they originally settled and from which they spread, *viz.*, the tract lying between Kotah and Jhalrapatan in Rajputana to a line passing about 40 miles east of Gwalior, and Jawad in the Bhopal Agency.

Next come the real Badaks, known as Delhiwal and Karaulia Badaks or Baoris, who are to be met with in the States of Bhopal, Gwalior, Pathari and Rajgarh, east of a line running due north and south of Bhopal; of these, the Gwalior State members have now all been colonized at Mangauli.

The Marwaras who come next in numbers are more scattered over the Agency than all others and are to be found from west to east in the States of Indore, Gwalior, Jaora, Sitamau, Rutlam, Sailana, Garha, Bhopal, Dhar, Tonk (Sironj Pergana), Narsingarh, Rajgarh, Khilchipur and Maksudangarh and Kurwai. They and the Kheraras are frequently to be found together and though mortal enemies on some points, the two sects more generally live and work together than any other two sects of the tribe.

The next in order, as regards numbers, is the Godwara sect which takes its name from its country of origin, *viz.*, the tract lying on the frontier of Marwar south of Pallu and stretching from Mhairwara on the north-east to Sirohi on the south-west and Meywar on the east.

Members of this sect are to be met with in the States of Rutlam, Narsingarh, Gwalior and Pathars.

The Malvis come next and are, as their name implies, residents of Malwa, proper and to be found only in the Piploda Thakurate, Jarora, Rutlam and Sailana, Bhangarh of Indore and a portion of Bhopal lying in the Malwa country and in the Neori Pergana of Gwalior.

Finally, there are members of the tribe descended from Udaipur Moonghias or Moghias and answering only to the name of Moghia (not Baori) who are settled in the Malwa portion of Gwalior.

All these sects are divided into the Gots of Bhati, Chohan, Solanki, Rathore or Charan Dhandal, Puar, Damdara, Pidiara, Makwana, Jadon, Suraj Bansi, Gailote, Dabi and Kulmi.

Of these, the Rathore or Charan are most numerous while the Bhati, Solanki, Chohan and Puar come next in order and the members of the other Gots are all very few in comparison.

Birth, marriage and death ceremonies are all carried out more or less according to those of the true Rajputs of the corresponding Gots.

The Baori or Moghia in Central India has now practically given up dakaiti as a profession, though the Marwara and Kherara is still prone to break out in this form of crime if at all hard pressed by poverty.

The Badak or Karaulia very rarely now goes in for dakaiti, but is one of the most expert of burglars and goes in heavily for this form of crime.

The Godwara will join the Marwara of Kherara, if he is allowed, in either dakaiti or burglary but is not an expert and seldom works on his own.

The Malvi is now scarcely to be called a criminal class. He has gone in for business and in many cases has proved most successful and as a community the Malvi Baoris are better off than all other sects.

The Moghia has very much the proclivities of the Marwara and Kherara, but is less bold and expert than either.

(b) The Bauriah vocabulary referred to in the Appendix to the Police Gazette Confidential Supplement, No. 43, dated the 31st October 1908, is published below for general information:—

- टूक (Tuk) = Bread.  
 माणखो (Manakho) = Man.  
 मान्सी (Mansi) = Woman.  
 बाव्री (Bauvri) = Bauriah man.  
 बाव्रन् (Bauvren) = Bauriah woman.  
 डीक्रा (Deekra) = Male child, son.  
 डीक्री (Deekri) = Female child, daughter.  
 आगो (Aago) = Father.  
 आयि (Aayie) = Mother.  
 भायि (Bhayee) = Brother.  
 बहण् (Bahun) = Sister.  
 बहाणिये (Bahaniyei) = Sister's husband.  
 जमायि (Jamayee) = Son-in-law.  
 वहुरिय (Vahuria) = Daughter-in-law.  
 कुवारि (Kuvaree) = Unmarried girl.  
 विवाह् (Bivah) = Marriage.  
 आङ्ग (Aungh) = Finger.  
 देह (Deh) = Body.  
 हात (Hath) = Hand.  
 गोडो (Godo) = Feet.  
 चावल (Chaval) = Rice.  
 पाणी (Pani) = Water.  
 बण्टो (Banto) = Chembu (a vessel).  
 छोरा (Chora) = Son (a term of endearment).



- छोरी (Chori) = Daughter (a term of endearment).  
 खायील्यो (Khayeeliyo) = Eat food.  
 पीलियो (Peeliyo) = drink.  
 तमाखु (Thamakhu) = Ganja or tobacco.  
 हीण्डो (Heendo) = Walk.  
 जास्सो (Jasso) = Go.  
 लुग्रन (Lugron) = Cloth.  
 दोखो (Dokho) = Shawl.  
 चूडियो (Choodiyo) = Knife.  
 पटर्डन (Patardon) = Sword.  
 इन्धणियो (Indhaniyo) = Firewood.  
 चूलो (Choolo) = Oven.  
 खाखाड (Khakhada) = Shoes.  
 केह (Keh) = Hair.  
 खोयी (Khoyee) = Sleep (noun).  
 मण्ड (Mondh) = Head.  
 माथो (Matho) = Forehead.  
 गोडा (Goda) = Legs.  
 बाको (Bakko) = Face.  
 तानून (Thanoon) = Police.  
 इन्हेपेट्टर (Inhpettar) = Inspector.  
 मोटो (Moto) or मन्द्रो (Mondhro) = Magistrate.  
 खाहाब (Khahab) = European.  
 बाम्मणियो (Bammaniyo) = Brahman.  
 भाजि (Bhajee) = Mutton.  
 वहील (Vaheel) = Vakil.  
 और्णी (Ourni) = Sheep.  
 मुरुगो (Murugo) = Fowls.  
 बेरो (Boro) = Sugar.  
 दारु (Dharu) = Arrack.  
 होनार (Honar) = Goldsmith.  
 चोरी नोमाल लिवानो (Choreenomal Levano) = Receiver of stolen property.  
 मन्को तेयो आवेछे (Mankho Thaio Avechbey) = A stranger is coming.  
 मालू काटिगिरो (Malkhatigero) = Conceal the property.  
 धर्तीन पेटे देयि दियो (Dhartheenapete dheyedhiyo) = Bury it under the earth.  
 गांट डामें हाती नाखो (Gantadamenhathi Nakho) = Conceal it in the baggage.  
 काहान्का टियोन (Kahankateon) = Where have you concealed it?  
 टेरु आनो हमेणे भयसे (Terooano hamenei bhayamsei) = I suspect this is a policeman.  
 खर्खर जडती देखे (Kharkhar jadthi dheksei) = The police will search us.  
 टाब्रिया नि चोगिदेदियो (Tabriya ni chogi dheydhiyo) = Hand the property over to the child.

- खुड्डो नामको बटवाना (Khuddo nomko vatavona)=Do not give out our real names.
- बिजो लिहडाविदे (Bijjo lehdaividhei)=Give false names.
- किरुमलेयिष (Kirugna lai ish)=I ask him whether he will take money.
- तोकोलियेनय खोन्करियेन (Thokoliyennai khonkariyen)=He refuses; what are we to do?
- खरात्ने टेन्हे लधे जायसे (Kharathneitehnai ladhen jaysai)=He will take us all to the Police station.
- खोन्करीये (Khonkariyein)=What am I to do?
- एक बकिल करीलियो (Ek bakil Karieliyo)=Engage a vakil.
- केह कोथायेनैतदलयहात माण्डो मॅरहे (Keh kothayenii thadhlo yahath mandomen raho)=Till the date of hearing remain in this village.
- तो डेरो हीरहोसे तहान्जावीन रडीजाव (Tho dero heerahosei thahan javeen radeejav)=You may go and join the rest of the gang there.
- तो टेरूओ बाण्डोसे लास्सी जाव (Tho teroo 'o bandosei lasseejaw)=The guards are careless, run away.
- बकिल किन्हिन कर्येन (Bakkil kinhin karyen)=How am I to engage a vakil?
- टिकि कोयिना (Tikki koina)=There is no money anywhere.
- तहान आन्ह हुतो तहान बागी चासे तहान घाडतीना पेटे मेली दधीसे (Thahan ahna huto thahan bagee chousei thahan dhadtheena pete melee dhadheesai)=I have buried the property in the tope near our camp.
- खर्खार खारिन बात्तेन कहीदियो (Kharkhaar khaareen bathein kaheedhiyo)=So confess to the Police.
- इन्हपेट्टर्नो बरोहे करो (Inhapettarno barohai karo)=I think we may trust the Inspector.
- मेहेट कायिन्क मान्से आन्हे खैन्तरियेदिय दियो (Mehet kayink manse anhei khyinthariya dheydhiyo)=The Magistrate may take bribes, so offer him a large sum of money.
- कोणत जमीन थाय्तो लेयाव (Koneth Jameen thaaito leyav)=Find out a surety.

[Supplement to the Madras Police Gazette, dated the 7th November 1908, para. 827 (a) and (b)].

28. Vide para. 1120 of 1908. C. I. D., C. P., the 2nd January 1909.—The C. I. D., Madras, furnish the following information obtained by a C. I. D. Inspector regarding Bauriahs:—“The Bauriahs traced by me in the

Bauriahs.

Madras Presidency have come from the United Provinces. The Bauriah's closely imitate the Bairagis and it is difficult to distinguish between them. The following points would help us in distinguishing them. The Bauriahs have a peculiar way of tying the cloth. They wear ordinary *dhotis*, 6 cubits in length. The cloth is gathered at one end and it is placed at the small of the waist. The remaining portion is passed between the legs and taken to the navel and then wound round the waist twice. When the second round comes to the navel, a portion of cloth is tied to the first round and the remaining portion allowed to dangle free. The portion of the cloth at the back is also tucked up. This leaves the left leg and the back of the right leg below the knee completely exposed while a triangular piece of cloth having one end of the cloth for its open is loosely hanging in front. The Bairagis do not tie their cloth like this. The Bauriahs when in disguise and imitating the Bairagis tuck up that portion of the cloth which is hanging in front. The Bauriahs put on waistcoats and when in disguise cover it with another cloth which is so tied that it covers the trunk and leaves the arms exposed. The Bairagis do not wear waistcoats. In head dress too there is dissimilarity. The Bauriahs generally tie their turbans round their heads, leaving one cubit hanging loosely from back of the head. This head dress is generally of a red or yellow colour. When in disguise they use a white towel for their head dress. They tie it in a peculiar way. The two diagonally opposite ends are taken and left hanging behind the head while the remaining portions are tied round the head, one portion having been placed above the other. The Bauriahs wear garlands of Tulsi or other beads, there are two rows of them tied closely round the neck. The Bauriah men have coral beads; and the women coral beads or pearls interspersed with the Tulsi beads, whereas the Bairagis will have no corals mixed with those beads. The Bauriahs, in their anxiety to pass for religious men and Bairagis, put on too many garlands, whereas a true Bairagi will not wear any garland or if



at all he wears a garland it will be one or two. It may also be noted that the Bairagis are poorly clad and indifferent about their dress while the Bauriahs are not so. The Bauriah women dress like Marwari women. They wear chintz cloths. While unmarried women and girls could go in for any colour. The married women are prohibited from using cloths of red colour : they generally wear cloths of yellow or black colour. Widows use only white cloths. The Bauriah women have their hair plaited in six parts and then all of them are taken towards the back of the head and tied together. These are peculiarities as regards their outward appearance and dress."

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## 3.—BADAQ, MOGHIA AND DELHIWAL.\*

I have mentioned in the lecture on Kanjars that Badaks are sometimes employed by Dakhani Kanjars to commit burglary for them, and are given a share of the spoil. From this, and from the lecture on Baoris, you will have gathered that they are professional house-breakers.

Badaks are invariably of short stature, seldom over 5' 6". They are found all over India including the Bombay Presidency. Usually their gangs come from Allahabad, Jaunpur, Lucknow, Cawnpur, Fatehpur, Raibareli, Jhansi and Lalitpur. They are also located in Jabalpur, and Bhopal (Raisen circle). They generally frequent fairs.

According to Major Gunthorpe these men never take their women with them. This is, however, contradicted by more recent experience. Women do accompany them, and when thus accompanied their disguise is that of Bairagis: otherwise they disguise themselves as Gosains. When disguised as Bairagis, they always add "Das" to their names, and when disguised as Gosains, "Gir" or "Puri." But it should not be understood that they strictly adhere to these disguises only. Sometimes in order that the whole gang may not be arrested even if suspected, its members assume different disguises, some appearing as cattle-dealers, others as ordinary cultivators, &c. When travelling by rail they carry cooked food with them to last them for several days, and the members of the gang sit in different compartments.

Besides the "gyan" mentioned by Gunthorpe, Badaks often carry another house-breaking tool: it is the same length as the *gyan* described, but pointed, and is carried in the hollow of the bamboo staff used by ascetics; the staff is bound by iron rings; if these are slipped off the instrument can be got at.

You will frequently find with them grains of wheat or *juari*. They prefer the former and use them for a curious purpose, *viz.*, to invoke the spirits of their dead relatives in order to obtain omens for their intended exploits. Gunthorpe has given a full description of this "okat" ceremony.

They are, as I have said, expert house-breakers, and in common with other burglars are greatly given to the form of breaking into a house known by the term "bagli nakab." A large hole, big enough for the arm to be introduced, is made in the wall at the side of a door frame in a line with the latch, and then the fastening is undone by the hand, and the door opened. Another way is to make two holes near the latch of the door with a gimlet, large enough to insert two fingers, with which the latch is lifted.

Badaks as a rule do not steal anything besides cash and jewellery. But they will also steal clothes which they sew up inside their blankets.

I want you to bear in mind the following points when deciding whether a gang is composed of Badaks or not †:—

- (1) A Badak when posing as a Gosain has with him an iron "chimta," or a pair of tongs, much shorter than that usually carried by a genuine Gosain. He frequently also has a nail (used for fixing the upper part of the cart to the axle bar), stolen from a cart, and it is employed for breaking into houses.
- (2) You will nearly always find one, two or three scars made by a hot iron on the inside of their left wrists. They are great shikaris, like Baheliyas, in their country and they brand the muscles of the left wrist in order to steady the hand when firing their matchlocks.
- (3) While on thieving expeditions, they always talk Hindustani in the presence of strangers, but in private they speak the Baori language. If they are drunk a man who knows Gujarati will probably catch them conversing in their own language. If they say "les ke des" instead of "leta ke deta" it shows that they are Badaks (*Police*

\* See pages 10 to 12.

† See page 14.



*Gazette*, dated the 1st February 1904). They speak with a nasal accent like ordinary north country "Pardeshis" such as come from Mainpuri, Mathura and other districts.

- (4) As regards the grain soaked in "ghi" which I have already mentioned, Mr. Mahadeo Prasad investigated a case when he was at Khandwa, in which some Baoris were arrested and all found in possession of some prepared wheat, contained in small tin cases. This finding was proved against them and was one of the few points which brought their prosecution for bad livelihood to a successful termination.



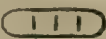

Badaks show astonishing cleverness in the way in which they conceal their spoil. In the case of Seria, son of Gulab, Badak, arrested at Khandwa (*vide Police Gazette* of the 1st of August 1904), it was found that the accused had inside his shoes (which were new and of Cawnpur make) pieces of gold "karas" and of gold nose-rings with pearls: these were discovered on the shoes being split open. When you come across a gang of these would-be Bairagis and Sadhus the best way of testing their real identity is to question them with great care on points of religion: if Badaks they are sure to break down; also note how far the above description applies to them. You will find it more satisfactory to call in a genuine Bairagi to help you when questioning a suspected Badak.

The United Provinces Government have recently in a report of the criminal classes in those Provinces stated that the Badaks of Shahjahanpur have been steadily migrating to Rampur, Bareilly and Kheri, and that they disappear periodically on predatory expeditions and are lost sight of by the local Police.

Badaks are proclaimed and registered in Bharatpur in Rajputana, and in all the States of the Central India Agency.

Moghias like the Badaks prefer house-breaking to other forms of crime. They go in small gangs and disguise themselves sometimes as Gosains, seldom as Bairagis, but more frequently as Banjaras with whom they move about and to whom they entrust their loot, which is secreted in pack saddles. They call their house-breaking implement "Kusia" or "Rao" and sometimes keep it concealed in a pack-saddle, it is rather like the *gyan* but much shorter. Moghias do not adopt the "bagli" form of house-breaking, but dig through the wall. The leader with them is generally called "Chor" and he does not necessarily dig the hole; whoever digs it enters alone, and the man who stands immediately outside the hole is called "Uparia": with these exceptions the Moghia's methods are much the same as those of the Badaks.

Delhiwals usually take their women and children with them and allow outsiders to co-operate with them, these outsiders are given the option of becoming Baoris, which they do by marrying a Baori woman. As Delhiwals travel with their families they have found it convenient to mark their movements by a system of signs to guide the followers when they separate for crime. Mr. Naidu has given some of these marks. My brother mentions a case where a gang left marks from the railway station in Broach right through the city, and he says in some cases they are tracked by their confederates 50 or 100 miles. The commonest signs are:—

- (1) a loop  which signifies the direction in which they have gone;
- (2) a loop with strokes  which marks a place at which they have halted and shows the number of males in the party;
- (3) and oval with strokes  which means the gang is camping in the town;
- (4) a loop followed by a circle  means either they are in the district on tour, or that they have secured a good haul.

These marks differ slightly from those given by Mr. Naidu, from this it may be inferred that all gangs do not adopt precisely the same signs.

## 4.—PARDHI.

Pardhis come under the general head of Baoris and are believed to have immigrated into Khandesh and the Central Maratha country many generations ago. The only account we have of them besides that given in Gunthorpe is one contained in a note on them by Mr. Sewell when District Superintendent of Police of Amraoti, published in an extra Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 16th May 1906. This note, which I shall shortly read to you, is almost entirely devoted to the "Langoti Pardhis," who alone of all the Pardhis are, as a tribe, real criminals, and it touches on the difference between these robbers and the more dangerous Takenkars who have formed the subject of a separate lecture.

The Langoti Pardhis are not a wandering tribe, but have settled in that part of the country which they first adopted, and only those among you who are posted to the Berars will come into serious contact with them.

Mr. Sewell says they belong to the three following Gotras :—

- (1) Chowan.
- (2) Pohar.
- (3) Salonki.

These three are exogamous and all worship Durga Devi in one form or another. Their worship points indirectly to a Gujarati origin; Mr. Crooke in his "Popular Religions and Folklore of Northern India" says that it is in Gujerat that "Mother worship" prevails most widely, and mentions Durga Devi in her form of 'Amba Bhawani' as one of the famous "Gujerat mothers." In this form she is specially worshipped by the Chowans. The Pohars adore her in her form of "Mari Bhawani"—or as she is called in Berar "Mari Mata," the goddess who regulates cholera. The Salonkis worship her under the form of "Kali Bhawani," the dread name under which she calls for blood. Every Langoti family has—and holds in special reverence—its image in silver of the goddess, and because of this no Langoti woman will wear silver below the waist or hang her *sari* on a wall or peg, as it must never be put on the same level as the goddess. Gunthorpe says all Langoti women refuse to wear red, as the image of the goddess is placed on a bed of that colour. Mr. Sewell says this assertion is too sweeping, as only the Salonkis refrain from wearing red. It might be well worth while to ascertain whether the three sub-divisions all go in for the same class of crime; the need for further inquiries on this point is also suggested by the fact that Mr. Sewell's informer—it is not stated what sub-division he belonged to—disagreed with Major Gunthorpe's conclusions as regards the tendency of the Langotis *as a whole* to change from the more violent to less violent forms of crime.

I am adding some important extracts from Mr. Sewell's note, as you will not have access to the note until you are stationed to districts :—

"Langoti Pardhis must never be confused with Phas Pardhis or Cheetawallas, as, beyond the fact that they originally came from the same source, they are quite distinct. Phas Pardhis, in spite of the opinions of European sportsmen, not unwilling to see them "moved on," do not commit crime and are quite harmless.

"It is said that Chowan females *will* not ride in a cart or drink liquor; Pohar women *may* not ride in a cart, but may drink liquor; and they will not eat anything that lives in water. Salonki women only draw the line at wearing red clothes.

"Though Pardhis talk Marathi and Urdu fluently, their original language is Gujerati and their talk is said to resemble that of men newly arrived from Gujerat.

"Men of Kunbi, Mali, Teli and other superior castes may be accepted as Pardhis, but the conversion of Muhammadans, Dhobis, Maharas, Mangs, &c., is prohibited.

"Pardhis always feed with their women and not before, as is the custom with other people; this is due to a woman having in olden times poisoned her husband and children.

"The pipal tree is held specially sacred. There is a legend about this tree which connects with the custom of refraining from the use of water after answering a call of nature."



"Pardhis do not as a rule injure the people they attack; if all goes well and complainants give no trouble, then they do not hurt them; but they are quite ready, and, if people resist, they will not hesitate to beat them. Ordinarily when committing dacoity they are armed with sticks and stones only. In committing burglary they do not take any pride in the hole they make, nor have they any particular mode of breaking through from which work could be recognized as theirs. They sometimes will dig nearly through a wall, leaving only a thin partition against which the leader will carefully listen before finally bursting through. Then when a hole is made big enough to get through, the leader strikes a match which he holds between fingers and thumb with his fingers stretched out so as to form a shade, and holding this in front of him, so that his features are shielded has a good survey of the room before entering.

"It is my firm belief that where Pardhis live, there they live chiefly by crime, and that committed with the knowledge of the Patel, usually a receiver of stolen property; where there is more than one Patel, then one at least of the Patels is a receiver.

"Pardhis occasionally convene what are called 'Deokarias' \*; these are meetings at which 'ways and means' are discussed as well as the caste disputes settled and results of past offences related. Much food is eaten and liquor drunk. At these Deokarias, there is no fixed ritual. Sometimes a buffalo is offered up and as the flesh cannot be eaten by them or thrown away, it is given to a lower class of the Baoria tribe called 'Hatodi,' which lives in Hyderabad (Deccan) territory, some of whom are sent for. The penalty for nearly every offence is a fine for so much liquor; that resulting for a man's sin is drunk by the men and that paid up by the women is drunk by the women. The left ear of both men and women guilty of adultery is cut with a razor; a Pardhi guilty of sexual intercourse with a prostitute is punished as if he had committed adultery. Pardhi females are said to be virtuous.

"The following omens are said to be unfavourable:—

- (1) Meeting an empty water chatty.
- (2) A dog flapping its ears.
- (3) The bellowing of cows (though that of bulls is good).
- (4) Mewing of a cat.
- (5) Howling of a jackal.
- (6) Sneezing.
- (7) A snake passing from left to right (though if from right to left is good).

"Pardhis when arrested are very ready at bribing the Police in the first place, and if not successful here, they have been said to bribe Magistrates.

"Their informant is known as 'Heria' and this man, who is usually a respectable man of some position, always gets his share. The receiver is called a 'Jan'.

"It occasionally happens that one man combines the two offices.

"The following technical terms are used:—

Dakaiti	...	...	Bar barra.
Theft	...	..	Ishali.
Burglary	...	...	Joopda.
Petty grain theft	...	...	Koomai.
Petty robberies and dakaitis	...	...	Kooto.
Housebreaking implement	...	...	Kuli-tarna.
Policeman	...	...	Kali kutri.
Stolen property	...	...	Gobur.

"As a rule they do not divide the property on or near the scene of crime, but bring it home and divide there. Generally it is carried by one of the gang well behind the rest so as to enable it to be hidden if the party is challenged.

"I have noticed a tendency for the Pardhis to reside in villages on the borders of station ranges, specially ranges on the borders of taluks and districts. They avoid giving trouble in the range in which they reside and hence obtain considerable immunity from supervision."

These extracts take in all the points which you should specially learn.

## 5.—TAKENKAR.

I am afraid I have very little to say to you about these criminals that has not already been recorded by Major Gunthorpe. They migrated very long ago from Gujerat to Central India and the Dakhan: their mother tongue is Gujerati, but, as often as not, they talk Marathi and Hindustani.

Major Gunthorpe in the second chapter of his book includes them among his six Pardhi tribes: this classification is apt to mislead, as Takenkars are quite distinct from the five tribes of real Pardhis, and will not intermarry with them.

Mr. Sewell in his note on the Pardhis (extra Supplement to the *Police Gazette*, dated the 16th May 1906) says they are not "Baoris," but "Wagris,"\* and gives the following points of difference:—

<i>Pardhis.</i>	<i>Takenkars.</i>
Wear long hair and do not ever cut it after childhood.	Only wear the "shendhi" like other Hindus.
Do not wash after going to stool.	Do wash under similar circumstances.
Wear langotis.	Wear ordinary Hindu clothing.

He might also have added that their methods of crime differ—

<i>Pardhis.</i>	<i>Takenkars.</i>
Generally use nothing but sticks and stones when committing dakaitis and do not unnecessarily cause hurt.	Use arms and torches as well, and torture their victims to make them disclose the whereabouts of the property.
In house-breaking are not particular about the kind of hole they make.	Are most particular and alone of all known tribes enter the hole (which slopes downwards) feet first.

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\* Mr. Sewell was perhaps unaware that Wagris are in reality one of the sub-divisions of the Baori tribe though they may not now consider themselves so. In 1845 Mandhir, a famous leader of Sansi dakaitis stated that in the districts of Amraoti and Ellichpur there was a caste whom the Sansis called "Bagori," but commonly known as Takungar, who were much employed as chowkidars and who were house-breakers and dakaitis. They confined their operations to their own neighbourhood within a distance of 10 or 20 koss. The majority he said were cultivators. From this it would appear they have lived in Berar for many generations. More informations about these people would be useful.



## 6.—HABURA.

This is another tribe of criminals which, not long ago, was practically unknown in these Provinces. Practically the only information forthcoming about them is that reported in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette*, dated 22nd November 1905, to which I can add little. The report classes them with Sansis, but I fancy Sir W. Sleeman was right in saying they were near akin to the Baori tribe.

“The Haburas are a vagrant thieving tribe found chiefly in the central Ganges-Jamna Doab. They are connected with the regular gipsy tribe of Sansia and Bhatu. They have a traditional connection with the old ruined city of Noh-khera to the north of parganna Jelesar in the Eta District, where they frequently make their way during the rainy season to arrange marriage and other caste matters in a series of general tribal councils.

They claim their descent from the Chauhan Rajputs, who lived at Jartanli in the Aligarh District; and have a strong tribal council under a president, who manages all caste business.

Legends of origin and tribal organization.

They are usually exogamous, though in some sub-divisions the only rule of exogamy is the prohibition of marrying in their own camp or horde. Up to recent times they used to recruit by kidnapping girls of other castes, and there seems good reason to believe that they still introduce in the tribe outcaste women of other castes. For a virgin bride the price fixed by tribal custom is Rs. 25, to be paid by the father of the bridegroom, who also pays the expenses of the feasts. The feeling against intertribal immorality is strong and a seducer of a married woman has to pay Rs. 120 before being re-admitted to caste. Girls before marriage enjoy considerable freedom, and a departure from strict virtue is not seriously noticed. Generally speaking, though the women are not particularly virtuous, they are not habitually prostituted by their male relatives as are the women of other gipsy tribes. Widows and divorced women are re-married and their off-spring are regarded legitimate.

Marriage.

They both cremate and bury the dead. Those who can afford the cost of wood adopt the former, and the rest either bury the corpse or expose it in the jungle.

Death ceremonies.

In religion they profess to be Hindus, but accept little or no service from the Brahman. In some places when a boy reaches the age of 12 he is initiated before a Jogi and trained in thieving. In other places they worship “Kali Bhawani.” They observe the usual festivals—Salono, Holi, Diwali and Dasahra. They bathe in the Ganges in honour of the sacred dead.

Religion.

In Aligarh it is reported that they are almost omnivorous, but will not eat the flesh of cows and donkeys. The only castes from whom they will not take any food are the Chamar, Bhangi, Dhobi and Kalar.

Social status and occupation.

They do not use any medicine, but when ill pray to Devi and Zabir Pir. They have much fear of the evil eye, their remedy for which is to get a “Fakir” or “Jogi” to blow on a vessel of water which is then waved over the head of the patient. As a rule they are truthful among themselves, but lie to others to procure the release of a clansman. Their oaths are as follows:—The most binding is to light a lamp (chiragh) and then blow it out. By this he means “If I lie my family be destroyed as I blow out the light”. If a Habura can be induced to take this oath he will never lie. Another form of oath is to cut the root of a pipal tree. The third is swearing by Devi.

The vagrant branch of this tribe supplies some of the most audacious criminals in the United Provinces. A recent report says:—“They are the pest of the neighbourhoods which they frequent, are continuously pilfering, stealing standing crops, attacking carts and passengers along the road, committing robberies and even dakaitis.” The boys are trained at first in field robbery and are then taken out on excursions for the purpose of burglary. When they go to rob fields the gang consists of not less than twenty men. When out for the purpose of burglary eight or nine go together. They seldom use violence except to save themselves from arrest, and they never carry any weapons except bludgeons. If a crime has been committed and traced to any horde, the chief immediately determines who are to be given up. Usually a compromise is made with the Police: two out of six or three out of eight are made over to justice, the rest escaping. All the chief does is to repeat a form of words and then taking two of the grains of wheat \* offered to the god, he places them on the head of the scapegoat. The oath of the brotherhood, is upon him and whether he be guilty or not he confesses to the Magistrate or Judge and goes to the gallows or to a lifelong exile, confident that his chief and brethren will, as they are bound, feed and protect his wife and children.

Criminal habits.

\* Compare with the famous Baori “okot” process.

In Aligarh at the present day, if a Habura is killed in the commission of a crime, his accomplices give his widow Rs. 150; if he is only arrested, they have to support his wife and family until he is released. Neither men nor women wear any jewellery. They do not go long distances to commit crime, and in the daylight, they can easily be identified as Haburas, because both men and women wear the modicum of clothes consistent with decency. They do not attempt to conceal their movements from the Police, and if one of the gang be arrested, the headman will at once give notice of the fact. The only stolen property they bring into the camp is grain—jewellery, vessels, and clothes they conceal in earthen vessels and bury them in the neighbourhood of the encampment. They are generally supported by some landowner who assists them in the disposal of stolen property and gets a commission of four annas in the rupee.

Their slang words:—

Corn of all kinds	...	Kan.
Bread	...	Tuk.
Mother	...	Ai. *
Father	...	Babu.
Son	...	Dikra. *
Daughter	...	Dikri. *
Wife	...	Dhaniyani.
Husband	...	Dhanni.
Son-in-law	...	Pahuna (guest).
Vessels of all kinds	...	Tanwara.
Clothes	...	Lugaria.
Shoes	...	Khakra. *
Bullock	...	Dhandā. *
Cow	...	Jengaria.
Go from here	...	Parohind. *
Run away	...	Nasija.
Policeman	...	Kapahi.
Police Officer	...	Mota Modhana."

If the words marked with an asterisk are compared with the words having the same meaning in the Baori Vocabulary (pages 5 and 6) it will be seen how nearly they coincide.

In a recent report on criminal classes in the United Provinces it was said that 77 Haburas were engaged in cultivation in the Moradabad settlement; and that there were a few small cultivating settlements in Mathura. There are also about 900 of the caste in Aligarh who gave little trouble except for an inclination to commit petty thefts. Members of the tribe were very troublesome in Mainpuri where they committed two dakaities and attempted a third. They were also troublesome in Eta and Unao where they called themselves Karwals.



## BANIA.

## AUDHIYA.

These people form a tribe with which we have practically little to do, since they visit these Provinces but rarely; our information about them is confined to a brief note which appeared in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette*, dated the 16th November 1904, and this I will read out to you:—

“A tribe found in the Fatehpur District. They are known as ‘Audhiya’ or ‘Audhya,’ ‘Ajudhiyabasi’ or ‘Avadhapur’ and take their name from the city of Ajudhiya in Oudh. They prefer the title of Ajudhiyabasi, or residents of Ajudhiya; by outsiders they are usually Audhiya or ‘Oudh men.’ They claim to be really Banias, and say that they emigrated from Ajudhiya: but they have no means of fixing the time of their arrival in Fatehpur. One tradition is that their movement was connected with the expedition of Ram Chandra against Lanka or Ceylon.

“They are divided into two classes—Unch or ‘high’ and Nich or ‘low.’ The former are those of pure blood, the latter, the descendants of a woman of another caste, taken as a concubine. These two classes are practically exogamous. Besides these they have no other exogamous sub-divisions, the only other restriction on marriage being that they do not receive a bride from a family to which they have already given a daughter in marriage, at any rate until all recollection of the relationship has been lost.

“The Audhiyas are well known as a dangerous criminal tribe. They deal largely in counterfeit coin and false jewellery: they never commit crimes of violence. They wander over Northern India as Fakirs, their journey commencing generally in June and ending in April; but they are sometimes two or three years away. It is said that if a member of the caste is imprisoned he is excommunicated. They bring home cash only, and dispose of the plunder to agents at different large cities. In the district where they reside they are perfectly well behaved. They are well-to-do and to all appearances respectable in their habits. Their women are well dressed with plenty of ornaments on their persons. They have no apparent means of support. They neither cultivate land nor trade; and all that appears on the surface is that most of the men and boys go off after the rains and return at the end of the cold weather. If asked how they support themselves, they reply, by begging. Convictions have been obtained against them at Jabaipur, Benares, Patna, Monghyr, Calcutta, Gwalior, Saugor, Murshidabad and Nadiya. They are not under the Criminal Tribes Act, but special Police have been quartered on them in Fatehpur. These were recently removed. In 1890 there were ascertained to be 375 Audhiyas resident in Cawnpur and 159 in Fatehpur. The majority of the adult males continue to absent themselves from time to time for the purpose of thieving and uttering false coin in distant places. The Audhiyas are not shown separately in the last census returns, in which they have probably been included with the Ajudhiyabasi Banias.”

A fresh note on Audhiyas appeared in the *Police Gazette* of the 17th July 1907 and an extract from the judgment of the Additional Sessions Judge, Satara, in a case under Section 401, Indian Penal Code, against some members of a gang of this tribe was published in the *Police Gazette* of the 31st July 1907, from these it appears they are more dangerous criminals than was originally thought. A copy of this new note, together with the extract from the judgment, is now given.

*Copy of paragraph No. 515, from the Supplement to the Police Gazette, Central Provinces, dated the 17th July 1907.*

The following facts showing the origin, progress and result of proceedings taken against a number of Audhiyas, a criminal tribe belonging to the Cawnpur and Fatehpur Districts of the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra, by the Satara District Police, in 1904-05, are published for information:—

Between April and August 1904 a number of burglaries were committed in the Satara city and surrounding villages. In almost all the cases the offences were committed in the day time on weekly market days and in houses from which the occupants were temporarily absent. The locks on the doors were picked in a uniform manner which left no doubt that the offenders were identical.

A cordon of Police in plain clothes was placed on market days round the city to guard the approaches leading to it and a strict watch adopted towards suspicious strangers. On the 29th August 1904, *i. e.*, nine days after the last of a series of burglaries had been committed, two “Bairagis” were noticed prowling about in a suspicious manner, by a chowkidar, who divining their object promptly initiated himself into their confidence and decoyed them into the City Police Station. Here they were searched and among their belongings were found a strongly made iron spoon and a pair of tongs. In the

course of further enquiry it transpired that seven more "Bairagis" of the same description were living at a place called Vada, some three miles distant from the city where they were traced, apprehended and searched. A few more of the above described spoons and tongs as well as some correspondence were found in their belongings and attached. The correspondence turned out to be connected with certain parcels sent home by one of them through the post office.

The possession of the peculiar spoons led the local police to suspect that the accused were Bauriahs of Muzaffarnagar and were so identified by informers from Khandesh and Indore. Their real identity, however, was finally discovered from information gleaned from several letters addressed to these people, which the Police got hold of after the gang was arrested. The District Superintendent of Police, Satara, wrote to the District Superintendent of Police, Cawnpur, and eventually after a lengthy enquiry that followed, it was ascertained that the nine "Bairagis" arrested in Satara were Audhiyas and only a part of a large gang which had been depredating the Deccan for nearly two years prior to their arrest. Later on it was ascertained that six members of the gang, *viz.* :—

- |                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Rambharos Bhagwan Din, | (4) Gokal Prasad Bhagwan Din, |
| (2) Raghubir Ajodhia,      | (5) Balgovind Thakur,         |
| (3) Brijlal Ram Prasad,    | (6) Mannu Bhudu,              |

had been arrested by the Yeola Police of the Nasik District. Two (Rambharos Bhagwan Din and Mannu Bhudu) were convicted of theft, while the other four were sentenced to undergo imprisonment for failing to furnish security under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code. One of the former, a youth, Mannu Bhudu, on the execution of the sentence of whipping, was allowed to go. All the six were identified as "Machlia Minas" by the Khandesh Mina informers. Eight more Audhiyas, named

- |                                 |                      |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Kashi Prasad Dwarka Prasad, | (5) Durga Ganesh,    |
| (2) Raghuvir Cheda Prasad,      | (6) Surji Jwala,     |
| (3) Ramcharan Laxman,           | (7) Bhikari Ayodhia, |
| (4) Surji Baithu,               | (8) Raghubir Durga,  |

a part of the same gang were arrested about the same time at Barsi, in the Sholapur District, by the Sholapur Police. Four of them were prosecuted for theft, while the remainder were put up under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code. They also were mistaken for and identified as Bauriahs. The iron spoon or the "gyan" which was till then considered to be peculiar to the Bauriah alone being in a great measure responsible for the mistaken identity.

The District Superintendent of Police, Satara, finding that all these various groups belonged to one and the same gang associated for the purpose of habitually committing thefts had all the Audhiyas who had been arrested in Nasik (except No. 6, Mannu Bhudu, who was allowed to return to his country after the execution of his sentence of whipping) and Sholapur brought to Satara and prosecuted them under Section 401 of the Indian Penal Code.

The movements of the whole gang were traced from place to place and evidence collected along the route to establish their association. They were traced to Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, to Kolhapur in the Southern Maratha country and to Charegaon in the Satara District. After stopping for some time at the latter place, in a body, the gang broke up into three divisions, one division going to Yeola of the Nasik District, another to Barsi of the Sholapur District and the third division removed its head-quarters from Charegaon to Vada, three miles from Satara. It was discovered that the gang invariably selected a village or hamlet where a temple existed and which was within three or four miles from the larger towns where they carried on their operations. Thus the Yeola gang had established themselves in a hamlet called Underwadi, three miles from Yeola. The Barsi gang at Shendri, four miles from Barsi. The Kolhapur gang at Unchgaon and the Satara gang at Vada. In every instance they located themselves in a "muth" and made it a point to ingratiate themselves with the "Pujari," who satisfied with their external appearance of religious mendicancy, not only offered them shelter but assisted them in the despatch and receipt of correspondence which the Audhiyas carried on with their patrons, associates and relatives from whom they were separated for the time being. It is not improbable that the "Pujaris" were in league with the fraternity and were liberally recompensed for their sympathy and help by the Audhiyas. As the operations of these criminals extended over various districts of this presidency and their home was in the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra, the District Superintendent of Police, Satara, applied for and obtained the services of an Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department, who assisted in collecting the required evidence of association to establish



the charge under Section 401 of the Indian Penal Code. This evidence was procured from the neighbours and relatives of the accused at their native place. The correspondence seized by the Satara Police, which was written in the Nagri character, was found to be full of ambiguous terms conveying hidden meanings which were duly solved and formed an important link in the chain of evidence that had to be prepared.

One interesting feature of the enquiry elicited by the Criminal Investigation Department was the discovery of the despatch by these criminals of a comparatively large number of parcels [54] and money orders [101] to their homes, between March 1901 and August 1904, through the post office. It was not practicable to obtain the exact weight of all the parcels, but the money order remittances exceeded five thousand rupees.

After an elaborate and searching investigation necessitated by the large number of the accused, namely, twenty-two, the wide area over which their movements and depredations had extended, and the distance between their homes and the actual scenes of their crime, they were charged before the First Class Magistrate, Satara, who committed the prisoners to the Court of Sessions, where on the 17th April 1905, all the accused, except one who had died during the trial, were convicted and sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment ranging from three to seven years.

On appeal three out of twenty-one prisoners were acquitted.

Copies of the finding of the Sessions Judge and the judgment of the High Court of Bombay are given below:—

*Extract from the judgment of the Assistant Sessions Judge, Satara,*

\* \* \* \* \*

Many of the accused have admittedly been absent from their villages for several years since 1901. In February 1901 Raghuvir or Raghunandin (11) and Kashiprasad (accused 13) were convicted in Aurangabad (see copies of judgments exhibit 89, finger impressions produced from Hyderabad). Exhibits 21 and 22, finger impressions taken in Court (exhibits 19 and 20) and compared by the expert Nazim Muhammad Khan (ex. 8). In the same year parcels were sent from Aurangabad by "Raghu" and "Manu" (Manu's name frequently appears). Vitha (ex. 67) knew him, and he was convicted in Nasik District along with Rambharos (accused 10), but being sentenced to whipping, had left the district when the Satara Police instituted enquiries about Ayodhyas there. The Magistrate who convicted Raghuvir (accused 11) mentions that he had a pair of tongs, a spoon and a nail-parer, all adapted for house-breaking purposes. In the same year parcels and money orders were sent from Nagpur (Prayagi, accused 1, was convicted in February 1901 in Nagpur of house-breaking by day, ex. 9, 14, 8 and 84), Ajmere, Indore and Poona by "Shiycharan" (accused 5's name), "Manu" Ramlal and Durga (accused 8 and 19 are called Durga and of those accused 8 is a mere boy).

*Copy of paragraph No. 540 from the Supplement to the Police Gazette, dated the 31st July 1907.*

\* \* \* \* \*

In continuation of the previous account of the prosecution of certain members of the Audhiya tribe in Satara in 1904-05, the following judgment in another case under Section 401, Indian Penal Code, against some more members of the same gang who were convicted by the Additional Sessions Judge, Satara, on the 11th March 1907, is published.

*(Extract from the judgment of the Additional Sessions Judge, Satara.*

\* \* \* \* \*

We now come to the more recent robberies which were committed by the gang. In 1903 one Ghagwa Devi was robbed in Raipur. Ghagwa Devi, who has been called as a witness, corroborates this, and gives details of what he then lost; and adds that he can identify Mannu Prani and Ramlal as having been in Raipur at the time. It is, of course, possible that he may remember them. The next robbery was one committed at Khed in the Poona District. This robbery was undetected at the time, and the first suspicion as to who were its authors arose when the Satara Police wrote and asked whether it had not occurred and whether certain property had not been stolen, the latter being the victim of the robbery. Both exhibit 24 and the enquiring officer (ex. 23) remember the presence of Pardeshis at the time, but they were not then suspected in the matter. Prayagi's evidence in this crime is very full and interesting, as it was on this occasion that Lakhu fell out with the other over the spoil, and much correspondence about the subject seems to have ensued, some of which has been attached. The crime, according to Prayagi, was

committed by Mannu, Budhu and Lakhu and others, and the booty worth Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 was temporarily buried and then disappeared. The other two accused Lakhu of having played them false, and diverted it to his own purpose (*vide* reference to this matter in letters Nos. 11, 12, 18).

\* \* \* \* \*

I will now turn to the evidence furnished by the Postal authorities, which is, I believe, peculiarly strong against the accused. Prayagi has told us that the gang disposed of their loot either by selling the goods in a big place and sending the proceeds by means of money orders, or else by sending the articles themselves in parcels to their homes. At the time of the previous case the details were not known, but Prayagi has now mentioned some of the parcels and money orders which were sent in 1904. This evidence was not available in full till the time of the trial in the Sessions and the circumstances preclude the possibility of its being got up. The information has been furnished by ex. No. 12 who is the head clerk to the Superintendent of Post Offices at Cawnpur, and he has made an abstract in English of the various parcels and money orders, sent to the accuseds' homes. Prayagi says that Mannu Prani in 1904 sent home a parcel and money order from Nagpur, a money order from Sidhpur, and another parcel from Amraoti. Of the parcels the returns show one was received on the 15th April and the other on the 15th August 1904. The other two have not been traced. Lakhu is said to have sent one money order for Rs. 40 to his uncle. The list shows that it was received on the 9th July.

Prayagi says Shivabux sent a money order for Rs. 250 from Nagpur and a parcel from Akola. The return shows that the parcel from Akola was received on the 4th April and the money order from Nagpur on the 5th. The change of venue was probably made in order to escape suspicion.

We next come to Ramlal, who sent one money order from Nagpur to Bitaniya for Rs. 25 and Rs. 115 from Bombay to the same addressee. The former of these, the list shows to have been received on the 6th April and the latter on the 30th June, and both were paid.

\* \* \* \* \*

The finger-prints of suspected Audhiyas should be sent to the Central Bureau at Allahabad, and it would be worth while to send unidentified suspects to Cawnpur and Fatehpur for identification.



## UNCLASSED HINDUS.

## 8.—PASI.

These are a set of criminals whom Gunthorpe does not mention, but they are common in these Provinces and are much given to house-breakings, robberies and dakaitis, and you should be careful to make inquiries in your station-houses whether there are Pasis resident in them.

They are said to be non-Aryans and at one time were undoubtedly people of position. Mr. Carnegie in his "Races of Oudh" says of them: "It is affirmed by some that they are a branch of the Kerat tribe of Dwarka. An heroic Pasi named Sen of Barniya figures prominently in the poetical accounts of the celebrated battles of Ala and Udal; and this gives colour to their asserted connection with Kanouj, where those heroes flourished. It seems to be admitted in the Sitapur District that the Pasis were once entire masters of Khairabad."

Sherring says that, according to their own account, they fell from the brow of the famous Parasram in the form of perspiration and the entire race is descended from the five thus originally produced at Anantal in Oudh.

Sherring divides them into nine clans:—

- |             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Jaiswara | 5. Rainswat or Kaithwan. |
| 2. Gujar.   | 6. Tirsuliya.            |
| 3. Pasiwan. | 7. Chiriyaman.           |
| 4. Biadik.  | 8. Bihari.               |
| 9. Bhar.    |                          |

Mr. Carnegie's classification of the Sitapur Pasis differs from this, and, so far as I can gather, Pasis, Bhars, Khartiks and such like tribes are all closely related. Mr. Mahadeo Prasad knew some in Jabalpur who called themselves "Bahelias."

Sherring says they used to be employed as village-watchmen to catch thieves, in return for which they received remuneration in the shape of either land or payment in cash and kind. If they failed to trace the thief, they had to make good the loss of property.

At marriage festivals the boys are dressed as girls and made to dance in public. They never use drums or other musical instruments, and they breed pigs and cure the bacon obtained from them.

In Nagpur numbers of them have taken service in the mills; and in 1904 there was considerable suspicion that they were the perpetrators of a number of house-breakings in the Wardha District. Mr. Mahadeo Prasad tells me that they have lately taken to accepting small building contracts in Jabalpur; they also take service as day-labourers in fields. But the more criminally disposed prefer to take contracts for the watch and sale of mangoes in groves distant from habitations so that their movements will not be watched by prying eyes. They also take freely to the occupation of roof-thatching, as that enables them to note things in houses worth stealing.

Mr. Mahadeo Prasad has had experience of their cunning in disposing of stolen property. The men will go openly in the day time to the receiver and acquaint him with the fact that they have property to dispose of; the receiver goes to the bazar, and the women come to him with grass for sale, they sell the grass to the receiver and then accompany him to his home with it—and the stolen property which is artfully concealed in it.

In Mandla Mr. Dhiraj Singh, Inspector of Police, had much trouble with Pasis. He says they are numerous in Jabalpur, Nagpur, and the Berars, and frequently, specially in Berar, call themselves Kumhars and manufacture tiles. They seldom commit crime in the immediate vicinity of their homes, but go in gangs to break into houses in distant villages; having fixed on a likely house

they collect about 9 p. m. on a dark night in the house of their leader where they drink and lay their plans till about midnight, they then set out for the place and return before dawn to the leader's house to divide the property obtained. If the property is identifiable they do not take it home, but each buries his own share some little distance off from his house telling one of his own family where it is in case he should be arrested. Their receivers are generally Sunars, malguzars and grain merchants. They usually are in with the local badmashes and kotwars and obtain information from them.

Most of the Pasis in the south of the Provinces come from Raibareli and they often visit their native home, in which case the Nainpur junction is a favourite trysting place, probably if a smart man with experience of these so-called *kumhars* were stationed there, he might do much in the way of watching their movements. Inspector Dhiraj Singh has strong suspicions they often take stolen property up-country with them through Nainpur, therefore the Police at Nainpur should carefully study lists of property advertised in the *Police Gazette* as stolen in the Maratha country if they wish to catch these Pasis.



## 9.—KAIKARI.

There is a very large class of nomads who have gradually spread themselves over practically the whole of the peninsular portion of India and have penetrated as far north as Rajputana; the term Kaikari is usually applied to such of them as haunt the central and north-western tracts, but they are also known under numerous other titles such as Koravar, Koracha, Korvi, Erukala, &c., and are divided and sub-divided into a great number of clans and families.

Many people have contributed towards our stock of information concerning them, Gunthorpe's account you all have; Mr. Paupa Rao Naidu has also recently written a very useful monograph on them and he had the advantage of studying authorities like Captain Harvey, Major Gunthorpe, Mr. Mullaly, Mr. Stevenson and others. I do not propose to give you information gleaned from his pamphlet and so advise you all to purchase it. But there are accounts given by others whose works you will find it more difficult to procure and I will confine my remarks to such information gathered from them as I think will be most useful to you. The chief of these are Mr. R. V. Russell's article for the Ethnographic Survey compiled from sources untapped by Mr. Naidu, notes by my brother, Mr. W. A. Gayer, who has had great experience of the more criminally disposed Kaikaris, and who has kindly placed his extensive notes at my disposal, and an interesting description of them by an anonymous officer in Bombay.

The more one reads about these people the more one feels the difficulty of dogmatizing; the various accounts are very conflicting. It is generally asserted that they have spread northward from the Tamil country: in the Hyslop papers is a vocabulary of Kaikari words which are mostly of Tamil origin, and all other vocabularies show their mother tongue must have been Tamil, but their secret jargon includes Telegu, Canarese and Marathi words. It is not improbable that as their sphere of action has widened they have been thrown more and more on the idiosyncrasies of their leaders and that in course of time their modes of life and methods of crime have undergone changes together with the names by which they have become known. Most of the clans are constantly on the move and so we will sometimes find gangs of Kaikaris in close proximity who go by different names and have different customs and exhibit different degrees of criminality. Every writer however is agreed that there are Kaikaris of various kinds who make a downright profession of both dakaiti and house-breaking; that there are others who have eschewed evil and live peaceful lives as honourable citizens; and that in between there are numerous classes who have criminal instincts which they indulge in varying degrees. My brother in 1904 drew up a list of 130 dakaitis believed to have been committed by Kaikaris in the Nizam's dominions and neighbouring territory during the previous 10 years and he says:—

“These lists should not be regarded as by any means a full record of the dakaitis  
 “for which these people are responsible and it should be remembered that  
 “beside these and other dakaitis there are endless burglaries, highway  
 “robberies and thefts of which they are the perpetrators”

He says the real Kaikari dakaitis are the—

(1) Kaikaris (Telugu Korsi and Gullur)

(2) Chor Kaikaris (Canarese Kul Korve)

and the Bombay officer whose note shows special knowledge says:—

“Later accounts, however, furnish the following particulars The Dondelay or  
 “Chor Kaikadis (Solapur), Nihraji or Dondelay (Poona), Dantalmare  
 “(Ahmednagar,) Deccanis (Kholapur), the Kall Korves (Canarese,) Korsi and  
 “Gullur Kaikadis (Telugu) are all said to be inveterate dacoits. The above  
 “list, which is not exhaustive is possibly also, not altogether accurate, as  
 “few agree on the nomenclature of Kaikadis.”

These two officers writing from different parts of India are so closely in agreement that I think there need be no hesitation in accepting their accuracy, and my brother is well within the mark in confining his remarks to the two

classes mentioned by him (for we in the Central Provinces, may ignore the Telugu and Canarese classes). In the Supplement to the *Central Provinces Police Gazette*, dated the 29th September 1905, are printed accounts by him and the late Mr. Herbert of these dakait Kaikaris, in the following remarks. I shall draw largely from these descriptions :—

“ Mr. Russell says that in 1901, there were 300 wanderers who called themselves Kaikaris in these Provinces, mostly in Nimar and the Maratha Districts; 2,000 in the Berars and 7,000 in Bombay; he did not in these figures include any but people calling themselves Kaikari, if in Bombay he had added the “Korves” the number would have risen to nearly 25,000 there. I have not the Berar census figures to refer to, but those given here for both the Central Provinces and Berars are probably much below the mark, because Kaikaris are given to hiding their identity.

One approver who claimed relationship to the Kaikaris stated that the gang he belonged to had at different times given out they were “Gull Yella Gullawars,” “Ghantichores,” “Gonlles” and “Tirmullis” and that they adopted the disguises of “Jangamas,” or “Joteshis,” “Kunbis,” “Pardhis” and “Waddars”. It is however doubtful whether these so-called Gull Yella Gullawars were really Kaikaris, they were more likely to be of Waddar origin as their language was a corrupt form of Telugu.

The ostensible means of subsistence of Kaikaris are various, the ordinary means are :—

- (1) Basket making and mat weaving out of materials such as cotton stalks, date-palm leaves and grass.
- (2) Repairing grinding mills.
- (3) Carrying earth, gravel or stones.
- (4) Snaring game.
- (5) Exhibiting monkeys.
- (6) Exhibiting cobras (Mr. Russell says their tutelary god is the “Nag.”)

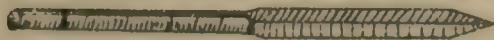
The women nearly all go in for palmistry and tattooing and they themselves are profusely tattooed, “because tattooing is considered to be a record of the virtuous acts performed in this world and must be displayed to the deity after death” (R. V. Russell). The Bombay note says “Tattooing in the “form of the Tulsi leaf or the lucky cross of Nandi above the cheek bones as well as words such as ‘Shriram’ ‘Jairam’, &c., on the arms is a common form of adornment.”

The *dakait* Kaikaris generally stick to basket making, for it gives them a good excuse for hiding in the jungles from which they get some of their materials; they usually live in temporarily constructed huts at some distance from a village. When they find the village headman complacent, they will settle down and one or two members for show, will take up land, but will cultivate it by hired labour. This land serves a two-fold purposes, it enables them to claim respectability as cultivators, and, when they steal crops and are asked where they got the grain, they point to their fields. They are also past masters at fowl and goat stealing for immediate consumption.

Kaikaris are much addicted to house-breaking but they are perhaps the only professional burglars who don't go in for carefully planning their burglaries, they seldom make any enquiry about the wealth of the houses they break into; all the precautions they take are (1) to choose a house where they are not likely to be disturbed, such as the house of a Kunbi whose store-room is at the back and separated from his living room by a wall and locked door and (2) to always break in from the back, and having broken in to secure the door between them and the inmates of the house so that they may get lots of warning should they disturb their victims. Therefore a number of burglaries of this description in any locality, wherein some cases very little rewards the burglars, would make one suspect Kaikaris.



Gunthorpe tells you the instrument is called "Silla koloo" or "Punsee koloo" and that the breach is made level with the ground. My brother says "the instrument used is an iron bar about 14 inches long, with a squared end tapering to a point and is called "Silla kol" in Kaikari, Marathi and Telugu, and "Kangatti" in Canarese.



The hole is not now-a-days always made on the level of the ground, but often about a cubit above it, it is usually round, about a cubit in diameter. Only one man enters, the other two or three stay outside on guard, and they keep the *silla kol*. The man who enters always strikes a match or two to see where things are located, and he does what is possible to prevent any of the inmates being able to enter the room suddenly by blocking up or fastening the door.

The method of committing dakaiti depends much on circumstances and on the ideas of the leaders, but generally much trouble is taken in planning a raid. Sometimes people will come and give Kaikadis information of a suitable house, in which case the gang gives the informer a share of the profits; at others they send women and old men in disguise—the Bombay report mentions instances in which the women have discarded their "cholis" and passed themselves off as "Waddars." Having got tempting "khabbar" some experts from the gang reconnoitre the place, they estimate the strength of the village, decide the best method of effecting their object and fix on a convenient *rendezvous* about a mile from the village. Their attack varies, according to the strength of the gang and resources of the village, from a stealthy approach and quick retreat, to an open and continued show of strength. They generally choose the dark night "amowsya" or one of the five nights either preceding or following it, and the time of the attack varies from about 8 p. m. to 11 p. m., the smaller the village the earlier the attack. Before setting out they propitiate "Tu'ja Bhawani" or "Amba Bai"; for this purpose goats and toddy are purchased (stolen offerings are forbidden), and the arms and implements to be used are laid out before them, the leader then cuts the throats of the animals to be offered and a feast is held. The arms used are generally axes, lathies and slings, occasionally guns, and the "Silla kol" is always taken in case of need.

They travel together by night, but split up into small parties by day and if necessary take ponies, bullocks or donkeys to carry their impedimenta. Having reached the selected *rendezvous* they halt, sometimes the whole day, to feed and rest; their food is generally brought ready cooked. Mr. Herbert found that they cut "babul" sticks near their *rendezvous* in preference to bringing *lathes* with them, and, if they anticipate it will be useful, they here make the Kaikari ladder described by Gunthorpe. When the time for attack has come, they divest themselves of superfluous clothing, seldom wearing more than a *dhoti* which is generally well tucked up and *pagri*, a fold or two of which is tied round the face. Sometimes however a body vest is worn and a "rumal" in place of a *pagri*. One party is told off to guard the approaches and the others enter the house as quietly as possible, either by means of the ladder, or by climbing the wall in some other way, or they open the door by means of "bagli nakab" or, if obliged to, smash it in with axes. If opposed Kaikaris use their *lathies* and slings with considerable effect, but they do not kill for the sake of killing, though they are by no means scrupulous and like to create a wholesome fear among their victims, and will unhesitatingly take life if hard pressed. They have a trick of trying to mislead the Police by leaving behind some article such as a Banjara bag, and sometimes fire off crackers or other detonators to make the villagers believe they have fire arms; they also frequently use the slang of other people chiefly that of Banjaras to deceive the villagers.

After the dakaiti they collect and bolt straight for the place where they rested and left their clothes, &c., there they make their booty up into convenient bundles, distribute it among the members of the gang for portorage and start at a good swinging pace for their village. They march by night and rest by day, concealing themselves in convenient hills, nalas and jungles. Should they be discovered by the police in any such hiding place, they never move and are quite civil. They say they are Dhangars going to purchase goats and as they expect to have a large number to drive back, the size of their party is explained. If the police party is satisfied, well and good; if not the dakaitis set on them and beat them; in either case as soon as possible they make themselves scarce. On reaching home the plunder is buried in a safe place until they have no more to fear. The receiver is then called and goats are again brought and killed in front of the stolen property, which is then sold. The cost of the feast is put aside for payment and the rest of the money is divided.

Kaikaris never commit a dakaiti near their encampment unless they have good reason to believe the police will see they come to no harm. They will otherwise always raid in another jurisdiction, and will frequently travel 100 miles to commit a dakaiti. From experience of Kaikari dakaitis in these Provinces the following facts will usually indicate that Kaikaris have been at work:—

- (1) A halting place found in the jungle where probably no food has been cooked about a mile from the village.
- (2) Places from which "Babul" or "Khair" sticks have been cut near this halting place, or between it and the village.
- (3) Freshly cut sticks of the above lying near the scene of offence.
- (4) A Kaikari ladder left behind.
- (5) Stones slung by the dakaitis (Kaikaris use short slings).

Also if the dakaitis:—

- (6) Wore *dhoties* (well tucked up) and *pagris* with little or no other clothing.
- (7) Fired off explosives.
- (8) Used slang peculiar to other tribes, and left behind shoes, bits of clothing or other articles which would throw suspicion on some other class of criminal.

When Kaikaris are suspected it will be necessary to look very far afield for them, and to enquire for a party of men travelling by night without encumbrances. When the journey from their homes is very long they will often take a woman or two with them to cook, and leave these at some spot about half way to the place they are about to raid; these women join them again on their return journey.

Gunthorpe tells you Kaikaris burnish brass in tamarind bark flames so as to make it resemble gold, the process is described by him in his monograph on Sanchalooos (*vide* the lecture on Waddars); Mr. Gayer tells of another process, which has the same effect, *i. e.*, boiling in "haldi" and "chuna" very finely powdered.

There is a very interesting paragraph (No. 537) in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 31st July 1907, which I reproduce below:

"Inspector Nago Rao, Chikli Taluk, reports that while searching a gang of Bija Chand Kaikaris, he witnessed in the pal (a cloth stretched across a pole forming a sort of tent) of Shaikar *alias* Sheoram, son of Bija Chand, a horse-hair loop attached to a spring hook and a horn containing the sap of a tree. On enquiring minutely into this the Inspector was informed by Kaikari constables Bala and Govinda that those Kaikaris possessing the above mentioned articles are invariably of the thieving fraternity. These Kaikaris have a great predilection for squirrels and birds for food."

"The loops, some 20 or 30 in number, are spread net-wise over a tree, and birds and squirrels are thus easily entangled, flour being used as a bait. The sap used is obtained



from the pipal tree and this is used by way of bird lime, two pieces of stick being placed in position with a string on which the lime is spread. A worm called Raghniya (in Marathi) is also used as a bait."

"From information obtained by the Inspector it seems beyond doubt that any Kaikaris going in for this method of trapping should always be regarded with suspicion and searched carefully as they are invariably criminals, other Kaikaris not being in possession of the articles described above."\*

\* \* \* \* \*

I have found a good deal to indicate that dakait Kaikaris (as stated by Gunthorpe) have fixed meeting places at which a number of gangs *rendezvous* and where they settle on the parts of the country to be exploited by each gang. It would be very interesting if an informer could ascertain for us how each gang arranges not to interfere with other gangs, for it is believed no gang ever operates in the jurisdiction in which it resides. The heads of the gangs evidently come to some mutual understanding, but no one seems to know whether any given gang operates within the territorial jurisdiction of only one other gang, or whether it can raid the territories of more than one other gang, and if so whether there are limited periods within which these raids must take place. Information on these points may possibly help us to lay our hands with tolerable certainty on the perpetrators of any given dakaiti.

I have already given you some idea of the disguises used by Kaikaris and have mentioned that they often call themselves by names meant to mislead enquirers. My brother met with Kaikaris who said they often painted marks on their foreheads to help them in their disguises, the marks they favoured most were two white lines with a yellow one between, and they carried bits of bell metal with them to strike when begging. Mr. Russell says in Khandesh as in Nimar they have two exogamous clans "Jadon" and "Gaekwar" (in the Bombay note the two clans are called "Jadhav" and "Powar") Jadon and Powar are well known Rajput septs and it would appear that Kaikaris are now aspiring to imitate the warlike Kshatriyas. Some also settled down to husbandry and call themselves "Grahastha" (Sanskrit "Gentleman") and ape the Kunbi caste; others assume Maratha family names such "Mane," "Dane" and "Gaekwar"; others again have occupational titles such as "Pungi" (gourd blowers) and Wajantri or Bhajantri (musicians). To give you a list of all the names applied to them would take too long, but what I have already said and a study of Mr. Naidu's brochure will show you that you must be prepared to find Kaikaris under almost any name and disguise.

The deities they worship are the "Nag," Bhawani, Mari Mata, Khandoba, † Vithoba and a host of minor gods, and some Pirs. They also celebrate festivals such as the Dasehra, Diwali, Holi and Nao Durga, but do not observe the Pola or other Vishnuvite festivals, nor do they hold trees, such as the Tulsi and Pipal, to be sacred.

Kaikaris are declared to be a criminal tribe in the Bombay Presidency under Regulation XII of 1827.

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\* Two gangs of (self-styled) Jhinga Bhois who were apparently Waddars were also found in possession of nooses and skins of squirrels, many of them were previous convicts (*vide* the Supplement to *Police Gazette* of 18th March 1908, and the lecture on Waddars).

† Mr. Russell says "every family has a platform raised to Khandoba," and that an oath by a dog is the most binding form of oath they know, as the dog is sacred to Khandoba (see lecture on Sansis page 61).

## 10.—MANG GARODI.

You will find Gunthorpe's description of these people ample to enable you to recognize their encampments at sight. They are rather irreligious from all accounts : occasionally in times of distress or sickness they will go to a "Bhagat" or priest, who has the reputation of having sometimes been "possessed" by "Mari Mahi"—the goddess of death—and implore his intervention. If they cannot find a "Bhagat" they smear the invalid with ashes and call on the goddess. In times of rejoicing, *i. e.* when they have enriched themselves with an unusually large haul, they will smear cowdung over a selected spot and then wash it over with "laddi" or lime (kuku) : on this they will pour libations of liquor and call on the goddess "Chorwasi." They are very common in parts of the Central Provinces, and very frequent notice of their movements is to be found in the Supplement to the Gazette; their gangs sometimes number over 100 souls, *e. g.*, in 1904, a gang in Betul was comprised of 23 men, 27 women, 25 grown boys and 28 small children. I do not think Gunthorpe lays sufficient emphasis on the part taken by the women in crime, for they apparently do by far the major part of the thieving

Sherring says the men never commit house-breaking and very seldom rob *on the highway* : he calls them "wanderers, showmen, jugglers and conjurors," and says they are robbers and get their information by performing before the houses of rich *sahukars* and others.

They generally manage to find out where bazars are to be held, and encamp two or three miles off, and the women enter the bazar in parties of four or five to steal.\* The following method is given in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 24th January 1905.

They see somebody put down his clothes or bag of rupees and watch till his attention is attracted elsewhere, then walking up quietly between the article and its owner they drop their petticoat, and in picking it up manage to transfer the article to their own basket. The petticoat is dropped either between the owner and the article or in such a manner as to cover the article partially.

The women do not usually consult the omens before setting out to pilfer, but if any of the usual omens on the way seem unfavourable they place a stone on the ground and dash another on to it, saying "Nat gat asal to phulunja" (if the obstacle is removed, break) : if it breaks they proceed ; if not, they desist. Stolen property is kept by the thief for her family, unless it is *money* in which case it is spent on drink for the gang. Stolen articles are often bartered at liquor shops for drink.

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\* Mr. Latham writes to say he found Mang Garodi women at work in bazars 10 and 14 miles from their encampments, and they employed little girls of 7 and 8 to steal for them ; these women were also accompanied by athletic men who ran off with the stolen property as soon as it was handed to them. In the Nagpur District he noticed the women wore "saries."



## 11.—WADDARS (INCLUDING SANCHALOOS).

The Waddars are a tribe about whom I have had little opportunity of learning anything, but there is gathering evidence that their organization is quite as intricate as that of any of the other great tribes. The following is taken from Sherring's and Mullaly's descriptions :—

Waddars are stone-workers, tank diggers, well sinkers, earth workers and so forth. They are of Telugu origin, are wanderers, will eat every description of animal food, and are much given to strong drink. They are divided into two main branches :—

- (1) Kallu (Stone) Waddars.
- (2) Mannu (Earth) Waddars.

Each branch has the same three gotras :—

- (1) Boja.
- (2) Yattinavaru.
- (3) Bailu Waddar.

Criminal sections are commonly known as "Takku" Waddars, and they usually belong to the Kallu branch. They are robbers and house-breakers, and generally operate within a radius of 20 miles from their encampment. The house is as a rule dug into through the back or side wall, and the hole is near the foundation; the implement is ordinarily the crowbar used by them in their profession of stone breaking. "The work is clumsily performed and not always successful, where there has been one successful case, there are invariably signs of unsuccessful attempts in the neighbourhood" (Mullaly).

So far as we could tell in these Provinces Waddars did not often trouble us, but recently our attention has been attracted to them and it has been found that their communities have got as many ramifications as any of the great criminal tribes. Mr. Naidu has told us in his "History of Railway thieves" that they are known in different places by 14 different divisions all having their own peculiarities, but this list is by no means exhaustive. In the Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 26th February 1908, paragraph 161, is an account from Amraoti of a gang of Sanchaloos, their advent led to the re-issue of a pamphlet written by Colonel Gunthorpe on Sanchaloos, in 1886. Again in the next supplement was another account from Amraoti of a couple of gangs of self-styled "Jhinga Bhois." Enquiries from Hyderabad elicited the information that the Jhinga Bhois and the Sanchaloos are both sub-divisions of the great Waddar tribe. A note from Hyderabad says "the most common names under which members of this (Waddar) tribe have been convicted are "Chanchalwad" or "Chenchulu" and "Yerragollawar" or "Mushtigollawar." Chenchu Dasari and Chenchalwad are apparently local variations of the same name and in Berar they were known as Sanchaloo. In the Supplement of the *Police Gazette*, dated the 29th April 1908, there is an extract from the Madras Criminal Investigation Department mentioning a gang of Donga Dasaries of Motupalli, these people were also known as "Kathiras" and "Panulas," and they associated for purposes of dakaiti with Yerukulas and Parikimuggulas, these last are also Waddars.

The following note on Sanchaloos by Colonel Gunthorpe will show you what was known of them 20 years ago, and if this is compared with the very interesting account just written by Mr. Armstrong, Deputy Superintendent of Police, it will be seen how very much they have changed. Mr. Armstrong's description is particularly valuable, as he has closely studied their present organization and has learned much of their movements and habits while actually engaged in a criminal campaign. His note is followed by two other useful accounts.

## TIRMULLEES.\*

True caste name : Donga Sanchaloo.

Sanchaloos, it appears, originally belonged to and formed part of the Waddar family, but their *Gooroo* having given them a. Origin. "Namum" (long koonkoo mark on the forehead) they severed themselves from the Waddars and became a separate tribe. The men then took to wearing shoes and the women cholees (bodices) and jackets† Their original homes were in the Cuddapah, Guntoor and Kurnool Districts of the Madras Presidency. The villages of Podutooroo and Mangulgeeree in the Cuddapah District were composed entirely of Sanchaloos.

About the year 1876, *i. e.*, 3 or 4 years prior to the last famine in those parts, they being hard pressed by the Police, and several of their numbers being arrested and convicted for crimes committed by them, they began to disperse by gangs into the neighbouring districts and Telengana countries generally; by the year 1879 (the year of the famine) no Sanchaloos remained in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, thence they spread themselves pretty generally over the Deccan, and gangs took up permanent quarters for certain months in the year, building themselves huts, in Poona, Sattara, Naggur, Madras, Surat, Nimar, Kallian Goolburga, Dharwar and Purthoor Turbunee in His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. The gangs leave their homes at the beginning of rains, and, taking their women and children with them, roam about the country committing crime and hoarding up the proceeds until the end of the cold weather, *i. e.*, February, when they return and pass the hot weather in marriage feasts and riotous living upon the proceeds of their plundering expedition. They are great consumers of liquor, both sexes indulging freely, and they live well, always eating meat and rice and anything money can purchase. The reason why the rainy and cold seasons are selected for their predatory excursions is thus explained by them:—"Owing to the noise of the rain, breaking through walls and entrance into houses is not heard by the inmates, and in the cold season people cover themselves all over with blankets, &c., and cannot easily hear any sound made in the house, whereas in the hot season people, as a rule, sleep in their yards or verandahs and keep awake a great part of the night, and it is feared the least noise would be heard by them."

True caste. It appears the Sanchaloo tribe has three sub-divisions :—

1. Golla (shepherd) Sanchaloo live by begging and prostituting their females.
2. Bhoie (bearer) Sanchaloo beg and sell toy poonghees (blow gourds) (These two never leave the Telengana Districts.)
3. Ooper (salt maker) Sanchaloo (the subject of this paper) originally lived by collecting salt at the salt springs in Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, but now and for years past a purely criminal class. Owing to their having taken to this style of livelihood they are now known among Sanchaloos as Donga Sanchaloos, *i. e.*, thieving Sanchaloos.

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\* It must be borne in mind that *all* Tirmullees are *not* Sanchaloos, whereas all Sanchaloos call themselves Tirmullees—an assumed caste. Real Tirmullees are an honest class, who subsist by selling koonkoo and sandal wood, &c.

† Waddars, let them be ever so rich, never wear shoes of any kind on their feet, though sandals may be worn, nor do their women wear cholees or jackets. Their legend is:—That ages past rats stole all their shoes and cholees and as their fore-fathers were deprived of them, they may not use them, and that is why they are inveterate enemies of the rat, and dig them up and eat them whenever they can.



In the Berars, Central Provinces and in the Poona, Satara and Nagpur Districts of the Bombay Presidency, these Sanchaloos pass themselves off as "Tirmullees" and also as "Phool Malis." In Madras, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions and Kullian District, they call themselves and are known as "Trimullees", also as "Sanchaloos." In the Dharwar and Surat Districts of the Bombay Presidency they are known as "Chanchoo Dhaseris."

Castes assumed in different countries.  
 All talk Telugu among themselves. Generally have encampments, though small detached parties sometimes bivouac either in the open or under trees. As a rule they select villages where there is a liquor shop to camp near. Their pals or small tents are made up of cloths of all colors patched and lined, as a rule, with kumuls or blankets. About their encampments or bivouacs will be found bullocks, ponies, goats and dogs—never donkeys\*; pals, goods and chattels are carried from place to place on the backs of either ponies or bullocks. Men go into villages begging with a bunch of peacock feathers and a bell, sometimes (those who can afford one) also take a white conch shell. Women and children often accompany them. At the encampments in the different pals are to be found small supplies of beads, needles, thread, pieces of sandal-wood, which are shown as means of livelihood when interrogated. In one encampment the writer found a bottle of English sugar plums, which he was told were sold as medicine at 3 pies each. In truth none of the above articles are sold, but merely kept for show. In one pal were found 3 pieces of sandal-wood, which were discovered through the women, which had been there for 7 or 8 years.

Identification, means of.  
 The men wear dhoties, a turban, generally white, or a rummal or colored handkerchief tied loosely round the head, and a sheet thrown over their persons. Those who can afford it wear an ungreka or coat; all have their ears pierced and some wear rings in their ears like Marwaris. Almost all wear a necklace composed generally of two rows of wooden beads intermixed with coral and agate. With the exception of a small tuft of hair, heads are kept clean shaved, moustaches are worn, and except among the older men, chins are shaved.

Costume of males and females.  
 Silver or silk kardodahs are worn, as also armlets, but adult Sanchaloos never have on kuddahs (wristlets), as they say only females should have anything in the way of bangles on. All kinds of covering to the feet are used, from sandals to north country shoes, according to each individual's fancy. Different kinds are specially worn when going out to commit crime. Female attire consists of sari and cholee in Telengana fashion; the hair is tied in a bunch at the back of the head. Forearms and foreheads are tattooed. The special mark on the latter being in the shape of a V with a dot in the centre (∇). A nose ring shaped like a hook (mookera) with coral and gold beads affixed to it is worn on the left side of the nose. Several necklets of kinds are worn by each female. The usual ones being one composed of black beads intermingled with gold and coral, the other composed of strings of coral and agate beads. In addition, every married woman wears the string of black beads with a gold pendant (thallee).

Silver and glass bangles are used with a silver armlet on the right arm. Except among the elderly females, shoes are forbidden. Should a young woman wear them, she is fined by the caste. This is a remnant of the custom of their ancestors, the Waddars.

Language.  
 Both sexes speak the Telugu and Canarese languages fluently, the former being their mother-tongue. They are well conversant with the Urdu and Mahratta languages, especially the males, but when interrogated by Policemen or other Government servants, they pretend ignorance in these languages, simply to make believe they are entirely new to this part of the world and that they have only just come in from Telengana. They have a slang of their own: specimen list is attached.

Chief deity is Yenketasooloo, known by the Mahrattas as Ballaji. Every second year they repair in gangs to Yenketgiree to offer worship to this deity. Every Saturday a bunch of peacock feathers (called by them numlee-bendloo) is worshipped and sacred songs sung. The small-pox goddess Marriamah (the Devi of this country) is much revered, and on the occasion of worship of the deity, a canopy composed of sarees is erected, and all round limes, dates, cocoanuts and other fruits are suspended on strings. Native music is obtained from the nearest village, and much meat and liquor consumed.

Chief deities.

Ancestor worship. Ancestor worship is practised. But a wife will not worship her own, but those of her husband.

Omens (good). Good omens are—

Two sneezes repeated in rapid succession.  
The braying of an ass.  
Meeting a jackal.  
A dog rubbing himself along the ground.

Omens (bad) . Bad omens are—

A single sneeze.  
A dog shaking his head.  
A snake crossing the path.  
Meeting any one with wet freshly washed clothes.  
Meeting a bullock or bullocks with bells on their necks.  
Meeting a Brahmin widow.  
Meeting a hare.

They will never start to commit crime should any of the above happen ere they leave. If they should meet with any *en route*, they will abandon the trip and return home. Omens are rigorously attended to.

The headman or leader of a gang is termed "Pedda wadoo\*" and sometimes "Karbari." He has the power to turn out of caste and to divorce, also to settle caste disputes. Joins in committing crime with the others, but is entitled to only an *equal* share with his companions. This office is not hereditary, but is attained by election.

Ostensible means of livelihood. The males go into villages begging with a gong (jakottee) a bunch of peacock feathers (numlee-bendloo), and a white conch shell with brass mouth-piece (shankoo). When begging the gong is struck, feathers shaken and the shell sounded, repeating "Ramaluchmee Govindha" also "Ballaji Keybuggut-deo." Women accompany the men often on these occasions. In the Telengana countries should alms be refused, the men, to frighten the people into giving, threaten to run an iron skewer through their own cheeks, and sometimes carry out the threat (several men of a gang showed scars to prove this). At their encampments pieces of sandal-wood, thread, needles and beads are shown as articles sold as a means of livelihood.

Real means of livelihood. Gang robbery, burglary, cutting jewellery off the persons of slumbering women and children, as well as men, in the houses broken into and also in sheds and verandahs. Theft of all kinds, however small the articles. Picking pockets in crowds, in the street or at jattras. Carrying off bales of goods from inside palls at fairs or from off carts on the march when drivers are asleep. No violent crime is committed, but should one of them be captured when at work, his companions, who are always about, will assuredly do all in their power to rescue by attacking the capturer or capturers with sticks, by biting and kicking, the shins being a favourite place to attack in kicking. As far as can be learnt, arms are not carried when going to commit crime.

\* The literal translation of this word is pedda=big, great; wadoo=man, i. e., leader.



While begging, as described under head "ostensible means of livelihood," the men take note of the different rooms in a house; means of ingress; the number of the inmates and ornaments worn,—after thus going the round of a village or town, a house is selected. Often the women and children bring good information. As a rule, the house at which alms have been solicited and which has been selected will not be robbed on the same day, but two or three days are allowed to elapse. They will not commit crime in the village on whose grounds they are encamped, but go to those 7 and 8 miles off or less. The village and house being pitched upon, half or more of the strongest men of the gang armed with sticks set out about 10 at night going by a circuitous route. Rainy or very cold nights are selected. Those who possess house-breaking implements take them. Sanchaloos rarely, if ever, break through a wall. The usual mode is to make a hole beside the frame of a door or window on the latch side, then pass the hand in and undo the fastening and thus enter. The most expert goes in, leaving one or two companions near the entrance outside, the rest of the party are posted about to give the alarm should necessity arise. Property is then passed out to the man nearest the entrance, who in his turn passes it on. If articles of jewellery cannot be unfastened properly, they are dexterously cut by a penknife. It is half opened and the article to be cut is put between the half open blade and the handle, which are then pressed together, and it is done. All copper and brass utensils are taken. Should the locks on large boxes and cupboards be easily wrenched open, it is accomplished, and contents carried off. Small boxes are taken out and broken, and contents appropriated. On the return home a different route is taken. As often as not, the property is buried *en route* to the encampment otherwise it is so disposed of immediately on arrival, on the road to be taken next morn. The day after commission of a crime, not a single male leaves the encampment, all pretending to be laid up with some ailment: fever and rheumatism being the most common. After two or three days the property is unearthed and equally divided, widows and orphans getting equal shares with the men. Each then conceals his or her share. Sometimes it so happens that all the spoils collected at one place are taken on the night before a move by an old woman of the gang to the next stage and division is there made.

Sometimes if they wish to learn the ins and outs of a walled enclosure, and an overhanging tree is available, Sanchaloos beg as Pangools do, *i. e.*, they spread a cloth at the foot of the tree and then get up into its branches and sit there calling out for alms, and thus effect a good reconnoitre. This dodge was adopted in a case in the Buldana District.

Property (jewellery) is either cut up at once into small pieces or melted  
Modes of secreting property. (nearly every owner of a pal is possessed of melting implements and a pair of jeweller's scales) and secreted either—

- (1) by burying;
- (2) by being put into the hollow of the bamboos of their pals and then plugged up;
- (3) by being put into the secret pockets of a deer skin bag all possess. These bags are made of four folds of skin, two being fastened together on each side with a piping of leather along the top with a running net-work of twine (which can be easily unfastened) to make each side appear as if made of one piece. Thus each bag has in reality three pockets whereas only one or the centre one is visible to the uninitiated. It is in these side or secret pockets the gold and silver is put, the centre compartment being filled with soopari nuts, betel leaves and another kind of nut used for clarifying water. On the bag being searched it is turned upside down, and all these nuts, &c., tumble out, and being considered empty is thrown on one side, no one not up to the dodge dreams of the side secret pockets which with their contents escape notice. The skin being hard and rough and with the hair on, the small pieces of gold and silver are not

easily felt ; each bag is about 14 X 10 inches. The piping down the sides of the bag is also made hollow to hold bars of gold and silver ;

- (4) by being put into the false bottom of their winnowing baskets (soop). This is a neat and clever thing and the baskets are specially made to order. In addition to the ordinary bottom, another and finer piece of matting is made in the exact shape to fit on top. It is fastened all round the edges to the bamboo framework by the ordinary slips of bamboo. It is between these two bottoms that gold and silver flattened out is secreted and the edges refastened. The careful Policeman during a search not wishing to leave any utensils unexamined wants to turn grain and flour out of all the pots. The females rush forward with their winnowing baskets, and beg hard that the contents may not be thrown on the ground and spoiled, but as a favour to empty them into the baskets. The unsuspecting Policeman not wishing to damage grain or flour does as asked, little thinking that between the folds of those empty and unsuspecting looking flat baskets may be hundreds of rupees worth of gold and silver ;
- (5) in small pockets sewn into the folds of the women's sarees ;
- (6) in the folds of their pal coverings ;
- (7) in small bags let into all conceivable nooks and corners of their pack-saddles ;
- (8) in their rice pounders a hollow is scooped out, jewellery put in, and the hole plugged up so neatly as hardly to show ;
- (9) in the hollows of their bamboo lathis.

These people, young and old, male as well as female, are exceedingly smart at burying articles on the very spot whereon they may be sitting. The writer saw a case whilst a gang was being searched actually in his presence.

Articles of unbroken jewellery are sold to village jewellers. The vendors passing themselves off as Komtees (a Telenga merchant tribe who wander about the country, exchanging brass and copper utensils for old clothing or pieces of jewellery); Patels of villages also are sometimes the purchasers. Brass and copper pots, &c., are generally sold or mortgaged to Waddars or Dhers or Mangs. Cloths, &c., are sold to whoever will buy.

These Sanchaloos *alias* Tirmullees *alias* Phool Malis, but whom the writer\* strongly suspects to be a branch of the Karwuroo or Kaikari tribe, are, males and females, a most daring and desperate class of people. Let a gang enter a district and their presence is immediately known by an outburst of crime of sorts in the surrounding villages of their encampment. Mang-Garodees and other criminal tribes Beraris are accustomed to, are as children compared with these desperate criminals. In nearly every gang some of the men will be seen bearing unmistakable sword cuts and spear wounds on their bodies received evidently in some thieving excursion. Some women, who have given good evidence and information, state that in some districts, policemen sent with them on challan, have been beaten and sent about their business. On a recent occasion in the Buldana District a Chief Constable and two Constables (one a Telenga fortunately) came across a large gang in some waste land near the borders of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. Wishing to search them, they showed fight and said to one another in Telugu, "we are many, they are few, let's kill the lot, and throw their bodies in the Moglai, no one will know anything about it." The Telenga Constable understanding their language, warned the Chief, who immediately sent to the nearest village for help, which came and he carried out his search. A Kaikari approver from the Thuggi

\* Though their methods resemble those of the Kaikaris recent information shows them to be a sub-division of the Waddars (EDITOR).



and Dacoity Department being here (Deolgaon Raja) he was introduced to the female Sanchaloos here. His opinion is, they are Telengu Kaikaris, but he is shaky on this point and result of his interview leaves the matter doubtful.

The writer has taken much trouble and has had points corroborated by members of different gangs and by their females, extending over a period of some years. He therefore thinks this brief history is pretty trustworthy, and hopes it may prove of some use to his brother Police officers in helping to put a check on these parasites of native society, who have taken to Berar only within the last 6 or 7 years. Inspector Priestly has very materially helped in the compilation of this history.

F. J. GUNTHORPE, LIEUT.-COLONEL,

CAMP DEOLGAON RAJA: }

*District Superintendent of Police,*

*The 20th October 1886. }*

*Buldana District.*

*Telugu and Slang spoken by Sanchaloos.*

No.	English.	Telugu.	Slang.
1	Hides the property	... Somoo dhassee pettoo	... Nulsayoo.
2	Police are come	... Bokee wandloo wacha	... Ispalooloo wacha.
3	Horse	... Gooramoo	... Gurkee.
4	Bullock	... Yedhoo	... Bursham.
5	Dog	... Kookah	... Kikay.
6	Rupees	... Rupayeloo	... Belpullo.
7	Gold	... Bungarum	... Yerra pilka.
8	Silver	... Yendee	... Thelpilka.
9	Go and examine the house	... Yeloo choosee ra	... Karwaloseera.
10	I have seen a house	... Yeloo chooseenanoo	... Karwa-nosee-wacha.
11	It's a wealthy house	... Dhoba woloo yeloo wanadhu	... Kanchkum gulla karloo.
12	Let us go	... Ra podhammo	... Yellee kudhum ra.
13	Strike and get away	... Koti wallee po	... Dhipee woodethoo.
14	Run	... Woorkoo	... Yelleekadoo.
15	Watch	... Chookonee woondoo	... Chena tooko.
16	House	... Yeloo	... Kurwah.
17	Don't let out	... Chapah wudhoo	... Jidha wadhoo.
18	The property is there	... Somoo akada woonnadhee	... Sanpum ukada jageedhu.
19	Club or stick	... Kutta	... Heerpum.
20	Sword	... Kuthee	... Hoollamookoo.
21	Gun	... Thoobakee	... Koothapee.
22	Caught	... Puttee naroo	... Chakoonaroo.
23	Woman	... Ahdee munsee	... Pentu mussee.
24	Girl	... Pillah	... Chirghuthee.
25	Man	.. Munsee	... Gunnarao.
26	Boy	... Pillahgadoo	... Chirgadoo.
27	Sit down	... Koorsoondoo	... Koorlooko.
28	Jump into a well	... Bavee lo dhoomkoo	... Kogeelum buddoo.
29	Put the property into a well	... Bavee lo wagoo	... Koogeelum lo-jaroo.
30	Give a false name	... Dhonga paroo yevo	... Murwa-janoo-jedhoo.
31	Tell the truth	... Najunga chapoo	... Bagah morsoo.
32	Give me the property	... Nakoo somoo yevo	... Sanpum jagoo.
33	Cloth	... Buttaloo	... Kundhaloo.
34	Shoes	... Chapooloo	... Parshal.
35	Copper and brass utensils	... Chumbool thallaloo	... Kogeelahloo.
36	Cry out	... Raotha chayoo	... Biggum wursoo.



## Note on Sanchaloo or Chanchelwar by Mr. Armstrong, Officiating District Superintendent of Police, Nagpur.

A very interesting account of these people, entitled "A brief History of the Sanchaloo Tribe" was written by Major Gunthorpe nearly 30 years ago. This account however is somewhat out of date. While retaining their habits of crime Sanchaloos of the present day have discarded many of their old disguises and have adopted new ones; their ways of living too have changed, so much so that it would be impossible to recognise a Sanchaloo encampment at sight from the description of it given by Gunthorpe.

*Names.*—The following are a few typical Sanchaloo names.

*Men.*—Modlati, Nadiwadoo, Sunigadoo, Sonka, Potewadoo.

*Women.*—Timaka, Marrima, Kesama, Yenkama.

The following are some of the names they will generally give on being questioned.

*Men.*—Tima, Jatwa, Nago, Rama, Gerunda, Mussia.

*Women.*—Tuni, Satur, Nagi, Massi.

*Castes assumed.*—In his history Gunthorpe mentions that Sanchaloos originally belonged to and formed part of the Waddar family. When he wrote of them, however, these people apparently never call themselves Waddars now they seldom call themselves anything but Matti Waddars. The genuine Matti Waddar is generally honest and commonly met with, and Sanchaloos have apparently found by experience that as Matti Waddars they enjoy an immunity from Police surveillance. They have therefore adopted the Waddar habits of dress and living and at first sight easily pass themselves off as the genuine article. They no longer live in the tents or pals referred to by Gunthorpe but make for themselves straw huts such as are used by Waddars. The huts consist of strips of straw matting, very neatly made and resembling china matting, stretched over arched bamboos buried in the ground. Similarly the Sanchaloo no longer transports his belonging on bullocks or pack-ponies but uses donkeys for the purpose as Waddars do. In order to live up to their disguise, Sanchaloos have adopted most of the habits of the Waddars, *i. e.*, the men never wear shoes but sometimes wear sandals; the women wear no *cholees* nor do they wear glass bangles on both wrists, glass bangles are invariably worn on the right wrist only and silver *kadas* on the left wrist. Both men and women eat *pan* leaves and this the genuine Matti Waddar seldom or never does. A few picks and shovels will generally be found in a Sanchaloo encampment, but if the hands of the men be examined they will be found soft and free from the scars and callosities with which the hand of the genuine earth worker is generally covered. Moreover if a gang of Sanchaloos is watched for a little time it will be found that the men seldom do any work, the only occasions when they do work, for a few days, being when the police have for some reason become suspicious, or when they have successfully brought off a dacoity and wish to pose as honest labourers. Should their assumed caste of Waddar become known to the Police they assume any one of the following castes.

*Komtis.*—As such they generally wander about in small parties and carry with them a supply of beads, needles, thread, looking glasses, and brass trinkets. When posing as Komtis their goods are generally transported on pack-ponies but never on donkeys. The goods are ostensibly for sale, but, if the gang is watched, it will be found that very few of the articles are ever sold nor does the vendor seem anxious to find purchasers.

*Tirmullees.*—As far as my information goes Sanchaloos when posing as Tirmullees wear the sacred thread, paint the Siva mark, consisting of three perpendicular lines (the middle one white and the other two red) on their foreheads and beg from door to door repeating the words "Lachmi Narayan Govinda Sautties Suwaglay Ma Lakshmi." They also sometimes pose as Pul Malis. In one instance a man who escaped the police of one district called himself a Pul Mali in a neighbouring district where he was arrested. Some of these people are said to be settled as cultivators in the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency, where they are known as Dasaroloos.

*Means of identification.*—In dress and general appearance the Sanchaloo resembles the ordinary Matti Waddar, but the men are generally taller and much better built. Female attire consists of a *saree* only, worn in Telangana fashion, necklets composed of black and colored beads intermingled with gold and corals are worn by the women, and some of the men wear silver *kadas*. A V-shaped mark with a dot in the centre is tattooed on the forehead of most females between the eyebrows, and in a great number of instances both men and women bore three small scars, one on each temple and one between the eyebrows. Almost all the men examined will be found to have brand marks round the navel, and in one instance these marks were noticed on a child barely two weeks old.\* Grain and other articles are carried by the gang when on the move in panniers and when the gang is encamped, these panniers will be found deposited on rough wooden stools before each hut. Neatly made horse-hair snares will generally be found in some of the huts. These are used for snaring squirrels, which the Sanchaloo, unlike the Waddar, eats. Peacock feathers, bells and conches are still used by the Sanchaloo in begging and some of these will generally be found. Moreover in each hut will be found a small round tin box containing vermilion, a few pice tied in a piece of cloth and a crude representation in silver of the snake-god Nagoba. This generally resembles the letter M spread out very wide. In some cases are added a silver “chhatri.”

*Mode of committing crime.*—Robberies, dacoities and house-breakings are committed by the men, who seldom indulge in petty crime, unless it be to occasionally steal a fowl for supper. Bazar thefts, grain thefts from fields and theft of poultry are committed by boys who thus qualify for the higher order of crime when they grow older. They are particularly clever at catching and wringing the necks of fowls, and so quickly and skilfully is this done that a bird will be caught in a crowded bazar without the theft being detected. The women seldom commit crime, their duty being to conceal and dispose of the property stolen by the men. House-breakings are generally committed during dark nights and the following *modus operandi* adopted. One or two members of the gang are sent to any big town or village the gang may happen to be near in order to spy out the land. These generally sit near the village well and notice carefully the women who come to draw water. Should a woman wearing gold ornaments come to the well, she is followed home, and the approaches to the house carefully noted should the spies consider it worth looting. Then again they will disguise themselves as mendicants and beg from door to door or sometimes call themselves Mang Garodis and go from house to house playing on flutes. The women and children are generally drawn out of the house by the music and the spy notices what ornaments they wear. Then again the men will sometimes carry hammers and go from door to door enquiring whether their services are needed to point mill-stones. They can never come to terms and will generally ask three or four times the amount offered them, their object being merely to get to see the women-folk of the house. Having marked down a house the spies note carefully how it can best be entered and return to the gang, which is generally encamped 6 or 8 miles off. If the burglary is likely to be a heavy one, a cock† is sacrificed to the instrument of house-breaking which in their slang is called an “ulamook.” Then after midnight the men strip themselves, wearing only a “Chaddie” and a “Kamarband” in which stones are concealed, arm themselves with clubs and set out. They seldom carry knives and never swords. Having arrived at the house, 3 or 4 men armed with stones are posted outside to drive off any villagers who may happen to approach and the most experienced hand proceeds to break into the house. Unless the door can be otherwise opened the “buglee” method of house-breaking is invariably adopted, *i. e.*, a hole is made near the door post and the chain removed by inserting the hand through the hole. A wall is never broken through. Immediately the door is opened one man holds a sheet up against the doorway so that should any of the inmates of the house awake, they will think the door is closed. Four of the most experienced hands then enter the house and remove ornaments from the persons of sleeping women and any boxes that are thought to contain jewellery. Should

† This cock is always bought and not stolen.

\* NOTE.—The only freshly born children, two in number, both had fresh scars on them. The burning is said to take place on the 8th day.



any of the people in the house awake, the house-breaking is immediately converted into a dacoity, the thieves using their *lathies* freely regardless of what injury they may cause. Cloth is never removed, and any boxes removed will generally be found a little distance away from the scene of the offence. The doors of neighbouring houses are sometimes chained by the thieves to prevent assistance, but generally the Sanchaloo has too great a contempt for the ordinary town's man's courage to take this precaution. Should the gang be encamped for some time in the neighbourhood, a pair of shoes or cloth is sometimes left near the houses to divert suspicion from Waddars who are known not to wear shoes.

*Concealment and disposal of property.*—Having successfully accomplished the dacoity the gang moves on, the property being carried by a man who is generally 6 or 8 miles ahead of the gang, and is generally buried in the neighbourhood of the next camping ground. This continues till the gang has gone a safe distance from the scene of the dacoity and, is then sold and the proceeds divided, or if a considerable quantity of jewellery has been obtained it is broken up and divided. The men who enter the house are entitled to a double share, while all the others, including widows and the wives of men in jail, get one share each. The man who spots the house gets Rs. 5 in addition to his ordinary share. Most of the modes of concealing property, referred to in Gunthorpe's history have been given up, as the Police have got to know them, but small pieces of gold, sovereigns and rupees are still sewn into blankets and quilts. Another clever trick of theirs is to twist pieces of gold *kadas* into ropes they make. The piece of rope is generally lying about the hut during the search and, unless the Police officer searching the huts, unravels the strands of the rope, the presence in it of the gold pieces escapes detection. It is seldom that property is found in the huts, and the field in which the encampment stands should always be ploughed up for concealed property.

Some of the older women are practised in swallowing gold ornaments, and it is said that some of the women can retain as much as six tolas for a couple of days. Incredible as this may seem it is nevertheless true, and in the Yeotmal District gold ornaments in pieces have been recovered from women under observation. Should the gold swallowed refuse to come away, the woman eats a mash made by pounding the pulp and seed of the "Bir" fruit together, and this it is said seldom fails in the desired effect.

Property is generally disposed of to Sonars in the villages the gang passes through, the cupidity of these gentlemen being relied on as the best guarantee that they will not tell the Police. It is seldom that a Sonar gives the gang away.

*General.*—Waifs from other castes are sometimes admitted into the tribe, and brought up as Sanchaloo, eventually marrying Sanchaloo women. Of a gang arrested in the Nagpur District one man was found to be a Gadi Waddar by birth, one a Gowli and the third a Yerra Golawar. Sanchaloo are desperate criminals. A gang arrested in Nagpur was found to have committed over thirty house-breakings, robberies and dacoities in the space of 16 months and to have killed at least two people. While under trial a gang of nine men escaped from the jail gates while being conveyed from the prison van into the jail, under circumstances of great daring, and committed two dacoities within a few hours of their escape. The wives of imprisoned men are admitted into any gang they may meet with, and will invariably say their husbands are dead.

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Before going to Press the following note on Sanchaloo has been received from the office of the Inspector-General of Police, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

The word Sanchaloo is evidently another form of Chenchulu, also known as Chenchalwad, which is the local name of a tribe which exploited His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, and even now gangs of it are to be found working in it with intent to commit crime.

These people are in reality an offshoot from the Waddar tribe, separated from the parent stock. They entered on a life of crime, making it their sole means of obtaining a living. But in

Origin.

order to get information calculated to help them in filling their pockets, and to avoid drawing on themselves the attentions of the police, they had to adopt ostensible professions, and soon began to be known by names descriptive of the occupations they professed to follow. These names are:—

1. *Pamula*.—(known in the Bombay Presidency as Pamalor, and in Hyderabad as Yerragollawar or Yerragolla). These generally go about exhibiting snakes. Incidentally it may be mentioned, that it was probably this practice which led to some of them being classed as "Mang Garodis" by the Poona and Satara Police when convictions were obtained against them in 1906.
2. *Parkimuggulawar*.—(in the Madras Presidency). These pretend to be exorcisers of devils, whom they profess to expel by spreading flour of different kinds on the ground.
3. *Dasari*.—These go about with *kavads* as Ganges water-carriers. Some also carry lighted lamps, and keep continually blowing conch shells, others carry the lamp without the conch shell. They generally invoke the names of "Venkatravana Govinda" and ask for alms in these names. Peacock feathers will usually be included in their paraphernalia.
4. *Pusalwad*.—These, like the others, are wanderers, their women generally hawk beads, needles and miscellaneous articles.

The above names do not in themselves indicate criminal propensities, but in certain parts of the country the very names by which they are known betray only too plainly their real profession, and the fact that a gang is believed to belong to a tribe bearing the name, and is found wandering about without a satisfactory explanation, is enough to justify the arrest of its members; the names here referred to are:—

*Kathira*.—(Madras Presidency).

*Ghantichor*.—(Bombay Presidency).

Both these names point to the dexterity attained by the individuals of the gangs in picking and cutting pockets.

*Donga Dasari*.—The prefix shows the occupation of these people to be that of thieving.

The names already given are the ones by which Sanchaloos are generally known, but of late years some associated gangs coming from the Madras Presidency have called themselves "*Mushti Gollars*" when arrested in the Aurangabad District, and "*Fhinga Bhois*" in the Berar. The adoption of these titles give them the entry into villages and houses without arousing the suspicious of the country-folk. They are simply regarded as poor mendicants who live on charity, or as itinerant hawkers who turn an honest penny by selling peddlery.

Gangs of this tribe have also been known to call themselves Jogis, Uchlas, Juti-waddars, Phul-malis, Tirmulis, Kamatis and ordinary or Mannu-waddars. Some of these gangs have gone in for basket making, mat weaving and tattooing, and this has resulted in their being erroneously classed as Yerrukallas or Kaikaris.

The original home of this tribe is in the Northern Districts of the Madras Presidency, but small colonies of them are now scattered about in parts of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions and in the Bombay Presidency, where the commonest names by which they are known are Yerragollars and Ghantichors respectively.

Field of operations.

A meeting of the leaders of the more important gangs is called, generally in the Kurnool District, and plans are discussed for the season, or even for a number of consecutive years. The gangs then split up, each going towards the part of the country allotted to it. Those proceeding north usually enter His Highness the Nizam's Dominions by the jungly portions of the Mahbubnagar



District, a great stretch of which borders on the Kurnool District. The details of the work for the season are there settled and each gang splits up into parties. Some set off to exploit the Nalgonda, Medak, Mahbubnagar, Atrabalda and other districts; the rest proceed north, plundering the country as they go; they scatter themselves in the Raichur, Gulburga and Bijapur districts.

At the end of the season the gangs *rendezvous* again in the jungles on the borders of the Gulburga and Bijapur districts—such a meeting certainly occurred in April 1906. Plans for the next season are discussed, and the gangs split up as before and exploit the Bedar, Nandair, Bir, Aurangabad, Sholapur, Poona and Satara districts.

Once again the gangs will meet in the jungles of the Khandesh District, whence they visit the Berars and Central Provinces. It will thus be seen that they systematically “work” the Madras Presidency, His Highness the Nizam’s Dominions, the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces.

At these assemblies one of the most daring and experienced leaders is selected to arrange plans for the season. He divides up the country to be exploited and tells off a gang to each tract of country. Every gang has its own leader who has under him from 30 to 50 men. These gangs are again sub-divided into parties of 8 or so, called “Gumps”. Each *Gump* has its master—burglar, who is to all intents and purposes the leader of that *Gump*; it is his duty not only to use, but also to carry the house-breaking instrument known among them as “Baku”.

Another interesting note, compiled by Sub-Inspector Rashid-Ullah Khan has been received from Yeotmal, which gives useful information about the so called “Matti-Waddars” who have recently been giving trouble in the Yeotmal District and vicinity. According to this note the gangs in that district were composed of “Muchi-Waddars” (probably identical with the “Mushti-Waddars” of the Hyderabad note. They are said to have degenerated into a “Neech” Jat with whom other or “Unch Waddars” will not ordinarily intermarry; when such a matrimonial alliance is contracted, the Muchi man or maid has to undergo the purificatory ceremony of having his or her tongue burned with molten gold.

These Muchi-Waddars, or at any rate those belonging to the gangs found in Yeotmal, are declared to have peculiarities of religion, customs, dress and ornaments, as well as clearly defined body marks which serve to distinguish them from “Unch” Waddars *when they are in their normal condition*, but, the note goes on to say, they always travel about disguised, so that the distinguishing characteristics are not easily observable; still by a good knowledge of them the policeman’s task ought to be made less difficult.

How many gangs these remarks are properly applicable to it is impossible to say; but as several “gumps” are included, the description is well worth giving in detail.

To begin with religion. Muchi-Waddars worship the sisters Maryai and Gangai together with their brother Dattatriya, also Bhawani and Hanuman under his title Maroti; these deities are, it is true also usually worshipped by other Waddars, but their pantheon includes other gods, the Matti Waddars, for instance, are said to worship Soori Dewas, and the two ammans Massi and Kolapur, and the Gari Waddars worship Yenkoba.

Unch Waddars observe all the ordinary Hindu festivals, but the Muchi Waddars observe only the following:—

1. Holi—Kamed panduga or Simga.
2. Pola—Edule Panduga.
3. Diwali.
4. Nagpanchmi—Nagal Pancum.
5. Dasehra.
6. Pitra Paksh—Pitralu Panduga.
7. Til Shankarant—Chimbul Panduga.

The Bhagat, or priest, of the gang has in his keeping a "Pitari" (bamboo basket), in which he deposits hollow silver images of their deities, the eyes and moustaches of which are made of pure gold stuck on by resin, called by them "Mehu"; for these images silver "palnas" (cradles) and a store of "Kookoo" (red powder) are also kept. Sick persons go to the Bhagat, who intercedes with the appropriate god or goddess, and accepts offerings of gold and silver, which are also deposited in the *pitari*, and, as opportunity offers, are expended on animals for sacrificial purposes.

As regards weddings the note says that "Unch" Waddars do not employ Brahmans, nor does the bride wear a *choli*. On the other hand the Muchi always calls in a Brahman; three days before the ceremony the affianced pair have to sit in a newly pitched pal. The ceremony itself consists in each parent carrying his child to the God Maroti, on whose feet the pair bow their heads. The bride and groom are then decorated on the head, knees and feet with *kookoo* and coloured rice by married women; then three dates, and three bits of *pan* and of cocoanut, previously prepared by the bride, are placed in the mouth of the bridegroom, and are subsequently eaten by the betrothed pair. After this the bride's *sari* is tied to the *kurta* of the groom and a feast is held; at the termination of the feast the fathers carry each his own child to the marriage pal, and the ceremony is brought to a conclusion.

The bride's clothes and ornaments are given to her by her future father-in-law, and consist of a black *sari* and *choli*, new glass bangles, *gorwas* (rings on the second toe of each foot), a *karanphul* and *kamal* in her ears, a *lohng* in her nose, and last but not least a *poie* (*mangal sutr*) for her neck.

The bridegroom is dressed in a red or yellow *pagri*, a white *dhoti* and white coat or *kurta*. Widow marriage is permitted.

Muchi Waddars bury their dead in old clothes, whereas "Unch" Waddars cremate their dead wrapped in new sheets.

These Muchi Waddars are said to brand their infants, male and female, on the seventh day after birth with a hot needle; a square is traced round the navel and above and on both sides of it, two parallel lines, equal in length to the sides of the square and parallel to them, are also burned. Unch Waddars are said not to brand their children.

The men too were found to be tattooed in two places:—

- (1) on the point of the left shoulder;
- (2) on the back of the left hand;

and the devices were either a simple dot, or representations of either Rama or Lakshman.

A child born in answer to prayer and devoted to the deity (*mannat-ka-paida*) has his left nostril bored.

No Muchi Waddar had borings in his ears whereas Matti Waddars have their left ears bored.

The women were noticed to be profusely tattooed, invariably in the under-mentioned places.

#### Face.

- (1) between the eyebrows. One or other of the following patterns.

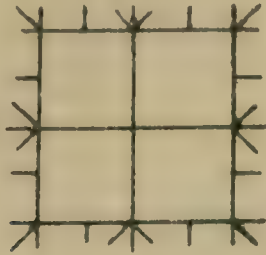


- (2) a dot on either cheek.
- (3) a dot on chin.

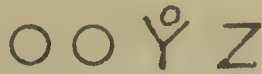


*Right arm.*

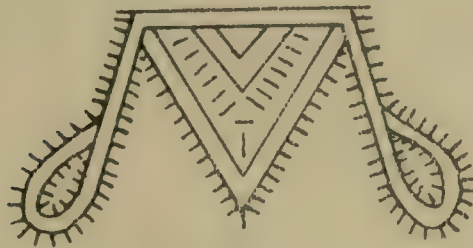
- (1) *Sandhni*, on back of hand. This is a representation of the "chowk" on which the bridegroom sits.



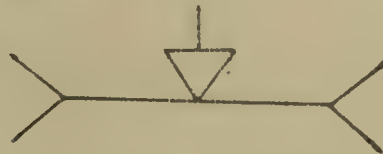
- (2) *Chandra Maman*, on the inside of the wrist. These are symbols of the moon.



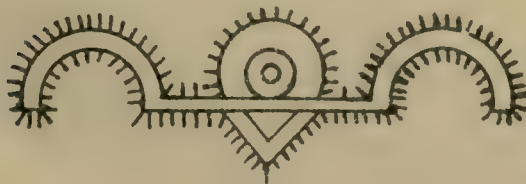
- (3) *Teer* and *Manush* (can this be a mistake for *Dhanush* bow?) on the inside of fore-arm.



- (4) *Palna*, on the arm just above elbow-joint. This is a representation of the cradle.



- (5) *Basingha*, on the upper arm. This is in imitation of the crown worn by the bride-groom.

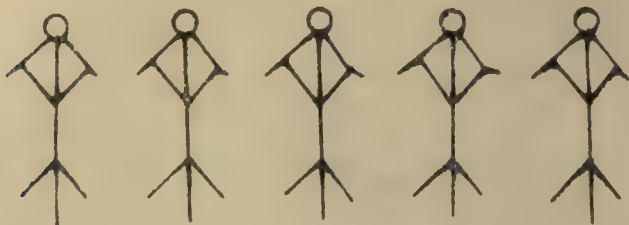
*Left arm.*

- (1) *Chendu-ka-phul* on the wrist.



(2) *Gadi*, on the fore-arm (design not given).

(3) Five Gaolin (Milkmaid) sisters on the upper arm.



Ears are bored both in the lobe and in the fold (anthelix or upper portion.)  
The left nostril is also perforated.

Waddar women of the *Unch* classes are tattooed to a minor extent, but they are said to always have a tattoo spot on each temple; and their ears are not bored in the lobe, but in two places in the fold.

Each of these Muchi Waddar man was wearing:—

- (1) a red "Mandu" *pagri* 15 or more yards long by 8 or 9 inches wide; after being wound, it is fastened behind the left ear, a fold being first brought across the crown of the head from the right. (Matti Waddars were *khadi* caps sewn square like a bag.)
- (2) a rough white *dhoti* reaching to the ankle and done up Marwaris fashion (Ordinary waddar's *dhotis*, when worn, fall to the knee.)
- (3) a *kurtha* of *latha* without lining but with sleeves, or a lined *mirzai* of *khadi* with two pockets and sleeves. (Unch Waddars do not wear these.)

Their women wore:—

- (1) *Dhotis* of black cloth, called "band", resembling a maratha *dhoti* but tied with a *kanch* after the Gujarati style (most Waddars tie the *dhoti* in the Telugu style).
- (2) *Cholis* of *khun* (which is elastic), sewn in the Maratha style, and knotted in front (other Waddars do not wear *cholis*).
- (3) They suspended black cloth bags (about six by four inches) by a string from the shoulder and tucked it in to the *dhoti* at the waist (this bag was sometimes found to contain pieces of stolen gold, also *pan supari*).
- (4) They tied their hair like Telugu women in a bunch (*jura*) at the back of the head, or on the top of the head *choti* fashion, or even let it fall loose. (Other Waddars usually gather up their hair *choti* fashion.)

As regards their ornaments the note says that these men did not wear *balis* in their ears as is usual with Matti Waddars, but they did wear silver *karas* round the left biceps.

The ornaments worn by the women in the gangs require rather minute discriptions, they are detailed as follows:—

- (1) a *Mukhphula* (lohng) in the left nostril (Matti Waddar women wear *balis*).
- (2) a *karanphul* in the lobe of the ear.
- (3) a *kamal* in the upper cartilage, or fold, of the ear, it resembles the Maratha "bagri" (Matti Waddar women hang hook-shaped earrings in their ears).
- (4) a *pote*, glass bead necklace of two strands, with six or seven central gold beads flanked by beads of red stone or by pieces of gold, the size of an eight anna piece, called *paddak*. (Matti Waddar women have no red stones or *paddaks* in their *potes*).
- (5) Glass bangles, and brass and silver *karas* on both wrists. (Matti Waddar women wear glass bangles on the left wrist only, but *karas* are worn on the right.)



(6) *Jorwas*, silver rings on second toe.

(7) *Kookoo* mark painted between eyebrows. (Matti Waddar women do not apply *kookoo*, but they blacken their teeth with *missi*, which the Muchis do not do.)

If the Muchi Waddar women cannot afford the ornaments mentioned in (1), (2), (3) they substitute sticks of the nim (*meli azadirachta*), or the dry sap of the *juari* (*Sorghum vulgare*) stalk. Widows do not wear *potes* or *jorwas*, nor do they apply *kookoo*. Unmarried girls wear lakh लक्ष bangles instead of glass.

Muchi Waddars speak Marathi and Hindustani rather more fluently than Matti Waddars do.

The disguises they select depend on the locality and on circumstances. In Madras that of the "Nandewal" (beggars), appeals to them, they then apply *haldi* to their forehead in the place of *kookoo*, are not accompanied, when begging, by women, but drive about a cow or bullock with some deformity. In the Berars and Nagpur they passed themselves off as Matti Waddars and imitated their dress so far as they could.

In describing their methods of crime the note says their chief occupation is house-breaking; the master burglar of the *gump* is called "Rangati" he carries a knife and the *'baku*—an iron bar about one foot long with a point tapering for the last inch. The remaining seven or eight are known as "Wataris", they arm themselves with *lathis* and carry stones in their *dhotis*. Before setting to work they divest themselves of their *kurtas* or *mirzais* leaving them under a tree. They then entice or drive away any dogs that are likely to give the alarm, and when all is quiet, they proceed to the spot and fasten the doors of the neighbours from the outside. The Rangati alone enters and entry is effected either by climbing over a wall into the house or by means of *bagli nakab*; in the latter case a sheet is held up over the door to prevent draughts or light entering. The Rangati lights a match to get the general lie of things inside. They steal nothing but cash and jewellery and often remove the ornaments from sleeping persons; boxes are broken open outside and not carried away. Force is not used unless any resistance is shown. Before leaving they usually deposit articles such as shoes to divert suspicion from themselves. The investigating officer may therefore infer that Muchi Waddars have been at work if the signs are consistent with the above methods.

They also indulged in petty thefts of goats, fowls and grain for consumption, these were all of the usual type.

Sometimes they consulted the oracle—or its substitute the Bhagat—who sat on the ground, previously *leaped* with cow-dung; before him *dhup* or *lobhan* was burned, the Devi then took possession of him and answered questions put to him; if the answers were favourable they proceeded with their undertaking. On the way a sneeze, *phrao* of the solitary jackal and the sight of a snake crossing the path were considered unlucky.

The disposal of stolen property has already been mentioned by Mr. Armstrong, the note says further that the hollows of the bamboo pegs, used for tethering donkeys, were made use of, as also the collars of the dogs.

Their donkeys were purchased at Marri in the Pathardi Taluk of Ahmadnagar.

These gangs kept good looking girls of other castes for the delectation of such constables as might be put on to watch their movements; and they did not scruple to provide for the other wants of these officials. They used to rely to a great extent on their boys and girls to bring them information of places worth looting, as these children could go anywhere unsuspected.

## GYPSIES.

## 12.—BANJARA.

Banjaras are to be found all over India, but the accounts of them in the different Provinces vary in a rather confusing manner. For instance, in the United Provinces we find three Hindu tribes—

(a) Lavanas,

(b) Bahrup,

(c) Naiks,

and three Muhammadan tribes—

(a) Turkiya,

(b) Baid,

(c) Mukeri

In Southern India all the tribes are described as Hindus and are generally known as Lambadis or Sugalis, Charans, Mathurias and Lavanas.

In the intervening country (including Central Provinces and Berar) we hear of both Hindu and Muhammadan tribes. From the south we get the Hindu Banjaras called Charans, Mathurias and Labhanas. The Muhammadan Banjaras we meet are the Dhasis or Banjara "Bhats," Multani Banjaras—whose real name is Kænjar or Kenjar—Chaggras and Mukeris.

I will take the Hindus first. Of these the most criminal are the Charans, who are divided into families, of which the Rathors are to be found in our jurisdiction.

Mr. Cumberlege, District Superintendent of Police of Wun (Berar), wrote over 40 years ago a very interesting account of them in the *Berar Gazetteer*. He divides them into three grand Hindu tribes—

(a) Mathuria (those coming from Mathura),

(b) Lavana (probably derived from the Sanskrit "lavana," salt, being salt-carriers),

(c) Charan (Sanskrit "charna," a wanderer; chara, a spy).

These three tribes trace their descent from the great Brahman and Rajput races of Upper India and ascribe their tribe segregation to legendary irregular marriages. The Banjaras are said to have accompanied the Moghal armies to the south early in the 17th century as grain-carriers and from them started this "Dakkhan" branch. Mr. Cumberlege says the Rathor family of the Charan tribe is very strong and holds sway in Berar.

All the Dakkhan is apportioned out among the different Banjara tribes, and no camp (or tanda) trades or grazes cattle beyond its own borders (here read Crooke, pages 151, 152, 153 and 154 to line 1 on page 155).

The oath most sacred to the Rathors is taken in the name of Siva Bhaya, a holy man who resided at Pahora in the Wun District, where there are perhaps still temples to Siva Bhaya and Mariyai, and where a nephew of Siva Bhaya, by name Sukha Bhaya, officiated in Mr. Cumberlege's time. There are numerous "Bhagats" to whom they go in serious difficulties: otherwise the chief Naik, or their own Naiks, settle disputes.

There is a hut set apart in the camp and devoted to Mithu Bhukiya, an old freebooter. No one may eat, drink or sleep in this hut: it is for devotional purposes only. In front of it is a flagstaff to which a piece of white cloth is attached. By all criminals Mithu Bhukiya is worshipped as a clever freebooter, but he is more thought of on the east of the Wardha river than on the west of it. Whenever



the white flag is seen, it means that Mithu Bhukiya is worshipped in that camp. It should therefore be watched carefully at night, when the *tanda* is suspected to be committing crime. The men who have arranged to commit crime meet at night in this hut, where an image of Sati is produced. Ghi is put into a saucer and into this a wick is placed; it is very broad at the bottom and tapers upwards. The wick standing erect is lit, an appeal is made to Sati for an omen, those worshipping mentioning in low tones to the goddess where they are going and for what purpose. The wick is then watched and should it drop at all, the omen is propitious. All immediately get up and make an obeisance to the flag and start then and there for the business they have agreed on. They are unable to return to their homes before they start, because they must not speak to any one till the business has been carried through. Here we have a reason why Banjaras are rarely known to speak when engaged in a robbery; for, if challenged, these men who have gone through the ceremony may not reply. Should they have reached their destination and be challenged, if any one of them reply, the charm is broken and all return home; they must again worship and take the omen or give up the attempt: but they generally punish the man who accosted them, sometimes even killing him. If one of the gang sneezes on the road, it is fatal and they all return.

Another family of the Charan tribe is the "Barthiya:" they are mostly found further south in Telingana and worship Siva Das.

The Banjaras of Central India have a curious form of ox-worship: they have a certain bullock in each *tanda* devoted to the god Balaji and call it Hatadia (Sanskrit—Hatia and Adia, "which is an extra sin to kill"). No burden is ever laid on it; it is decorated with streamers of red-dyed silk and tinkling bells, with many brass chains and rings on the neck and feet, strings of cowrie shells and silken tassels hanging in all directions. It moves at the head of the *tanda*, and the place where it lies down, they make their halting place for the day. At its feet they make their vows when difficulties overtake them; and in illness whether of themselves or their cattle, they trust to its worship as a cure. Gunthorpe says of the Charans, they used to commit dacoity on a large scale, but now do so on a small scale: they also commit highway robbery, go in for cattle-lifting, sheep-stealing, kidnapping children, and steal from carts at night either when on the move or halted: they also commit thefts at large fairs, and pilfer grain and cotton at harvest time. They do not, however, take much to house-breaking.

Liquor vendors, resident Banjaras, and Marwaris often give them the information on which they plan their looting expeditions; but often they watch roads and make their own opportunities. They generally arm themselves with sticks called "gadees" of the "khair" or "anjan" and peel off the bark: these are burned or hidden or destroyed after the crime.

They generally commence their attack by stone-throwing and seldom speak but grunt their signals instead—the reason of this you have already seen from Mr. Cumberlege's account of the Hindu worshippers of Mithu Bhukiya. Dhotis are braced up tight, nothing is worn on the body and the faces are usually muffled. After committing a dakaiti, they nearly always lay a false trail leading away from their *tanda* for a mile or two, dropping things so as to make the track clear, and after dropping the last article, double back to their destination by unfrequented paths. This false track will often lead to some gang they have a grudge against.

Stolen property is at first generally buried in the jungle (Gunthorpe gives a number of likely hiding places on page 34, Hindi copies); their receivers or "fences" are often liquor vendors, Marwaris or village headmen.

Cattle-lifting is their principal form of crime, and Gunthorpe gives you a description of their methods. Banjaras do not assume disguises. They are much addicted to smoking "Choongis," and traces will sometimes help to identify the perpetrators as Banjaras.

Mathurias and Labhanas, according to Gunthorpe, also cattle-lift and kidnap, but the District Superintendent of Police, Betul, in an account given in the *Central Provinces Gazette* which I will read to you later, says the Labhanas are not criminals. Mathurias, who are, I believe, the Basdevas, wear the sacred thread and the women generally wear blue saris. They are distinguished from the other tribes by these signs. I have known a gang of Basdevas to be dakaited by Charans (I think) in this district. The difference between the women of the Labhanas and Charans is that the women of the former wear saris and the latter "lahengas."

Gunthorpe unfortunately lumps the Charans and Dharis together in his description of their methods of crime, but the methods are probably different, as Dharis are now Musalmans (though they were originally Hindus and still worship Saraswati Devi) : for instance he says they sometimes only grunt and sometimes cry "Deen ! Deen ?" This latter cry is a moslem one, and undoubtedly is used by Muhammadan Banjaras only.

The Charans will sometimes set fire to a village in several places at once and drive away the cattle that stampede, while the villagers are engaged in saving their goods and chattels : other methods employed in stealing are to be found in your Gunthorpe.

We now come to the Musalman Banjaras and will take first the Multani Banjaras or Kæn jars or Ken jars. Their *tandas* do not apparently often penetrate further south than the Central Provinces, Berar and the northern strip of Hyderabad; nor do they appear to go to the United Provinces, unless indeed they are an offshoot of the Turkiyas, but they journey into the country to the north-west of these Provinces as far as Western Rajputana. They carry pals with them and the men never shave their beards and let their back hair grow long. The women wear fewer ornaments than their Hindu sisters. They are addicted to dakaiti, highway robbery and cattle-lifting, but do not often resort to house-breaking. Opium is a very favourite article of theft, and they are great adepts at stealing from carts.

You will find more details in Gunthorpe's account. The Dharis you have already heard about : Gunthorpe mixes them up with the Hindu Mathurias : they are the " Bhats "—minstrels—of the Banjaras, and I gather five out of their twelve tribes frequent the Central Provinces.

You will also find an account of Chaggras and Mukeris in Gunthorpe, and I will read you an account of them given by the District Superintendents of Betul and Hoshangabad in the *Police Gazette* of September 16, 1904.

The last census lumped all the tribes under the one name " Banjara " and numbered them at 51,000 in the Central Provinces (I have not got the Berar figures), or about 2,600 in each district. Many of these have of course taken to cultivation and other trades, but the majority are still nomadic. The figures show that they were most numerous in Nimar (over 11,000), in Wardha, Chanda and the Chhattisgarh Division. The Betul and Hoshangabad reports show that they were active there as cattle-lifters in 1904. The Headmaster will also read you some notes given by Inspector Mahfuzal Rahim, which will be of use to you.

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## 13.—KANJAR.

Gunthorpe in his notes on Kanjars does not give so complete an account of these gypsies as one would like. Mr. Crooke, in his " Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces ", gives a very interesting account of the so-called Kanjars of those provinces, but experience of the Kanjars of these provinces shows that Mr. Crooke in classifying Jallads with Kanjars has, so far as our knowledge leads us to suppose, been entirely misled, though there are customs and other things which at first sight would seem to justify his conclusions. These Jallads of Mr. Crooke's are really I believe Doms. Mr. Mahfuzal Rahim went to the United Provinces to make special enquiries on this point as Mr. Crooke's account seemed inconsistent with facts ascertained by him.

Kanjars are undoubtedly closely connected with the great family of Sansias, Haburas,\* Berias, Bhatas, and more distant kin, such as the Nats. Gunthorpe divides them into three tribes, but in this he also has been led into error. I think it would be far more satisfactory to divide them thus :—

(1) Kunchband or Koochiwalla Kanjars (non-criminal).

(2) Kanjars proper (criminal).

The Kunchband Kanjars need not trouble us much : their chief god is Mana, from whom they profess to be descended, and they make pilgrimages to Manikpur, close to which Mana is said to be buried, and they call themselves Saktas.

The real Kanjars who frequent these provinces have a territorial division, and Gunthorpe calls them Marwari and Dakkhani Kanjars. The Dakkhan appears to comprise all the country south of the Narbada Valley, and Marwar all the northern part of the Provinces. So that both kinds are met with in the north. The Dakkhani Kanjars appear to have originally come from Gujarat, for they speak that language and generally call themselves Gujaratis.

The Marwari Kanjar women are by caste rules prohibited from wearing gold of any kind as ornaments, and this is one of the customs in common with Mr. Crooke's Jallads.

Very little really is known about the Kanjars : they generally hide their identity. Mr. Seagram, who has made a special study of criminal tribes, says " both Berias and Sansis come under the major head of Kanjars, in which term are included most of the wandering tribes."

Mr. Mahfuzal Rahim, who is also an expert, and Mr. Mahadeo Prasad, who has had considerable experience of Kanjars, are inclined to the view that the Kanjars proper are a very exclusive 'community' as well as ethnologically a 'tribe', and that when Kanjar youths or girls are old enough to take care of themselves they are called on to choose whether they will remain Kanjars or join other tribes. In saying this they too—like Mr. Seagram—include Sansis and Berias under the head of Kanjars.

In this way numbers of them in the olden days joined the ranks of the Thags, and perhaps now become Sansis ; some at any rate become Nats, and go about with monkeys. Numbers of their women, who prefer a life of prostitution, now join the Beria tribe. Kanjars and Berias intermarry. Gunthorpe unfortunately says nothing about their religion and little about their customs that will help us to distinguish the two tribes from other wandering tribes, and the Kanjars themselves do not help us in this matter, for they seldom admit they are Kanjars.

About a couple of years ago thirty-two Kanjars were arrested in Berar and sent up for trial under Section 401 on the charge of being associated for the purpose of committing thefts in Berar. Twenty-nine of them were convicted and appealed to the Judicial Commissioner. I have the Judicial Commissioner's judgment which

\* It is by no means certain that Haburas are connected with these gypsies ; there is substantial evidence connecting them with Baoris.

was published in the *Police Gazette* of July 19, 1905. A good deal that is of interest to us in our study of these tribes can be extracted from this judgment. Unfortunately there is nothing to distinctly show what Kanjars these thirty-two were, beyond the fact that they were wandering some way south of the Narbada. All of them also declared they were Gujarati Bhats, from which facts we may infer they were "Dakkhani Kanjars"; for Gunthorpe says these Kanjars talk Gujarati much mixed with Marwari and they speak Marathi fluently, whereas the Marwari Kanjars, he says, do not speak Marathi at all, in which case they would hardly get on in the Berars. Sherring, again, writing on Kanjar *Bhats* says; "These are the Kanjars of Gondwana, the Sansis of Northern India; they are the most desperate of all dacoits and wander about the Deccan as though belonging to the Gujarati Dombaris, or show men; their time for committing crime is invariably nightfall." This last is a point which will be emphasised later.

The judgment shows that there were four things which every one of the thirty-two stated:—

- (1) That he was a Gujarati Bhat.
- (2) That he came from Aurangabad District (in the Nizam's dominions).
- (3) That his occupation was the making of string purses, bags, balls and the like.
- (4) That he was a wanderer.

The arrests were practically simultaneous and all the prisoners were found wandering in the same territory, but in separate gangs, all these gangs, being connected with each other and dividing the loot.

That they occasionally admit others to the tribe is shown by the fact that in the famine of 1896 this gang picked up a Kumhar boy named Hiria in Jabalpur, and Hiria remained with them till they were arrested two years ago; and Mr. Mahadeo Parsad says they kidnap children from the north of the Provinces and take them to the Nizam's dominions. They are always on the move—the judgment shows they sometimes visited as many as fifteen villages in a day. The villages fixed on for their encampments were always carefully selected: as soon as they were encamped the women and children set about making their string articles and selling them in the village. This was the only ostensible means of livelihood of the gang, and the men *never* shared in the labour. Their work only began after the evening meal, as soon as it was dark they would sally forth three or four times a week to steal, returning with their booty later on in the night. It generally consisted of grain and eatables, but they also stole anything else that came to hand; the booty was divided among the members of the gang. These Kanjars did not habitually go in for dakaiti, robbery or house-breaking, though they undoubtedly frequently committed technical house-breakings. The only implements found with the gang which pointed to anything besides theft were three crowbars and one knife. But, that these Kanjars did not shrink from more violent forms of crime is proved by the fact that five of the gang had been sentenced for dakaiti three years before. Now the facts which came out in the trial show either (1) that this gang of Kanjars are inclined to give up violent crime or (2) that no evidence was forthcoming to connect them with the more serious classes of offences against property during their last campaign.

It was very different with a gang of Marwari Kanjars arrested in Nimar a few years ago. Evidence was forthcoming there to connect members of the gang with forty dakaitis, and all the authorities, who have written on these people, accuse them of being the most inveterate and desperate of dakaitis.

House-breaking of the description which means "breaking into a house" seems unknown to them; Dakkhan Kanjars sometimes employ Badaks and Mangs to commit house-breakings of this kind for them. But these Dakkhanis commit technical house-breakings which come under the head of "Lurking house-trespass by night with theft." To illustrate this I might mention that last year a gang of Dakkhanis were operating in Saugor, Damoh, Jabalpur and Narsingpur.



I have not got the facts of the case, but I believe I am right in saying that in Jabalpur it was found that women hired themselves out as *punkhiwallis* and used to go from bungalow to bungalow to pull *pankhas* and, wherever they were employed, the houses were looted *after* they left; in all these cases technical house-breaking probably took place.

The Gorindas, many probably from Kanjar stock, who take service in the railway, are rather given to opium-smuggling, and carry the opium on the engines.

In order to help you to identify the Dakkhani from Marwari Mr. Akram Khan has made out in two parallel columns the distinguishing points as given by Gunthorpe, supplemented by information which Mr. Mahadeo Parsad has supplied:—

*Dakkhani.*

Have the ordinary Dakkhani cast of countenance, dark complexion (now owing to intermarriage with Beria women the complexion of many of the younger generation is lighter) regular features. Men wear their hair long like Marwaris.

Talk Urdu and Marathi very fluently with a slight foreign accent; their common language is Gujarati much mixed with Marwari.

Donkeys are a remarkable feature in their camps.

Their women wear long "lahengas" of dark blue or red cloth, reaching down to ankle, but some of them are now taking to wearing *saris*, and wear them either in the Maratha fashion with a fold between the legs or in the Gujarati fashion without passing a fold between the legs, so that it serves the purpose of both *dhoti* and *lahenga*; they also wear the "cholee" with a sleeveless "kurta" above it; they also wear a gold ornament, shaped like a flower, on the left side of the nose, but do not use nose-rings and anklets; the hair is tied up at the back of the head in a knot.

Dakkhans never retain their spoil, but pass it on at once to a patel or villager, with one or two of whom they always manage to get on intimate terms; the property is rarely found within twenty or thirty miles of the place whence stolen.

Gunthorpe says the Dakkhans are much given to donkey and fowl stealing.

The former are usually stolen in one of two ways, sometimes being driven off with their own donkeys and quickly moved many miles from the scene of the theft: if the theft is noticed and the Kanjars followed, they at once give back the

*Marwari.*

Men have good physique with the Marwari cast of countenance and fair complexion; women handsome but dirty.

Speak fluently in Marwari, but very badly in Urdu and not at all in Marathi.

Bullocks and cows, but no donkeys are found in their camps.

Women wear shorter "lahengas" reaching half way between knee and ankle, generally of coloured cloth and they prefer blue and red. They do not use "cholees", but wear a long jacket with long sleeves; they plait a portion of the hair on either side of the forehead, which they decorate with cowries or brass ornaments like buttons, and the rest at the back of the head. They never wear gold ornaments. They tattoo the left temple with a dot about the size of the head of a large pin.

Marwaris always secrete the spoil in or about their camp. The bulky things are buried in the ground; small and valuable articles are secreted in the hollow legs of the small cots used by them; and many things are stowed away by women in the large long pockets which you will find in the ample folds of their *lahengas* in front.

stolen donkey with many apologies, pleading ignorance of its presence. At others they will drive the animal to be stolen into a nalla and tie up its legs and leave it there till nightfall, when, if it is still where they left it, they drive it off with all speed.

In stealing poultry they enter the fowl-house and throw a wet cloth over the birds to make them sit quiet : then they wring their necks one by one.

Kanjars can best be identified by two things—(1) the costume of the women and (2) their encampments : the former have been described ; of the latter we have no clear description, but the presence of donkeys in Dakkhani camps, coupled with the women's distinctive long coloured "lahengas" or "saris", sleeveless "kurtas" and gold "nath" in the left nostril will generally be sufficient to catch your eye.

In the Marwari camps there are the bullocks and cows, the women's short blue lahengas, the long sleeves to their long jackets, and the hair plaited at the sides and decorated with cowries and brass buttonlike ornaments, but no gold ornaments, to give you the clue.

They now use the railway freely in their journeys and many, such as the Gorindas in Jabalpur, take employment on the railway.

Now all Kanjars are great drunkards and can never resist liquor, and while under its influence they sometimes get communicative. Under these circumstances you can occasionally get information from them ; but when sober, they are most loyal to themselves and their confederates, and will never give the least hint to help you in your inquiries.

I hope Mr. Mahfuzal Rahim will be passing through soon for he has promised to bring his notes, and I hope he will tell us some more about these interesting people. I also sincerely hope you will all, when in your districts, do all you can to get fresh authentic information about them and send it to the school for the use of future probationers.

There is a settlement of Kanjars at Dharampura near Nowgong which is under the control of the Political Agent of Bundelkhand ; there is also another colony in the State of Dharnanda near Goona in the Gwalior State. Kanjars are registered in all the States of the Bundelkhand Agency and in the following States of Rajputana :—

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| (1) Tonk.  | (3) Bharatpur. |
| (2) Bundi. | (4) Dholpur.   |
-



## 14.—SANSI AND BERIA.\*

Since I wrote my original lecture on these two tribes I have found in Sleeman's book on Badak and other dakaita a very interesting account of Sansi dakaita. His information was obtained in the years 1846—48 when he broke up their organization. At that time they were spread over Hyderabad, Bombay, Khandesh, Berar, the Central Provinces and a considerable portion of Upper India from Patna in Bengal to Rajputana. His Report covers 100 pages of his large volume and from it I am going to give you such information as I think may prove interesting and instructive. You must not however take it for granted that all he says is now applicable, for he broke up all the great Sansi bands of robbers, and the descendants of those that escaped his vigilance have evidently from the latest accounts departed from their former customs. It is possible however that some of them have kept their blood more or less pure and still cherish some of their old traditions. Should any police officer recognize any of the original methods, when dealing with a dakaiti committed by the fraternity, let us hope he will not keep the circumstance to himself, but write and tell us his experience.

Seventy years ago the Sansis affirmed there were two brothers Sainsmall and Mallanur who were believed to be inhabitants of Marwar, and that the Sansis were descended from Sainsmall and the Berias or Kolhatis from Mallanur : Sainsmall had a son named Nirbhan or Malha, and he adopted a boy of the Nai caste named Baidhu or Kalkhur. Nirbhan had 12 sons and Baidhu had 8. From these sons the then existing families of Sansis were called, the names of these families or clans are taken from four lists given by Sansis caught in different parts of India ; wherever the names do not agree I have shown the aliases which apply :—

*Malhas descended from Nirbhan.*

1. Sahun.
2. Palha or Palka.
3. Siparia.
4. Bhura.
5. Koncha.
6. Dida.
7. Jaghat.
8. Manohar or Gangria.
9. Khuntia of Jodhpuria.
10. Kankia or Talia.
11. Kuran or Puran.
12. Machhar or Chacha.

*Kalkhurs descended from Baidhu.*

1. Bhoga.
2. Gangu.
3. Daiala or Dheria or Bantia.
4. Daihia or Daika or Dhawa.
5. Sahu or Dhatu.
6. Baichu or Binju.
7. Muma or Chuma.
8. Kaoria or Pathia.

You will see from Mr. Seagrim's and Mr. Naidu's recent investigations how much of the legendary traditions have been forgotten and what changes have taken place.

In those days Sansis were allowed to adopt boys from any but the lowest castes, but adopted sons were never allowed to marry true blooded Sansi women. Sansis lived in temporarily made huts of Sirki and kept dogs, cattle, ponies, mules and donkeys.

A mother on giving birth to a child was not allowed to wash for five days, on the sixth day she had to wash in the open in a running stream, but never in the house. When a son was born all his hair was shaved off except a central tuft which was left in the name of Bhagwan; such a child was known in the tribe as "Jerula"; when he was ten or twelve years old this tuft was shaved off and he was then raised to the status of a "Mundawan"; any that died before reaching this state were buried, after reaching it they were burned. On a Sansi dying he was buried or burned face downwards. If he were cremated his bones were buried under the funeral pyre in a *gharra* with a big stone placed over the mouth. When a body was burned, sweet cakes were prepared; a dog was first fed with three of these, and the rest were eaten by the tribe (*Note*.— Later you will see that Khande Rao the "Lord of the Dogs" was specially invoked before a dakaiti).

The parents of the bride and bridegroom determined marriages by agreement, the father of the boy having to pay what he could afford to the father of the girl. At a wedding there was much feasting and the marriage was made valid by pouring out a libation of liquor to Bhagwan on the ground. A Malha might only marry a Kalkhur, and a Kalkhur a Malha. A man might not even enter his mother-in-law's or his daughter-in-law's house, for if the petticoat of either touched him he was outcasted. If a woman struck a man with her petticoat he was outcasted.

In speaking before others they employed Hindustani, but among themselves they spoke a Marwari dialect, or a tribal dialect which they themselves called Parsi.

When they sallied forth to commit dakaiti, they left their old men and women and children behind, taking only the strong young women with such infants in arms as they happened to be mothering, these were taken to avert suspicion. They also took sufficient ponies, donkeys and mules to carry their impedimenta, and to mount the whole party in case of need. The expedition was then led some 200 miles or so from their homes and an encampment pitched about forty or fifty miles from the place to be exploited in some secluded jungly nook. On the road they passed themselves off as "Jatao-ka-Bhat", "Jag Bhat", "Gujerati Bhat", "Kashi Bhat" or "Kumhar Bhat". The men wore Maratha "cholias" (short pyjamas) and pagris, and carried a purse; the women wore coloured "lahengas" or "saris", banjara necklaces, and ornaments in both ears and in the nose. Having chosen a base and come to a halt on it, the leader or jamadar with a few of the smartest men and women taking spear-heads concealed in bundles of *juar* or *bajra* stalks went forward to the place chosen for the dakaiti. They first made offerings at the temple of the chief deity in the place, and then set themselves leisurely to discover the names and houses of the richest *Sahukars*, frequenting the liquor shops for the purpose. Having selected the wealthiest and most likely banker, one or two called on him *before sunrise* and either asked change in the rupees current in that locality for two or three hundred rupees worth of coin of some other Raj, or on some other pretext induced the *Sahukar* to go to the safe in which he locked his money for the night, for they knew at that early hour he would not have extracted and put aside the cash needed for the day's transactions. As soon as they had located the whereabouts of his principal safe, they would purchase enough bamboos for all the spear heads of the party and secreté them in a well chosen spot, usually in the dry sandy bed of a nala, or in a covered drain, and returned to their encampment. The next step was to move to a more convenient base, but before doing so they invariably poured out a libation of liquor to the Goddess Devi and invoked her aid. Then they moved forward to a previously chosen spot in the jungle some 7 or 9 kos from the scene of operations. The jamadar now apportioned to each man his particular duties, one specially selected man was told off as "masalchi" or torch bearer,



his task was most important as on him almost everything depended. He made his torch with great care from strips of "Kupta" (the stringy canvas like tissue of the Kajur or Sindhi palm) intermixed with strips of cloth; when finished it was some ten inches long and fastened to a light dry inflammable stick of either mango, *dhak*; or *thur*; at this stage no oil was applied, as that had to be purchased in the village where the robbery was to take place, because the omen of omens which finally determined whether the attack was to be carried through or not, was whether the *masalchi* when purchasing the oil did, or did not, hear a sneeze; if he heard one the enterprise was immediately abandoned. The day was carefully selected, as no dakaiti was permissible on a moonlight night, and during the dark half of the moon only 5 days were suitable, *viz.*, 7th, 9th, 11th and 13th also the night on which the new moon was seen.

Having told off the gang, all the women, infants and the physically unfit were left behind with injunctions to prepare cooked food for a three or four days journey, and to have all the camp ready for an immediate start directly the marauders returned, so that they could all mount and set off. Next the time for the gang to start was so chosen that they might reach their destination in time to commit the dakaiti in the dusk of the evening as they wanted the whole night to get a long start of any pursuers. I may note here that Berias used to commit their dakaitis after dark had set in. Sansis paid particular attention to their costume, taking as little as possible; the jamadar carried the axe with which the money boxes were to be broken open, and the *masalchi* concealed his torch under a cloth; arms were concealed in bundles of stalks. Having set out they paid attention to the omens on the road, I will detail these omens later. On arrival at the place where the bamboos had been secreted, they called a halt and despatched the *masalchi* to purchase the oil, in the meantime the others fastened the spear-heads on to the bamboos, tied their shoes into their *kammarbands*, and deposited a store of stones in the same garment, leaving their bodies and legs bare. As soon as the *masalchi* returned and said all was favourable, the jamadar invoked Khandoba\* or Khande Rao (who lived in the Jejuri hill, 30 miles from Poona and was regarded as an incarnation of Siva in his form Mallari or "Lord of the dogs"; Siva is also "Lord of the axe" and the patron of thieves and robbers), and begged for power to wield his axe with great effect. Then the *masalchi* who had carried his pot of oil, handling it with great—almost reverent—care, for if anything went wrong with it disaster was certain to follow; it was on no account allowed to come in contact with earth, until the whole of the contents, without spilling any, had been worked into the "mussal"; while this was being done the *masalchi* had the anxious gaze of the whole gang on him; when the task was complete the pot was dashed to pieces on the ground, and a slow match was lighted and screened by a light cloth, and it was so nursed that it would burst into a flame when blown. From this moment there was to be no hesitation, no looking back, no one was to drink, spit or answer a call of nature, all the energies were to be concentrated on the attack. On reaching the spot all went silently to their places, and the *masalchi* then blew up his match, and, as the torch flared up, operations began; until then no looting could be done. The house was rushed, any one in the way remorselessly speared, the doors battered down, and the jamadar, with practised skill, smashed open the chests with a few well directed blows, while others kept the place clear with their stones and spears. As soon as the place had been plundered of its cash, jewellery and precious stones, the torch was extinguished after which no more booty could be taken, and a hasty retreat was beaten. About a mile or so off a halt was made to see that the muster was correct, to put on shoes and to tie up the loot more securely. During this halt the jamadar called on Bhagwan, and on the spirit of any Sansi killed in the dakaiti, to mislead any that might think of pursuit; after which a bee line was made for the encampment. During the dakaiti and retreat the watchword by which they recognized each other was "Lakhar-khan-bhai." If they were followed they warned their pursuers to keep off, if the warning was disregarded, they were dispersed by a savage onslaught with spears. When nearing the camp they advertised their approach by a "kookoo"; if no warning answer came they advanced cautiously and then called like a partridge, if all appeared right they again advanced and hissed like a snake. The people in the camp knew by

\* See page 33 last note.

these signs that the party was theirs; then all rapidly mounted and rode without a halt as far as their animals could go, often as much as 40 *kos*, and this forced marching was kept up for 3 or 4 days. After a dakaiti all the spears were buried and fresh ones bought before the next raid. If the plunder was all they required they went straight home, if not they planned another dakaiti.

When they reached home the property was divided and offerings were made to the deities. Sleeman quotes in full an account given to Captain Ramsay by several intelligent approvers, it runs as follows:—

“Our pujas are performed to Bhagwan and Devi, when we pray to the former we fix on a spot, four or five hundred paces from our camp, and after purchasing rice, goor, ghi, etc., etc., and a number of cooking pots to the amount which we may have in hand, for the purpose of the puja, a long trench is dug, in which a fire is lighted, and we cook the materials in it in the name of Bhagwan—the jamadar putting the first pot on the fire. All the dakaits who may be concerned in the puja do the same. When the meal is cooked a white cloth is spread on the ground upon which is placed a wooden trough; each person takes a spoonful of cooked rice out of his own cooking pot, and puts it into the trough, by which we place a pan of water. We then all join together and call on Baghwan to assist us, and tell him we have made the feast in his honour—the rice is afterwards taken from the trough and rolled up into balls which are burnt—the rest of the food is eaten by the dakaits with the exception of a small quantity, which has previously been put on one side, and is kept *uncooked* for distribution to the fakirs. In the evening of the puja we drink and enjoy ourselves, first spilling some liquor in the name of Bhagwan. Should a kite suddenly carry off any portion of the food, before the puja is completed, we consider it as inauspicious and that the puja is not accepted.”

“When we pray to Devi, we get some cocoanuts, some goor, some ghi, gujal (fragrant gum) and flour; digging a large hole in the ground, some distance from our encampment, fill it with dried cow-dung, which it set fire to; we then make up some small sweet-cakes which are then baked on the fire, and afterwards broken into small pieces. A small portion of the fire is raked out on one side, on which we sprinkle the fragrant gum, calling upon Devi, in such terms as we think most agreeable to her, such as “Maha Kali” “Amba bai” “Tulja bai”, etc., etc., and beg of her to assist us in our expeditions, and prevent any calamity befalling us; after this a coconut is thrown into the fire and the puja is completed. The rest of the cocoanuts and the cakes are distributed among the party.”

I will now give you the omens which they used to consider propitious and unpropitious.

#### *Just before leaving camp.*

##### Propitious.

- (1) If they saw a pig or blue jay (Indian Koller).
- (2) If one of them found a rupee he had lost.

##### Unpropitious.

- (1) If a piece of bread being prepared for the journey broke while being baked.
- (2) If a woman broke her bangle or waterpot.
- (3) If any one sneezed just as they were on the point of starting.

#### *On the road to the dakaiti.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) If a jay flew from right to left.</li> <li>(2) If a jackal crossed the road (this meant much booty).</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) A snake, wolf or fox crossing the path.</li> <li>(2) Meeting a carpenter or blacksmith, or a Teli.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(3) If they saw a lizard.</p> <p>(4) If they met a women selling milk.</p> <p>(5) If they saw a cow suckling its calf.</p> <p>(6) If they met a person carrying a basket of grain, or a bag of money, or a <i>gharra</i> of water, or a fish.</p> <p>(7) A donkey braying about twilight in the village to be looted.</p> <p>(8) If they met a corpse in the<br/>• village to be looted when advancing to the attack.</p> <p>• •</p> | <p>carrying oil, or a corpse, a cat, or a hare or a thief, who had been seized.</p> <p>(3) If they met a person carrying a new earthen pot, or a Brahmani widow with shaven head.</p> <p>(4) If they met a pair of bullocks, or cows tied together.</p> <p>(5) If they heard a jackal cry, or a kite scream <i>whilst sitting on a tree</i>, or a flute, or jackass bray.</p> <p>(6) If a woman broke a <i>gharra</i>, or any one dropped a turban.</p> <p>(7) And worst of all if any one sneezed while the oil for the torch was being bought or applied to the torch.</p> |
|---|--|

I have already warned you that the more recent accounts of this tribe differ from the notes given above and you must be guided by present day information. I fear I have encroached somewhat on Mr. Naidu's account but this I could hardly help doing without making complications and I have repeated as little as possible.

In the lecture on Kanjars you were told that Kanjar youths and girls are given by their elders the choice of remaining with their own tribe or of joining, among others, the Berias. The girls join the others for no other purpose than prostitution. Sansis may be included in this information about Kanjars.

The origin of the two tribes as recently given is said by Mr. Seagram to be as follows:—

Formerly in the village of Biyan in Kanjar—Baroli District of the Bharatpur State—was a Rajput family from whom spring the Gujars and Berias. Among Berias there were two leaders, Sahamal and Sahasi. The descendants of the former are Berias and of the latter Sansis.

Mr. Seagram from whose description nearly all the rest of this lecture is written in his note, published in the *Police Gazette*, dated 12th September 1906, mentions that Berias have eight clans or "gotras":—

- I.—Kalkhor (Papat).
- II.—Bithoo—sub-clans (a) Mangal, (b) Chadi.
- III.—Chandumal.
- IV.—Gatoo.
- V.—Kathan.
- VI.—Tinnaichi.
- VII.—Bhura.
- VIII.—Gehla.

They are all exogamous, with the exception of Bithoos and Gehlas, who do not intermarry.

Sansis have got five clans —

- I.—Jhoghia.
- II.—Raichand.
- III.—Betia.
- IV.—Dursa.
- V.—Sansi.

Clan No. 1 cannot marry with clan No. 3.

Clan No. 2 cannot marry with clan No. 4.

Clan No. 3 can marry with clans Nos. 2 and 4.

Clan No. 1 can marry with clans Nos. 2 and 4.

Clan No. 2 can marry with clans Nos. 1 and 3.

Clan No. 4 can marry with clans Nos. 1 and 3.

Clan No. 5 can marry only among themselves.

You should not be led away by the mistake which Gunthorpe has made in mentioning Sansis as identical with Kanjars. They are distinct from the latter in spite of having several points in common with them.

Berias and Sansis are called by different names in different provinces of India—

- I.—In Malwa they are known as *Sansis*.
- II.—In Gujarat as *Papat Ghagrapattan Wadkutia*.
- III.—In the Western Provinces (such as Sindh) as *Gidhiye*.
- IV.—Beyond the *Ganjees* (Ganges) as *Bhantos*.
- V.—In the United Provinces as *Kanjar* or *Berias*.
- VI.—In Gwalior as *Bagarias* or *Berias*.
- VII.—In Bengal as *Chirdhkarwal*.
- VIII.—In Hyderabad as *Kolhati* (W. H. Sleeman).

They are a dissolute and disorderly people found scattered all over Northern India and in the Central Provinces.

They are notorious for their orgies. When in liquor in the camp they generally end their revels with a free fight and beat their women and each other, not infrequently killing one another. When a death does occur restitution is made to the relatives by defraying the expenses of a fresh drinking bout.

Beria women are generally prostitutes, and the kidnapping of girls is common among this people. A well-to-do Beria has often five or six girls whom he has brought up or stolen as children, and keeps them for the income he derives from their prostitution.

The Sansi women are not so immoral.

The Beria is a coarse type of being, but the Sansis show good breeding, and their hands and feet, both in men and women, are usually small and well made.

In ferocity and daring both are equally dangerous.

Sansis swarm in the Punjab, where the census figures mention 40,000 in that Province. Berias are found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Cawnpur.

The men are notorious thieves and are greatly addicted to cattle-lifting, *dakaiti* and robbing carts.

Berias of Jabalpur are expert house-breakers. They are sometimes armed with swords and matchlocks and are very daring. They get a lot of information through their women.

They always travel with donkeys and bull-buffaloes.

It is a pity we do not know more about their present methods of working.



They have numerous ways of concealing their stolen property. The women habitually conceal stolen jewellery and even rupees in their private parts, in which they make special "saos" or receptacles by practice. Their quilts will be found to have stolen property sewn up in them. Like the Marwari Kanjars they are said to secrete property in the hollow legs of their *charpais*. Their *charpais* when unroped will sometimes be found to have some property carefully bound round the side poles. Each member buries what he does not want of his share of the loot, and it is believed they never forget the spots in which they have buried such property.

The Beria woman wears a petticoat which is unusually short and swings from side to side with a distinctive motion as she walks.

When arrested they ought to be kept apart—a procedure which they greatly dread, as they fear that discrepancies in their statements will betray them. Their secret code of signs is very large and they can easily communicate with each other in this way when no other is available.

Their receivers are generally either local Kalars or rich Seths: they are among the former's best customers, but resort to the latter when they have valuable articles to dispose of. These Seths visit the encampment with scales and weights and buy up the gold and silver wholesale.

During the daytime the men are seldom to be found in the encampment, as they are in the habit of hiding in ditches and jungles, where the women take them their food; at night they return to their tents, but are off again at dawn.

Every one in the camp shares alike whether they have taken part in the expedition or not; wives of those in jail and widows have a half share.

Sansis have been declared a criminal tribe under Section 5 of Act XVII of 1871, in the following districts of the United Provinces:—

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (1) Muzafarnagar. | (3) Budaon.    |
| (2) Kheri.        | (4) Allahabad. |

Also throughout the Punjab, and they are registered in the Jodhpur and Kotah States of Rajputana.

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## OUTCASTES.

## 15.—MANG.

Mangs are very low in the social scale, being placed below even the "Dhers." In the Central Provinces they are found mostly in Nagpur, the Berars, Nimar and Hoshangabad, where they number about 20,000.

Gunthorpe divides them into 4 groups:—

Ruckwaldar (or Mang Ramusi).

Holud Mang.

Meda Mang.

Dukelpur Mang.

Sherring puts all these into one sub-division and mentions three others which apparently do not visit the Central Provinces.

Gunthorpe describes their ways of living and crime.

Sherring says of them: "They are gang robbers, burglars and highwaymen and are very dexterous in colouring and passing off brass and other metals for gold."

There is an interesting legend about their origin given in the Central Provinces Census Report of 1901: it also shows how one of their well-known occupations came into being. In olden days before cattle were used for ploughing there was a terrible famine on the face of the earth and many men died of starvation. Mahadeo took pity on the few who still lived and gave them seed to sow. Men in those days used to drag the plough themselves. A Kunbi was so emaciated that he could not do so. At his request Mahadeo gave him the bull "Nandi" on which he rode. Nandi was yoked and worked smoothly so long as Mahadeo was present, but in his absence refused to work. Mahadeo came again in burning wrath at the bull's behaviour and great beads of perspiration stood on his brow. One of these fell to the ground and a coal-black man sprang up to do Mahadeo's bidding. Mahadeo bid him bring the bull to reason, which he did by castrating it. Since then Mangs have always been castrators of bulls. Mangs show great respect for the bamboo; at a marriage the bride and bridegroom have to stand in a bamboo basket. They also reverence the nim tree, and the Mangs of Sholapur spread "hariyali" (doob) grass and nim leave on the spot where one of their caste dies.

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## 16.—Dom.

These are a race of outcastes whom Gunthorpe does not mention; they are scattered over parts of the United Provinces and the Vindhyan range. There are indications they have aboriginal blood in their veins. Though at present they occupy the most degraded position among Indians, yet there have been times when they were the predominating race in certain localities. According to Sir H. Elliot (*The Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*) "tradition fixes their residence to the north of the Ghogra, touching the Bhars on the east in the vicinity of Rohin. Several old forts testify to their former importance, and still retain the names of their founders, as, for instance, Domdiha, Domangarh; Ramgarh and Shankot on the Rohin are also Dom forts."

In their present condition they are likened to "humanity in its extremest degradation" and "scum and filth."

They must not be confounded with a tribe of Muhammadans, also called Dom, but better known as "Miris" and "Pakhawajis."

The Doms, as might be expected, follow the meanest occupations; they make cane chairs and stools, palm-leaf fans, ropes, mats and such like articles, and take employment as street sweepers. In Oudh the name is applied to sweepers, as Bhangi and Chulera are elsewhere.

The Dom dresses in rags and is a very unclean feeder, even eating the flesh of animals which have died of disease or been found dead. Sherring in the first volume of his "*Hindu Tribes and Castes*" says that in some parts his services are considered indispensable at the cremation of dead bodies. In Benares he supplies the five logs on which the rest of the funeral pyre is erected, and when all is ready, the Doms brings a whisp of lighted straw which is taken from him and applied to the pyre; he is considered entitled to payment for the logs, the straw and the fire.

They claim decent from Rahu and Ketu. Rahu means the "looser" or the "seizer" and he was one of the "Asuras" or demons. Mr. Crooke says: "When the gods produced the 'amrita' or necktar from the churned ocean, he disguised himself like one of them and drank a portion of it. The sun and moon detected his fraud and informed Vishnu, who severed the head and two of the arms of Rahu from the trunk. The portion of nectar which he had drunk secured him immortality; the head and tail were transferred to the solar sphere, the head wreaking its vengeance on the sun and moon by occasionally swallowing them, while the tail under the name of Ketu, gave birth to a numerous progeny of comets and fiery meteors. By another legend Ketu was turned into the demon Sainhikeya and the 'Arunah Ketavah' or 'red apparitions.' Ketu now-a-days is only a vague demon of disease, and Rahu too has suffered a grievous degradation." He is now the special godling of the Dusadhs and Dhangars: his worship is a kind of fire sacrifice or fire walking. Doms show reverence by begging during an eclipse.

They are thieves and house-breakers: when out on an expedition they are accompanied by their women and children and always have a number of dogs. They usually encamp in jungle near water and manufacture their cane and bamboo articles.

When they have seen a house which they think is suitable for their purpose, they move on in the ordinary course two or three marches further, and then go back to commit the house-breaking; very frequently they adopt the "bagli" form of breaking into the house. Stolen property is usually buried in or about the camp or even concealed under the bedding.

## MUHAMMADAN.

## 17.—HARNI.

Harni is a Sanskrit word meaning a "thief." It applies to a Muhammadan criminal tribe of the Punjab, said to number about 3,179 when Mr. Sherring wrote of them long ago. Their real home is at present Ludhiana, where about a thousand are living; the rest are scattered about the neighbouring districts and States. The following note published in the Punjab has the most recent and fullest account of them. It was reproduced in the Extra Supplement to the *Police Gazette, Central Provinces*, dated 3rd October 1906:—

Some centuries ago, Mahmud Ghaznavi, on one of his invasions of India, was accompanied by a body of Pathans, residents of Ghanur, a village near Kabul, under their chieftain, Babr Khan. Mahmud Ghaznavi gave them the village of Mansuri, near Delhi, to settle in and here they remained for several years. They are next heard of in Bhutnair; in Bikanir State, where they founded the town of Harnian Khaira. They intermarried with the Hindu Rajputs of the neighbourhood, and this is probably the reason why the present day Harni sometimes says that his ancestors, before becoming followers of Islam, were Rajput Chhatris. This is confirmed by the names of the eleven gotes or Clans (Tur, Chuhan, Lathik, Gujjar, Malak, Barang, Sanghaira, Leer, Ladar, Nandika, Powar) some of which are Hindu and the remainder Muhammadan.

In the year 1783 A. D. (Sambat 1840) a number of men of this tribe, if we may call it so, were forced by the severe famine then prevailing to emigrate. Numbers of them crossed the Ganges and settled in the United Provinces, where their descendants are known as Hairees and Banjaras. Another branch of this tribe is the "Chirrimars" of the Sialkot District.

The remainder came into the Punjab and took service under a certain Rai Kallah, a powerful chieftain, who held under his sway the country in the neighbourhood of the large towns of Raikot and Jagraon, in the Ludhiana District. These men were subsequently joined by their families and relations and were of the greatest assistance to their liege-lord, Rai Kallah, who employed them not only as shikaris or huntsmen, but also as mercenary free-booters; and the latter, by making constant plundering raids on the lands held by Rai Kallah's enemies, caused the possessions of the latter to be subject to a ceaseless series of harassment and rapine.

The indefatigable exertions of this band of free-booting mercenaries and their conspicuous and never failing success in this method of predatory warfare gained them the name of Harnis or Harnees. This name is derived from either the Sanskrit word "Harni" (a thief) or from the two words "har" and "nahin", *i. e.*, the never failing or invincible. Some of the Harnis wrongly state that their name is derived from "harni" (a doe) and was given them by Rai Kallah on account of the activity of one of their number, who ran down and caught a wounded doe.

On the death of Rai Kallah, these Harnis, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of the neighbourhood, made themselves masters of the five villages of Chimna, Malak, Panheeni, Sangatpura and Leelan, in the Jagraon "Ilaqa." They continued their predatory habits and carried them to such extremes that, in 1818 A. D. (Sambat 1875), General Sir David Ochterlony brought their conduct to the notice of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who ordered the Raja of Kapurthala, in whose territories these Harni villages lay, to banish them.

Nothing is known of this tribe from then till 1847 A. D. (Sambat 1904), but it is probable that, in this interval, a number went away and settled at Burj Lamra, a village near Ludhiana, while others went and established themselves in parts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Faridkote, where they are still found to some extent.

In 1847 A. D. this tribe was permitted by a Mr. Kewell? (Campbell), a British Settlement Officer, to establish themselves in the villages of Bir, Tappar and Kiri, in the jurisdiction of Jagraon Police Station, Ludhiana District.

In the adjacent village of Bodalwala, some Harnis, who had for many years been in the service of the Rajas of Kapurthala, had taken up their residence after payment of a large sum of money, while the Harnis of the neighbouring village of Meerpur were located in it about the year 1850 A. D. by Moulvi Rajab Ali of Jagraon. In 1873, small numbers of Harnis were found in some 29 other villages in Ludhiana District. The total number of Harnis in Ludhiana District at that time was 463 men, 510 women and 1,075 children. The total amount of land in their possession was only 1,725 bighas (owned by 185 individuals) and the inadequacy of it to support them drove the Harnis to committing burglaries and dakaitis which extended over half the Punjab and many of the Native States adjoining it.



In spite of the faulty identification of criminals of that period, the Police Registers showed that 202 Harnis had been convicted of one or more burglaries or other offences against property.

It is as well to discuss the *modus operandi* then in vogue among them for committing crime before the Criminal Tribes Act was put in force among them.

Then, as now, the Harni never committed any offences locally, beyond the theft of grain or standing crops or the occasional theft of a stray goat or cow, which were almost immediately killed and consumed.

They invariably journeyed to other districts for their offences and, to prevent local hinderance or obstruction, paid a fixed poll-tax, for each individual going on thieving expeditions, to their own headmen, and chaukidars as well as to the local police.

It is estimated that, at that time, 125 to 150 persons would sally forth every month for the purpose of committing crime and acquiring plunder. If the local police attempted to interfere with these expeditions, the Harnis would retort by plundering in their jurisdiction, and the same local terrorism was exercised over headmen, neighbours, etc., by destroying the crops of all those who opposed or gave evidence against them.

Disguised as beggars (Faquirs), quacks (Hakims), travelling merchants or potters they would set out in gangs of 10 or 12 able-bodied men, generally accompanied by one or two very feeble old men and a couple of boys. They were invariably accompanied by a "Khumar" or potter and a few mules or donkeys, whenever they were passing themselves off as grain merchants; on occasion they took a few sheep or goats along with them and represented themselves to butchers or cattle dealers.

Every party had a burglarious implement (generally a "Sabbal" or long iron nail), a box of lucifer matches, a sickle and a sharp pocket knife. Having encamped, the young men would visit neighbouring villages and mark out the most convenient places for their purposes.

In the evening, having re-assembled, discussed the results of their enquiries and appointed a fresh rendezvous, the old men and boys would proceed to the latter, while the remainder of the gang broke up into parties of four. Each party would then set off to the place it was determined to rob. With the sickle 4 stout sticks would be cut for weapons in the event of their being surprised and pursued, one of the party was left outside the village in charge of the shoes and superfluous clothes of the party and the remainder entered the village.

One man hid himself in a lane, adjoining the scene of the proposed burglary, to keep a watch for the local watchman or any stray passer-by, a second would quickly dig a hole in the roof or wall of the house and enter, leaving the third at the mouth of the aperture to receive the stolen property passed out to him.

The lucifer matches would now be used to guide the burglar to any property worth appropriating, while the sharp pocket-knife was brought into play in cutting open bags or leather boxes or the strings securing the ends of necklaces worn by sleeping women and children.

Having completed their work, these three men would rejoin the fourth outside the village, and, proceeding for some distance over turf or hard ground, would then put on their shoes and proceed to their rendezvous.

Their plunder and implements of burglary would be carefully buried in some adjoining sand-hill or underneath the roots of a tree until their next march.

Day by day the process was repeated until the approach of moonlight nights. All valuable property, such as money, jewellery, etc., would then be made over to one man who would proceed home alone by a separate route while the remainder would stuff all stolen clothing, etc., into large sacks, filling up the mouths of the latter with cotton or hemp. They then placed these sacks on their animals and returned home by the ordinary route, the old men and boys riding on the animals, while the remainder of the gang walked in twos or threes at some distance in front or behind to guard against any sudden attack. At ferries, especially, and also at other places, where they were likely to be suspected, they, if possible, mounted lepers on their animals, and finally crossing the Sutlej, principally at the ferries of Tihara, Sidhwan, Pandari, where the boatmen were in their pay, they made their way to their villages.

The property would be equally divided between the members of the gang (except that the burglar, or individual who entered the burgled houses, received a double share in consideration of the additional risk of capture incurred by him) and sold to neighbouring

Zamindars or Mahajans, the purchaser inspecting the stolen property in the Harnee villages and the property being subsequently taken to his house by Harni women and children. Such was the *modus operandi* of the Harnees of this district (with the exception of the Gownimar Harnis who live in the village of Kiri and whose *modus operandi* will be described hereafter) previous to the year 1873, in which the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act (XXVII of 1871) were put into force and the excursions of the Harni gangs of burglars checked. The enforcement of this Act, the extensive introduction of railways and the greater facility gained therefrom by the police of different districts in co-operating with one another, and lastly the arrest and conviction of a great number of Harnis (who had been concerned in a vast number of cases throughout the Punjab and its adjoining Native States,) by Mr. J. P. Warburton, then District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, have caused the Harnees to seek more distant fields for their attention.

The present *modus operandi* of the Harnis will now be discussed. In the village of Kiti in this district, as well as in one village near Kartarpur in the Jullundur District and in one or two villages in Hoshiarpur District, resides a branch or clan of the Harnis known as "Gownimars." The name is derived probably from "gooni" (a theft) and "marna" (to commit), hence theft committers or thieves (practically the same meaning as that of Harnee).

This clan, now as heretofore, commit practically only one class of offence, their women, while young and comely, take up their residence in the houses of the rich as servants, mistresses or wives. After some time they either seize a convenient opportunity to make over all articles of jewellery or other valuables, that they can conveniently seize, to some one of their male relatives who has visited the house, generally in the guise of a religious mendicant or Faquir or else they take all the valuables they can and vanish, leaving behind them as souvenir any children they may have borne to their masters or husbands. Sometimes these Gownimars will enter in disguise houses, in which marriage or other ceremonies are taking place, and steal anything they can.

The remainder of the Harnis now commit only the following offences, of which I shall point out any facts of interest.

No Harni will commit in his own Ilaqa (*i. e.*, the limits of the jurisdiction of his police station) any offence other than perhaps the theft of standing crops or of a stray goat or cow.

If a Harni, bent on plunder, cannot obtain the co-operation of other Harnis, he will join local bad characters or members of other criminal tribes, chiefly Sansis, and commit burglaries with them. A Harni will seldom or never commit any offence, other than petty thefts, single handed. The main characteristic of their burglaries is the very small hole by which they make their way through the roof or wall of the house burgled. These holes are generally very neatly made and are made with a "Sabbal" or long iron nail, with or without a wooden handle; when not in use, a loop of string having been affixed to the handle of the "Sabbal," the arm, as far as the shoulder, is passed through the loop leaving the "Sabbal" to hang down and escape notice between the arm and the side. Their usual offence is burglary (attended by dakaiti or violence if surprised or opposed) and in many cases of burglaries committed by them, necklaces and other ornaments are removed or wrenched from off the bodies of sleeping women and children. When wandering about India in disguise, they either join local bad characters in burglaries or other offences or else commit petty thefts single handed.

The following are their principal venues:—

1. The Punjab, south and east of the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum (though they have been arrested as far west as Multan,) and its adjoining Native States, but chiefly the districts of Hoshiarpur and Ambala, and the Native States of Patiala and Faridkote.

2. Burma.

3. The Dekkan—a small number are now said to be present at village Parbani, police station Parbani, in Hyderabad.

4. Bombay Presidency—some are said to be living in Nasak in Nasik District.

5. Guzarat—A number have been and now are living in Surat, where they visit the shrine (Dargah or Khandah) of Timur Shah, the Pir or Saint of the Banwa or Benawa Faquirs.\*

6. The Central Provinces and Nagpur.

7. Bombay City.



They visit these places in the following roles :—

- A. Jugglers and Acrobats.
- B. Faquirs
- C. Gurzmars or Gurgmars.
- D. Mirasi or Singers and players.
- E. Potters.
- F. Banjaras or Baisatis or grain merchants.
- G. Husbandmen.

As A, they will nearly invariably describe themselves as Ranjars or Muhammadian Rajputs.

As B and C, they will state that they are Ranjars (Rajput Muhammadans), or Qadria Faquirs, Benawa or Banwa Faquirs, or Gurzmar Faquirs.

If asked their Shijra or Faquir genealogy they will trace it back to the prophet Ali, and state (in many instances) that their Pir or Saint is Timur Shah of Surat.

As D, they will pass themselves off as Mirasis or Qalandars.

As F and G, they will make out they are Rains or Arains.

Note 1. In Bombay city they are always found as Faquirs.

Note 2. They are never seen in any but Muhammadan disguises and are said to be able by a special method of applying a compound containing cocoanut oil to make the hair on their heads and faces grow rapidly.

Note 3. In Bombay, they nearly always prostitute their women-folk and beg themselves, and make a large income by both livelihoods, as paid-off native sailors and lascars will spend their arrears of pay on the wife, while the husband will trade on the susceptibilities of the generous and reap a rich harvest.

Note 4. When going to Bombay they go by the narrow gauge Railway *via* Bandikui, at which place there is a rich Muhammadan butcher, who sends them, in their guise of Faquirs, free of charge to Bombay in the trains which convey his animals there weekly.

Note 5. The inhabitants of Bodalwala and Tappar generally go to Nagpur and the Dekkan, those of Bir and Mirpur to Bombay and Burma, while the inhabitants of Kiri seldom go beyond the Punjab.

Note 6. As Faquirs they generally wear an "Alfi" or long robe of thick cloth or blanketing.

Note 7. In nearly every case they will say their ancestors were Rajputs, and in this district, the Harni will often describe himself Rajput *alias* Harni or Rajput urf Harni.

If questioned they will invariably state they are residents of districts beyond or adjoining the Sutlej, such as Jullundur and Ferozepore, or else a Native State such as Patiala or Faridkote where the inhabitants speak a dialect similar to their own.

If, however, they are suddenly and boldly accused of being Harnis, they will often admit the fact.

As a Harni will never, if he can avoid doing so, eat his bread dry, ghi or clarified butter will nearly invariably be found in their baggage, except when they are masquerading as Faquirs, in which case they will invariably beg or buy some ghi to eat with their meals.

When abusing their children they often use the expression "phot Allah maria"—may god smite you.

If any persons are suspected of being Harnis, their "finger-prints" should immediately be sent to the Phillour Bureau, where finger-prints of every registered Harni above the age of 12 are kept.

In religion the Harni is according to his lights, a strict Sunni,—but his religion does not keep him from a desire for and appreciation of alcoholic liquors,—a desire which he will generally gratify on any "red letter" day.

The average height of a full grown male Harni is about 5 feet 7 inches. They are well made, muscular, and sinewy. Being taught habits of activity and endurance from their childhood, they are extremely hardy and have been known to proceed to a spot ten of fifteen kos (twelve and a half to nineteen miles) away, commit a burglary and return between nightfall and dawn.

Their food is principally bread made from wheat flour or crushed Indian corn. They are generally monogamous though a few have a second wife, and the men invariably marry women of their own tribe. The majority of them are absolutely uneducated, nor do they desire education.

Their language is Punjabi, but they use so many words of their own that two Harnis can carry on a conversation without an outsider understanding them. The most common of their words are Tusian (-Policeman); Dhariwala (-a Station-house Officer of Police), Dhotni (a woman), Damrid or Chheetra (a rupee).

They will absent themselves without permission from their villages for long periods, during their absence remitting sums of money to their relatives through the Post Office at Jagraon.

When tired of their wanderings, they often return home and surrender themselves to the police, and by telling a piteous tale of woe as to how they were forced by want and the lack of any means of livelihood to leave their villages without permission, as their applications for passes or tickets of leave were either refused or never replied to, often get off with as light a sentence as six weeks' imprisonment, and thereafter return to their villages to live on the proceeds of their wanderings.

Those living in the neighbourhood of their villages are loath to prosecute or give evidence against Harnis, as they very often carry on intrigues with Harni women, while they are in fear of the Harnis in retaliation destroying their crops and ricks.

In the Ludhiana District there are at present the following registered male Harnis (of above 12 to 14 years of age). The finger prints of all such are taken and kept at the Central Bureau, at Phillour: but the fact that a suspected man's finger prints are not traced at Phillour is not absolute proof that the man is not a Harni as several have absconded and do abscond when served with a notice to show why they should not be brought under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act:—

	No. registered.	No. exempted for life from provisions of Act XXVII of 1871.	No. who have been convicted of any offence.
In Kiri, Badalwala, Bir, Mirpur, Tappar	727	38	387
In other villages	267	28	77

They are declared to be a Criminal Tribe under Section 5 of Act XXVII of 1871 throughout the Punjab where some 1,750 are registered under the Act.



## II.—POISONERS.

### INDEPENDENT GANGS.

#### 18.—PROFESSIONAL POISONERS.

The first official mention I have found of these persons is that made by General Sleeman, who, in 1820, brought to the notice of the East India Company the organization of the Thags, for the suppression of which he was appointed in 1835. Every one knows the success which attended his campaign against the Thags. When he started his operations in 1835 he wrote incidentally of "Daturias" or "Professional Poisoners" as follows:—

"The impunity with which this crime is everywhere perpetrated and its consequent increase in every part of India are among the greatest evils with which the country is at this time affected. These poisoners are spread all over India and are as numerous over the Bombay and Madras Presidencies as over that of Bengal. There is no road free from them, and throughout India there must be many hundreds who gain their subsistence by this trade alone. They put on all manner of disguises to suit their purpose; and, as they prey chiefly upon the poorer sort of travellers, they require to destroy the greater number of lives to make up their incomes.

"A party of two or three poisoners have very often succeeded in destroying another of eight or ten travellers, with whom they have joined for some days, by pretending to give them a feast on the celebration of the anniversary of some family event. Sometimes an old woman or man will manage the thing alone by gaining the confidence of travellers and getting near the cooking pots while they go aside, or when employed to bring the flour for the meal from the bazar. The poison is put into the flour or the pot as opportunity offers.

"People of all castes and callings take up the trade, some casually, others for life, and others derive it from their parents or teachers. They assume all manner of disguises to suit their purposes; and the habits of cooking, eating and sleeping on the side of the road and smoking with strangers of seemingly the same caste, greatly facilitate their designs on travellers. The small parties are unconnected with each other and two parties never unite in the same cruise. The members of one party may sometimes be convicted and punished, but their conviction is accidental, for the system which has enabled us to put down the Thag association cannot be applied, with any fair prospects of success, to the suppression of these pests to society."

NOTE.—Professional poisoners may be under the definition of the Penal Code (drafted after Sleeman wrote this) "Thags" though at the time when Thags flourished they had no connection with them.

"The poison used on such occasions is commonly the dhatura, and it is sometimes given in the hookah to be smoked and at others in food. When they require to poison children as well as grown-up people, or women who do not smoke, they mix up the poison in food. The intention is almost always to destroy life, as "dead men tell no tales" but the poisoned people sometimes recover and lead to the detection of the poisoners. The cases in which they recover are, however, rare, and of those who recover, few are ever able to trace the poisoners."

General Sleeman also tells at length the story of a Fakir who lived with his only son at a wayside shrine built over the bones of his dead wife. After ten years of begging at that shrine the old man saved enough to buy a blanket for the child, and a few days after, while the blanket was hanging near the shrine, a party of poisoners came along, ingratiated themselves, offered food to the Fakir and his son and poisoned both. The boy died, but the Fakir, who ate little, recovered to find the poisoners had tried to murder both for the sake of the blanket which they stole.

Gunthorpe in his note on them describes a special form of this crime as committed on cartmen for the sake of the cart and bullocks. The *Police Gazette*s contain some notes on cases of poisoning by professional poisoners. The first I have come across is that mentioned in the *Gazette* of 16th March 1904, where Panalal, son of Rama Bulaki, poisoned a Brahman whom, while in the guise of a pilgrim, he had engaged to escort him to the railway station from Onkarji. Panalal bought packages of gram pulse and gave one, into which he had inserted datura, to the Brahman whom he looted of Rs. 4-8-0 when insensible. Then in 1906 (Supplement to *Gazette* of 22nd August 1906) a gang of six poisoners, who had been concerned in several cases in the Bombay Presidency, were tracked down and convicted. This gang usually followed the tactics described by Gunthorpe, but not always.

Then, in the Supplement to the *Gazette* of 1st May 1907, there is an interesting note by the Diwan of Rutlam, part of which I am copying into this lecture. It runs thus :—

“Datura is of two varieties. It grows wild in this part of the country, and its seeds, which are poisonous, are generally used by native ‘hakims’ and ‘waidis’ for medicinal purposes. The seeds are either black or white. The latter are generally used by professional poisoners, as they can be mixed with other substances without fear of detection either on the ground of taste or colour. The white seeds are generally powdered and are administered in three ways. The powder is either mixed with tobacco or ganja to form a smoking mixture or is mixed with sweetmeats or other eatables. In the latter case the powder is mixed with jaggery or red sugar, and this red sugar, is used with parched gram or the powder is mixed with dried or salted gram pulse. The powder is also mixed with wheat or makai flour which is made into cakes. It is believed that the smoking mixture referred to above is more narcotic in its properties and brings on insensibility within a shorter time than by the other methods.

“The procedure followed by professional poisoners usually is that of hiring a cart and of administering datura to the driver with a view to misappropriating his cart and bullocks ; the other methods that are also sometimes used are of making friends with the travellers by the railway, and of depriving the victims of the cash and other property after they become insensible under the influence of the datura poison.

“The first cases that occurred here were in 1900 and 1901. In 1900 a Brahman mendicant gave some sweetmeat (ladu and chironji dana) to a boy named Kaloo, son of Samthu, Rajput, aged 13, and to a girl named Gasi, daughter of Bhera Gasi, who were tending some cattle in pasture grounds at Namli, a jagir village of the Rutlam State.

“The boy did not partake of the same and the girl ate the sweetmeat some time after the mendicant left her. The girl died the next day, probably from the poison. Another case of a similar nature occurred at Dhamnod, a village of this State. In both the cases the local police were not able to trace the offenders: the culprits probably intended to take away the cattle which were being grazed by their victims, but in both cases no cattle were lost.

“The crimes of this nature that took place subsequently in this and in the neighbouring States were, it appears, committed by organized gangs which were traced by the local Police and such of the offenders as were found within the limits of this State were brought to justice.”

The latest cases are those mentioned in the *Police Gazette* of 8th May 1907, which I will read to you.

Datura is probably the only easily procurable narcotic that acts quickly, has no smell and practically no taste ; but it has further advantages for the criminal, for it very seldom causes the victim to vomit, and people when recovering from datura poisoning are very delirious and have often been driven from villages in the belief that they were mad men, when they have in reality, in their own delirious way, been trying to obtain help. Therefore in datura poisoning cases it is very difficult to find out what has happened for several days ; investigations have to be begun in the dark and the police have to do a good deal of their work before the poisoned person (if he lives) comes to.

The Police Manual, paragraph 477, tells you what medico-legal evidence should be sought, and paragraphs 772 and 773 give detailed instructions on the procedure to be followed in cases under Section 328, Indian Penal Code.

In Adam’s “Criminal Investigation” there are some remarks on datura which should find a place here: they are :—

“Great care must be taken not to confuse the datura seed with that of the capsicum” or “chili.” Chevers notes the following superficial distinctions :—

“The one great distinguishing feature above all others is the form and shape of the embryo. If one of each of the seeds be divided by cutting parallel with the flattened sides, the embryo of the capsicum will be found curved like the figure 6, while the end of the curve in the datura is ‘twisted’ or recurved not towards the down stroke of the 6 but away



from it, or towards the right hand: there are, however, many minor differences, of great importance when taken together. These may be contrasted thus:—

<i>White Datura seeds.</i>	<i>Capsicum seeds.</i>
(1) Almost kidney-shaped, but one end much smaller than the other.	(1) Kidney-shaped.
(2) Outline angular.	(2) Outline rounded.
(3) Size rather more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long and rather less in width.	(3) A little shorter and wider than the datura.
(4) Colour greenish brown when fresh; changing to yellow when dry.	(4) Yellow.
(5) Attached to the placenta by a large white fleshy mass which separates easily, leaving a deep furrow along half the length of the concave border of the seed.	(5) Attached to the placenta by a thin cord, from a prominence on the concave border of the seed.
(6) Surface scabrous, almost reticulate, except on the two compressed sides where it has become almost glaucous from the presence of the neighbouring seeds.	(6) Uniformly scabrous, the sides being equally rough with the borders.
(7) Convex border thick and bulged, with a longitudinal depression between the bulgings caused by the compression of the two sides.	(7) Convex border thickened, but uniformly rounded.
(8) When divided into two by cutting with a knife placed in the furrow on the convex border, the testa is seen irregular and angular in outline, the embryo is seen lying <i>curved and twisted</i> in a fleshy albumen.	(8) When similarly divided the testa is more uniform in outline, the embryo is seen lying in a fleshy albumen <i>curved</i> but not twisted or recurved.

"The taste of the *capsicum* is pungent, while that of the *datura* is insipid. The most distinctive external symptoms of *datura* poisoning are giddiness, followed by drowsiness and muttering delirium, picking at imaginary objects, sometimes wild and excited behaviour, but always wide dilatation of the pupils of the eyes, while internally the brain is congested, and so also frequently are the linings of the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines."

In this account the dose is apparently not a large one; an overdose, as previously stated, causes insensibility usually followed by death.

The *Police Gazette* of 22nd May 1907 has the following warning:—

"All police officers are warned to be very careful before they accept the statements of persons who, having had *datura* poison administered to them in food or smoke, subsequently deny that they laid themselves open to poison in this manner. There have been three recent cases in which persons having undoubtedly had *datura* administered to them by professional poisoners, persisted in denying the possibility of their having been poisoned by contamination of food or smoke, and in two of these the police were too ready to accept their denials. It must be remembered that caste people who are deceived into sharing food or smokes with plausible strangers are most naturally inclined to cover up their indiscretion by a denial of the facts. It is the business of the police to work on the undoubted fact of poisoning in preference to the impossible theory of symptoms of *datura* poisoning appearing spontaneously."

### III.—THIEVES AND SWINDLERS.

#### HINDU COMMUNITIES.

##### 19.—BARWAR, SANORIA AND CHANDRAWEDI.

It is believed Barwars are descended from the Kurmis who live in the neighbourhood of Patna. They drifted westward : some who retained the name Barwar kept to the north and settled in Gonda, Bareli, Sitapur, Hardoi and adjacent districts : others went further south and chose the country about Lalitpur, Bilaspur, Bhopal and the Bundelkhand Agency for their residence ; they became known as Sanorias.

The Barwars of the north admitted recruits into their ranks from Bengal and elsewhere, and these are distinguished by the name "Gulam", while the original Barwars are styled "Sowang". The Sowangs of Gonda have intermarried with Gulams but the rest have remained pure. Their servants are known by the name "Talarsi."

Sanorias worship the Goddess Devi and Mahabir, and claim Brahmanical descent, in fact they are generally called "Sanoria Brahmans". Those residing most to the north also reverence the Muhammadan Pir Syed Musa-ul-Ghazi and visit his tomb in Bahraich. They are said by some to pay much respect to omens and to consider it very inauspicious to meet a government official when setting out on an expedition ; in such a case they are said invariably to turn back. They set out on their travels after the Dasehra and continue their operations until the advent of the rains, when they return home and divide the spoil in equal shares to all but the leader, who gets a double portion. The gang consists of from 2 to 15 or 20 ; the leader is generally known as "Mukhia" (Gunthorpe says Mukhtiar), the working members are styled "Upardar" ; each Upardar has one or more boys, who rejoice in the title of "Chawa" and are seldom over 12 years of age, attached to him.

Sanorias I believe are never accompanied by their women, Barwars on the other hand do take their women and employ them usefully in fairs, bazars and festivals. Neither section ever resort to violence in the commission of crime, they trust to cunning. Originally they used to kidnap children, but have given up the practice as too dangerous.

The Upardar keeps out of harm's way as much as possible, the Chawa being made his cat's paw. You will notice that Gunthorpe tells you Sanorias are fond of pilfering articles left in the charge of relatives while the owners are bathing, by enticing the relatives away from their charge. Mr. A. C. Hankin in a note written in 1893 says that if the relative happens to be a woman, the Upardar will sometimes go to the length of deliberately sitting down to ease himself near her in such a position as to force her to turn her back on the articles she is guarding ; the Chawa then stealthily purloins all he can. They have several ways of forcing people to bathe, one is for the Chawa to "accidentally on purpose" touch some high caste well dressed man with something that causes pollution, and for the Upardar to politely point it out to the victim, who at once goes to wash ; the Upardar also sits down to wash his mouth, or drink, or do something else, and while he diverts the bather's attention the Chawa watches his opportunity.

Another way is for the Upardar to enter into conversation with the victim and walk along with him ; the Chawa comes running along and cannons into them and is instantly abused ; he humbly begs their pardon, adding he is only a poor sweeper who means no harm ; this confession necessitates a bath when the old trick is played again.

Barwar women (Sanorias remember do not take their women with them), well dressed and bejewelled, join parties of other women entering temples and, while the worshippers are engaged in their devotions and presentation of offerings, steal what they can : their dexterity and lightness of touch is very great, and they will remove nose-rings, ear-rings and necklaces without arousing the suspicions of their victims. These women pose as Brahmanis and keep their faces veiled.



Both Barwars and Sanorias have of course taken kindly to the railway, and in their methods of theft in railway carriages resemble the Bhamptas, but are perhaps more prone to throw the property out of the window. They also sometimes stick a stolen article under the seat with the help of a bit of wax or other convenient adhesive. They will watch the crowd when buying tickets, and if a parcel or bundle is put down in a convenient place the Chawa is not likely to miss his chance. Again they scrutinise person alighting from a train and if they see one who has several bundles they are instantly on the alert, and after the victim has taken out four or five packages and re-enters the carriage for more, the Chawa picks up one of those on the platform and in an incredibly short time it has passed through several hands.

Barwars usually wear at the waist a long bag of network secured at both ends with strong cotton string: this is quite different from the bag described by Major Gunthorpe which is slung over the shoulder and used by Sanorias.

Sanorias for a long time have been known to have a language of their own, and to communicate with each other by a code of signs. These signals are known as elbow दिहनी signs. A Sanoria once told my brother "when I want to know whether a man is a Sanoria or Bhampta I pull my *pagri* cloth or shawl over my shoulders and then raise my elbow and move it across from back to front, if the man is one of the fraternity he will put both his hands on his *pagri* and I will know it is safe to talk to him."

For a long time it was thought that Sanorias and Chandrawedis were the same, but Mr. Seagrim in 1906 wrote a pamphlet\* on the latter and from it I gather that a Sanoria may be a Chandrawedi, but a Chandrawedi need not necessarily be a Sanoria. In his pamphlet Mr. Seagrim says "Chandrawedis are not a class but a confraternity of criminals, recruited from any caste of Hindus (except sweepers and Chamars) or even Muhammadans" and he shows how the fraternity originated from the teaching of two Sanoria Brahmans Ramlal and Madan Prasad, who settled in Raruwa in the Datia State. He gives three derivations of the name Chandrawedi all signifying abhorrence of crime committed during the time the moon holds her sway. The community has increased from the two founders to numerous colonies in Datia, Gwalior, Jhansi and other parts of Bundelkhand. The Chief of a colony is styled "Nalband" who has Upardars, Chawas and Derawallas (members who elect to look after the camp and get a half share) under him, all are thoroughly taught and trained. The course of training includes instruction in two languages—

- (1) Parsi (a secret-code-vocabulary).
- (2) Teni† (elbow-secret-code signals).

The following Parsi words are given by Mr. Seagrim, the italics representing notes and additions given by my brother:—

<i>Chandrawedi.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Khutaria.	Bundle.
Kaniyai or " <i>Bhagori.</i> "	Purse (money bag).
Gond.	Turban (safa).
Kaithi or kamthi.	Do. ( <i>pagri</i> ).
Pan-pathoo.	Dhoti.
Tanai or " <i>Tania.</i> "	Coat.
Pujani.	Drinking pot.
Thanki.	Dish.
Damru or nethi.	Rupee.
Dande.	Copper coin.
Kanpi.	Cowrie shells.
Guli.	Gold mohur (Rs.15).
Bardala.	Armllet.
Paiti or " <i>allan.</i> "	Toda or silver anklet.

\* "Chandrawedis described by the Police Department, Indore State" 1906, price Re 1.

† दिहनी.

Gallagoo.	Necklace.
Pitghesa or gunjitlai.	Gold necklace " <i>pitghesa is also said to be a waist belt.</i> "
Nukli.	Nose-ring.
Lokiya asur gaya.	A constable is coming.
Khanchdeo	Hide it.
Ukanjao or " <i>ladjao.</i> "	Run.
Seyand.	Gold.
Uben.	Silver.
Setra.	Book.
1 Bakhole.	Shoes. ( <i>?belt</i> )
2 Gonia.	Shoes.
3 Gudari " <i>(? patari).</i> "	Shoes.
Rungathiojaw.	" <i>Pick up and bolt.</i> "
Thook or pichori.	Sheet or cloth.
Khol.	Banias shop or " <i>any house.</i> "
Kathari " <i>(? Bhamti)</i> "	A safe for depositing valuables.
Teda.	Lock and key.
Dharkarana " <i>(? Darwaza)</i> "	Door.
Lamani or " <i>Lambi.</i> "	Chain.
Banari.	Walking-stick.
Mamada bhapata hai or " <i>hajta hai</i> "	You are being watched.

The elbow signs given by Mr. Seagrim, with some additions given by Mr. W. A. Gayer are:—

(1) An Upardar raises his hand to his cheek bone and scratches it; the Chawa knows this means "approach nearer."

(2) The Upardar then raises his elbow and points it in the direction in which the article is lying; the Chawa on this picks it up.

(3) If the Upardar closes one hand, turns the fist upwards and strikes the palm of the other; the Chawa knows he has to sit down, or wait for further orders as some one is watching.

(4) When the Upardar brings his hands to his chest and gently raises one elbow or "brings his hands up and scratches the back of his neck" (W. A. Gayer) the Chawa knows the coast is clear and runs away with the article.

(5) If the Upardar sees the boy is detected and wishes to signal "drop it and bolt" he either drops the hand, or having raised the hand and elbow to the height of the shoulder he drops the elbow.

(6) It is understood that everything stolen is to be buried, but if such an order has to be given it is done by opening both hands, and making one pass under the other pointing to the ground.

(7) If one elbow is raised and the other hand, with the thumb turned outside, is moved across the waist it signifies that the Chawa should look for a waist purse only among the clothes lying there.

These and such like signals are thoroughly taught, when the Nalband is satisfied that his Upardars know their business and that the Chawas have sufficient dexterity, he makes his arrangements to start on an expedition, and he makes ample provision for the wives and families left behind even if he has to borrow for the purpose.

After some ceremonies fully described by Mr. Seagrim, the Nalband and his Derawallas go straight to the place selected for the start, while each Upardar takes his Chawa and makes his way there also, generally alighting at some wayside station short of the pre-arranged rendezvous.

Their *modus operandi* is much the same as that already described for Sanorias. Mr. Seagrim says that Chandrawedis will disguise themselves as women and steal in female compartments, but my brother's informers told him this was not correct, though Chawas will sometimes get in among the women and steal.



The Nalband halts at a pre-arranged place, called by Chandrawedis "Band" and all the stolen property is brought to him there. If any member of the gang is arrested the Nalband sends money by some trustworthy hand to help him; and if any are imprisoned the Nalband supports their families until their release.

The following extracts from Mr. Seagram's notes are given verbatim:—

"After a successful trip and on their return to head-quarters the stolen property is either kept intact or is melted down as best suits the convenience of the Nalband, and a day is fixed for its distribution. The village Patwari and the Sonar of the gang is called in, and the price of the loot determined, and the division is made as follows."

In addition to their respective shares 15 per cent is set aside for the Upardars and Chawas. The Patwari receives Re. 1 from each batch of which the party is composed.

"The Sonar gets Re. 1 in the same way, *i. e.*, if the gang of 20 had divided up into parties of four he would get Rs 5".

"Rs. 5 is given by each set in charity to the village temple for the annual "Navaratri" sacrifice, the balance is then divided up into equal shares. Except that the Nalband gets two shares and the remaining members one share each."

"The Joteshi also comes in for a reward if his prophecies have proved reliable."

"The Chandrawedis have regular receivers of stolen property, in each of their own and other villages: the stolen property is taken by these receivers for disposal to Bombay and Jhansi, also Datia and other States in Bundelkhand.

\* \* \* \* it is reported that a tax of Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per Chandrawedi is levied by the petty local officials. No receipts, it need hardly be said, being given for the payments. This is doubtless why the Chandrawedis have been having such an easy time of it for many years, and their operations have not been made public.

\* \* \* \* \* It must however be added to his credit that a Chandrawedi never goes out armed, nor does he ever commit violent crime. Stealing by night he considers an unpardonable sin, as he glories in the fact that his art enables him to accomplish it in broad daylight."

Bhamptas can hardly be called a tribe in the true racial sense, for there seems every reason to believe they originated from gangs of thieves who banded together for the purpose of exploiting fairs and bazars, and that the organization has to a large extent been swelled by the admission of suitable recruits from practically any caste or creed (Muhammadans and even Parsis have been found among them), until they found it expedient to establish a caste system of their own and to split the newly formed caste into two exogamous groups. The fraternity is known by several epithets such as Ghantichore (bundle thief), Uchlia (lifter), Khisa kateru (pocket cutter), etc, and the word Bhampta itself means "cheat." They are one of numerous communities who find thieving on railways a most lucrative trade.

Mr. Naidu—whose renown as a successful railway-thief detective is widespread in India—has given a most excellent account of these associations in his "History of Railway Thieves" a booklet every Policeman ought to study; and he has left me little I can say about Bhamptas.

The Poona Bhamptas are said to call themselves "Pathrut" and their secret jargon "waddari". Bhamptas as a rule dress well and favour the Maratha style of costume.

Their women like to wear nose-rings, and they have their left nostrils bored for that purpose; it is fashionable for them to have their faces and hands tattooed, not infrequently the left hand is more profusely ornamented than the right; a common beauty mark is the Vishnuvite trident (trisula) tattooed at the corners of the eyes.

Among the deities mentioned elsewhere I have seen no mention of Yellamah whose temple at Soundatti in the Belgaum District they consider very sacred. They also make pilgrimages to Alundi and Pandharpur, and to the Jejuri hill to worship Khandoba; most of these places are however visited at the time the great fairs are held at them, and no doubt they find such visits pay them handsomely.

Any accomplished thief who aspires to become a Bhampta can do so by going before a caste Panchayet who—in consideration of a small fee of some Rs. 20, a feast and the performance of certain ceremonies—admit him into the so-called tribe, and he then has gained the privilege of marrying a Bhampta woman.

Major Gunthorpe and Mr. Naidu have told you many of the methods and artifices of these cunning thieves, but there is an ingenious trick not mentioned by either which I have on two occasions seen puzzle policemen. Sometimes a banker's agent carrying a bag of money for his firm will take the greatest precautions to safeguard his treasure; he will sit on the bag both in the waiting room and the train, and, if he is too weary to keep awake, will sleep with it under his head, nevertheless he will find that another bag filled with valueless stuff has been substituted for it in some mysterious way. In such cases it is well for the police to let daylight into his intellect by trying to ascertain from him if, while sitting on his bag in the waiting room or platform, he was forced to move for a moment to avoid being knocked over by a few boisterous youths scrimmaging about in some rough game; or whether some cruel parent chastised a child so unmercifully that it ran to him for protection, and struggled so violently to remain with him, that in the confusion he was constrained for a moment to get up from his seat. Question on such points will often recall to the victim's memory some incident which will indicate where, and when, the Bhamptas substituted the dummy bag for the one with specie.

The Bhamptas of the Koregaon Taluk of Satara are said to have taken to house-breaking; perhaps some of the more recent recruits who were formerly burglars have led this movement. They appear to have chosen as their burglar's tool that innocent looking household article called "Ulthan" commonly used for turning *chapattis*, but which for its new purpose it is made of fine steel.

Mr. W. A. Gayer has kindly sent me a note on some so-called Rajput Bhamptas he came across. He says they are quite distinct from the remaining Dakkhani Bhamptas for they never commit theft between sunset and cock-crow, and do not make a speciality of stealing in trains. Such a description at first



sight turns one's thoughts to Chandrawedis, but these Rajputs worship "Mattahi" and make pilgrimages to her temple in Yelvi in the Jat State; they talk Hindustani to strangers but are well versed in all the southern languages. Before setting out the whole gang, men, women, and children, bathe and dress in clean clothes and perform *puja*, after which they move off, paying attention to omens. The men sometimes dress as Gosains and add the suffix "Das" to the names they adopt: when on business bent they assume any suitable disguise and work in lots of three; one engages the intended victim in conversation, or otherwise attracts his attention, another picks his pockets or annexes anything he can, and hands the things to the third, who is a sprinter and bolts with them for camp; if the distance is great a fourth man relieves him on the road. Sometimes one will take service with a well-to-do cultivator, and slip into the hands of a confederate, who comes begging in the guise of a Sadhu, the most valuable things he can lay his hands on.

In connection with these Rajput Bhamptas a very instructive note was issued in the Madras Supplement to the Police Gazette in September 1904, written by the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Bellary, it runs as follows:—

"In the end of February last the Inspector of Police, Hospet, saw some women in the Gowripur Famine Feeder Railway Line Coolie Camp who were strangers to these parts. They were all young grown up women, but yet they said they were unmarried. There were seven of them. Consequently a watch was kept over them. They lived apart from the other coolie gangs at Gowripur. They themselves said they were from Northern India. It was noticed that the number of women gradually increased, but still no male members joined them. A little apart from this camp there were two huts containing two old men. By the 10th of May there were 39 females. These divided themselves into two camps close to one another and pretended they had nothing to do with each other. The two old men were joined by three other old men. The first two said they were not connected with the women. It was thus shown that the five old men and the thirty-nine women were connected together. On the 11th May it was noticed that preparations were being made for a marriage ceremony and the date fixed for the same was the night of the 13th idem. That night the Inspector with a party visited the camp. It was then found that six more women and sixteen men had joined the camp. The lot collected here then turned out to be three separate gangs, headed by Gopala, Babuji, son of Krishna, and Babji, son of Hari (or Irna). The last named two are the two old men mentioned above as having been first found in the encampment. As regards these gangs the following was ascertained. It is stated above that six women and sixteen men joined for the ceremony. These six women and 5 of the men were traced to have come from Bellary, where they had lived for the past two years under the leadership of Gopala. There they had given out that they were "Rajputs" or "Sadhus" and had been doing coolie work when figuring as Rajputs and begging when Sadhus. This lot has been registered as wandering gang No. 69. As regards the rest they divided into two gangs consisting of 8 males and 9 females in one (wandering gang No. 70) and of 8 males and 30 females in the other (wandering gang No. 71). Finger-impression slips of these three gangs were sent to the various Bureaux. One member of No. 69 was sentenced to 3 months rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 10 fine at Poona in 1899 for theft. Babuji, son of Krishna, headman of wandering gang No. 70 and another member of the same gang were identified by the Police of Chittaldrug, Mysore Province, as having travelled through Mysore as merchants in 1901; another member of the same gang had a conviction under section 379, Indian Penal Code, of three months' rigorous imprisonment on the 18th December 1903 in Lingsugur, Nizam's Dominions. As regards gang No. 71, one member had two convictions for theft in Chittaldrug District in 1897, and the headman Babji, son of Hari, was convicted in the same district for theft in 1897 and another member for theft in the Nizam's Dominions in 1902. A list of 79 Bhamptas wanted by the Sholapur Police was obtained. It was then found that one member of No. 69, three of 70 and four of 71 corresponded in every detail to 8 of the 79 men wanted by the Sholapur Police. This and the following reasons proved that the whole lot were Bhamptas belonging to Sholapur and the Native States adjoining that district. Railway Constables Nos. 706 and 639 identified four females of these three gangs, who had here no male members attached to them as being related to four members bound over in 1902 in Anantapur District. At that time it was ascertained that these four men belonged to Sholapur District. A constable from Sholapur District came and identified the whole lot as Bhamptas, but he said that most of them belonged to the Jat State.

"On the 22nd July three new males and six females were spotted disguised as Bairagis near the Gowripur Camp. Enquiries elicited that they also were Bhamptas, that one of them had a conviction in 1902 in Anantapur District under Section 379. These three males were put up before the Head Assistant Magistrate, Hospet, who sent them to jail for six months each for failing to give security (Section 109, C. P. C.).

"On the 30th July two males and nine females were again spotted disguised as Bairagis. One of the women pretended she was a widow, but she was proved by the Railway Constables Nos. 706 and 639 mentioned above to be the wife of one of the four bound over in 1902 in Anantapur. The remaining were identified as having been in Gowripur in May last, who had been registered in gang No. 71. The two males were proved to be related to two of these women. Further, a previous conviction in Anantapur in 1902 under section 379 was also proved. These two men with the woman who said she was a widow were charged (sic) under sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code, before the Head Assistant Magistrate, Hospet. The woman received three months and the male with the previous conviction six months for failing to give security. The other man was discharged, as the Magistrate considered it was not fully proved he was a Bhampta. Our reason for thinking he was one was that a constable of Sholapur heard him speaking to the other man in Bhampta language and calling him brother, and further the father's name given by the convicted man when he was convicted in Anantapur corresponded to the father's name given by the discharged man here. This man on the very night he was discharged bolted with one of the women, in all probability to the Nizam's Dominions just across the river. These five men and the women have been added to gang No. 71. As regards the movements of these gangs, gang No. 69 had gone back to Bellary a month after the marriage ceremony in May at Gowripur.

"Gang No. 70 and the original members of 71 were handed over to the Police Patel of Tijori, Nizam's Dominions, on the 17th July 1904 by the Hampasagaram Police, having left Gowripur on the 7th idem.

"The following peculiarities of the Bhampta females are noteworthy:—

"They never bore their nostrils or wear nose jewels. Tattoo marks are never made at the outside corners of the eyes, near the eyes as is usual among Maratha women. They usually tie their clothes like the Brahman women. The unmarried and widows wear one or two strings of red beads with a single gold bead round their necks. When found first, they think nothing is known about them; they rarely admit they are married, or that their husbands are alive. The married wear a double necklace of small black beads (size of a "ragi" grain) with the usual gold *tali* jewel attached. If they have time when spotted they remove their necklace.

"A constable of the Jat State, who came to Hospet for purposes of identification, gave the following information. About 10 years ago he visited Kumaraswami festival near Bandom and saw three or four hundred Bhamptas among the pilgrims. They used to move in batches of 30 or 40. He learnt that they came from Kharadu, Jambibadi Taluk and Tangola Taluk and they were disguised as Bairagis, Marwaris and Gosavis. They had collected for stealing from the pilgrims.

"The following additional facts are also of interest:—

"They do not bear the suffix of Das or Sing when in their own country but they do so only when they go abroad to make the people think they are Gosains, Bairagis or *bona fide* Rajputs. The usual *Gothrams* are (1) Chevan, (2) Gondu, (3) Chadi, (4) Badagazar, (5) Bonnar, (6) Ratodu. There are no inter-marriages in the same *Gothrams*. In marriages a coronet made of date leaves is worn by the bride-groom, differing from other castes of Hindus who use pith or paper."

Then follow a list of convictions which need not be repeated.

Bhamptas are declared to be a Criminal Tribe under Regulation XII of 1827 in the Bombay Presidency.

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## ABORIGINAL.

## 21.—PATHARRIES.

I am, by permission, reproducing four memoranda \*written by District Superintendents of note on these people.

Mr. Hyslop divided the Gonds into 12½ castes of which the Pádál were the half-caste, of them he says :—

“The Pádál, also named Páthádi, Pardhán, and Desai, is a numerous class found in the same localities as the Raj-Gonds, to whom its members act as religious counsellors (Pardhán). They are, in fact, the *Bhats* of the upper classes,—repeating their genealogies and the exploits of their ancestors, explaining their religious system, and assisting at festivals, on which occasions they play on two sorts of stringed instruments, named *Kingri* and *jantur* (yantra). For their services they receive presents of cows or bullocks, cloth, food and money. The birth or death either of a cat or dog in their family defiles them; and from this uncleanness they cannot be free till they have shaved off their moustache, purchased new household vessels, and regaled their caste fellows with a plentiful allowance of arrack. They have assumed the name of Raj-Pardhan, to distinguish themselves from a sub-division of the same class, which is degraded to the rank of a half-caste; consisting of those who in the vicinity of Nagpur speak Marathi, play on wind instruments of brass, and spin cotton-thread, like the out-caste Hindus.”

Later in talking of the Bhumaks and Pujaris he says :—

“About the Mahadeva Hills the higher Pardhans act as Pujaris and the lower as rude musicians.”

Again in a note taken by him in Nagpur he says :—

“My informants, whether seven or six god worshippers, call themselves Koitors, and say that although Pardhans (Hindu name equal to Prádhán—Prime Minister—, but among themselves, Pathadi) follow the same religion, and are sub-divided, according to the number of their gods, yet the caste is different and they neither eat nor intermarry with them. The Pardhans will eat from the hands of the Koitors and are reckoned inferior. \* \* \* The Pardhans \* \* \* discharge the functions of Bhats, *i. e.*, sing songs and give information on genealogical matters. They also think it no indignity to play on stringed instruments. They call themselves Raj-Pardhán. Beneath them there is a sub-division whose women tattoo Gonds and Hindus. Beneath them again is a sub-division who play on wind instruments of wood, while there is a still lower class who speak more Marathi than Gondi and play on wind instruments of brass, and spin thread like the Mahars.”

From the following passage culled from the Berar Gazetteer it would appear that Pardhans are to be found there also :—

“The original Pardhán among the Gonds answered to the Bhat among the Hindus but many seem to have settled as a separate species of Gond in the plains.”

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\* Overpage.

*Memorandum (written about 1872) concerning a Criminal tribe called "Patharries," by Captain D. MCNEILL, District Superintendent of Police.*

The "Patharries," or as they call themselves "Kenkree Patharrie Gonds," say that they are the "Bhats" or Bards of the Gonds. They are named "Kenkree Patharries" because they play a musical instrument called "Kenkree" (Kinjree), and they state their origin to be as follows:—

Once on a time there were four Gond brothers. The youngest of these brothers, neglecting the legitimate occupation of his race, devoted all his time to playing on the musical instrument above alluded to. From constant practice he became a great proficient in the use of the "Kenkree"; partly on this account and partly because he would not work, his brothers appointed him their minstrel, and from him are descended the Gond "Bhats" or Kenkree Patharries. The Patharries had to perform the duties common to the Bards of almost every race. They attended all feasts and ceremonies, such as marriages, deaths, births. On these occasions they played on the "Kenkree," sang the praises of the ancestors of those employing them, and extolled their various gods. They were supposed to be well up in the different tribes or gotrs of the Gonds, and to know to what particular gods each tribe paid their devotions. They therefore took care to sing the praises of the particular gods of the tribe to which the person at whose house the ceremony was taking place belonged. For these services they were paid in cattle, goats, fowls, &c., or occasionally with money. They were always regaled with an abundance of liquor, of which they appear capable of consuming enormous quantities. They were also entitled to the clothes and cooking vessels of any one who died.

Things continued in this state until on one occasion there was a large assembly of Gonds collected together for some ceremonial purpose. A Patharrie was journeying to this assembly, to take his allotted part in the proceedings, and engaged a coolie to carry his luggage. This coolie happened to be a Gond. Now the said Patharrie had two pairs of shoes, and as he could only wear one pair at a time, he fastened the other pair in the bundle carried by the coolie. This coolie arrived at the assembly before his employer, and some of the Gonds enquired why the man carried his shoes and did not wear them. He replied that the shoes were not his, but belonged to the owner of the bundle. Presently the Patharrie appeared riding his pony, and was pointed out by the coolie as the owner of the bundle. The idea of a Patharrie riding on a pony while one of their people was carrying his shoes aroused the fiercest wrath of the Gonds. They immediately seized the offender and having burned him all over with a hot iron, expelled him from the assembly. Nor was this all; the anger of the Gonds was raised to such a pitch that they forthwith passed a resolution that from thenceforth the Patharries should not be allowed to act as the "Bhats" of the Gond race.

I have adhered in the above narrative, strictly to the account given me by the Patharries of their tradition as to the origin and disgrace of their tribe, but different legends appear to exist in different parts of the country. For instance, I find in the "Classified list of races in the Mandla District," published in the "Report of the Ethnological Committee," that "the Gond theory is" that many years ago several of their tribe refused to worship their deities and were consequently turned out and became outcasts.

Thus both in Mandla and Chhattisgarh they would appear to be outcasts, but they seem to have fallen even lower in the latter than they have in the former, for Captain Ward, in his report of the Settlement of the Mandla District, says that in that district the Pardhans (Patharries) act as Bards to all classes of Gonds, whereas in Chhattisgarh, since their expulsion, the Gonds will not employ them at all as their Bards.



In Mr. Hyslop's essay on the aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces, he also mentions the Pardhans or Patharries as the Bards of the Gonds, but they would, from his account\*, appear to occupy a much higher social status, for when dividing the Gonds into 12½ tribes, he states that they do not intermarry except the Raj-Gond and Pardhans. If a Pardhan can intermarry with a Raj-Gond (admittedly the highest tribe of the Gond race) he must occupy a much higher place in the social scale than a Patharrie; Mr. Hyslop further states that the cast-off clothes of the dead are given to the Pardhans, but surely it would be degrading for a member of a tribe who can intermarry with the Raj-Gonds to receive as a gift their cast-off raiment. Is it not possible that the "Pagans," designated by Mr. Hyslop as the half-caste, may be the same as the Patharrie of the Chhattisgarh Division?

Derivation of the word "Patharrie." I am not aware whether any derivation of the word Patharrie has been suggested, but the "Uriya" word "Pattaa" means "send"; thus "Patharrie" might possibly mean "sent" or "sent out," and this in either one of two ways.

The Patharries of Chhattisgarh are outcastes, and in this sense are sent or cast out. Again, in the abstract English version of the Gond songs prepared by Sir R. Temple from Mr. Hyslop's notes, it is stated (Part V) that "Lingo" sent the "Pardhan" to look for a wife for the Gonds; here, again, but in a totally different sense, the Patharrie was sent out. This would appear the more probable derivation of the two, for in this sense it might apply equally to the Pardhan of Nagpur as to the Patharrie of Chhattisgarh, supposing them originally to have sprung from one stock. Of course a great part of the above is mere surmise, and possibly not even correct surmise; but I will now descend to the region of facts and relate some that have come under my own observation regarding the criminal life of the Patharries.

When the Patharries were expelled by the Gonds, their usual occupation was gone, and they had to seek out other means of livelihood. The consequence of their expulsion by the Gonds. A few became cultivators, others tank diggers, others again weavers or makers of gunny bags, and, lastly, not a few adopted a criminal life. It is to these last mentioned that I propose to confine my remarks.

The Patharries confess that they occasionally steal, but their chief criminal pursuit is undoubtedly cheating and swindling by means of false gold, which they themselves manufacture and pass as genuine, taking in exchange anything they can get, but chiefly money or jewels. Their criminal pursuits.

The manner in which the Patharries manufacture gold is ingenious and at the same time exceedingly simple. It is as follows. Their mode of manufacturing gold. Having procured a quantity of dry bark of any of the undermentioned trees, it is collected into a heap and set on fire; near this heap a small circular hole is dug; when the bark has burned some time, and has become a mass of red fire, it is raked into this hole. A small piece of brass is meanwhile cleaned and polished until it shines again. On the burning bark being precipitated into the hole, the brass is inserted into the bark and almost immediately begins to change colour. During the time it is in the fire the brass is constantly moved and turned about, so that all sides may be equally affected. After a short interval of, at the outside, 10 or 15 minutes, the light yellow colour of brass has been replaced by the deep orange of gold.

While this process is going on a small heap of ashes has been collected near the fire, and is sifted very carefully, until the residue is completely free from all extraneous matter, such as small stones, bits of unburned bark, &c.

The brass, or, as a Patharrie would now say, gold, it having by this time completely assumed the colour of that metal, is withdrawn from the fire and instantly thrust into the ashes, when the same process of turning and moving about is repeated for a few minutes, after which it is taken out and carefully enveloped in cotton wool.

\* Captain McNeill has mistaken Mr. Hyslop's account, this version was given to him by Police Inspector Serajudin as that told him by Gonds in Seoni. Mr. Hyslop himself said the Pardhans were the half-caste (Vide page 83).

The pieces of brass transformed in my presence were prepared somewhat hurriedly, yet at the end of the process they were, in appearance at least, almost undistinguishable from genuine gold.

The Medical Officer was present when the Patharries went through this process of making gold; he afterwards tested some of the bark and found the peculiar orange colour was produced by the volatilizing of sulphur and resin from it.

The four trees above alluded to are—

The Peepul (*Ficus Religiosa*), the Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), the Gooler (*Ficus Glomerate*), the Mohwa (*Bassia Latifolia*).

The Patharries say they are not aware of any other tree which produces a like result.

The gold being now ready, the next step is to dispose of it advantageously. Their method of passing the gold. For this purpose they divide into small parties and set forth on swindling expeditions. One of their favourite resorts is a large market or fair, where many persons, comparatively speaking strangers to each other, assemble. Here a few Patharries represent themselves, say, as "Gwalas," and express a desire to purchase some cattle; a bargain is concluded with the owner, but when the time for payment arrives the Patharries suddenly find they have not the requisite amount in ready money.

Deploring their stupidity at having come unprovided with a sufficient amount of coin, they apparently, with great reluctance, allow the owner to drive off his cattle. He has not, however, proceeded more than a few paces when after a hurried and ostentatious consultation among themselves, they call him back.

On his return he is informed that rather than lose the cattle they are prepared to part on disadvantageous terms with some gold they have. The gold is, in a somewhat mysterious manner, produced, probably thereby inducing the belief that it has been come by dishonestly, and the bargain is hastily concluded.

The cheat and the cheated each goes on his way rejoicing, and it may be days, possibly weeks, before the latter discovers that, so far from driving an advantageous bargain, he has parted with his cattle for next to nothing.

The Patharries are very successful in cheating persons proceeding to the various religious shrines. One would suppose that these holy pilgrims, travelling as they do, for the good of their souls, would for the time at least, subordinate temporal to eternal matters; but this is far from being the case. None are more easily gulled, none are more anxious to drive an advantageous bargain; for this purpose they will part with even the few cooking vessels they require for use on the journey. Here again the Patharries adapt themselves to circumstances. Two or three of their number dress themselves for the occasion in clean respectable clothes; jewels, if they happen to have any, are worn. For this purpose they keep a number of pewter bangles, which are polished up until they are so bright as not to be distinguished from silver, and the Brahmanical thread itself is not unfrequently turned to account.

They now join a party of pilgrims and accompany them, possibly for several days' journey, without attempting anything in the way of their trade. On a favourable opportunity presenting itself, when perhaps the true and the false pilgrims are enjoying a smoke together, some other members of the gang come up and offer to part with some gold they have, stating as a reason that they are hard up for travelling expenses. The false pilgrims, who of course are well aware that these are their confederates, commence bargaining with them and eventually purchase some gold. The true pilgrims, seeing gold selling at so cheap a rate, invest freely, giving money, jewels, anything they have in exchange. I need hardly mention that very shortly afterwards neither those who sold the gold nor those who first purchased it are forthcoming.



At the risk of being tedious, I must mention one more method, and this probably the most common, by which the Patharries accomplish their purpose. They pretend to be travellers, and on meeting any one they think a likely victim, enquire from him the way to a certain place. Should he show any reluctance, they offer to reward him if he will but accompany them a short distance and put them fairly on the road. Having got him away from every one else, the same process of offering the gold, &c., above related is repeated, and he, willingly or unwillingly, is swindled out of his property. I say unwillingly, because there is no doubt that under favourable circumstances they do not hesitate to resort to a show of violence. For instance, two men, brothers, belonging to the "Sarangarh" Feudatoryship were proceeding to a fair to purchase buffaloes for agricultural purposes, on the way they met two or three respectably dressed men, who enquired the way to a certain place: one of the brothers pointed out the road, but they were requested to accompany the enquirers a short distance in order that there might be no mistake. They did so, the place was lonely and the party had proceeded but a very short way, when the men who had asked to be shown the road offered for sale some gold at a very cheap rate. The brothers protested that they did not want any gold, as they required all the ready money they were possessed of to purchase cattle.

The would-be sellers grew very importunate, but could not induce the other to accede to their wishes, when suddenly several rude, uncouth-looking men appeared on the scene. One of these had a sword, the others sticks, they talked in such a loud and threatening tone that although they did not actually say they would resort to violence, yet they let it be understood from their manner that they would have little hesitation in doing so. Under these circumstances the brothers were too frightened to resist any longer, and parted with all their property for a few pieces of worthless brass, the Patharries—for of course the pretended travellers and their confederates were none other—passing on their way rejoicing.

The Patharries, for criminal purposes, appear to be divided into small parties of six or seven, at the head of each of which there is a jamadar; these again are all subordinate to the head of the gang. The gang with which I had to do consisted of between thirty or forty men, and the chief of the whole was a woman. She is a widow, and succeeded to the chief authority on the death of her husband; her authority appears to be quite undisputed, for she punishes even the jamadars of the gang with the greatest severity if they displease her. At one time she made one of the jamadars, probably the most successful swindler of all, stand up to his neck in a tank at the coldest season of the year, until she permitted him to come out. On another occasion she had hot oil poured on his head, and large stone tied on the sore which the oil had produced.

All property appears to be taken to this woman, who distributes it as she pleases. When any of the gang are hard up they resort to her for assistance. She gives them possibly some property that they have themselves brought her but even this she will not give for nothing. She makes them give her promissory notes, many of which are written on stamped paper, and these, as occasion requires, she makes use of to uphold her power.

Several hundreds of rupees worth of these notes were found in her possession, all purporting to have been written by members of the gang.

This woman, who is of enormous size and commanding aspect, in these respects quite differing from the other members of the gang, is evidently very shrewd, and, as I have shown above, enforces her authority with the utmost vigour and determination, not unfrequently accompanied by the cruelty of an eastern despot.

It is possible that the whole or the greater part of what I have here narrated may be already known to the Inspector-General: if so, my ignorance of the fact must prove my excuse for having troubled him with this memorandum.

On the other hand, should anything here recorded prove of use in enabling others to deal with the members of a community which is shown to be both mischievous and dangerous, I shall be more than repaid for any trouble I may have taken in the matter.

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*Memorandum (written about 1872) on the Patharries of the Raipur District, by Major F. G. STEWART, District Superintendent of Police.*

I have read with much interest the report on Patharries by Captain McNeill. It is so complete that I have nothing to add to it, except to state that the caste is one well-known to the police of this district; but as cheating is a misdemeanour not cognizable by the police, no regular crusade has been made against the fraternity. Their operations, so far as the khalsa portion of the district is concerned, may be styled fitful, not continuous, judging at least by the few cases that are yearly complained of to the police. I have noticed also that the persons who are duped seem to be thoroughly ashamed of themselves, and two cases have occurred during the current year in which the sufferers, instead of admitting that they have been swindled, have in the first instance complained that they have been robbed.

Fortunately for the good fame of the police the true story has on inquiry oozed out, and the worthless brass turned up in the possession of the complainant, whose idea has probably been that by proclaiming that he has been robbed, more active measures would be taken to discover the thieves and recover his property than if he had told the honest truth, that his stupidity had been the cause of his having been the dupe of a set of swindlers.

2. The devices of these victimizers of the unwary are numerous and adapted to suit the occasion, and they rarely perpetrate more than one or two frauds at any one time in the same neighbourhood.

They are treacherous as regards each other, and the offer of a good reward would, I feel certain, easily obtain one or two good informers, by whose assistance the various members of the gang could be unearthed. This has been done on one or two occasions by the Raipur Police.

3. They are spread over the Dhamtari, Balode and Rajim circles, they were in Arung, but found it made too hot for them, and like all such wanderers moved off to more favoured localities. They mostly, however, affect the Zamindaris of Nandgaon and Chhuikhadan; Khairagarh was another favourite residence, but the location of our police caused an exodus of them. They are also to be found in Fingeshwar, Khuji, and, I think, Gunderdehi.

4. Ostensibly they live by cultivation, and as the fit takes them or necessity presses they appear to go forth, make a windfall and then disappear from the notice of the police and retire into private life, until again hard pressed or a favourable opportunity presents itself.

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*Memorandum, dated 19th June 1905, regarding Patharries by Mr. W.P. WHITE, District Superintendent of Police, Mandla.*

The name of this caste is "Patharrie", or more properly "Pardhán". In the Mandla District only, possibly in a small part of Seoni, is the name "Patharrie" given to this caste. In other districts they are called Pardháns; namely, in Balaghat and Bhandara, Mukhasia Pardhán; in Chanda, Chandara Pardhán; towards Deogarh, Deogarhia Pardhán, &c.

2. To ascertain the meaning of the word "Patharrie" is a matter of no small difficulty, chiefly due to the fact that the Patharries of this district are a most illiterate lot and know nothing of their own history.



It has been suggested that the members of this caste were given the name of "Patharries" because they lived in their greatest numbers in a tract of land in the south-west of this district which was called "Pathar".

Three further suggestions are :—

- (i) The name "Patharrie" is derived from the word "Patha" (पाठा) meaning the waste land outside a village whercon the Gonds invariably build their shrines and holy places.
- (ii) The name is also said to be derived from the Hindi verb पठाना to send, the inference being that the Patharrie, in his capacity of professional mourner and Bard to the Gonds, was always at the beck and call of his employers. It may possibly have some connection with his degradation. This, however, would seem rather far-fetched.
- (iii) The whole is a corruption of the whole "Pujari" due to Hindu influence.

3. The word "Pardhan" may be either one of two. It may be the Sanskrit word पथान meaning leader, head, chief, priest, and applied to this caste for the very same reason the name Mehtar has been given to sweepers, or in other words on the principle of always calling an object of dislike by a pleasing name. This principle is in force among all superstitious peoples, civilised or otherwise.

The second interpretation of the word "Pardhan" is परायाधान namely, one who eats grain (rice) belonging to another, a beggar.

4. The Patharries were originally Gonds, and the legends recounting their separation from the parent caste are humorous and interesting.  
Reputed origin.
5. The first and in all probability the most correct account is as follows :—

Long ago the Gonds were divisible into three grades, the Raj-Gond, the Khatolha, and the Rawanbansi. They were the holders of the soil, and their occupation was unchallenged by the presence of other peoples. Difficulties arose over the disposal of the customary gifts of grain, clothes, &c., which were offered in connection with funerals and other religious ceremonies, as it was even in those days considered to be in a measure derogatory to a man's honour to be the recipient of such presents. The question was finally settled by the Gond Rajas, who determined that all such offerings should be the perquisite of the Rawanbansi, who were then separated from the caste and made to occupy a social position of a more distinctly defined inferiority to that they had previously enjoyed.

(Note—A paralled case is that of the Brahmans and the Maha Brahmans.)

6. A second account relates that Parvati had 140 children, some fair and some dark. The fair ones were called Hindus and the dark ones Gonds. The Gond babies were very troublesome and fought fiercely among themselves for their mother's milk, and in this way contrived to injure Parvati's breasts. Eventually she complained to Mahadeo, who gathered up all the dusky little ones and threw them into a river like so many kittens. He was disappointed, however, for the little rascals swam out of the river, came back, and again began swarming over Parvati's breasts to her discomfort. Again Mahadeo was appealed to. This time he dug a big hole in the ground and buried all the Gonds. Over the place of their entombment he placed a large stone to prevent their escape thence. One mistake he made. In his hurry to get rid of his troublesome brats he overlooked a little girl who must have been in hiding when her father was rounding up her brothers and sisters. This little girl approached Parvati and asked where her playmates were. She was pointed out the little Hindu babies, who beat her when she attempted to join them. She

went crying to her mother, who took pity on her and told her where her proper companions were. The little girl then went to the stone and called out. The answer came from within, "We are all here. We want to escape, but we have no clothes. Get us some." This she did, and was rejoiced to find all the prisoners escape and rejoin her. They then all departed together and started life in a country far away from that in which their lighter coloured and more fortunate brethren lived.

Here they were approached by the deity—now worshipped as "Bura Deo" by all Gonds—who came playing on a "Kingdi." He asked them for one who would act as his servant and whom he would teach the art of playing on the "Kingdi." The Gonds selected their youngest brother and made him over to the god. This youth became expert and delighted his patron by his playing. He was then appointed minstrel to the Gond family. This office became hereditary.

7. From the above two legends—the most interesting of those I have been able to collect—it will be seen that a junior branch of the Gond family was selected to be the recipients of Gond charity, in return for which they were expected to attend all feasts and ceremonies and to perform the duties common to the Bards of almost every race.

*Original occupation.*

8. I have been unable to discover any legend similar to that related by Captain McNeill in his memorandum, wherein is set forth the disgrace of the Patharries.

9. The Patharries still act as Bards to the Gonds. Their caste is distinct from and their social status lower than that of their employers, but is not this the result of time, which has exaggerated the originally slight distinction between the Gond and the Patharrie to the latter's detriment? Is not the tendency for a caste to split up into classes, which again gradually sub-divide until the various units bear no resemblance the one to the other, to be found at work throughout India?

*Difference of status*

10. The instrument peculiar to the Patharrie caste is the kingdi (किंगडी). It is of two kinds.

*Musical instrument.*

The first consists of a stick passed through a gourd. A string or wire is stretched over this. The gourd can be moved up and down the stick. This instrument is played with the fingers.

The second is about two feet long and resembles slightly a *sitar* in shape and construction. It possesses three strings of woven horse hair and is played with the help of a "bow."

11. For services rendered the Patharries are generally paid in kind—as already noted in paragraph 5—on very much the same principle as Kotwars. Patharries do not of course all follow their hereditary occupation. Some have taken to cultivation, some work as Kotwars, while others have entered service and are regularly and honourably employed.

*Remuneration.*

12. Throughout the district the Patharries live in little colonies, that is to say, they keep strictly to themselves. They are to be found in very small numbers in Hindu villages. In such villages their houses form part of the village itself and the Patharries are generally in regular employment. They are to be found in greater numbers in Gond villages. Here they do not live inside the village, but build separate "tolas" for themselves apart and form, to all intents and purposes, separate communities.

*The Patharrie as a criminal.*

13. Each little community is self-containing and self-supporting, and in the campaign against crime should be looked on by the Police as a hostile unit.

It is from these little communities that bands of three and four are sent out for the committal of offences. All the property stolen is taken back to the village and is then distributed by a *punchayat*, which is presided over by an



individual called the "Mukasi," who is elected by the community and holds the office for life generally, but he may be removed by the same power by which he was appointed.

To be a successful candidate for the office of "Mukasi" one should possess wealth and experience. It is not a disadvantage to have been in jail.

The duties of the post are twofold; the general superintendence of the internal affairs of the community and the maintenance of good relations with the Malguzar and Kotwar by means of gifts. In other words the Mukasi is the Home and Foreign Secretary to the Patharrie community in which he resides.

14. From the attached statement\* giving the crime committed by Patharries in this district for the last ten years, it will be seen that they devote their energies chiefly to house-breakings and thefts.

15. The Patharries almost invariably work in gangs of three or four. They possess three implements for house-breaking, the khanta, the sarota and the hasiya. The khanta (खन्ता) is a short crowbar some eighteen inches long which has generally a wooden handle fitted on to it.

The sarota (सरोता) is a pair of handled blades hinged together, very similar to the instrument commonly used for cutting away tatties, &c.) *pan.*

The hasiya (हसिया) is to all intents and purposes a small sickle. With these instruments they are in a position to break through all obstructions between them and the property they are desirous of possessing.

16. When breaking into a house the Patharries dig holes which are, as a rule, bigger than those made by the ordinary run of burglars.

17. Patharries are also very partial to making descents on grain fields, to removing ornaments from the bodies of sleeping persons, to abstracting cloths from the sacks of banias on bazar nights, to cattle-lifting, in short to taking possession of all movable property that comes in their way.

18. Each sex has its own sphere of work. To the men is allotted the more active part of obtaining possession of property. The women act as spies, collect information, take charge of and conceal the stolen property until it is finally disposed of by the *panchayat* under the presidency of the Mukasi.

19. The Patharrie of the present day is not a genius in crime and has no distinctive methods of his own. There has not occurred of late years in connection with these men a single case of such interest as to be worthy of being quoted here.

20. Captain McNeill states that cheating and swindling are the chief criminal pursuits of this caste. This is now no longer the case. In the last ten years only one Patharrie has been arrested for the offence of cheating in this district.

21. A glance at the attached crime statement\* will be sufficient to show that criminally the Patharrie is no longer the man he was and that he is burdened with a reputation he now most certainly does not deserve.

Their inactivity in crime, so marked in the last five years, is probably the result of many causes, but chief among them is the successful action of the Mandla Police in breaking up certain gangs which for years past carried on their depredations around Anjanja, Mahedwani and Bondar. The chief members of these gangs were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and the effect on the communities they belonged to has been most beneficial.

22. The social and religious customs of this caste have not been touched on as they are beyond the scope of this memorandum.

*Note dated 8th August 1905 regarding Patharries by Mr. H. W. MERRICK,  
District Superintendent of Police, Raipur.*

This caste is divided into four sub-castes, namely, (1) Totia, (2) Lakaria, (3) Sonjerhar and (4) Hartia. The two first are cultivators, &c., and have a settled residence. The Sonjerhars and Hartias are addicted to crime and lead a wandering life.

Formerly these Patharries were the Bhats of the Gonds, but for some generations they have been outcasted, the reason given for this by the Gonds is practically that given in Captain D. McNeill's Memorandum, paragraph 3, with variations. In Chhattisgarh the Patharries are looked on by the Gonds as of lower caste than themselves and they cannot intermarry with other Gonds. There is, at present, some talk amongst the Gonds of re-admitting certain selected Patharries to again act as their Bhats.

As I have mentioned above, the Sonjerhar and Hartia Patharries are addicted to crime: these men are found mostly in the Feudatory States of Nandgaon, Chhuikhadan, Khairagarh, Kanker, Bastar and Karwardha. Some may also be residing in the zamindaris of the Raipur District, but on this point it is difficult to get reliable information, and station-house officers in their reports have made no distinction between the criminal and non-criminal Patharries. The chief crime the Patharrie is addicted to is cheating, but he also commits thefts, dacoities, robberies and passes false coin on occasions.

The manner in which Patharries manufacture gold has already been given in Captain D. McNeill's report and I have nothing to add to it.

The following are some of the methods of disposing of the false ornaments :—

- (1) A false ornament is placed on a frequented road and a Patharrie sits some distance away. When some passer-by picks up the ornament the Patharrie comes forward and demands a share of the find, and will agree to take money or some ornament of lesser value which the finder may be wearing.
- (2) They take the false ornaments to some rich man saying that they are stolen and offer them to him for a fourth of their value, saying they are unable to sell them to Sonars for fear of being suspected.
- (3) They frequent fairs in parties of three, one of whom passes himself off as a *rayot*, another as a rich man, and the third as a *malguzar*. The *rayot* goes up to any well-to-do looking man and tells a story to the effect that he has eloped with a rich man's daughter, asks the way to some village offering some of the false gold in payment; also letting it be understood that he has a lot more which he will dispose of at a very low rate.

Two other methods resorted to by them are :—

- (1) They sit on a frequented road till they see a man pass whom they think will probably be worth looting; they enter into conversation with him on some pretext or other, and offer him a smoke, having previously placed *dhatara* in the *chillum*. The man of course becomes insensible, when they rob him and make off.
- (2) They seat one of the best looking of their women on a frequented road, who if possible entices a passer-by to her house. The husband and other members of the tribe then catch them together and threaten to take the man to the Police unless he gives up what he has; if he refuses they beat him and take all he has and turn him out.



## IV.—COUNTERFEITERS OF COIN.

## MUHAMMADAN.

## 22.—CHHAPPARBAND.

These are a small community of Muhammadans from Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency: their residence is strictly confined to the Bagiwadi and Maddibihal tahsils of that district. They occupy forty-four villages in the former and twenty in the latter tahsil. A census of them was made by the police a few years ago and they were found to number 2,585 all told, the male adults present at the time being 734.

They appear to have settled in the Bijapur District in the 17th century after accompanying the Moghal armies to the south as "Chhapparbands" or hut-makers. About 100 years ago when wars ceased they became restless, and began to wander over the country, first as peddlers, then as mendicants, and lastly as the most confirmed makers and utterers of counterfeit coin. They wear beads and profess to follow Pirs, one being near Gulbarga, another in Ajmir and a third at the foot of the Himalayas. Every Sunday they are said to collect their false rupees, and the moulds in which they make them, and workshop "Pir Makhan," who is supposed to have started them on their nefarious calling.

At home the Chhapparbands live an honest and law-abiding life. Ostensibly they are beggars and their women makers of mats and quilts. They are very superstitious and consult omens before leaving their villages. When setting out on an expedition they go to visit a friend who lives a considerable distance from their villages, and there disguise themselves as "Madari Fakirs,"\* adding Shah to their names—a gang caught last year in Belari added "Saheb" to their names—and imitate the "Sawals" or sing-song begging tone of their class.

Chhapparbands generally travel in small gangs of from three to ten; they never allow women to accompany them, but one or two boys form a part of the gang. They call their leader "Khagda" and he is implicitly obeyed; he keeps the earnings of the gang, the moulds, the clay and the lead; but he does not carry the false coins, that duty being performed by the "Bhondars," who are the utterers or passers of the counterfeit coin. The boy who accompanies them is called the "Handiwal," he does all the rough jobs of the camp and keeps watch while the others are manufacturing their false coins; this is done in the day time.

The gang when manufacturing generally encamps on some high ground near water so that they can see any one who approaches; when alarmed they conceal the moulds and coins and, when afraid of detection, they fling them into the water.

When on the move the Khagda and Handiwal travel together direct to the next halting place and bury the moulds, &c., the former usually rides on a small pony. The Bhondars on the other hand make a circuit of the surrounding villages in which they utter all the false coins they can, gradually working their way to the camping-ground (which has of course been previously agreed upon), avoiding roads wherever possible. If the Khagda on reaching the camping-ground finds it is not suitable and decides to move elsewhere, he makes a mark on the chief pathway leading to the place originally chosen at a spot where another pathway from it leads in the direction he is going, in order to guide the Bhondars to the fresh place chosen. The mark consists of a mud heap on the side of the road a foot long, six inches broad and six inches high, with an arrow in front pointing in the direction to be followed. The Khagda generally makes three of these marks at 100 yards intervals along the path in case any should become obliterated.

While manufacturing their false coins they are very wary and are very suspicious of persons who approach the place, but sometimes they will not mind a Hindu who is obviously coming to bathe, provided he does not show any disposition to come too close.

Two methods of manufacturing the coin have been described. According to one, the moulds are made of "Multani" or other sticky clay. (*Police Gazette*

\* *Vide* page 138.

dated the 16th March 1904; mentions "Gopichandan" and "Badap" as two other kinds of clay.) The clay after being powdered and sifted is mixed with a little water and oil and well kneaded. The two halves of the mould are then roughly shaped with the hand and a genuine coin is pressed between them so as to obtain the obverse on one half and the reverse impression on the other. The whole is then hardened in an extempore oven and the hole to admit the metal is bored so as to admit of its being poured in from the edge. The halves are then separated and the genuine rupee tilted out; the molten alloy of tin or pewter is poured in and allowed to cool. According to the other method, "Badap" clay brought from their own country is considered the most suitable for the moulds, though "Multani" clay may be used when they run out of "Badap." Two discs are made from clay kneaded with water; these discs are then highly polished on the inner surface with the top of a *juari* stalk called "danthal"; a rupee slightly oiled is then placed between the discs which are firmly pressed over it; the whole is then thoroughly hardened in the fire. The alloy used in these moulds differs from that used in the other and consists of an alloy of lead and copper or tin.\* In the cases the milling is done by hand with a knife, or file, or piece of shell.

When uttering false coin the Bhondars are particular in their choice of victims, women, or men who look foolish, being usually selected. The commonest method is for the Bhondar to show a quantity of copper collected by him in his character of beggar and ask for silver in its place; the dupe produces a rupee which the Bhondar looks at; he then shakes his head sadly and hands back a counterfeit coin saying such coins are not current in his country, and moves on to try the same trick elsewhere; their dexterity in changing the rupees is very great, the result of long practice when a "Handiwal."

The Chhapparband false coin is generally of crude manufacture, and it is seldom difficult to tell it from a genuine rupee when looked at carefully. The following instructions taken from the *Police Gazette* of 5th December 1906, will help you when examining a suspicious coin:—

- (1) A suspected coin should, if possible, be compared with two genuine coins of the same description and examined in a good light.
- (2) When rung on a stone slab, or similar hard surface, a genuine coin should give a clear high note. Counterfeits do not as a rule ring well.
- (3) The colour of the coin should be scrutinized, a brassy or dull leaden appearance would generally point to the coin being counterfeit. Some counterfeits have a peculiar glazed appearance. A genuine coin should be silvery, and dull or bright according to the treatment it has received.
- (4) In a genuine coin, the thickness at the rim is made the same all round. In counterfeit coins the rim is sometimes thicker at one point than another (especially in the case of *struck* counterfeits), and the coin itself may be slightly bent or distorted.
- (5) The rim of a genuine coin is regularly milled all the way round with straight lines at right angles to the faces. All rupees minted since 1904 have 150 serrations or teeth in the milling. In counterfeits the lines of the milling are often at a slant, the distances between the lines are irregular and the lines (or ridges) themselves uneven and broken. This is a most important test. The milling can best be examined by placing the suspected coin between two good ones (of the same description), so that the rims of all the three are close together and can be seen at the same time. Defects can be readily detected.
- (6) The beading on the inner side of the rim of the coin should be even and regular all round, the pearls being uniform in size and shape, and equidistant from each other. On counterfeit coins the pearls are often badly shaped, uneven in size and spaced at irregular intervals. A peculiarity of some counterfeits is that the pearls are very small and far apart, but this is also the case in some genuine coins of 1840.

\* Compare with Baori alloy, page 8.



- (7) The devices on the obverse and reverse should be clear and well defined. Blurred lines or edges and an imperfect impression (unless plainly due to wear and tear) are suspicious.
- (8) Letters and figures of the inscription should be clear, well-defined and sharp-edged. Blurred irregular or double lines are to be regarded with suspicion. In some counterfeits the letters are much thinner than on genuine coins.
- (9) The plain surface of the coin (*i. e.*, the portion not occupied by device or inscription) should be smooth, even and free from blemish. An uneven, spotted or rough surface is suspicious.
- (10) The edges of the rim should be smooth to the touch. Rough, jagged edges are suspicious.
- (11) All cast coins are counterfeits. In a cast coin the surfaces may be granulated or pitted with minute pin-holes which appear as black spots to the naked eye, but can be felt with the point of needle or pin.

The milling is often defective, especially at the point where the metal was poured into the mould. The letters and figures in cast coins nearly always present a rounded appearance instead of having square sharp edges.

- (12) A counterfeit coin will generally be found to exhibit at least two of the faults indicated above. A coin should not be condemned for only one fault unless it is very marked.

I will now give you some hints to show how you should proceed when Chhapparbands are suspected in your Police station. No attempt should be made to approach the halting place while the gang is separated: they will collect in their halting place in the afternoon. Your only chance of approaching a gang when manufacturing coin is by going to the water as though to bathe, but you will then be one against the whole gang. It will therefore probably be best to wait till the process of manufacture is over. When searching a gang each member must be immediately handcuffed and moved away from the others; if not, one will pick a sudden quarrel with the rest and in the confusion of the scuffle the moulds and coin will be got rid of. Their "langotis" should be examined with care, as they contain a pocket on the under side in front of the private parts and counterfeit coins are concealed in these pockets. They also conceal coins (generally their earnings) in the rectum, where by constant manipulation a cavity is formed in the passage to the bowels. They have been known to secret as many as 25 gold mohars in the rectum. Medical aid, when practicable, should be sought in the search of the rectum.

Articles of the following nature should be sought for in their encampments:— Bamboo receptacles containing the "danthals"; knives of various sizes; iron ladles and tongs; pewter ornaments; pieces of lead; sweet oil, gum; pestle and mortar; copper and silver coins; stones of various sizes and shapes; file; scissors, and clay\* of fine quality. The only member of the gang from whom useful information can be hoped for is the Handiwal: sometimes he can be persuaded to openly confess all he knows.

A Chhapparband's coin is generally easily identified if made of lead alloy; the lead will come off if it is rubbed with clean paper. You will sometimes come across a false coin so perfectly made that you will not be able to distinguish it from a real one.

There are three methods of testing these coins employed by the mint, *viz.*, by its weight, by its specific gravity and by assay.

In the Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 27th February 1907, is an extract from the *Madras Gazette* about Chhapparbands it says:—

The following notes may be of interest to distinguish Chhapparbands:—

- (i) Genuine fakirs travelling about with their women seldom, if ever, take children with them. Chhapparbands are invariably accompanied by male children or juveniles; never by women.

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\* NOTE.—This clay is sometimes moulded into the form of an idol or something else.

- (ii) Fakirs coming from outside the Madras Presidency are generally alone. Sometimes, but not often, they travel with their family; rarely with one or two other fakirs. The Chhapparbands party ordinarily consists of, not less than four.
- (iii) Chhapparbands as a rule avoid the ordinary *choultry* or other place where fakirs usually halt, preferring a place of the kind which is out of the way. They do not like facing genuine fakirs and wish to be able to carry on their manufacture undisturbed.
- (iv) Fakirs are seldom, if ever, abstainers from ganja, and without the wherewithal to use it. Chhapparbands use ganja but rarely.
- (v) Fakirs seldom purchase provisions and when they do they pay in coppers. Chhapparbands try to buy provisions with their own counterfeit rupees or other smaller silver coin.
- (vi) Chhapparbands avoid enquiries about their Pir, his "Shajee" or genealogy, and the tradition of their (assumed) order "Madaria."\*
- (vii) Chhapparbands try for alms in coin, not as in the case of fakirs in grain. They do not want grain and generally make some excuse for not receiving it.
- (viii) Their stock of counterfeits and moulds are not kept at the halting places, but are concealed in a manure or rubbish heap close by.

All the Chhapparbands of the Bagiwadi and Maddibihal Tahsils are bound under Section 27 of the Bombay Regulations 12 of 1827, to obtain permission from the authorities before they can absent themselves, and are liable to be prosecuted for absence without leave.

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\* *Vide* page 138.



## V.—MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION.

## 23.—HINTS ON WORKING UP CASES UNDER SECTION 400, INDIAN PENAL CODE (AS ISSUED BY THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.)

- (a) Knowledge of the guilty practices of the gang, presence with the gang after acquiring that knowledge, habitual association and community of living must be proved.
- (b) It is necessary to show the existence, at the time charged, of a gang of persons associated together for the purpose of habitually committing dakaiti, and that the prisoner was one of them.
- (c) "Habit" is to be proved by an aggregate of acts (at the very least, two in number). These acts must be separated by some interval of time.
- (d) Evidence of bad character is not admissible in a criminal proceeding (Section 54, Indian Evidence Act), but in a case of this nature, convictions for dakaiti, and proceedings under Section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, arising after dakaiti alone, but not the convictions under that section, are admissible to establish the element of habit, under the provisions of Section 14, Indian Evidence Act.
- (e) An accomplice is a competent witness under Section 133, Indian Evidence Act, but this section has to be read with Section 14 (ills. b.) which is to the effect that an accomplice is unworthy of credit unless he is corroborated in material particulars. It should be borne in mind that accomplices cannot corroborate one another.
- (f) The confession of a co-accused, to be of any use, must be recorded in the presence of the other accused persons so as to fix their identity (Section 30, Indian Evidence Act).

The criminal biography of each gang member, showing his complicity or supposed complicity in offences against property, must be worked up, reference being made to—

- (a) Files of detected and undetected cases.
- (b) Registers XIII and XV kept at Police Stations—Registers of bad characters.
- (c) Station Beat Registers and Village Registers. Evidence should be collected on the following points:—
  - (i) Instances of association, both general and specific, of gang members at different times and places.
  - (ii) Relationship of gang members to convicted dakaitis and thieves.
  - (iii) Instances of absence in a body, coincident with occurrences of theft or dakaiti.
  - (iv) Fluctuation of crime, coincident with the presence or disappearance of gang members.
  - (v) Instances of arrest in batches, on suspicion.
  - (vi) Changes of residents, with reasons for the same.
  - (vii) Purchase of property (moveable or immovable), shortly after occurrences of dakaiti or other offences against property.

## 24.—REWARDS TO PERSONS AIDING POLICE.

The following Resolution of the Government of India was issued under Circular No. 8-29-3, dated Simla, the 29th May 1906, and reproduced for information in the *Central Provinces Police Gazette* :—

I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has had under consideration the question of rewarding private persons who may have rendered special assistance to the Police or to the criminal administration, by making small grants of land or assignments of land revenue to them. He has come to the conclusion that rewards in such a form would have an excellent effect in encouraging private persons to aid the Police against desperate criminals and in difficult circumstances, and is therefore pleased to promulgate the following rule on the subject.

A Local Government may, without the previous sanction of the Government of India, in recognition of special service rendered to the Police or to the criminal administration by a private person, inclusive of a village headman or watchman, make a gift to that person, or to his heir or widow, of State land of a value not exceeding Rs. 500, or may grant him or his heir or widow an assignment of land revenue not exceeding Rs. 15 a year for one life or for a term of twenty-five years, whichever period may be the longer. The grant may be made partly in the form of a gift of land and partly in the form of an assignment, either of the land revenue of that land or of other land; but the total estimated value of the grant should not exceed Rs. 500. The grant should be made on the condition that it will not be alienated without the sanction of the Collector and when it is in the form of an assignment of land revenue, it should be subject to the condition of loyalty and good conduct.

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## VI.—TRIBES REGISTERED AS CRIMINAL.

## 25.—EXPLANATORY NOTE TO TABULAR STATEMENT.

Over page will be found a tabular statement showing which of the various tribes have been declared under Section 5 of Act, XXVII of 1871, to be criminal in the different Provinces of British India and in the Native States of the Rajputana and Central India Agencies.

In the Bombay Presidency Regulation XII of 1827 takes the place of the Act.

In the Native States of Rajputana and Central India an amended form of Act, XXVII of 1871, has been brought into force as embodied in Chapter XIV of the Thagi and Dakaiti Manual. Under the rules of this chapter it is incumbent on a Native State :—

- (a) Whenever it finds a man who is a member of a registered Criminal Tribe of another State within its territories, to hand over the absconder to the State concerned for punishment and re-settlement.
  - (b) Whenever it finds a man who is a member of a Tribe declared to be Criminal under Section 5 of the Criminal Tribes Act, and who has absconded from British India, to inform the authority concerned through its own Political Agent with a view to the absconder being taken over, and to meanwhile retain him.
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*Tribes declared Criminal in India.*

Serial number of Tribe in Literature Index.	Name of Tribe.	Declared in British India.				Registered in Native States.	
		Provinces in which no tribes have been declared criminal under the Act.	Bombay Presidency.	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Punjab.	Central India Agency.	Rajputana Agency.
1	Mina	...	...	...	Gurgaon ...	...	(1) Jodhpur, (2) Sirohi, (3) Bikanir, (4) Kishengarh, (5) Bharatpur.
2	Baori	...	...	...	Whole Province	...	(1) Jodhpur, (2) Jaisalmer, (3) Bikanir, (4) Jaipur, (5) Kishengarh, (6) Mewar, (7) Partabgarh, (8) Banswara, (9) Kotah, (10) Tonk, (11) Shabpura, (12) Alwar. (Also registered in Ajmir though not formally declared criminal under the Act.)
3	Badak Thori (probably off-shoot of the Baoris.)	(4) Burma. (5) North-Western Frontier Provinces. (6) Central Provinces and Berar.	...	...	Included under general head Bauri	...	(1) Bharatpur. (1) Banswara.
9	Kaikari	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Kanjar	...	...	...	...	...	(1) Tonk, (2) Bundi, (3) Bharatpur, (4) Dholpur.



14	Sansi	...	...	(1) Mozafarnagar, (2) Kheri, (3) Budaon, (4) Allahabad.	Whole Province.	...	(1) Jodhpur, (2) Kotah.
17	Harni	...	...	...	Do.	...	...
19	Barwar and Sanoria	...	...	(Barwar) Gonda, (Sanoria) Jhansi and Lalpur.	...	...	...
20	Bhampta	...	Throughout.	...	...	...	...
22	Chhapparband	...	Do.	...	Whole Province.	...	...
	Pakhiwara	...	...	...	Do.	...	...
	Tagu	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Bhil	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Koli	...	...	...	...	...	(1) Jodhpur, (2) Sirohi.
	Baluchi	...	...	...	(1) Of proclaimed villages in Karnal and Umbala.	...	(1) Jodhpur.
					(2) Gilohi Baluchis of Chak 402 in the Samundri Tahsil of Lyallpur.		
					(3) The Mahtans of Mmhtan (Lahore).		
					(4) The Bhats of Jsmat and Chak Lala in Sialkot.		
					(5) The (a) Gurmangs, (b) Nur Mahrams and (c) Akla Hayat residing in villages Nos. 172, 173, 175, 183, 215, and 216 of the Jhang Branch of the Chenab Canal Colony (de- clared in February 1905).		
					(6) Dhillons of Dhillon (Lahore) (declared in September 1906).		
					(7) Gutkas of Lahore.		
					(8) Tahrana Bars of Chak Saloni in Lyallpur.		





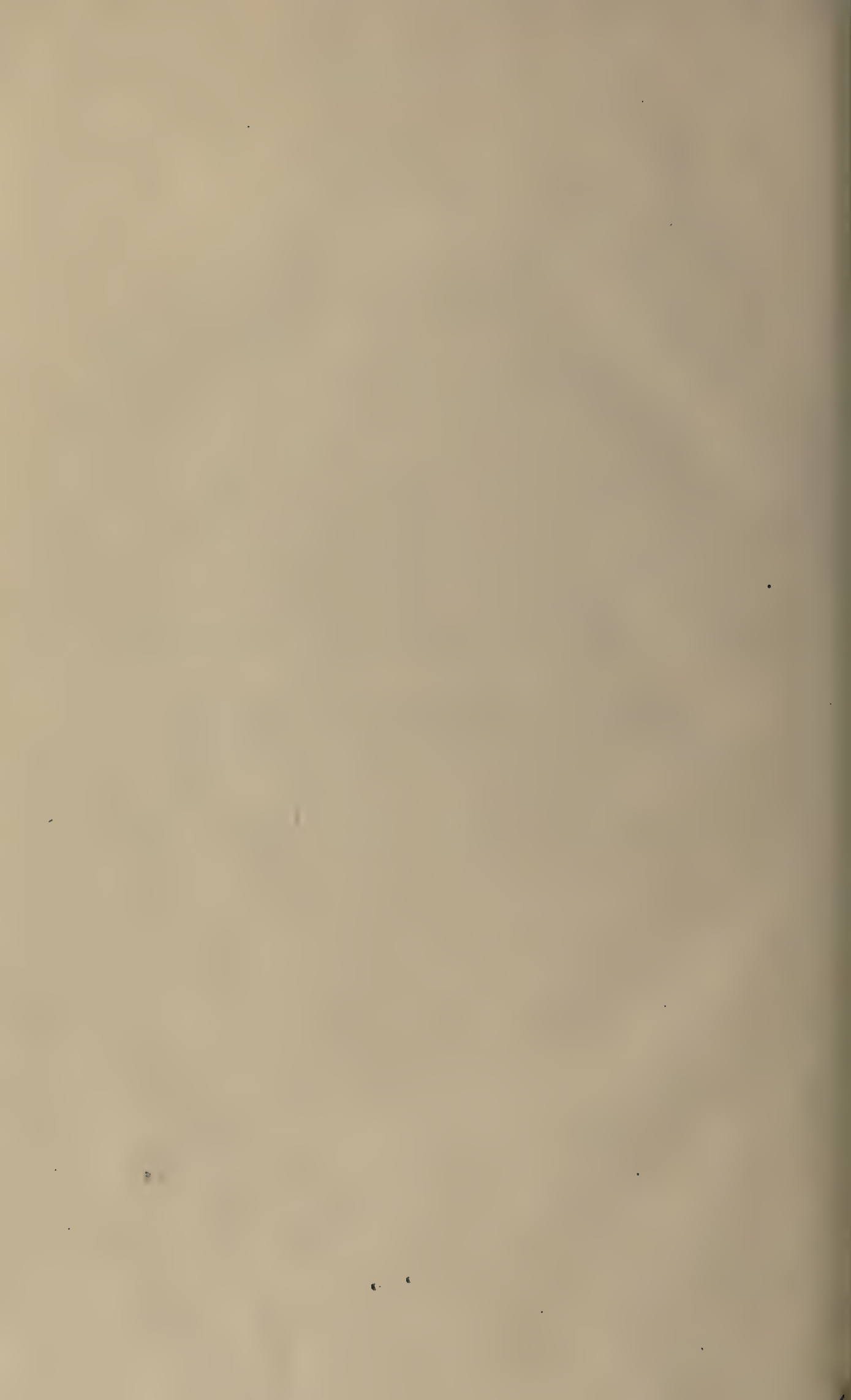
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**RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.**

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## PART II.

## VII.—RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.

## 26.—INTRODUCTORY.

All of you are only too familiar with the sight of beggars, hundreds or perhaps even thousands of whom you may see in the course of any one month; but I wonder if you have ever realized what enormous numbers there are in India, or what the loss of their labour and the burden of their maintenance means to the Indian Empire. The last census returns show that nearly 5,000,000 (to be more exact 4,924,000) were living on alms. Now the population of the Central Provinces, including the Berars and Feudatory States, is less than 15,000,000; if therefore all the beggars in India happened to be concentrated in the Central Provinces, every third person you met between Saugor and Bastar, Bilâspur and Malkapur would be a beggar.

2. The 5 millions include nearly 1,000,000 religious mendicants, the remaining 4 millions being ordinary beggars. Let us suppose that each individual in the 5 millions, whether a Sadhu, Fakir or any other kind of religious mendicant, or ordinary beggar receives on an average the value of about 7 pice a day in alms or roughly speaking Rs. 40 per annum and we will find by a simple calculation that the Indian people give these beggars yearly a present of 20 crores of rupees (2,00,000,000)!

3. This, mind you, in addition to all the other so-called charities and religious taxes, such as the enormous sums spent on priests (of whom there are about 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  millions in addition to the religious mendicants), *maths* and temples, on the semi-religious ceremonies which are connected with births, deaths, marriages and other social and domestic events at which Brahmans are employed or feasted, and on pilgrimages, &c. What wonder that the voice of people, as they awake to the realities, is beginning to make itself heard, and that the social reformers, preaching against the imposition are getting more and more insistent.

4. Social reform is not however considered to be one of the recognized duties of the police, though in an indirect way they have much more to do with it than is usually thought, for certain sections of Indian society sanction and even encourage many practices which the law of the land sets its face against as immoral. Therefore the subject of social reform is one of much importance to us, especially in the branch which embraces begging. In most civilized countries the laws impose on the police the task of suppressing mendicity; and in India also legislation on the subject is beginning to take shape; the other day (5th September 1907) the papers contained a notice that rules had been made for the suppression of mendicity in Quetta, and agitation against beggars is increasing daily in Bombay and other cities. Educated opinion is clearly in favour of suppressing beggary; over and over again I have seen the subject mentioned in newspapers, beggars being freely anathematized, specially in the big towns and cities. The question is certain to receive considerable attention when the Provincial Councils are formed. You will understand why if you think over the following facts. The last Census Report of India says in paragraph 335, "Excluding Burma the largest number of the agricultural labourers in any of the main Provinces is returned in the *Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay*" (the italics are mine). Notwithstanding this the labour question in the Central Provinces is so pressing that our Provincial Member, the Honourable Mr. Chitnavis, C. I. E., in his memorable speech on the Budget Debate of 1907 said, "There is yet another serious difficulty in the way of Indian industrial development. There is a growing dearth of labour at industrial centres, and more than one industry suffers in consequence. Appreciable relief can be afforded by Government in this matter by encouraging immigration of the surplus population of the congested areas into these centres, by checking emigration out of India so long as the internal needs are not supplied, and indicting beggary except in the case of the aged, the infirm and the disabled. Beggary, as a profession is on the increase in certain parts of India, and I think the time has come when the strong arm of the law should intervene to arrest its further progress." I ventured to trouble Mr. Chitnavis with a letter, in answering which he kindly

gave me some valuable hints. Among other things he said "The price of agricultural labour has gone up so very high, that agriculturists find it extremely difficult to make both ends meet, and it will be therefore impossible in the long run to carry on agriculture with profit, and to bring large wastes under the plough. I therefore suggested the desirability of putting down begging with a high hand, so that all strong-built and able-bodied men who are now living on begging may be utilised for work; this may I think relieve scarcity of labour to a certain extent." If we turn to the Census of India Report once more we will see what this means, in paragraph 320 we learn that nearly two-thirds of the total population (of India) have returned some form of agriculture as their principal means of subsistence. 52 per cent are either landlords or tenants, 12 per cent are field labourers, and about 1 per cent are growers of special products, &c., in addition to this about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent are also partially agriculturists. If therefore in the near future the cost of raising crops leaves practically no margin of profit to the farmer, agriculture, which is the principal means of subsistence of two out of every three persons in India, will receive a set-back from which it will never recover. Who can doubt under these circumstances but that the Government will shortly be asked to consider the question seriously, if it is not doing so already?

5. Society could put a stop to vagrancy in a fortnight if it refused alms, but for the Government the question is a very thorny one, as the volume of legislation in the various countries, which have tackled it, shows. One reason being that the State which forbids begging has at the same time to provide an assured means of livelihood for the beggar, or else it might quite easily condemn him to starvation. It cannot order him to find employment for himself in the open labour market, for, with the best will in the world, he might be unable to do so in time to save his life. Though the subject is hardly one for discussion in this lecture I cannot help thinking that Mr. Chitnavis has cleverly struck the right policy, *i. e.*, to leave the helpless to beg, and to compel the able-bodied to earn their own livelihood. Village authorities, if they could not offer work to such beggars in their own villages, might be authorized to pass them on under escort to central works of public utility under Government supervision, where they might be set to work under proper discipline, or be sent to employers who desired labourers. Whatever policy is eventually inaugurated the police will undoubtedly be called on to do a great deal in connection with it, and they will probably have to distinguish between the true religious mendicants and the beggars who have taken to begging from other than religious motives, because the Government will never willingly interfere with genuine religious practices of a legitimate nature.

6. Let us divide the begging communities into their natural divisions and you will then understand more clearly the purport of these lectures. There are first and foremost two leading divisions (1) the beggar proper and (2) the religious mendicant, but these run imperceptibly into each other. The first may be of two kinds, those who are physically incapable of work, and those who can work. This latter class is again divisible into (a) those who are willing to labour but are unable to obtain steady employment throughout the year because of the uncertainties of demand—in other words those who are driven by want to beg—and (b) those who prefer not to work although they have the opportunity. Little sympathy can be felt by any for the members of this last class, nevertheless they receive direct encouragement, because the people are foolish enough to extend their charity to them; while they in their turn are a distinct menace to the country, for they (and their progeny) more than almost any other class, are liable to swell the ranks of the petty criminal. At present the police, in common with the people, can only deplore their existence, and help to thin their ranks by catching them when they turn their hands to picking and stealing; but they may have considerably more to do with them in the days to come. It is a curious fact that these lazy vagabonds in common with nearly all mendicants beg in the name of some deity.

7. With these general remarks on the beggars proper I can turn to the other horde of beggars who form the real subject of these lectures—the religious mendicants. In no country I know of are these people such pests as in India :



large parties of them, which sometimes number hundreds, and even on special occasions thousands, wander through the length and breadth of the land and obtain their wants—and often much more than their actual needs from the people. I have been told it is probably an exaggeration to say that 50,000 of the million, or say one in every twenty genuinely takes to begging from purely religious motives.

8. I have been greatly struck by some remarks made by Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee in his book "Hindu Castes and Sects." In Chapter V on the "True origin of religions" he shows how religions in India have their origin in human policy, how the founders of most of the religious systems are actuated by selfish zeal, and how unusual it is for the religious ruler to keep to the path of duty or rectitude, with the result that some actually encourage immorality. In the next chapter he says "*Many of the so-called religions of men tend more to corrupt their morality than to purify it. There are in fact some religions, as for instance, those of the Tantries, Kauls, Karta Bhajas, Birja Margis, Jalaliyas, Aghoris, &c., which have perhaps not one redeeming feature in them, and which tend only to make their followers wallow in the mire of abominations\*.*"

9. Then after explaining how the social demands of the people, rather than their religious teaching, regulate the morals of a country he says "*The prophets who affect to teach us morality and claim to be worshipped on that account, are generally the man who betray the greatest disregard of that sense of moral responsibility which is the essence of good citizenship. To begin with they generally teach their followers to lead an idle life and to live by begging, bullying or cheating. The latter day prophets of India, at least, are, in fact, so many givers of licenses to beg and to corrupt the morality of the people. † The amount of mischief done by encouraging able-bodied men to neglect the proper work of life, and live as drones on public charity, is simply incalculable.*"

10. The temptation to quote his Xth Chapter practically verbatim has been too great for me, for it says exactly what would be most appropriate here, it runs as follows:—

"It is the fashion now-a-days to speak of the Hindu sect founders as so many religious reformers—

As if religion were intended  
For nothing else but to be mended.

"Looked at with the light of sober common sense and unbiased judgment the net result of their so-called reformations is that they let loose on society an army of able-bodied beggars, with the most preposterous claims on the charity and the reverence of the laity. Moral teaching of any kind very seldom forms a part of the programmes of our prophets. They teach their followers to sing some songs which tend either to corrupt their morality, or to make them indifferent to work for the production of wealth. The most important part of the discipline imposed by our "incarnations" on their lay followers consists in requiring them to paint or brand their bodies in some particular manner, and to show every possible honour to their spiritual guides and to the begging mendicants. The monks and the nuns‡ of every sect are only so many licensed beggars. To be distinguishable from the followers of other sects, they are required not only to brand or paint their bodies in the same manner as the laity, but to dress and toilet in some particular manner. Each sect has also a peculiar method of begging for its monks and nuns, the distinguishing feature being either in the alms-bowl, or in the time and mode of applying for alms, or in the shape in which alms would be taken. The alms-bowl is either an earthen or a brass pot, or a hemispherical portion of a cocoanut shell, or a basket, or a cooking pot, or a bag of cotton cloth. Some have a staff and a water-pot in addition to the alms-bowl, while there are others who do not encumber themselves with any of these things, but will receive in the palm of their hand the food that is offered to them. The mendicants of most of the sects take uncooked rice, or pice, or whatever else of value is offered to them excepting cooked food. But there are some sects the monks and nuns of which will accept only a spoonful of cooked rice, while there are others whose ecclesiastics will not, in order to show their indifference to wealth, take either

\* The author cannot hold himself responsible for Mr. Bhattacharjee's statements: his views are not those of people who interpret the Tantras spiritually such as the followers of the Sankhya philosophy.

† Mr. Bhattacharjee could hardly have meant these passages to be understood literally.

‡ Nuns are seldom countenanced outside Bengal.

pice or rice, but will only eat cooked food if offered by a Brahman with due honour. Some of the religious mendicants rove about for alms during daytime only; while with others night is the favourite time for such excursions. Some pass through the streets repeating the name of some god or that of the founder of their sect, or only some queer phrase, and the people give them alms without any further solicitation on their part. Some carry about their person small bells by the tinkling of which the people are apprised of their presence. But generally they stop at every door on the roadside, and use one or other of the following means to induce or compel\* the inmates of the tenements to submit to their demands :—

- (1) Singing songs impressing upon man the uselessness of wealth to its owner after his death.
- (2) Singing, in the names of gods and goddesses, amorous songs which are necessarily very agreeable to the ears of young men and women, and for which they gladly give alms.
- (3) Singing songs relating to Rama's exile, Durga's marriage with Siva, and Krishna's neglect of his foster parents—such songs being calculated to awaken the tenderest sentiments in the matrons.
- (4) Singing songs calculated to impress upon men the idea that great danger might arise by slighting the mendicants.
- (5) Parading an idol representing one of the mischief making gods or goddesses as, for instance, those that are believed to have the power of causing the death of their scoffers by means of cholera, small-pox or snake-bite.
- (6) By simply lavishing good wishes.
- (7) By offering holy water or consecrated food brought from some sacred place.
- (8) Playing on the credulity of the people by fortune-telling and palmistry.
- (9) By professing to be only collectors of subscriptions for the feeding of poor pilgrims.
- (10) By professing to be *en route* to, or from, a place of pilgrimage.
- (11) Terrifying the people by threatening to commit suicide in their presence.
- (12) Carrying snakes, carrion and ordure to disgust and horrify the people.

"The last two methods are not very common. Some of the Sankarite monks are well-versed in Sanskrit lore. But the mendicants of most of the other sects are generally quite illiterate. There are a few good and harmless men among them. But the majority of them are men of very low morals. They have among them ex-convicts, criminals "wanted" by the Police, and persons outcasted for making illicit love. The teaching of morality by such men is out of the question. Their sect-marks and uniforms serve to rehabilitate them to some extent, and in their new character, they are very often able to become the heads of monasteries with harems full of so-called "nuns."

"The profession has had great attractions in every age. In former times, the heads of the mendicants became, in some cases, recognized as important powers in the country. They acted as the spies of the kings, and very often supplied recruits to them in times of war. Under British rule their political importance is well nigh gone. But in their own spheres, they still flourish as before. Some attain almost princely positions by becoming the abbots of the existing monasteries, some establish new monasteries and place themselves in charge. They all begin their career as beggars. Some of them succeed in ingratiating themselves in the favour of the superiors of their sects, and become their successors sooner or later. A few of the monks and nuns manage to attain a high position by means of fortune-telling, or by developing the curious power of swooning on the mere mention of the name of some god. When a mendicant has acquired a character for sanctity by any one of the usual processes, he has only to give out that he has found an idol by miracle, with injunctions to erect a temple to it. The necessary funds for the purpose being never supplied miraculously to the devotee, he invites subscriptions from the pious; and when the temple is built, a part of it naturally becomes his dwelling house. With the further contributions made by the visitors to the shrine, he is enabled to live in comfort. When a shrine is in the struggling state, the high priest generally leads a pure life, and spends a large part of his income in feeding the poor pilgrims. But the high priests of the temples that have well established characters for sanctity are usually just the kind of men that they ought not to be. There are thus five stages in the careers of the successful monks and nuns. First the beggar; then the charlatan; the temple promoter then the princely high priest; and last of all the debauchee. The theme is one to which justice could be done only by the genius of a Shakespeare." \* \* \*

\* None of the religions lay down how alms should be obtained; when a religious beggar employs questionable means he does so without the sanction of his religion.



11. In the chapter I have just quoted you will have observed that the ranks of the religious mendicants contain classes of persons with whom the police have much concern; this has been aptly illustrated by a recent case in Jabalpur, the records of which the Inspector-General kindly sent me with some instructions which have given rise to these lectures, and which I have endeavoured to carry out for your benefit. In July 1898 two brothers, Chand Prasad and Sobhalal Brahmans of Rajgowa, killed a cousin Murliman with whom they were at deadly enmity. They escaped and no trace of them was forthcoming for 8½ years, when, in January 1907, Chand Prasad, re-visited his home in the guise of a Sadhu, was recognized, arrested, *challaned*, and transported for life. He gave an interesting account of his wanderings to the police. The brothers first fled to some relations in Magar-Moha and hid in a temple; their relatives collected Rs. 25 for them with which they set out for Bhopal under the guidance of an Udasi Baba named Kamalsa—the Udasis are Nanak Shahis. They settled in Jahangirabad where they studied the Ramayana under the tuition of the Baba, but as he tried to compel them to conform to the austere practice of one meal a day, they left him and set out for Ujjain; on the way they visited another Nanak Shahi Gosain and then in company with 7 other Sadhus begged their way to Jhabwa, *via* Ujjain. In Jhabwa they became the *chelas* of Haridas Bairagi (it is not stated what sect he belonged to). At this place the brothers separated, and Chand Prasad went alone to a remote Bhil village called Kundunpur where he lived the life of a hermit for one year. Thence he went with other Sadhus to Dhar where he lived two years. After that he went to live with a Brahmachari who receives Rs. 2,000 per annum from the Dhar State for "shankar bhog." He then went through Indore with 15 other Bairagis to Mhow, where 10 remained behind, while he and 5 more went on to Orkarji; there they were joined by 20 more and returned to Bhopal, subsequently going on to Moradabad by way of Ajudhia; they next visited Mathura where 10 of the party left them. With varying company Chand Prasad visited Jaipur, Ajmir, Sitpur (in Gujarat), Ahmedabad, Junagar, Girnar Dwarka Narain Sir, Hyderabad (Sindh), Multan, Sakar, Shikarpur, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Srinagar (Kashmir), Amarnath, Jammu, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Amritsar, Delhi, Ajmir, Chittorgarh, Ujjain, Bhopal, Bombay, Indore, Jabalpur and so eventually came to his home. It will be noticed how he at once took to the life of a religious mendicant, and how the whole fraternity seemed to welcome him, though a fugitive from justice, and though his crime was one that Indian society is taught to look on as terribly heinous. Another noticeable point is how naturally these people go about in large parties, and what a lot of country they cover.

12. The Judge who tried the man told me that Chand Prasad intimated all through the trial that he was under the impression the charge against him was time-barred after 7 years, and the judge thought some one perhaps had misquoted Section 108, Evidence Act, to him, where it says the presumption is in favour of a man's death if he has not been heard of for 7 years by those who would naturally have heard of him. May it not however just be possible that his *guru* ordered 7 years of religious life spent on pilgrimages as expiation for his social offence of helping to take a Brahman's life, and that he thought if that exonerated him in divine eyes it ought also to clear him in the eye of the law. Manu says in Chapter XI, if a Brahman kills another unintentionally he may expiate the sin in 12 years. May it not have been possible for his *guru* after Chand Prasad told him *his* version of the share he had taken in the matter to have considered 7 years, expiation enough? Whether this was so or not, it is quite certain that the Hindu idea of expiation as laid down by Manu must induce many sinners against society to join the ranks of the ascetics in the hope of expiating their faults, be those faults criminal or otherwise.

13. Perhaps the best known instance of a man, who would now-a-days certainly fall into police hands, becoming a religious recluse is that of one of the most famous robber chiefs that ever lived, Valmiki; he was however reclaimed by some saints whom he set out to rob; he gave up his calling and retired to a hermitage where he repented, became a saint and wrote in Sanskrit that wonderful epic, the Ramayana, which in its Hindi version, as written by Tulsidas, is now the Bible of practically half the Hindus of India.



14. Quite recently some so-called Hindu Missionary Societies have taken advantage of the Government's gift of freedom and have organized seditious propaganda and are employing Sadhus to spread sedition. The following extract from the "Englishman" is significant:—"We have hitherto refrained from comment on the action of a certain Hindu Missionary body in Calcutta which, acting in absolute defiance of its own rules and principles, is now occupied in preaching active hostility to the British Raj. But the time seems to have come to direct the attention of the authorities to the activities of this Mission, for, not content with the mischief it is doing in Calcutta, it is now using its funds and organization to send so-called Missionaries to other parts of India to stir up race-feeling. In this case the pity of it is the greater, because in its inception the mission not only had the sympathy, but the active support of many Europeans. It was supposed to work and did work amongst the poor, and many of its members won the admiration of European Calcutta by their self-denial. The Mission to which we allude is probably not the only one which has within recent months been turned from its original purpose, and the police have a suspicion that a large number of the so-called Swamis and Sadhus \* now touring in the disaffected tracts are there rather to embitter the lower orders than to turn them into paths of peace. It is quite in keeping with the subtlety which has characterised the campaign against the Government to make use of religion as a cloak to cover malicious design, but it is to be hoped that really pious and educated Hindus and Buddhists will come forward to denounce this monstrous abuse of the religious freedom which the Government has freely granted to all classes in India."

15. All of you who read "The Illustrated Criminal Investigation and the Law Digest" will have been struck by the significance of P. Sanyasayya Naidu's articles on "Sadhus and Crimes."

16. Mr. Oman in "The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India," page 262, tells how he visited a monastery in the Punjab and says:—

"Being informed by one of my companions that I was much interested in *Sadhus*, he (the abbot) forthwith broke out into a tirade against the whole crew. There might he said, be one in a hundred who had any pretensions to goodness or virtue, but the rest were vile scum and unmitigated scoundrels"

"What more especially annoyed him was that men who one day were ploughing their fields as ordinary peasants would the very next day in the garb of *sadhus*, claim the hospitality of an *Akhara*, spend the night with loose women, and then become transformed again into cultivators of the soil as soon as it suited their convenience to do so".

"I have no doubt the *Mahant's* complaint was based on actual experience and that it was not without cause he grudged the *pseudo-Sadhus* their board out of the moderate revenues at his disposal; but, for all that, I felt sure that my priestly host was well able to take care of himself. He wished that Government would enact that each and every *Sadhu* should carry a certificate to show who and what he really was, a suggestion which might be commended to the consideration of the authorities, as its adoption would certainly be convenient at seasons of general unrest or political tension".

"I was subsequently informed that this abbot's claim to the headship of the monastery was disputed, and that the question of his right of possession was engaging the attention of one of the law courts."

17. It may interest you to know that India is not the only land that has suffered under the burden of religious mendicity, Europe was also overrun by religious mendicants in mediæval times, but the causes which led to their organizations were vastly different from those which have brought about greater results in India. In Europe, Roman Catholicism in the 4th century A. D. developed a system of monachism or monasticism, that is a life of religious

\* The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Benimad Ghosh, a Bengali Vakil of the Allahabad High Court, to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has appeared in the newspapers just before going to Press:—

Two suggestions I beg humbly to offer to your Honour \* \* \*. Secondly as the wave of anarchism comes from Bengal the Bengal residents of these Provinces should be asked to be on their guard so that they may not be influenced by any operation of the members of the Secret Society of the anarchists, but should try to expose them if they happen to be in their midst and bring them before a Court of Justice. The members of the Secret Societies are believed to be wandering about the country *incognito* often in the garb of *Sanyasis*. The Police should always look with suspicion on a Bengali newcomer who is either dressed in the garb of a *Sanyasi* or cannot give a satisfactory account of his past life and should watch his movements cautiously \* \* \*.



seclusion in monasteries; these religious recluses were called monks, and monk life became so popular among the religiously inclined that many who would otherwise have become priests preferred a life of seclusion, thus leaving the parochial clergy numerically too weak to cope with their difficulties, they gradually succumbed under the strain and fell into slothfulness. The power of the Roman Catholic priesthood was so much undermined in consequence that under the rule of Pope Innocent III (in the beginning of the 13th century just after Ramanuja's death in India) "the extravagance of the ecclesiastical authorities stirred the revolutionary spirit in two great men, Francis and Dominic, who founded the two original orders of friars, or mendicant priests who bore their names" (Encyclopædia Britannica).

18. In India, on the other hand, each new religion or sect ever since monasteries were first started 2,500 years ago has originated with wandering mendicants, their founders themselves setting the example. Still it is quite probable that the causes which have undermined the influence of the friars in Europe and thinned their ranks may also do their share in bringing about the same result in India; there, civilization, enlightenment, industrial development, and conscription have done much to reduce the numbers of friars, and here in India all these influences are already at work, except the last, but so far do not seem to have done much to put down holy vagabondage.

19. The Police force contains very few officers who have a thorough working knowledge of the different kinds of religious mendicants; all I have spoken to have shown marked ignorance of the subject, and we are all anxious that this reproach should be removed for the future. I am therefore, under instructions, telling you all I can from what I have read on the subject.

20. In the next lecture I shall give you a brief historical introduction to the third, in which you will be given useful accounts of the better known sects of religious mendicants, and it is hoped these descriptions will be of real assistance to you in marking down a genuine member of a religious order to his true sect, and in exposing an impostor.

21. Before closing this however I wish to warn you against the universally loose habit people have got into of describing such people by their wrong titles; for instance, Hindu mendicants are frequently spoken of as "Fakirs" even by people who ought to know that the term should in strictness be applied to Muhammadan mendicants only. Again how often does one hear in a police report "A Sadhu named so and so passed through, his *guru* is so and so." "Sadhu" simply means "a holy man," and is applicable to the majority of the mendicants in religious garb.

*Sannyasi* means "he who has abandoned the world"

*Vairagi*\* (derived from *Vai* and *Raga*) means, "he who has overcome his passions."

"These two are generic terms and are equally applicable to any of the erratic beggars of the Hindus. Though these terms are used in a wide acceptance, yet we occasionally do find them limited in meaning and designating distinct and inimical bodies of men. When this is the case, it may be generally concluded that the 'Sannyasis' imply the mendicant followers of *Siva* and the 'Vairagis' those of *Vishnu*. (H. H. Wilson.). There are persons not belonging to the Saiva faiths to whom the name "Sannyasi" is also truly applicable and these are the Ramanuja 'Tridandi Sannyasis,' and the 'Ramanandi Sannyasis.'

*Yogi* means one who performs *Yoga* which will be described in the part dealing with the Saiva sects; he is an ascetic and frequently a self-mortifying one.

*Gosain* means "a spiritual teacher" or "superior."

*Swami* means "Lord" or "Master."

*Mahant* is the head of a monastery.

## 29—RÉSUMÉ OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF "HINDUISM."

22. The task of tracing the path of evolution of the numerous sects of the Hindus is far beyond me; all I can hope to accomplish is a sketch showing in the briefest outline how the main currents of religious thought have come into existence, and the rocks on which they and their subsequent streams have split; in a later lecture I hope to supplement this by a brief description of the distinguishing characteristics of the better known sects, and by hints which will help in identifying the various mendicants when they are met with.

23 The history of Hindu religions has never been treated from the standpoint herein taken, so that I have had to draw my conclusions from facts obtained by a study of the writings of many eminent scholars, among whom are:—

Sir Monier-Monier-Williams;  
 Sir Alfred Lvall;  
 Dr Grierson;  
 Sir Herbert Risley;  
 Professor H. H. Wilson;  
 Mr. W. Crooke;  
 Mr. Ward.  
 The writers of articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica;  
 Dr. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharjee; and  
 Mr. J. C. Oman;

and I have frequently borrowed descriptive phrases from them.

24. Our earliest information is contained in the collections of texts, *Samhitas*, which form the Hindu scriptures called the *Vedas*, of which there are four. Of these the one I shall most often refer to is the Rigveda, which consists of 10 *Mandalas* or books made up of an enormous number of hymns. As in the case of other scriptures throughout the world divine origin is claimed for them; in a work called the "Aitareya Brahmana" it is said that Prajapati having created the earth, the medial expanse, and the heaven, then created fire (*Agni*) from the earth, wind (*Vayu*) from the expanse, and the sun (*Surya*) from the heaven, he then produced the Rigveda from the fire and so on. There are also other legendary ways in which they came into existence, for instance Sayana, the great commentator on the Rigveda, in the opening prayer to Siva asserts that the Veda was his breath (*Ucchavasitam*).

25. In regard to other scriptures it has been proved that the books making up their sum total came into existence at various stages of the earth's existence, and this appears to have been the case with the Vedas also; for the Rigveda depicts the religious thought of a period which covers a large number of centuries—in fact the general opinion is it must have taken over 1,000 years in compilation. The hymns are in an old form of Sanskrit and show great varieties of style and differences of age, and they tell of a progressive religion. Those hymns that relate to the earliest times picture a joyous nature worship pure and simple, a worship of the elementary forces regarded as beings (*Deva* or shining ones), endowed with Divine attributes, to whom man used to pray for the gift of 100 years of life, and for an after-life with the whole earthly body; for it was believed the joys of heaven were an intense form of those on earth. Man in those days feared the gods and humbled himself before them.

26. The three leading forces already mentioned gave rise to the later Vedic Triad of Indra (the God who awarded to his people the life-giving rains, and who at a still later period appeared as the favourite God of the masses, the modern Vishnu); of Agni (who was invoked as a bearer of oblations and mediator between God and man, and the kindly God who enabled each house-holder to cook his food); and of Brahmā\* (the creator or First Person of the Triad, who finds no

\* Brahma (with a short final e) is the abstract supreme spirit and Brahmā is the first incarnation of that spirit.



separate place in the hymns of the period as his work was accomplished, and a thing of the past). Each of these gods were gradually surrounded by some ten minor gods, so that 33 gods are subsequently represented; of these the one that interests us most is Rudra the God of the howling storm, usually portrayed as a fierce destructive deity, who was destined to reappear later as Shiv the Destroyer, the Siva of the Brahman of to-day.

27. In the Rigveda caste as now known was non-existent. Originally we have the Aryas (men of noble descent) when they first flowed into the north-west of India, aliens in an alien country, subduing the children of the soil, or, as the invaders called them, Dasyus (enemies). At that time the head of every Aryan family was the household priest, and the head of each tribe or clan the priest of it; later the Aryans are shown as of three classes—

1. Rajan or royal (later military);
2. Brahman or priestly;
3. Vish or working class;

and indications exist to show that each of these offices was becoming hereditary. The 90th hymn of the last book of the Rigveda (which is generally believed not to have been written earlier than the 8th century B. C. after some of the Brahmanas and Upanishads had been written) contains the first clear pronouncement we have of the foundations of caste. In this "Purusha Sukta" the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and Sudras are represented as having sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Purush (which means Soul and is another name for Brahma) respectively. "In the meantime the Upanishads and Brahmanas had focussed the metaphysical development forecasted in the Atharva Veda into the idea of an impersonal 'Brahma,' 'The Universal Self-Existing Soul,' represented by Prajapati the 'Personal Creator,'" (Encyclopædia Britannica); and the religion of the Brahmans—as human representatives of Brahma and partaking of his divine nature—had become a Pantheism, the Vedic gods being considered as so many forms or manifestations of the All-God. In this same Atharva Veda there is much talk about sorcery and witchcraft and the power of the priest over these supernatural agencies, which leads to the conclusion that the influence of the aboriginals of the country was telling greatly on the Aryan religious mind. This influence, if it existed, might account for a dogma which formed a leading characteristic of the later Brahmanical creed; in the Vedas the doctrine of Metempsychosis—that continual round of Souls from one existence to another until at last the soul, covered with a Brahman's body, having entered the fourth and last *asrama* or stage of life, and having gained true knowledge of the Universal Deity and of self, passes quietly from human ken and finds eternal rest and peace by absorption into the "Eternal Essence"—is hardly mentioned, and is certainly not developed, though it is a not unnatural outcome of the belief in the all pervading power of the impersonal spirit, part of whose essence enters into all creatures and all matter, and must after the destruction of its envelope find some fresh home. This doctrine of transmigration of souls was not one that was ever likely to be popular with any but the Brahmans, for a man's existence in the future life depended on his actions in this, and his present condition was the outcome of actions in the last existence; therefore to raise himself in the next life he had to lay up much "merit" (punya) in this by "works" (karma); and this he had to do in successive lives until he became a Brahman and could despatch his soul to its eternal resting place

28. Such a creed could not ever hope to remain unchallenged by a people among whom the Brahmans numbered only a fraction of the population, and even before the Rigveda comes to an end we have foreshadowed the great struggle, which the Brahmans have had to sustain against the religious revolt of the masses, in the story of Vishwamitra—a Kshatriya—who by the force of his austerities compelled Brahma to admit him into the Brahmanical order, into which he sought admission, in order to be *on a level with* the priest Vasishta with whom he had quarrelled. Here we have the first recorded instance of a person who is not a Brahman, who has the power by the practice of austerities to force Brahma to admit he has as much divinity in him as the most righteous Brahman; but from this time onward we have ever increasing instances of beings outside the divine priestly ranks becoming religious leaders and teachers.

29. Another practice had also become a leading religious factor and that was the worship of ancestors or "Pitri."

30. In this Vedic period therefore marvellous changes in religious matters had come over the country. "Nature" worship had passed through a polytheistic stage and had developed into a pantheistic creed, with the belief that man himself in the form of the Brahman was a manifestation of God and could by religious observances win peace for his soul. Further the divine position of the Brahman had been successfully stormed by a pioneer of a non-priestly though highly placed clan. Religious ideas developed fast until worship became concentrated on two special forms of the "All-God," namely, Vishnu, the Preserver, whose attractive character made him the popular God of the people, and Siva the Destroyer who naturally also, under the doctrine of transmigration of souls, became the "Re-creator" and as such was worshipped in the additional character of the generative power, symbolised by the phallic emblem—Linga—and the sacred bull—Nandi—, in which character he became known as the "Great God" or Mahadeva, the modern Mahadeo.

31. The Aryans before this had become firmly established in the "Madhya Desha," "the middle land" or Upper Gangetic Valley, where was the birth-place of "Brahmanism" as opposed to "Hinduism" which was already threatening to make its existence felt. About this time we hear of the heavens of the two great Gods Siva and Vishnu. Siva's heaven, Kailasa, is said to be situated 22,000 feet up on the snowy peaks of the Kailas Gundri Range, from the glaciers of which the Indus takes its source.\* Vishnu's heaven is Vaikuntha which is said to be in the mythical mount Meru where Indra's Svarga and Krishna's Go-Loka are also located. Worshippers of these Gods if they had enough merit to their credit went to these heavens where their souls came to rest, and the bliss thus obtained was only one stage less than that accompanying absorption into the "Atman."

32. We also find that the Brahman had been strengthening the hedge round his caste and making it impossible for a non-Brahman to enter it under any circumstances; nevertheless there is ample evidence to show that he did not prevent others from adopting a life of religious asceticism. In the rules for domestic life as laid down in the Grihya Sutras is emphasised the importance and sanctity of the four *asrama* or stages of life for the Brahman, in the last of which he becomes a Sannyasi or Bhikshu. Under the doctrine of metempsychosis the human soul could only find final and complete rest by absorption, and this desired end could only be attained by "knowledge of God" (Brahmajnan), and knowledge of the relationship of one's own soul to him: many paths led to the attainment of this knowledge: some said it could be reached by logic; others averred that meditation and abstraction would lead to it; others again thought the practice of "Yoga" was the right way, while still others pinned their faith to ritual and so on. In this way many schools of thought were originated, and the tendency towards ritual and sacrifice developed rapidly. At the time when these sacrificial developments had reached their greatest height, an incarnation of Vishnu known as "The Buddha," or Enlightened One (who was the son of a North Indian Kshatriya king and whose soul revolted against the idea of sacrifice and against the exclusive creed of the Brahmans), preached a novel doctrine which included the idea of the equality of mankind, of brotherly love and of universal charity, and also the belief in emancipation from the dead transmigration cult for all those who were able "to destroy desire." Such teaching was attractive to the people who were not allowed to read the Scriptures (which were in Sanskrit) and who had few hopes held out to them; so it was not long before his ever swelling band of disciples had formed a considerable fraternity, and had organized numerous monasteries or *maths* in which they could congregate.

33. Gautama is believed to have died in 508 B. C. and he left behind him regular monastic organizations and an order of begging monks. Brahman Sannyasis of the fourth *Asrama* ought to have been and were more or less solitary mendicants; ascetics of other castes may have formed themselves into small communities but real organised monachism started under Buddhistic influence, and this influence, if not crushed, threatened to be the death-blow of Brahmanism.

\* Recent discoveries made this source of the Indus doubtful.



The Brahmans therefore had to enter into the 2nd stage of their great struggle against the revolt of the lower castes, who nevertheless still believed in and revered orthodox Brahmanism, though they had no internal appreciation of it, and did not understand it because of the exclusive policy of the Brahmans who retained all the scriptures in their own hands, and so prevented the study of them by all outside their own ranks.

34. What the great struggle meant can be imagined from the power of Buddhism outside India. It is estimated that it took some 14 centuries to drive Buddhism from the land of its birth (it still flourishes in Nepal and parts of the Himalayas) whereas it got such a hold of foreign nations that it now numbers some 350 millions of adherents.

35. During this religious upheaval the great epics of India, the Maha Bharata and the Ramayana, introduced to the people the two *avatars* of Vishnu—Krishna and Rama—that were believed to have appeared in the north of the country some centuries earlier. Their coming gave a popular and human side to the Hindu religion which the people could understand and appreciate, and to which they could once more turn instead of Buddhism. These epics being the outcome of priestly pens once more gave the Brahmans an assured footing of supremacy, but the victory was bought at the price of radical changes in religious ideas; and the cults springing from them have helped to develop the system now usually called "Hinduism." The Brahmans in the new phase of religion had accepted the principle of brotherly love, and thereto had added still another idea, that of "Bhakti," the meaning of which was explained by Krishna in a conversation recorded in the Bhagavadgita as "fervent faith in a living personal God (Himself) as opposed to an eternal impersonal essence"; but this living God was a god of the Brahmans, the message of salvation not being extended to the lower castes (so one gathers from the Vishn Purana).

36. In the meantime another movement organized as a protest against the exclusion of all but Brahmans from the ascetic fraternities had been set going by Vardhamana (who was also a Kshatriya like Buddha and probably a contemporary of his) the founder of Jainism. "Jainism is the only one of early monastic orders which has survived to the present day in India." (Imperial Gazetteer.)

37. Monachism then appears to have been brought into existence some 2,500 years ago. In the Imperial Gazetteer we read, "again the strength of Buddhism largely depended on the "Sangha or Congregation of the Monastic Order. This was an institution quite alien to Brahmanism.\* \* \* The primary object of this convocation was to frame a code of discipline for the monastic communities." Now, as every one knows, the orthodox Brahman Sannyasi ought not to shelter in a "Math" because he has to retire absolutely from the world; yet the significance of the lesson taught by Buddhism seems to have borne fruit, for in the Yajnavalkya (which was written sometime *after* the appearance of the "Institutes of Manu," which it is generally believed saw the light in the second century A. D.) we find a portion devoted to rules for the organisation of Brahmanical monasteries, so we may safely assume such monasteries were then in existence.

38. Before entering on the next phase of the religious history I ought to say something about the 3rd great sect of Hindus. I have already spoken about the worship of Siva whose followers are the Saivas, and the worship of Vishnu whose followers are the Vaishnavas, and I must now mention the "Saktas"; they worship the female energy as manifested in one or other of the forms of the Consort of Siva, Durga, Kali, Parvati, &c. The following quotation must suffice to show how the cult is spreading, "The ritual of the sect which prescribes blood offerings and other abominable libidinous rites, is found in the Tantras..... The cultus seems to have arisen in Eastern Bengal or Assam about the 5th century A. D. .... and unhappily it seems to be spreading in Upper India under the encouragement of Bengali clerks." (Imperial Gazetteer.)

39. All that I have said chiefly affected the Aryans in the north of India, others had been spreading southward and had felt the struggle less, and it is

from the south the next move comes. Sankara Acharya, a Namburi Brahman of the Sivite faith, commenced a crusade against Hinduism in the 8th century; he travelled the country from south to north, founding monasteries along his path, and teaching the Mimansa philosophy, which aimed at purging the existing beliefs of extraneous ideas and bringing the creed back to its former Vedantic purity. "The Vedanta philosophy was the latest revelation of the Vedas and taught the non-duality and non-plurality of the spirit—that is the real existence of only one spirit called Atma, or Brahman, instead of many. The separation of human spirits and of all the phenomena of nature from that one spirit being only affected when it is enveloped in 'illusion' 'Maya'" (Sir M. M. Williams). He formed the famous sect of Dandis who under the names of his disciples became known as the "Da-nami Gosains." The most noted of the monasteries he organized was the famous Sringeri Math in Mysore near the source of the Tungabhadra; and another was that at Badarirath in Kumaun. Sankara has been deified as an incarnation of Siva himself; the Dakhan Smarta Brahmans originated from his teaching. The next great school also originated from the south, but this time the teacher was a Vaishnava named Ramanuja who lived at the beginning of the 12th century and "maintained that there was one supreme spirit, that individual beings are separate spirits, and the universe non-spirit." Two centuries later one of his followers, Ramanand, whose work was in Northern India, preached in the common vernacular of the people and not in Sanskrit, and he introduced low-caste disciples into the communion. Ramanand was the founder of the Ramanandi Bairagis, and had 12 disciples, one of them Kabir—a weaver by caste, taught the spiritual equality of all men and declared there was only one God who might be called, either Rama or Allah, thus bringing together the Hindu and Muhammadan faiths. He declared that the accident of birth was mere "illusion" or Maya and that any one by "Bhakti" could obtain bliss. He was the founder of the Kabir Panthis.

40. Half a century later a Vaidik Brahman named Chaitanya arose in Bengal and extended this teaching still further, declaring that people of any caste could be not only disciples but also *Gosains* or spiritual guides, and he formulated the idea of processions of worshippers accompanied by music and singing.

41. About the same time Guru Nanaka founded the Sikh faith\*. Mr. Rose writes "the Sikh creed involves belief in one God, condemning the worship of other deities; it prohibits idolatry, pilgrimage to the great shrines of Hinduism, faith in omens, charms, or witchcraft; as a social system it abolishes caste distinctions and, as a consequence, the Brahmanical supremacy and usages in all ceremonies at birth, marriage, death and so on. But this creed is probably accepted and acted on by a very small number even of those who call themselves true Sikhs."

42. The doctrines proclaimed by Ramanuja and his successors inspired the poet Tulsidass who lived in the sixteenth century; he believed there was only one God who became incarnate as Rama the Saviour of Souls, and he wrote a version of the Ramayana in the old Eastern Hindi of Upper India, the first of the Hindu scriptures which saw the light in a language the people could read and understand for themselves; hitherto all religious literature had been in Sanskrit which few but the Pandits could understand. Tulsidass founded no sect, he was a whole-hearted believer in Rama, and simply preached what he believed to be the true relation between God and man; and his teaching quickly spread and became most popular, so that now about half the Hindus of India profess Ramaism, with Tulsidass' version of the Ramayana as their Bible; but the present belief among the worshippers of Rama is not the pure teaching of Tulsidass, for other factors had been at work. The Krishnaism of the Brahmans had been getting a footing in certain tracts of India, chiefly from its fascination over the female sex, but this is not what I wish to mention. I have already said that the Aryans had been borrowing beliefs from the original people of the country: even Vedantic Brahmanism had become modified by this influence, as is easily seen from a study of the Atharva Veda. The masses of the people had drunk deep of the waters offered them by Animism, Totemism, and devil worship, and their religion had become saturated with superstition, witchcraft and demonology: they consequently found themselves surrounded by a pantheon of 330 million

\*As opposed to Brahminism



gods, godlings, ghosts, demons and spirits of every sort and description. There were tribal gods, village gods, hill gods, jungle gods, river gods, snake gods, animal gods; even the individual trees, rocks, families, houses and diseases had their own special gods and every deity its own priest. Still at the back of all this whether followers of Rama, Krishna, or any other god or creed, all knew of the Brahman's Pantheon, and though they never understood its mysteries, they believed it and revered it, and imagined it formed the basis of their own religion; nearly all acknowledged the supremacy of the Brahmans, admitted their divinity, called them in at all the critical times of their lives, and obeyed their orders. The common religion of illiterate Hindus may therefore be likened to a conglomeration of practically every religion that has ever flourished in the land, and the different religious ideas show everywhere on the surface just as do the ingredients that are collected in a lump of conglomerate.

43. I think it will be best to stop this historical sketch at this point and to now give you some practical information about the more common sects themselves, so that you can make use of what you are learning. I will commence with the Sivite sects, as they represent the teaching of the older form of religion; telling you first of the various forms in which the God appeared, as his followers are prone to adopt marks or symbols of those forms to distinguish the different sects from one another. It must be remembered however there are many sects of whom I have no knowledge, and that there are great numbers of solitary wanderers who belong to no recognized sect and whose tenets are self-made; my list taken almost entirely from the works of other writers is therefore far from exhaustive.

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## SAIVA SECTS.

## 28.—ACCOUNTS OF SOME OF THE BETTER KNOWN SECTS.

44. Siva is associated with Rudra the God of the roaring storm, a fierce destroyer—and he himself assumed the destructive element of Rudra's attributes; but, as we are told in the Siva Purana, he was without form and so Vamdeva Rishi prayed him to assume some form in which his people could worship him. He then appeared in human shape with a third eye and a crescent moon above it. If however we look still further back we find (in the Satarudriya hymn in the Vajasaneyi Samhita of the Yajur Veda XVI—1, &c.) that he was then known in 100 aspects, and in Vamdeo's time (Siva Purana LXIX Anusana Parvan XVII) Siva is given 1,008 names and epithets (8 more than Vishnu). In the "Trita" Yug (as stated in the Brahmahotra Kand—Skand Purana) Ravana so pleased Mahadeva by his worship of him in Kailasa that the God gave him the "Linga" which was set up in Gokarna in Travancore; this is the first mention I can find of his taking the form of the Phallus. In the Puranas he is pictured as living in Kailasa with his wife Durga and his two sons Skanda and Ganesh.

NOTE.—The excavated temple at Ellora is a counterpart of Kailasa.

45. The principal forms of Siva and distinguishing marks connected with him which are adopted by members of the Saiva sects are:—

- (1) *Kapardin*—means wearing the hair spirally braided like a shell.
- (2) Yellow-haired.
- (3) He is tall.
- (4) He is a dwarf.
- (5) Has a white complexion caused by the reflection of the snows in Kailasa.
- (6) Has a dark complexion from his representation of Kala the dark destroyer.
- (7) *Panchanana*—five-faced.
- (8) One face with a third eye.
- (9) *Nilkantha*—blue-necked owing to his having swallowed poison to save mankind.
- (10) *Kala*—the God of time whose emblem is a crescent moon.
- (11) *Maha Yogi*—and appears naked (*Dig-ambara*) with one face and three eyes, sitting in profound meditation under a Banyan tree or cobra's hood—the God and serpent are sometimes 5 headed.
- (12) *Kirata*—or jovial mountaineer given to hunting, drinking and dancing.
- (13) *Linga*—when he is cooled by sprinklings (*abhisheka*) of cold Ganges water and cooling *Bilva* leaves. In temples a "yoni" (also called "jelheri") to represent the female element—or according to the Sankhya system the "Prakriti" as opposed to the "Purusha"—is usually added. In the Sankhya philosophy Prakriti is from the root 'Kri' and is according to Sir Monier-Monier Williams the "eternal procreant germ or creative force."
- (14) *Kapalabhrat*—he whose alms dish is a skull.
- (15) Lord of the Soma juice.\*
- (16) Lord of thieves and robbers†—and is himself a thief, robber and deceiver (*Vide* Satarudriya litany of the Yajur Veda)—and of, among others, hunters and shikaris.

\* This may have led the unorthodox ascetics to believe themselves justified in indulging in intoxicating drugs.

† The idea of course being that Siva is all powerful and God of everything, even of robbers. Sir Monier Williams says (*Brahmanism and Hinduism* page 77) "in the drama called *Mricchakatika* some burglars invoke Skanda, son of Siva, as their patron deity. At present nearly all the degrading characteristics of the God have been transferred to the form of his consort called Kali. That goddess is to this day the patron of thieves, robbers, thugs, murderers, and every kind of infamous rascal."



- (17) He is the wearer of the sacred thread and iron ear-rings.
- (18) He is clothed in a skin (generally that of a tiger, often of a deer, and sometimes of an elephant).
- (19) He wears a serpent round his neck to denote the endless cycle of recurring years.
- (20) He wears a necklace of skulls and serpents to denote the eternal evolution of ages.
- (21) He smears his body with the ashes of the gods he burnt with a flash of his central eye.
- (22) He rides a white bull (Nandi).
- (23) He rattles a drum (called Damaru), which is shaped like an hour glass, in time to his dancing.
- (24) He holds a Sankha (conch shell); the Sankha is however generally considered sacred to Vishnu.
- (25) He let drop tears of rage which became Rudra-raksha berries (*Eleo- carpus ganitru*), hence rosaries (Japa-Mala) of that seed consisting of 32 berries (or double that number and sometimes 84); sometimes in its place a "Danta Mala" or rosary made of the teeth of corpses is worn.
- (26) He is armed with a *Trisula* (trident) and his votaries make a mark in imitation of it on their foreheads with Vibhuti or white ashes, which should either be taken from the fire of an Agnihotra Brahman or made of burned cowdung from an oblation offered to the God. The mark is called Tripundra (or in the south Gandha), and the lines are transverse.
- (27) He is armed with a bow (ajagava or pinaka).
- (28) He is armed with an axe.
- (29) He is armed with a noose (pasa).
- (30) He accepts blood sacrifices, and in this differs from Vishnu.

He is essentially the *Adideva* or *Ishtadeva* of the Brahmans, but all Hindus even the strictest Vaishnavas pay homage to him as the "Dissolver" and "Regenerator."

The following Puranas are essentially Sivite (a) Linga, (b) Siva, (c) Kurma, (d) Skanda.

Sivites adopt either the five or six syllable initiating *Mantra* "Namo Sivaya" or "Om Namo Sivaya."

Some Saivas are *self-mortifying* ascetics.

Saivas who worship him in his form of *Bhairava* are initiated by being made to offer to the God blood drawn from an incision on the inner part of the knee.

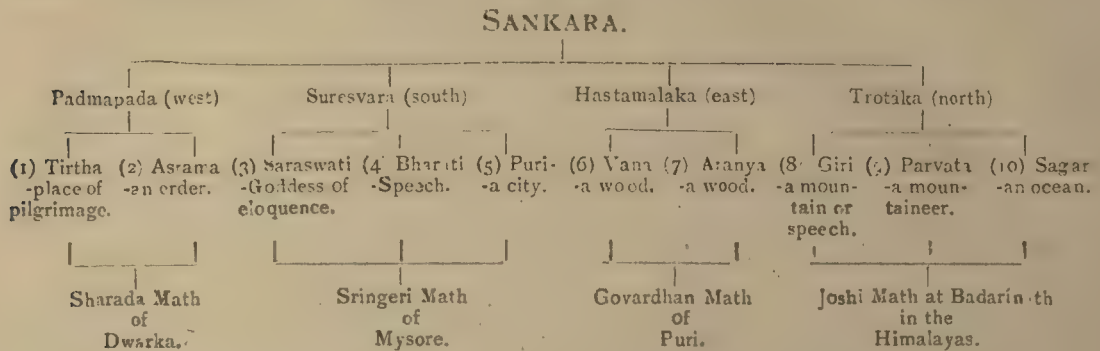
46. At the time when Sankara Acharya commenced his campaign six Saivite sects were known (H. H. Wilson):—

- (1) Saivas (with Linga branded on both arms).
- (2) Raudras (with Tripundra on forehead).
- (3) Ugras (with Damaru on both arms).
- (4) Bhattas (with Linga on forehead).
- (5) Jangamas (with Tripundra on forehead and carrying a Linga), Priests of the Lingaits.
- (6) Pasupatas (with Linga branded on forehead, arms, breast and navel), worshippers of Siva as Pasupati.

Of these the last two are the only ones of the original sects which have numerous followers at the present time.

47. Sankara denounced the branding of the body as he declared various gods were present in the "human form divine". Sankara was not exclusively a worshipper of Siva, he adored the other gods of the Pantheon, but Siva was his *Istadeva*. Therefore followers of Sankara are not necessarily Sivites though the vast majority of them are.

48. Sankara had four immediate disciples whose fame has not diminished, they settled in the four quarters of India in Maths organized by Sankara and they started the ten families of Gosains widely known as the "Dasnamis". The following tree will show in the clearest way the connection of the different Dasnamis with each other, and with the four Maths:—



49. Brahman "Sannyasis" who are followers of Sankara are known as Dasnami "Dandis". A "Dand" is a wand or staff. A Brahman Sannyasi who has become a Dasnami "Dandi" carries a Dand which has several projections (usually six) and a piece of cloth dyed with red ochre, in which the ashes of the Brahmanical cord are enshrined attached to it. He shaves his head and beard at least once every four months. He begs cooked food which he puts into a small clay pot, and he usually dresses in 5 pieces of cotton cloth dyed with red ochre; with one he covers his loins, with the second he makes a belt to hold up No. 1, the third is a waist cloth, the fourth is tied round the breast and the fifth serves as a turban; but some go about quite naked. Dandis usually carry either an image of Vishnu or a Phallus. They are supposed not to accept money, not to touch fire or metal on any account, and only to feed once in 24 hours on food obtained from a Brahman. They are to be found in very large numbers in Benares. They usually take one of the four following surnames:—

- (1) Tirtha;
- (2) Asrama;
- (3) Saraswati;
- (4) Bharati;

and change their own names; they have to be parentless, wifeless and childless before they can be initiated.

50. Dasnami "Dandis" usually profess to adore Nirguna or Niranjan, the deity devoid of passion or attribute. They have no particular time for nor mode of worship but spend their time in austere practices, meditation and religious study. Many of these Brahmans are very learned but the majority are shams. Some of them mark the *Tripundra* on their foreheads but this is not considered orthodox. As they may not touch fire they either bury their corpses or float them down stream in coffins.

51. All the remaining Dasnamis are considered to have fallen from the purity of practice but are still holy, and are called *Atits* (liberated from worldly cares and feelings). *Atits* abandon the staff, wear clothes, use money and ornaments, cook their own food, and admit members of any orders of Hindus. They collect in Maths, carry on trade, officiate as priests at shrines; some even marry—when they are called "Saniyogi *Atits*."



52. The Atits are generally known as Sannyasi Dasnamis, and these Sannyasis take the surnames of—

- (4) Bharati.
- (5) Puri.
- (6) Vana or Ban.
- (7) Aranga or Aranya.\*
- (8) Giri.
- (9) Parvata.\*
- (10) Sagara.\*

It will be noticed that both Dandis proper and Sannyasi Dasnamis may take the name of Bharati. The surnames marked with the asterisk are seldom taken.

53. These Sannyasis usually encourage the growth of their hair which they mat into ropes and coil on their heads in imitation of Siva's form of Kapardin. They often paint the Tripundra on their foreheads. They smear their bodies with ashes and carry about a tiger's skin. Some paint a third eye on their foreheads to be more like the god they reverence. Some carry a conch shell or a pair of "chintas". When seated they generally have a fire and smoke ganja. They carry articles to show the shrines they have visited. A ring of iron, brass or copper with images of the god carved on it, indicates a pilgrimage to Pasupatinath, Kedarnath and Badrinath on the Himalayas; or a smaller ring of the same kind may form part of a Rudraksha rosary. Those whose wanderings have extended to the shrine of Kali at Hingalaj in Baluchistan wear necklaces of little stone beads called Thumras, and adorn their hair with a metallic substance called Swarna Makshi (literally golden fly). Pilgrims to the shrines at the hot springs of Manikarnika on the Himalayan slopes are given similar beads. Sannyasis who visit Rameshwar in the south wear a ring of conch shells on the wrist.

54. Among the Sannyasis will be found Vaishnavas and Saktas as well as Saivas.

55. The Gurus of the Smarta Sect in the lower Carnatic are called Sannyasis, they always paint on the Tripundra.

56. The throne of Saraswati—the "Pita" on which Sankara sat—is in Kashmir and is considered a place of pilgrimage.

57. To quote from Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee "after a period of probation which properly ought to extend to twelve years the Dandi and the Sannyasi become qualified to be a Parama Hamsa. The Hamsa—Goose—\* is one of the names of Vishnu, and the expression Parama Hamsa evidently means the Supreme Vishnu. The Parama Hamsa is neither a Sivite nor a Vishnuite; he is a self-worshipper. The Sivite prayers, which form part of the Sivite ritual are omitted by the Parama Hamsa. The latter has only to repeat constantly the mystic syllable Om." The Parama Hamsas are of two kinds. Those who enter the order after having been Dandis are called Dandi Parama Hamsas. But those who have not been regularly initiated to the order are called Avadhuta Parama Hamsas. A few Parama Hamsas go about naked, never speak and never indicate any natural want; alms are accepted for them by their attendants who feed them and attend to their wants as if they were helpless infants. The majority however dress as Dandis proper. The head of a Parama Hamsa convent is called Swamiji and many members of the order are very learned men. Some Parama Hamsas profess to live without eating, but Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee quotes an instance of where such an one admitted when caught that he lived on food vomited by his attendants. This man had made great profit out of his fraud and had a tremendous reputation for piety.

Two kind ( )  
Dandi Parama Hamsas  
Avadhuta Parama Hamsas.

\*Hamsa in this sense means "Soul" or "Spirit."

58. Dandi Sannyasis and Parama Hamsas accost each other by the formula "Namo Narayanaya." Householders address them in the same way, they respond by uttering the name of Narayana. An invitation to dinner is the question "will Narayana accept alms here." (Bhattacharjee).

59. The Brahmachari proper is of course the vedic student in the first Brahmacharis, four kinds. Asrama or stage of brahmanical life, but there are four orders of Brahmachari created by Sankara known as *Anand*, *Chaitanya*, *Prakash*, and *Swarup* Brahmacharis. Ordinarily these accompany Dandis and Parama Hamsas as their attendants, cooks and receivers of alms. They dress like their Gurus, but carry no *danda*, and bind round the arms and neck or suspend from the ears strings made of grape-seeds. Many of them however start life on their own account and beg independently. The upper castes may enter this order. They must not be confounded with the Tantric "Vamacharis" who are Saktas.

60. The term Yogi (Jogi) is properly applicable to the followers of the Yoga or Patanjala school of philosophy, which teaches that the Yogi is able by Yoga to so obtain control over elementary matter that he can separate his soul and unite it with the Supreme Soul. Yoga meaning "Union." Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee says "the most important physical exercises involved in Yoga are described below :—

(a) The Yogi has to sit with his right leg on his left thigh and his left leg on his right thigh and in that uncomfortable position to point his eyes towards the tip of his nose.

(b) He must, while so seated, shut up one of his nostrils by the tips of two of his right hand fingers and while repeating certain formulæ mentally, he should with his open nostril inhale as much air as possible.

(c) When the lungs are inflated to the utmost degree possible, the Yogi is required to shut up both the nostrils, the open one being closed by pressing the thumb of his right hand.

(d) In the condition mentioned above, the Yogi has to repeat the prescribed formula a certain number of times again.

(e) When the recitation mentioned above is completed, then the Yogi must remove his fingers from the nostril first closed, and go on repeating the mystic formula a certain number of times again."

61. Some Yogis are believed to have the power of sitting in the air, as they are supposed to be able to make themselves lighter than the lightest substance and heavier than the heaviest, and do what they like with either their bodies or souls; but the trick of sitting or floating in the air is an easy one to perform if you have the proper appliances, it is frequently done by jugglers in every country.

62. Professor Wilson says "The term Jogi in popular acceptation is of almost as general application as Sannyasi and Vairagi; and it is difficult to fix it upon any individual class besides the Kanphata." According to the same authority the ancient Pasupata sect has merged into other sects and particularly into that of the Kanphata Jogis.

63. This sect, known also as Jojishurs, acknowledges as their founder Gorakhnath, who was spiritually descended from Adinath and Machendranath (Matsyendranath). Their ears are bored at the time of initiation, and they wear either the Saiva iron ring (mundra), or a stone, or shell, intended to represent the Linga, or Sankha of Siva, in the hole. This boring of the ear and the wearing of the *Sheli* are the real distinguishing marks of the sect. The *Sheli* is a cord of woollen threads tied round the neck, and from it is sometimes suspended the Phallic emblem called *Nad*.<sup>\*</sup> Kanphatas smear their bodies with ashes, paint Saiva lines on their foreheads, allow their nails to grow unrestrictedly, and coil their

<sup>\*</sup>Said to be a whistle made of wood.



matted hair in ropes on their heads. Many also wear a patch-work cap. The usual surname of the Kanphata Jogis is "Nath" (females "Nathni"). A man of any caste may become a Kanphata. Their chief temples and sacred places are :—

- (1) At Gorakhpur.
- (2) The Gorakh Khetri plain at Dwarka.
- (3) A subterraneous passage at Haridwar.
- (4) At Samburnath and Pasupatinath in Nepal.
- (5) At Eklinga in Mewar.
- (6) At Mahanad in the Hooghly District.
- (7) Near the Cantonment of Dum Dum.

64. Professor Oman says they pay especial honour to the following 9 Naths or immortal saints :—

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Gorakhnath.    | 5. Ghugonath.  |
| 2. Machendranath. | 6. Gopinath.   |
| 3. Charpurnath.   | 7. Prannath.   |
| 4. Mangalnath.    | 8. Surathnath. |
9. Chambanath.

65. I have also a note by me taken from information a Sub-Inspector once gave me ; as it may prove of use for further enquiry I give it for what it is worth. He said Jogis are divided into 9 "Phirkas" or Naths or Sects and all are known as "Nath" Jogis. Their founder was :—

- (1) Machendranath who was born from a fish and produced
- (2) Jalandranath from the ashes of his *dhuni*.  
Jalandranath gave some Vibhuti to a woman to eat in order that she might have a child, she in disgust threw it into a dunghill, and
- (3) Gorakhnath sprang out of it. Gorakhnath put some Vibhuti into an elephant's ear, and
- (4) Kanipanath was born. Gorakhnath also accepted king
- (5) Bhartihari of Ujjain as his chela, hence the Bhartiharinath jogis ; Kanipanath's chela
- (6) Chauranginath started another sect and his chela
- (7) Charpatnath laid the foundations of his *phirka* and produced a spiritual descendent named
- (8) Retinath out of sand. Retinath's disciple
- (9) Barsidhinagnath was the founder of all the Jogis who tame snakes including the Kalbelias who are, I am told, much given to crime.

66. The majority of these names given by the Sub-Inspector may be those of some of the 84 Siddhas or perfect Jogis. In the census report of the Punjab 1891 (as quoted by Oman). "The distinctive emblem of the Siddha worshippers is a silver *Singhi* or cylindrical ornament worn on a thread round the neck."

67. There is a division of Jogis known as Oghars who in the place of "Nath" take the title "Das." They are not considered very respectable, their low-caste origin being against them ; they usually blow a blast on their "Nads" every morning and evening, and before partaking of any kind of nourishment.

68. These are exactly like the Aghoris (to be later described) except that they wear rings in their ears like the Kanphatas.

69. Some of the snake charmers dress exactly like the Kanphatas and call themselves Kanipa Jogis.

70. Professor Wilson says "The Jogis are particularly distinguished amongst the different mendicant characters by adding to their religious personification more of the mountebank than any others ; most of the religious mendicants

it is true, deal in fortune-telling, interpretation of dreams and palmistry; they are also often empirics and profess to cure diseases with specific drugs, or with charms and spells; but, besides these accomplishments, the Jogi is frequently musical and plays and sings; he also initiates animals into his business, and often travels about with a small bullock, a goat or a monkey whom he has taught to obey his command and to exhibit amusing gesticulations. The dress of this class of Jogi is generally a cap and coat or frock of many colours: they profess to worship Siva, and often carry the Linga, like the Jangamas, in the cap; all classes and sects assume the character, and Mussalman Jogis are not uncommon.

One class of Hindu Jogis is called Sarangihar Jogis from their carrying a Sarangi, or small fiddle or lute with which they accompany their songs: these are usually Bhasha stanzas amongst which are stanzas ascribed to Bhartihari. The Sarangihars beg in the name of Bhairava: another sect of them, also followers of that deity, are termed Dorihars from their trafficking in small peddlary. Another class adopt the name of Machendris from Matsyendra whom they regard as their founder; and a fourth sect are Bhartihars from a traditional reference to him as the institutor of this particular order. The varieties of this class of mendicants, however, cannot be specified; they are all errants, fixed residences, or Maths, of any Jogis except the Kanphatas rarely occurring."

71. As already stated these are Sivites pure and simple: they are the priests of the Lingaits, a sect which was in existence in all probability before Sankara Acharya started his travels, though many writers place its date of birth in the twelfth century. Jangamas wander about ringing bells, and asking for alms; they carry Lingas in their caps, and wallets, in which to deposit their alms, over their shoulders. They are the Gurus of the Lingaits, and they smear their foreheads with *Vibhuti*, wear necklaces, carry Rudraraksha rosaries, and wear red ochre coloured clothes. They are generally met leading about a bull (Siva's charger Nandi) decked with many coloured ribbons and strings of cowri shells: they of course carry the usual Jangama bell. The Jangama priests of shrines are generally called Aradhya and Pandaram. The ordinary mendicant monks of the Lingaits are called Vaders. They usually tie the bells to their arms so as to advertise their presence and save themselves the trouble of soliciting alms. In the south these Vaders are treated with great reverence. It may interest you to hear that Basava, a renegade Brahman who is supposed to have restored or founded the Lingait cult in the 12th century, married the daughter of Danda Nayaka, the chief of Police in the kingdom of Chalukya (Kalyan) and succeeded to the post after the death of his father-in-law. He is the first Policeman I have seen any mention of in India: Mr. Russell enumerated 3,000 Jangamas in the Central Provinces in 1901.

72. These mercifully are a small community, for the Aghoris are the most disgusting beings one could imagine; their wands are studded with human bones, and their water pot is the upper half of a human skull. They pretend to be absolutely indifferent to worldly things and eat and drink whatever is given to them, even ordure and carrion. They smear their bodies with excrement and carry it about with them in a skull, either to swallow it if people will pay them to do so, or to throw at those who refuse alms. They will also gash themselves so that the crime of blood may rest on those who refuse. There are still people living who in the days gone-by have seen Aghoris eat the flesh of human corpses.

73. These are nearly all solitary mendicants who extend one or both arms above their heads till they remain of themselves so elevated, and the nails pass through the palms. They seldom wear more than a loin cloth which is stained with ochre: they assume the Saiva marks, and coil their hair into a "Jata" in imitation of Kapardin.



74. Like the above, except that, instead of holding up an arm they held up their faces to the sky, until the muscles stiffen and they cannot move their necks.
- Aksamukhis.**
- Nakhis. 75. Confine their torture to their finger nails which they never cut.
- Tharasris. 76. Always remain in a standing posture.
- Urdhamukhis. 77. Hang head downwards from the bough of a tree.
- Panchadhunis. 78. Light five fires and remain seated between them in all weathers.
- Jalashayis. 79. Stand in water to their necks all night.
- Jaladhara Tapashis. 80. Have a jet of water playing on them all night.
- Falaharis. 81. Live on fruit only.
- Dudha Haris. 82. Live on milk only.
- Alonas. 83. Never touch salt.
84. Go out with a metal pan on which they burn scented wood in houses in exchange for alms for which they will not ask except by repeating the word "Alakh." Wear a large round cap and a long *gerua* frock. Some wear ear-rings like the Kanphatas, or a cylinder of wood called "Khechari Mudra" passed through the lobe.
- Gudas.**
85. Carry a stick 3 spans in length, dress as above, but their ear-rings are made of the *rudra-raksha* seed, and they carry a twisted piece of *gerua* cloth over the left shoulder; also beg by repeating "Alakh."
- Sukharas.**
- Rukharas. 86. Are the same, but do not carry the stick, and wear metallic instead of *rudra-raksha* ear-rings.
- Ukharas. 87. Either of the last two who drink spirits and eat meat.
- Kara Lingas.**
88. Go naked and mark their triumph over sensual desires by fixing an iron ring and chain to the male organ
- Nagas.** 89. Are I believe not to be found now-a-days.
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## VAISHNAVA SECTS.

90. Vishnu has already been described to you as the comparatively recent manifestation of a more ancient God. He is perhaps, except in his descents on earth in material form, more difficult to delienate than Siva. The name Vishnu is derived from the root "Vish" to pervade. The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda opens by giving him the highest place among the Gods. In the Vishnu Purana, Chapter 2nd, he reclines as the Supreme Being in profound repose on the thousand-headed serpent (Sesha) floating on the water, and there he lies inert until some internal force stirs him into activity and—as Brahma—he creates the world; others, on the other hand, say from his navel grows the lotus flower which supports Brahma. His worshippers have endowed him with 1,000 names and epithets (8 less than Siva) the repetition of which (nama sakirtana) is productive of vast stores of religious merit. The following forms and distinguishing marks will help in the identification of the Sects which worship him as their "Ishta Deva" or chosen God:—

- (1) Sri Vatsa.—The auspicious mark on his breast, a twist or curl of hair.

NOTE.—In one form of Krishna (as Vithoba in the Maratha country) his breast has the impress of the foot of the sage Bhṛigu who kicked him there.

- (2) He has four arms and holds a symbol in each of his four hands: these are:—

- (i) *Sudarsana*, a wheel or circular weapon (Chakra).  
 (ii) *Panchajanya*, conch shell (Sankha).  
 (iii) *Kaumodaki*, a club (Gadā).  
 (iv) *Padmali*, a lotus flower.

- (3) He is armed with a magic bow (Sārnga).

- (4) He is armed with a magic sword (Nandaka).

- (5) He has a jewel (Syamantaka) on his wrist.

- (6) Do. (Kaustubha) on his breast.

- (7) He is borne through space on the mythical bird Garuda (Semi-human in form and character, with a birdlike face), a ruthless destroyer of snakes.

- (8) The Ganges issues from his right foot and flows through the skies before it falls on Siva's head.

91. Leaving these out of the question. the forms he is best known in are those in which he descended on earth to deliver his worshippers from danger, or to benefit mankind. Both Sir Monier Monier-Williams and Mr. J. N. Bahttacharjee agree in giving the following ten as the true descents of Vishnu:—

- (1) *As Matsya*.—The fish, to save mankind at the deluge when the ship containing Manu and the 7 Rishis was anchored to a horn he let grow from his forehead.

- (2) *As Kūrma*.—The tortoise, which served as the pivot on which the mountain Mandara was set revolving to churn the ocean of milk.

- (3) *As Varāha*.—The boar, to raise the world from the waters of the deluge in which it was submerged.

- (4) *As Nara-Sinha*.—The man-lion, to save mankind from the tyrant Hiranya Kasipu whom he tore in pieces.

NOTE.—These four descents are said to have taken place in the Satya Yuga (the first age).

- (5) *As Vāmana*.—The dwarf, who recovered the three worlds from the demon Bali by expanding until he strode in 2 steps over heaven and earth, and then left the lower world to the demon out of compassion.

- (6) *As Parasu Rama*.—Rama with the axe, who as a Brahman completely annihilated the Kshatriya race 21 times.

NOTE.—These two are said to have appeared in the second or Treta age.

- (7) *As Ramchanūra*.—The moonlike Rama, the saviour of mankind and destroyer of the demon Ravana.

NOTE (1).—Said to have lived at the close of the Treta age.

NOTE (2).—The Ramayana 1, 75-76, tells of Rama's victory over Parasu Rama.



(8) *As Krishna*.—The dark Hero God, who delivered the world from Kansa, the tyrant.

NOTE (1).—This descent is said to have taken place at the end of the Dvapara or third age of the world. His re-ascension into heaven having marked the commencement of the present Kali Yug.

NOTE (2).—Some (Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee says "the orthodox") aver that Krishna was not an *Avatara* of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself, and these substitute his elder brother Balarama—the Strong—Rama for Krishna, but Balarama is also regarded as an incarnation of the serpent Shesah.

(9) *As Buddha*.—The "enlightened" who lived in the present Kali Yug.

(10) *As Kalki*.—The future incarnation which is to descend at the end of the present Kali Yug for the purpose of rescuing (according to Mr. J. N. Bhattacharjee) the land of the Aryas from the oppressors, or (according to Sir Monier Monier-Williams) when he will be revealed in the sky seated on a white horse, with a drawn sword blazing like a comet, for the final destruction of the wicked, for the redemption of the good, for the renovation of all creation and restoration of the age of purity (Satya Yug).

NOTE.—In the Vishnu Purana one Mahayug is made up of four yūgs :—

(1) Krita or Satya Yug	...	...	...	4 800 divine years.
(2) Treta Yug	...	...	...	3,600 do. do.
(3) Dvapara Yug	...	...	...	2,400 do. do.
(4) Kali Yug	...	...	...	1,200 do. do.

A divine year is 360 mortal years: the Kali Yug is therefore 432,000 mortal years; it commenced B. C. 3101, therefore so far only 5,008 years have elapsed, and we still have 426,992 years to look forward to before the promised incarnation appears and the Satya Yug once more commences. There are 1,000 Mahayugs in one Kalpa (day) of Brahmā's life and he lives for 100 years of 365 Kalpas. We are now in the 4th Yug of the 1st Mahayug of the 1st Kalpa (called the Varāha or boar Kalpa) of the 51st year of Brahmā's life.

92. The existing Vaishnava Sects are nearly all worshippers of the God in the form of either Krishna or Rama, and the two systems elaborated round these incarnations are generally spoken of as "Krishnaism" and "Ramaism." I do not propose to give any account of these two faiths—such an undertaking would make these lectures inordinately long—suffice it to say that neither cult made much headway until the 11th century, when a South Indian Brahman Rāmanuja (he was born at Parambur near Madras, studied in Kanjivaram, afterwards settled in Srirangam on the Kauvari and was buried in the great temple of Ranganath) maintained in opposition to Sankara :—

- (1) That there is one Supreme Spirit "Iswara."
- (2) That individual beings are separate Spirits "Chit."
- (3) That the universe is non-Spirit "Achit."

He devoted all his energies to the abolition of Linga worship and the substitution of Vishnu worship. His followers are known as Ramanujas or Sri Vaishnavas (after Sri or Lakshmi the consort of the God); they form one of the four original "Sampradayas" or orders, which are :—

- (1) Sri Sampradaya, founded by Rāmānuja.
- (2) Mādhva or Brahma Sampradaya, founded by Madhva.
- (3) Rujra Sampradaya, founded by Vallabha.
- (4) Sanaka Sampradaya, founded by Nimbadiya hence its other name "Nimat."

93. The Sri Sampradaya have sub-divisions called after Nārāyana, Lakshmi, Lakshmi Nārāyana, Rām, Sita, Sita-Rāma, Krishna, Rukhmini, &c., but there is no sub-division devoted to Rādhā as she, was only a mistress. In course of time the worship degenerated, and in the 13th century in consequence of the doctrines of Vedānt Acharya (a learned Brahman of Kānjivaram) who endeavoured to restore the teaching of the original founder, the order split into two

factions, the northern or Vadagala and the southern or Tengala. These factions are at bitter enmity with each other; the Vadagalas adhere to the Sanskrit Vedas, while the Tengalas have produced a Tamil Veda of their own. The two schools generally go by the names of the monkey and cat schools; the Vadagalas holding that the human spirit by its own will takes hold of the Supreme spirit as the baby monkey clings to its mother, whereas the Tengalas maintain that the human spirit remains passive till picked up by the Supreme spirit as the cat picks up its helpless kitten. The Vadagalas are the more exclusive school as they admit few Sudras, whereas the Tengalas embrace all castes.

94. The forehead marks, popularly called "trifala," of the two schools differ: the "tilak" of the Vadagalas is shaped like an U, that of the Tengalas like a Y. The U represents the right foot of Vishnu from which the Ganges flows: the Y represents both feet, the tail down the nose being the lotus throne. In both a perpendicular red or yellow streak bisects the space between the branching arms and represents Sri or Lakshmi: the branches are painted with Tiruman or Gopichandan (supposed to be soil from the bed of the pool in Dwarka in which the Gopis drowned themselves, but more often ordinary magnesian or calcareous clay obtainable in many places). These marks extend from the hair to the eyebrows. Rāmānujas also daub patches of Gopichandan on the breast and arms with a central red streak in the middle of the breast. These patches represent the Sankh, Chakra, Gada and Padma, while the central streak is Sri or Lakshmi. In Southern India these marks are frequently branded on by the Guru with a red hot stamp. Initiation is accompanied by the whisper of the 8 syllable Mantra "Om namo Narayanaya". Members of the sect wear a necklace of the wood of the Tulsi, or the lotus, and carry a rosary (japamala) of the beads of either the Tulsi (the Basil or "Ocymum sanctum") or the lotus and worship the Salagram (a black ammonite generally obtained from the bed of the Gandak). Rāmānujas may only eat food which has been cooked by themselves in the strictest privacy. The Brahman Rāmānujas are allowed to wear nothing but silk and wool when cooking and eating; the rest wear cotton dyed with ochre. A few Brahmans of this sect, who have passed through the first two stages of the Brahmanical order, carry a staff and call themselves Dandi (or Tridandi) Sannyasis, but they wear the sacred thread, and do not enshrine its ashes, as is the practice with Sankara's Dandis. They have numerous Maths and Asthals or Akharas presided over by Mahants who collect resident *chelas* around them, while they send out a number of vagrant members to beg. When accosting a Rāmānuja the usual form of salutation is "Dasoshmi" or "Dasoham" (I am your slave).

95. The Ramanandis are an offshoot of the Rāmānuja sect. Ramanand is commonly asserted to be the 5th in descent from Rāmānuja and lived in the 14th century; he was the missionary of popular Vaishnavism in Northern India: he admitted low-caste disciples into his sect, and was the first to preach his tenets to the people in their own language instead of Sanskrit. He broke from the Rāmānujas because they objected to his carelessness in allowing people to see him cooking his food. The Ramanandis, or Rāmāvats as they are sometimes called, in consequence are not careful about seclusion during their culinary duties. They call themselves Sri Vaishnavas, like the Rāmānujas and paint their foreheads like the Vadagala, except that the red streak is varied in shape and extent to suit the pleasure of the individual and is generally narrower than that of the Rāmānujas. They put Rama and Sita first in worship and not Vishnu and Lakshmi as do the Rāmānujas, and their initiatory *mantra* is simply "Sri Rama"; their forms of salutation are "Jaya Sri Rama," "Jaya Rama" and "Sita Rama." Some of Ramanand's disciples founded separate schools, among these were Namdeo, the cotton printer, Sena, the barber, Kabir, the weaver, Nabhaji, the Dom (author of the Bhakta Mala) and Raidas, the Chamar. The Ramanandis are divided into four schools—

- (1) *Acharis*—Brahmans, who wear only silk and wool.
- (2) *Sannyasis*—any caste, wear only cotton dyed with ochre and dress like Dasnami Dandis.



- (3) *Vairagis*—any caste, wear a small rag to cover the loins and another called "Bahir Bas" round the waist.
- (4) *Khakis*—any caste, go about almost naked, smear their bodies with a mixture of clay and ashes and do not trim their hair or nails: a few dress their hair in a Jata like Sivites.

96. All Rāmāvats wear necklaces and carry rosaries of Tulsi (Basil) beads or wood. The non-Brahman Ramavats accost each other with "Rama Rama," but when they salute a Brahman say "paun lagi" (thy feet are touched). They are most numerous along the Ganges and Jumna valleys, and the Samadh or spiritual throne of the founder is said to be in Jaipur.

97. Of Ramanand's (so-called) Muhammadan disciple Kabir. Dr. Grierson says "he founded a religion whose origin was largely infused with Christianity and added to it the Mussalman doctrines of the unity of God and of the hatred of image worship. Kabir Panthis are noted for their piety and morality." Their itinerant monks worship the invisible Kabir, and their begging is accompanied by the songs of the founder of their order; they accept gifts, but do not solicit alms. Some go about nearly naked, some wear *tulsi-malas*, some paint their foreheads as do the Ramavats, and some make a streak with sandal or *gopichandan* along the ridge of the nose; but these outward signs are of minor importance to them. Obedience to Gurus is very strictly observed: they consider life to be the gift of God and so abhor all violence, and they regard truth as one of the cardinal virtues.

98. Maluk Dasis are another offshoot of Ramanand's teaching. The red streak painted on their foreheads is shorter than that of the Ramavats and they worship Ram as the giver of all. Maluk Das was born at Kara Manikpur near Allahabad. The principal seat of his followers is there at a *math* on the Ganges. He died in Puri where an establishment of great repute exists near the Kabir Panthi Math; other noted monasteries are at Allahabad, Benares, Brindaban, Ajudhya and Lucknow.

99. The Ram Snehi are, according to Mr. Bhattacharjee, also a division of Ramavats. They were founded by Ramcharan of Sura Sena in Jaipur who was himself originally a Ramavat. They do not worship images. Their mendicants are divided into Bidehis and Mohinis. The Bidehis go about completely naked; the Mohinis wear two pieces of ochre-dyed cotton cloth: the mendicant's water-pot is made of wood and he dines off a stone or an earthen plate. The monks are celibates; they are also vegetarians and abstain from all intoxicating drinks and drugs and from tobacco. A man of any caste may join the sect. They paint a white perpendicular line on the forehead, shave their heads of all but a central lock, and wear *tulsi-malas*. Ram Snehis are numerous in Mewar and Alwar and are found in Bombay, Gujarat, Surat, Hyderabad, Poona, Ahmedabad and Benares. The chief monastery is in Shahapur (Rajputana).

100. The Dadu Panthis. Dadu was the 5th in descent from Ramanand and is said to have been one of Kabir's pupils. He was a cotton cleaner born at Ahmedabad and in middle age entered a hermitage in the Vaherana mountain near Naraina: from there he disappeared and his followers believed he was absorbed into the Deity. The sect has no temples, and image worship is prohibited; they wear no external marks, but carry a rosary and don a peculiar white cap, which has by some been described as round and by others as four cornered with a flag hanging down behind: the difference in appearance may be due to the fact that each devotee has to make his own cap. They are divided into three classes:—

*Viraktas*.—Go bare-head with one garment and one water-pot.

*Nagas*.—Carry arms and take military service (the Raja of Jaipur is said to have entertained over 10,000 in his army).

*Vistar Dharis*.—Follow the occupations of ordinary life.

The chief place of worship is Naraina where Dadu lived before he mysteriously disappeared.

101. The second Sampradaya is that of the Madhvacharis : their dogma is duality (human soul separate from the divine soul). The order was founded by Madhva Acharya, a Brahman born at Tuluva in Canara in 1199 A. D. The principal shrine erected by him is that at Udipi near which he constructed 8 monasteries. Madhvacharis paint their foreheads like Vadagalas except that the central line is black and they are branded like the Tengalas. They admit people of any caste and imitate the Saiva Dandis, and they are chiefly found in Southern India.

102. The two remaining Sampradayas worship Vishnu in the form of Krishna alone or conjointly with the milkmaid Radha.

103. The Rudra Sampradaya or the Vallabhacharis were founded by Vishnu Swami, the fifth in descent from him was Vallabha, born in 1479, and it is after him the sect is named. They worship Krishna as Bala Gopala, the cowherd boy; and their head-quarters were originally fixed at Gokula, the scene of Krishna's boyhood as the foster son of the cowherd Nand Ghosh. Vallabha is believed to have miraculously discovered 8 idols which he set up there, but some generations later the family was driven off with their idols by the persecutions of Aurangzeb and took refuge in Rajputana where temples have been built over them in the following places :—

- |     |                                   |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| (1) | The Srinath Temple at Nath Dwara. |
| (2) | „ Nanita do. do.                  |
| (3) | „ Mathura Nath Temple at Kotah.   |
| (4) | „ Vitthal Nath do. do.            |
| (5) | „ Dwarka Nath do. Kankerwali.     |
| (6) | „ Gokul Nath do. Jaipur.          |
| (7) | „ Madan Mohan do. do.             |
| (8) | „ Yadu Nath do. Surat.            |

104. The descendants of Vallabha are the priests of these idols, and all his descendants are venerated as Gods and called " Maharaja ", they are generally known as Gokulastha Gosains. The followers of Vallabha are mostly to be found among the mercantile classes of the western provinces of India. Low-caste Sudras are not admitted into the sect. Their worship is known as Pushni Marga (the road of nourishing food). The mendicants or Gosains often engage in trade during their pilgrimages, dress well, feed well and live in state. The mark on the forehead is in the form of a U with a round red spot in the middle. Some however make the centre spot black. The necklace and rosary are made of the stalk of the Tulsi. The salutations among them are " Srikrishna " and " Jaya Gopal."

105. Vallabha's successor Vitthal Nath had 7 sons who were all teachers, and as their followers form different communities I will give their names :—

Girdhari Rai, Govind Rai, Bala Krishna, Gokulnath, Raghunath, Yadunath, and Ghansyama.

106. " The Gokulastha Gosains and their Maths are among the wealthiest in the land, specially the Math of Sri Nath Dwara in Ajmir; the high priest (a descendant of Gokulnath) is a man of great importance and opulence " (Wilson) Members of the sect when they visit Sri Nath Dwara (which they are all supposed to do at least once in their life-time) receive a certificate from the head Gosain to show they have done this pilgrimage.

107. The Swami Narayana sect of Gujarat. Their founder's name was originally Sahajananda, but in Jetalpur when he found his teaching was attractive, he changed his name to Swami Narayana. His followers have to wear two *tulsi* rosaries, one for Krishna and



one for Radha. The forehead mark is like the letter U with a red spot in the centre to represent Teeka. Female adherents "paint a circular mark with the red (*sic*) powder of saffron" Bhattacharjee. The mendicants wear the salmon coloured dress of ascetics. Swami Narayana sought to denounce and expose the licentious practices of the Bombay "Maharajas" of the Gokulastha Gosains.

108. The Nimavats sometimes Nimats or Sanakadi Sampradayis have their head-quarters at Mathura in the Monastery of Nimavad or Sanakasi Sampradaya. Dhruva Kshetra. They paint their foreheads with two perpendicular lines of *gopichandan* with a round black mark in between. The sect worships Krishna in conjunction with Radha, and is said to be on the decline.

109. *Vaishnavas of Bengal.*—Their founder was Chaitanya or as he was named by his parents Nimai or Bishambhar, a Chaitanyas. Baidak Brahman born in Nadiya in Bengal in 1484. He preached the worship of Radha and Krishna in a country devoted to Sakticism and popularized his religion by inaugurating the "Sankirtan" or procession of worshippers playing and singing, and by teaching that the road to salvation was by "Bhakti," that Bhakti was of four kinds :—

1. The devotion of a servant to his master,
2. Do. a friend to a friend,
3. Do. a parent to a child,
4. Do. a lady to her lover,

that the last form of Bhakti was the highest, and that the Bhakti shown by Radha for Krishna was the supreme form of ideal devotion. He preached against animal sacrifice, and against the consumption of meat and stimulants. The spiritual guides or Gosains of this cult are not necessarily Brahmans, and he admitted all castes and even Muhammadans into the sect. His followers are distinguished by two white perpendicular streaks of *gopichandan* united at the root of the nose by what Mr. Bhattacharjee says "is something like a bamboo leaf or basil leaf," and the marking is often continued down the nose to near the tip. They imprint in *gopichandan* daily the names of Radha and Krishna with a metal stamp on their arms and breasts and sometimes they also paint the names "Gora" on the arms and breast: Gora is a corrupt form of "Goura" yellow which was one of Chaitanya's names. The *tulsi* necklace is close fitting and usually made of three strings, and the *tulsi* rosary of at least 108 *tulsi* beads which are often very minute. Their regard for the *tulsi* plant leads them to eat *tulsi* leaves with their food and drink. Their garments are usually white and consist of a "langoti" a girdle and a "bahir-bas" or outer garment which is a piece of cotton cloth without border about two yards in length, this is sometimes dyed with turmeric. I have already mentioned the Gosains of the sect.

Babajis. Matajis. Viraktas. The male mendicants are called *Babaji* and dress as ascetics, while the females are known as *Mataji* and dress as widows, but the sexes generally live openly together. Some Babajis called themselves "*Virakta*" (disgusted with the world), they live in monasteries and will not allow females to cook for them. The majority of the Babajis are of the clean Sudra castes. Mr. Bhattacharjee says "there are among them many bad characters too. If proper inquiries be made it may appear that they have in their society many ex-convicts, criminals who have eluded the pursuit of the police, etc."

110. In Bengal there are several seceding classes of this sect :—

1. Spashta Dayakas, 2. Karta Bhagas, 3. Sahajas, 4. Nara Neris, 5. Bauls.

111. The teachers of the *Spashta Dayakas*, male and female, who live together and are called "Udasina," are mendicants and ascetics. Spashta Dayakas. Their sectarian marks are a shorter *tilak* than that of orthodox Chaitanyas and their *tulsi* necklace consists of one string, the men often wear only an apron (or Kaupina) round the waist and the women shave their heads of all but one slender tress.

112. The *Karta Bhagas* and *Sahajas* are non-mendicant.
113. The *Nara Neris* are a low class of Chaitanyas : the Nara is the male, and the Neri the female ; they beg and sing together and wear a coat of "kantha" or rags patched together.  
Nara Neris.
114. The *Bauls* are the dirtiest of the Chaitanyas ; they wear a cone-shaped cap and a long jacket of dirty rags patched together, they dance and sing to musical instruments ; according to their tenets sexual indulgence is the most approved form of religious exercise.  
Bauls.
115. The Radha Vallabhis were founded by Hari Vans about 1585, their head-quarters are in Brindaban and their Gosains are found all over Upper India, they worship Radha in preference to Krishna. I can find no accounts of their attire.  
Radha Vallabhis.
116. The Sakhi Bhavas are men who are rarely met with ; they wear female attire and follow the occupations of women.  
Sakhi Bhavas.
117. *Charan Dasis*.—This sect was instituted by Charan Das, a Dhushar. Their teachers may be of any caste or sex. They worship Radha and Krishna as the source of all things. They profess to act up to a very moral code. The mendicants of the sect wear yellow garments, paint a single streak of *gopichandan* on their foreheads and have a *tulsi* necklace and rosary ; the cap is small and pointed and round its lower part is wound a yellow turban. Their chief seat is in Delhi and they have various *maths* in the upper part of the Doab.  
Charan Dasis.
118. The third religion, that of the Saktas, does not require much mention as the medicant members are fortunately few. They are divided into the :—

Dakshinacharis or Bhaktas	...	...	Right handed Saktas.
Vamacharis	...	...	Left handed Saktas.
Kauls	...	...	Extreme Saktas.

All wear a necklace of *rudraraksha* beads like the Sivites. The Dakshinachari have generally an "Urdhapundra" or perpendicular streak in the central part of the forehead, the colouring matter being either a paste of sandalwood or a solution of charcoal (obtained from a "Hom" fire) in *ghi*. The mark on the forehead of the Vamachari consists of three transverse lines painted with the charcoal of the sacred fire dissolved in *ghi*. The Kauls paint their foreheads with vermilion dissolved in *ghi*. The tint of blood being their favourite colour they wear either scarlet silk, or cotton cloth dyed with ochre.

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## MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

119. *Satnamis* profess to adore the true name alone, but recognise the whole Hindu Pantheon and pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of God in the "avatars" Rama and Krishna. The sect was founded by Jagjivan Das, a Kshatriya who lived in the middle of the 18th century. The so-called mendicants or monks do not beg but are supported by the lay members of the sect. They wear a double string of silk bound round the right wrist. Lines on the forehead are not usually worn but some make a perpendicular streak with the ashes of a burnt offering made to Hanuman.

120. *Paltu Dasi*.—Paltu Das was a contemporary of Jagjivan Das, and his tenets were much the same as those of the Satnamis. The mendicants wear a cap and yellow garments. Some shave their heads and moustaches clean, others let all their hair grow unrestricted. "Satyaram" is their form of salutation.

121. The Sikhs or Nanak Shahis have several sub-sects; Professor Wilson mentions seven, but of these only four need be mentioned here;—

1. The Udasis.
2. The Nirmalas.
3. The Govind Shahis or Sinhis.
4. Akalis.

The two former are followers of Guru Nanak's teaching, the third follow the teaching of the warrior Guru Govind who was the tenth Guru in descent, and the last are fanatics. Their monasteries are called Dharmshalas.

122. The Udasis were established by Dharmachand, the grandson of Nanak. "They profess indifference to worldly vicissitudes. They are purely religious characters devoting themselves to prayer and meditation and usually collect in 'Sangats' or colleges, they also travel about to places of pilgrimage generally in parties of some strength. They profess poverty although they never solicit alms. They are in general well dressed and allow the whiskers and beard to grow." (H. H. Wilson.)

123. The Nirmalas "observe celibacy and disregard their personal appearance often going nearly naked. They are not, like Udasis; assembled in colleges but are always solitary." (H. H. Wilson.)

124. The Govind Sinhis.—Guru Govind devoted his followers to steel, hence the worship of the sword and its employment against both Muhammadans and Hindus in days gone by. He prescribed that every Sikh should bear the five marks known as the 5 "Ka":—

- Kes—The hair uncut.
- Kachh—The short drawers.
- Kara—Iron bangle.
- Khanda—Steel knife.
- Kangha—Comb.

125. There is also a class of Sikh fanatics known as the Akalis who may be recognised by their blue turbans with iron discs. Some Nanak Shahis wear their hair coiled on their heads and are called Jatadaris, some wear it loose and are called Bhaoriahs. Some—the Parama Hamsas—shave their heads. Most of them wear orange coloured clothes and carry "chipis" (cocoanut shell alms-bowls).

126. The Jain sect is not one that is likely to trouble the police much for their tenets aim at securing a life of morality. They worship 24 Tirthankaras (deified Saints) or Jinas, the last-two of whom—Parasvanatha and his disciple Vardhamana, known also, as Mahavira and Jina—are historical personages. Their moral code is expressed in five "Mahavratas" or cardinal duties (1) Refraining from injury to life, (2) Truth, (3) Honesty, (4) Chastity, (5) Freedom from worldly desires; and there are four "dharma" or merits (1) liberality, (2) gentleness, (3) piety, and (4) penance. They are divided into two main orders:—

- (1) Digambara—sky clad or naked, though now-a-days they usually only divest themselves of clothes when eating.
- (2) Svetambara—wearers of white clothes.

According to Mr. Bhattacharjee the Digambaris are divided into four sub-orders:—

- (1) Mula Sangis.—These use brushes of peacocks feathers, wear red garments and receive alms in their hands.
- (2) Kashta Sangis.—These worship wooden images and employ brushes of the tail of the yak.
- (3) Tera Panthis.—The Tera Panthis do not worship images, and have neither temples nor Yatis.
- (4) Bis Panthis.—These worship images, but make their offerings in front of them and not on them.

"There are similar sub-sects among the Svetambaris; they are as follows:—

- (1) Lumpakas.—Founded by Jinendra Suri in the 16th century. These do not worship images.
- (2) Bais Talas.—Founded by a teacher named Raghunath.
- (3) Tera Panthis.—Founded by a teacher named Bhikannath, and hence called also Bhikan Panthi. These discard images and keep their mouths veiled when they go out.
- (4) Dhoondias.—These keep their mouths veiled at all times and affect to conform strictly to all the moral rules of their religion. They do not worship images. They have nuns among them called Dhoondis. The sect is monastic and the monks are called Jatis or Yatis."

127. I do not think it necessary to mention the different theistic sects such as the "Brahma Samaj" and the "Arya Samaj", &c. So far as I can gather they have no mendicant members though they have itinerant preachers and lecturers who may, and frequently do, collect subscriptions for the furtherance of their various cults.



## FAKIRS.

128. This course of lectures would be incomplete without some reference to Muhammadan fakirs ; but I know so little of the subject that I must restrict myself to giving you a note on Fakirs which was published in the Supplement to the *Police Gazette* of 12th June 1907.

129. *Fakirs and their Sargurohs of Aurangabad.*—415. Criminal Investigating Department, Central Provinces, dated the 5th June 1907. The following notes on fakirs under the Aurangabad Moti Chowk has been supplied by the Inspector-General of Police, Hyderabad (Deccan), and is published for the information of Police officers in the Central Provinces :—

130. From reports received it would appear that fakirs have no criminal intent in view when they move from one place to another, their object being to settle doctrinal and private disputes amongst fakirs in accordance with their own code of laws on the subject.

131. Chowk or Moti Chowk is the name given to the place which the Sarguroh selects, for a fixed period, as the meeting place of the fakirs.

## 132. Sects of Fakirs—

1. Chishtia.
2. Qadiria.
3. Naksh Bandia.
4. Eifayi.
5. Madari.
6. Bhandari.
7. Sada Sohag.
8. Banua.
9. Barh Barh.

NOTE BY AUTHOR.—The only other mention I can find of a list of fakirs is that contained in a translation of Jaffir Sharif's *Kanun-i-Islam* by Mr. G. A. Herklots, M. D., published with notes in 1832.

Of the above he mentions—

1. Chishtia
2. Qadiria or Banawa.
3. Naksh Bandia.
4. (Not mentioned.)
5. Madaria or Tabkatia,
6. Mallang (evidently same as Bhandari).
7. Sohagia (evidently same as Sada Sohag).
8. (Not mentioned.)
9. ( Do. )

He also mentions—

10. Soharwardia.
11. Shutaria
12. Rafai or Gurz-mar.
13. Jallalia.
14. Bawa Pearia.

Or eleven sects in all.

1. *Chishtia*.—This sect is connected with the shrine of Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti Samdani Luli of Ajmir. They go about begging, beating a small drum and chanting life stories of Harni and Halima Dai. In their wanderings they travel as far as Ajmir, Mecca and the shrine of Asman Harooni.

2. *Qadiria*.—These are the followers of Sheikh Abdool Qadir Jilan Peeranepeer Ghouse-e-Azam Dastagir whose shrine is in Baghdad. These also are always on the move but do not beg. They are entertained from funds allotted for the purpose by each shrine.

3. *Naksh Bandia*.—Are followers of Sheikh Farid Shakar Gunj Saiyid Muhammad Shah of Gwalior. They beg carrying a lamp which they keep alight, night and day.

4. *Eifayi*.—Are followers of Saiyid Rafi Shah of Lahore who beg wearing iron bangles. They also carry a whip and mace. They inflict personal injuries upon themselves, sometimes very serious, and terrify people into giving them alm.

NOTE.—Kutbuddin, retired Segadar of Sadar Adalat, Bidar, who now resides in Esa Mian Bazar is connected to a great extent with the Eifayi sect.

5. *Madari*.—Are followers of Zinda Shah Madar of Farukhabad. They also beg.

6. *Bhandari*.—Is a sub-sect of the Madaris. These wear long hair and beg. They meet every six months and the meeting is known as Bhandar.

• 7. *Sadu Sohag*.—These wear bangles and take alms from prostitutes and eunuchs.

8. *Banua*.\*—These beg carrying a "Chamla Rach Kula" which is more or less like a cocoanut shell but very much larger.

9. *Barh Burh*.—These beg like the Banuas and do a bit of fortune-telling also.

NOTE.—The Sajjada Buzarg of Gulbarga, Saiyid Muhammad Muhammad-ul-Hussaini Shah Walliullah Hussaini is the head of this sect of fakirs.

133. In the Deccan three sects are generally found. That which has its head-quarters at Moti Chowk, Aurangabad District. The Sarguroh of this sect is nominated by the Sajjada of the shrine of Hazrat Khwaja Burhanuddin of Aurangabad.

134. The second sect is connected with the shrine of Masa-bi-Sahiba Chandi and the Sarguroh is nominated by the Sajjada of Pilgundah in British Territory. Gulbarga District is included in this Sarguroh's jurisdiction which includes the districts of Bijapur, Hubli, Dharwar, Gulbarga, Bidar, &c., &c. The tour begins in the lunar months of Rabi-us-Sani when they start from Kudchi (Belgaum District of Bomby Presidency) after performing the Niaz (ceremonial vows) of Hazrat Ghouse-e-Pak. At this time fakirs from all parts of the country congregate and the selection of the Sarguroh is left to the option and discretion of the Sajjada. He always nominates a literate man well versed in the doctrinal principles of fakirs and their traditions. After his selection, he is invested with the insignia of his office-turban, *Kafni*, deer skin and bedding. He is then given a retinue consisting of Naquib, chopdar, &c., who are chosen from amongst the fakirs collected together.

135. The Naquib now proclaims in a loud voice "Shahon ke Shahan; Badshahon ke Badshahan" (King of Kings, Emperor of Emperors). When proceeding along the road he shouts at intervals "hosh bur dum"; "Nazar bar kadam"; "safar dar Watan"; "Kilawat dar Anjuman."

136. This Sarguroh is the head of all fakirs in his territorial limits irrespective of the creed they follow or the sect they belong to. His word is law both in private and doctrinal disputes. He starts, as already stated, from Kudchi and meeting the Aurangabad Sarguroh at Moti Chowk traverses the district of Nander and Parbhani and arrives with his retinue at Gulbarga in the lunar month of Ziquad. Here he puts up near the shrine of Hazrat Khwaja-Bunda Nawaz Gesu Daraz at a spot which is consequently known as Fakir's Chowk. He has a following of no less than fifty men which consists of Banua Fakirs, Chopdar, Naquib, Kotwal and Bhandaris. This Chowk (session) is held on the 15th Ziquad.

137. A Chowk of Eifayi fakirs is held in front of the Devdi of the Sajjada of Gulbarga. Another Chowk of Tabquani Fakirs is held in the Bakshi Haveli. The same Sarguroh is acknowledged by these fakirs also as their head. He remains at Gulbarga till the end of Ziquad and stays with the Sajjada of Rouza-e-Sheik for a day as his guest. He then proceeds to Chitapur to the shrine of Chita Wali Sahib and returning to Gulbarga resumes his tour *via* the village of Kamsi, &c. &c., to Bidar where the party receives permission to shout "Allahuma Tar Tar." Here they disband and the members disperse to their homes. The Sarguroh, Naquib, Kotwal, Bhandari, &c., return to Kudchi and after submitting a full report of their doings during their tour retire from office.

138. The same Sarguroh exercises supervision over the moral conduct of Banua fakirs. Any irregularity of conduct on the part of any fakir makes him



liable to expulsion from the Chowk and he is deprived of his "Hal Fal", *i e.*, Kafni (Robe), Jholi (Bag), and Thasma. This sect professes to be enlightened and strict in their adherence to religious doctrines.

139. Madari fakirs, in which are included those who move about carrying banners and with performing monkeys and bears. Chapparbands\* also belong to this sect. Possibly these fakirs commit crime aided and screened by each other. The only fakirs of bad repute are the Chapparbands who belong to this sect. During their stay in Gulbarga, fakirs of this sect receive *sadabharat* and daily doles of tobacco and ganja from the Sajjada.

140. Banua fakirs move about the place when the Sarguroh is here. They keep chanting religious songs but do not beg. The Sarguroh provides for their wants.

141. Thabquini fakirs are also provided for by the Sarguroh but contrary to the Banuas they go about begging, which is also the case with Eifayi fakirs. The Sajjadas of Rouza-e-Buzarg, Rouza-e-Khurd, the Rouzas of Sheikh and Thaig-e-Barahma and Saiyid Enayetullah Kadiri make Banua fakirs. One wishing to be admitted into this order of fakirs is made to drink from a cup which has been previously touched by the lips of one of the above, and he then becomes a Murid.

142. Madari fakirs are not made in Gulbarga but at Bokur in Sir Khurshed-jah's Paigah. Every year on the 18th of the lunar month of Jamadi-ul-Awal an "Oorus" or annual ceremony is held at the shrine of Badiuddin Shah Zinda Shah Madar. The Sajjada at the time of the Oorus admits members into the fraternity of Madari fakirs. At the annual session of fakirs held here they come from all parts of the country from Bombay, Poona, Sholapur, Bijapur, &c., &c., and after a week or ten days they return to their homes.

143. There is a settlement of Madari fakirs in Gulbarga at the shrine of Gunje-Rawan, who have been here for a long time and are hereditary fakirs.

144. In the Yadgir Taluqa also there is a sect of Barh Barh fakirs who are more or less a sub-sect of Madari fakirs. They say that they are astrologers and fortune-tellers, and travel mostly by rail. Their movements, &c., are quietly watched by the police, but none of them have up to now been convicted of any offence.

145. In short, the reason why these fakirs visit shrines and are consequently always on the move is that they may receive instruction in the principles of their creed, and pay visits of pilgrimage to important shrines, and further obtain for themselves the wherewithal for their subsistence.

146. The special tenets and doctrines of their creed are known solely to the Sarguroh who imparts instruction on points of difficulty but does not communicate the principles themselves, which are preserved as a religious secret.

147. Their Murshids admit them to the privileges of fakirdom and select from them the Sarguroh. Any orders that these Sargurohs receive are implicitly and scrupulously observed, and nothing can be done contrary to these orders by the Sarguroh. The Sarguroh also receives further instructions which are communicated verbally by the Murshad, and only when there is an extraordinary call for it, is a written communication received by the Sarguroh. This he wears about his person tied up like a charm round his arm and keeps it in "Jalal-ul-Khyrat."

148. Long experience has shown that these fakirs look down upon crime, and any one guilty of an offence is expelled from the society of fakirs.

149. Among fakirs the Jalali sect includes brave and courageous men who, solely to earn money, inflict serious injuries upon their person, and produce blood.

150. Their principles and doctrines, their respect and veneration for shrines and their means of livelihood are above suspicion.

\* *Vide* page 93. n n

