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A.M. DAULA

The Speech and Customs of the Cuhres of the Panjab.

by

A. M. Daula.

I have therefore tried to give as precise and accurate a description of this interesting and important community as possible. The subject matter of the Thesis is summarized under the following headings.

- I. General description of the Cuhres.
- II. Ethnic types and their characteristics.
- III. The Cuhres.
- IV. The Cuhres and their language.
- V. Social organization of the Cuhres.
- VI. The Cuhres and their religion.
- VII. Cuhres and their customs, folk-songs, nursery rhymes, proverbs and superstitions.
- VIII. The effects of modern education etc. on the social life of the Cuhres.

This community of about seven hundred and fifty thousand people consists of several tribes, scattered all over the Panjab. They are looked down upon by members of upper castes on account of their dirty occupations in which they are engaged.

It has been difficult to ascertain who these people really were according to race the Cuhres has several

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SUMMARY OF THE THESIS.

Though many accounts have appeared at different times in journals and magazines concerning the history of the Cūhrās, no attempt has so far been made to give a detailed account of their speech, customs and ceremonies.

I have therefore tried to give as precise and accurate a description of this interesting and important community as possible. The subject matter of the Thesis is summarised under the following headings.

- I. General description of the Cūhrās.
- II. Ethnic types and mental characteristics.
- III. Speech of the Cūhrās.
- IV. Material culture of the Cūhrās.
- V. Social Institutions of the Cūhrās.
- VI. The Cūhrā Religion and its Practices.
- VII. Cūhrā Folk-lore, including Folk-tales, Songs, Nursery rhymes, Proverbs and Riddles.
- VIII. The effect of recent contacts, education etc. on the social life of the Cūhrās.

This community of about seven hundred and fifty thousand people consists of several clans, scattered about in the Panjab. They are looked down upon by members of the upper castes on account of the lowly occupations in which they are engaged.

It has been difficult to ascertain who these people really are. According to Rose the word Cūhrā has several
of 1931-32 the relative figures of these sects are shown
as 34224 (Hindus), 21713 (Mohammedans), 37791 (Sikhs), 33286
(Christians), 24222 (Jai Dharmis) respectively.

synonyms, but few of them are precisely the exact equivalent of Cūhrā. Popular traditions and tales handed down from generation to generation are quoted in explanation of their origin. Remarks already the great changes that have Cryptic terms and over two hundred words peculiar to the Cūhrās have been collected and explained. An effort has been made to show the derivations of the Cūhrā words from Sanskrit roots, as they appear to indicate distinct relationships. In addition, comparison has been made of the customs relative to birth, wedding and death ceremonies as observed by the Hindus, the Muhammadans and the Cūhrās with special reference to their resemblances and differences. A detailed description of their general characteristics, mental characters and ethnic types is also appended.

Under social institutions of the Cūhrās particular attention has been paid to explain the structure, formation and functions of the clans, kinship usages, genealogies, terms of relationship etc., which previous writers had not touched at all. The ceremonials are described in detail from personal observations extending over a long period.

The Cūhrā culture represents many extraneous influences. Within recent times they have adopted the religious principles of Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Christianity, Sikhism and Ādhī Dharmā, and in the latest Census Report of 1931-32 the relative figures of these sects are shown as 368224(Hindus), 21713(Mohammedans), 87791(Sikhs), 33986(Christians), 84292(Ādī Dharmīs) respectively.

Education is spreading at a very fast rate among the Cūhrās and there can be little doubt that before long their old culture and customs will, as a result, disappear altogether; one remarks already the great changes that have come about within the last decade.

No literary contributions in any language have so far been published by the Cūhrās, but it would be sad if some of the educated young men of the class do not publish detailed accounts of their origin, history etc. based on the Gujranwālā¹ book and other similar sources.

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SPEECH AND CUSTOMS OF THE CŪHRĀS OF THE PANJĀB.

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INTRODUCTION.

General Description: of the Cūhrās.

The Cūhrās are a very important element of the various backward tribes which are found scattered in different parts of the Panjab. Their language, manners, customs and modes of living have hardly been studied systematically and the present contribution is a result of an intensive study extending over several years of close contact with this tribe in several villages of the Panjab.

The earlier ^{accounts} of Sir Richard Temple¹, Sir Denzil Ibbetson² and William Crooke³ dealt with the Cuhras briefly in their general accounts of the Panjab Castes and Tribes, while more detailed accounts were published by Dr. Youngson⁴ and Sir Denzil Ibbetson.⁵

The following account of the speech, customs and manners of the Cūhrās is, as indicated above, the result of the author's ten year's field work (1922-1929) and (October 1931-1933) among this tribe in the different districts of the Panjab, particularly in Sialkot, Gujran-wala and Sheikhupura.

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1. Temple. Sir. R.C. Legends of the Panjab Vol.I.PP.120-209 & 529-545.
 2. See: A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab & N.W.F.P., Vol.II.PP.182-214.
 3. See Panjab Notes and Queries. Nov.1883-Arts:106,108,219
 4. See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol.III. Page 616 & The Indian Antiquary Vols.XXXV-XXXVI(Pages 82,302 337,19-31, 116, 135.
 5. See Panjab Castes PP.293-295.(Civil & Military Gazette) Lahore 1911.

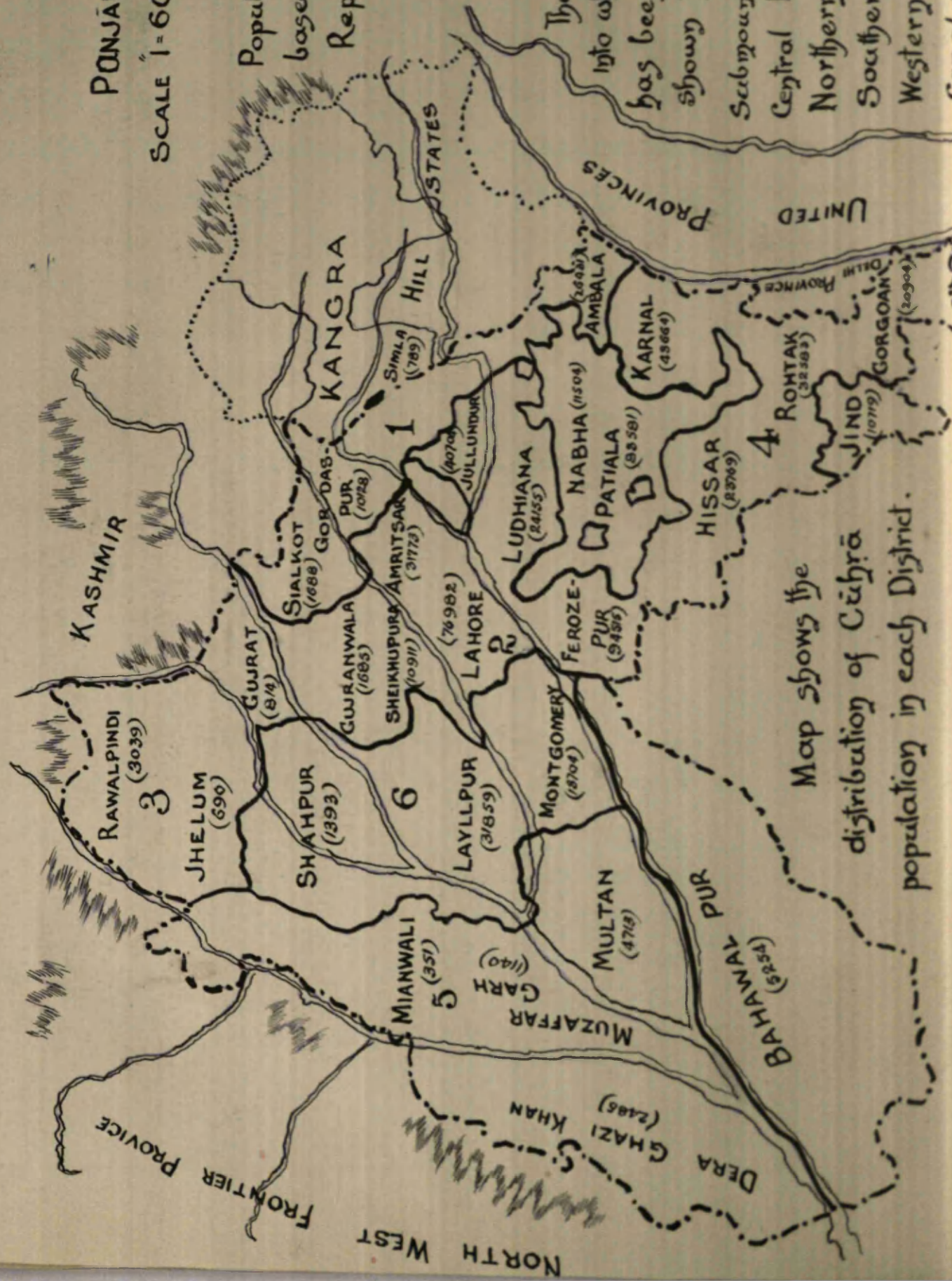
PANJAB

SCALE 1" = 60 MILES

Population Figures
based on Census
Report 1931.

The six circles
into which the Panjab
has been divided are
shown by

1. Submountain District
2. Central Panjab
3. Northern
4. Southern
5. Western



Map shows the
distribution of Cūhṛā
population in each District.

The Cūhrās are spread over a large tract of the Panjab and the Frontier Province. With the advance of civilisation old customs, habits, ideas and beliefs are in process of transformation or are fast disappearing. It may also be remarked that though the customs and usages described hereafter differ from village to village, there is a general agreement in regard to the fundamental principles of both social and religious beliefs of the tribes as a whole.

The Cūhrās are distributed widely. Their Distribution : all over the Panjab and North West Frontier Province, but they are most numerous within Central Panjab, the reason being that this area comprises the Canal Colony where thousands of Cūhrās are working as farm labourers. Many of them are employed in factories, situated in big cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Dharawal, Sialkot and Gujranwala.

The following table taken from the Population: latest Census Report shows the population figures of the Cūhrās for 1931-32.

	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.	Chris- tians.	Adharmi.	Total.
1891-878.	748.	251.	238.	94874.--	306.	x 652296. 572758
1901-509961.		115955.	12516.	x	x 638456.	350057
1902.	437982.	101850.	10202.			
1911-435929	46169.	12516.	x	x 510776.	414759	
1912.	353920.	37959.	10202.			

	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Sikhs.	Chris- tians.	Addharmi.	Total.
					M. F.	
1921-	378297.	7364.	23442.	x	x	409103.
1922.	315128.	6422.	19034.			340584.
1931-	200293.	11644.	47849.	18548.	46077.	370883.
1932.	167931.	10069.	39942.	15438.	38215.	310482.

The figures show a definite decrease in the population during the last four decades and the preponderance of the males over the females is always distinctly marked. This is surprising in view of the fact that the Panjab has recorded an increase in the general population by 37.0 per cent between the years 1921-1931.²

An analysis of the table shows that conversion to other religions is to some extent responsible for the loss in the Cūhrā population. In addition to this, emigration and other factors like epidemics, famine etc. have always taken a very big toll from these poor people.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson writes about the Social Status : social status of the scavenger castes of the Cūhrās as follows:- "But socially, they are the lowest of the low, even lower perhaps than the vagrant Sansis and the gipsy Nat, and as a rule can hardly be said to stand even at the foot of the social ladder, though some sections of the clan have mounted the first one or

1. Table V. Page 24-29. Census of India 1931. Part II. Vol. XVII. Punjab.

2 See Census Report 1931. Part I. Page 63. Section 6.

two steps".¹ Bengal and Jheruwāls in Bombay Presidency.

To determine the exact position of the Cūhrās in the present day Indian society is difficult. The Hindus and Muhammadans look upon them as belonging to a very low stratum. This is partly due to the nature of their work or occupation, but mostly to the fact that formerly they were carrion-eaters. Now that they have given up eating carrion they are considered a little above the Sasis, Brars and the Gaggrās, but below the Batwāls, Chamārs and Meghs who are essentially low class Hindus. The Cūhrās who have given up the occupation of scavenging and have taken to other professions are better treated and are allowed to enter the houses of Hindus or Muhammedans. Many of them have abandoned scavenging and taken to leather work, weaving etc.

The general feeling of other classes is, that the only people who may be regarded below the Cūhrās are the Sāsīs and the Gaggrās with whom even the Cūhrās do not eat or associate..² In spite of their low status in society the Cūhrās receive much better treatment in the Punjab at the hands of the higher classes than the Untouchables in the South or the Bhangīs in the United Provinces, or

1. See Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, Panjab Castes, Page 290 (Civil & Military Gazette), Lahore. 1916.

2. The Cūhrās look upon the Gaggrās with contempt because of their eating carrion and being extremely filthy in their habits.

Dhāngars in Bengal and Jharuwālās in Bombay Presidency.

The Cūhrās in the Panjab do not eat pork nor do they rear pigs, hence the Muhammadans look upon them as far above the Hindu Khatīks (i.e. the tanners and the breeders of swine) and Hālīs who though they profess to be Hindus eat pork.

The Cūhrās are strongly built and possesses a well developed muscular body. Both the sexes are very hardy, especially those who engage in agricultural work.

The Cūhrās living in the city are, however, thin and pale in comparison with village Cūhrās. Their complexion is variable. It is usually dark-brown, though sometimes there is a tendency towards light brown. There is a saying 'Kālā Brahman, te Cittā Cūhrā, te dāurī wālī rann, en tinnē gallē gūrat de khālāī nē.' i.e. (A dark Brahman, a fair Cūhrā and a woman with a beard these three are contrary to nature*), which is based on the general idea in reference to their facial complexion; this, however, is hardly true today.

The face of an average Cūhrā is broad, the beard is scanty and the lips are thick. The jaws are powerful with strong white teeth. They are not by any means comely in appearance although occasionally one does come across a boy or a girl who is fair and attractive.

* For the physical measurements of the Cūhrās reference may be made to G.H. May's data in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, pp 325-336.

CHAPTER. I.

GENERAL CHARACTERS, ETHNIC TYPES AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CŪHRĀS.

General description: The Cūhrās are of a very strong physique.¹ An average Cūhrā in a village is strongly built and possesses a well developed muscular body. Both the sexes are very hardy, especially those who engage in agricultural work.

The Cūhrās living in the city are, however, thin and pale in comparison with village Cūhrās. Their complexion is variable. It is usually dark-brown, though sometimes there is a tendency towards light brown. There is a saying, "Kālā Brāhman, te Ciṭṭā Cūhrā, te dāhrī wālī rann, eh tinnē gallā qudrat de khalāf nē." i.e. (A dark Brahman, a fair Cūhrā and a woman with a beard these three are contrary to nature"), which is based on the general idea in reference to their facial complexion; this, however, is hardly true today.

The face of an average Cūhrā is broad, the beard is scanty and the lips are thick. The jaws are powerful with strong white teeth. They are not by any means comely in appearance although occasionally one does come across a boy or a girl who is fair and attractive.

1. For the Physical Measurements of the Cūhrās reference may be made to H.H. Risley's data in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol.II.PP 825-836.

7.
An average Cūhrā is very talkative and while talking he uses hands and eyes to make gestures. By nature he is very credulous and can be easily deceived. When insulted by people of high caste he is easily roused.

Personal: The Cūhrās are not very particular about
appearance: their personal appearance. As a rule, they do not employ any artificial means for modifying their natural form or complexion, but sometimes the elderly men and women, both in villages and towns, dye their hair to appear younger than they are. Young girls use the Indian dye, Henna or "Mehndī"¹ for colouring their hands, nails and feet. It is considered very cooling and is used particularly during the summer months. Men, as a rule have their hair cropped very short and some of them have their heads shaved, while others allow the hair to grow and may later have it bobbed. But this practice of having bobbed hair is associated with age and no young man below the age of twenty is ever supposed to do it.

Cūhrā women keep their hair long; they part it in the middle and tie the ends with a blue silk tape called "Parāndā", which hangs down the back. Women use different kinds of ornaments for their hair. One of the principal

1. A shrub, the dried leaves of which yield a reddish-brown to orange dye.

ornaments used is "Toomb". This is a cone-shaped hollow ornament usually made of silver, an inch and a half long and two inches in circumference. Besides this, another ornament called "Janjīrī" (chain) is also used for the head. This keeps the hair in position and serves as a hair net. Certain other jewellery such as nose-rings and a small silver star-like ornament are fixed either on the right-side or the left side of one of the nostrils, particularly by those who have deformed noses. This is done either to hide the defect or to make the person look more attractive. Similarly, they have ear-rings which are of different shapes and sizes. As a result of wearing such heavy ornaments the shape of the nose or the ear is sometimes very much altered. Includes the districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujran Cūhrā men use only rings on their fingers. Some of them are fond of wearing bead necklaces to which are attributed magical and protective properties, while others are worn as symbols of good luck or merely for enhancing personal beauty.

III. (Southern Panjab) - Dirty and lazy type:-

Tattooing : Tattooing is not very popular with the Cūhrās in the Panjab, but girls sometimes indulge in it. A star or a dot of a green colour is often tattooed on the forehead or chin and sometimes also on the forearm.

Dr. Haddon, basing his remark on Hisley's work in comparing the Cūhrās with the Rajputs, stated, "Physically the one is cast in much the same mould as the other; the difference in height can be accounted for by the better nutrition and habits of life of the

The Cūhrās can be classified into

Classification:

of the Cūhrās : three different groups according to their physical features. They form distinct groups of their own in particular parts of the Province. The different types are as follows:-

I. (Northern Panjab)- Strong and sturdy type:-

Men and women living near the Frontier, beyond Jhelum and Rawalpindi possess great physical powers: they generally have strong limbs and are comparatively tall. They are slightly lighter in colour and are very sturdy. They are comparatively cleaner in their habits than their brethren living in other parts of the Panjab.

II. (Central Punjab)- Hardy and industrious type.

This area includes the districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyallpur districts. The Cūhrās of these districts are of a medium build, very hardy and industrious, courageous and capable of taking the initiative. They are darker in colour than the Cūhrās of the first group.

III. (Southern Panjab)- Dirty and lazy type:-

In this group are included the Cūhrās who live in the Southern districts including Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hissar. They are of slighter build than others, and are very dirty and lazy. In features they resemble the Rajputs of the Panjab. Dr. Haddon, basing his remark on Rissley's work in comparing the Cūhrās with the Rajputs, stated, " Physically the one is cast in much the same mould as the other; the difference in height can be accounted for by the better nutrition and habits of life of the

former.

CŪHRĀ MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The basis of comparison. By temperament the Cūhrās are indolent and unambitious and have no spirit of self-reliance. They are sometimes very obstinate and have a bull-dog tenacity. Their conservative nature is very much marked even in spite of their high education and experience. It is difficult to make a definite statement about the intelligence of Cūhrā boys, as no scientific experiments were made by the writer to compare them with boys of other castes. The writer collected his data by personal observations carried out in a number of Primary schools maintained by district boards, municipalities etc., in the Sialkot district. These preliminary investigations show that the Cūhrā lads differ a great deal among themselves.

Observation No: 1. The boys of ages 8, 9 and 10 of an upper primary class in a village school were asked to play among themselves for fifteen minutes and then to express their ideas about the game. The object was to see how they would do it. It was discovered that only two out of seven Cūhrā boys could describe the game they played.

In a municipal primary school the boys of the same age who belonged to a high caste, did not fare much better than the Cūhrā lads.

Observations No: II. On another occasion in a different school, some Cūhrā boys were asked to arrange separately books and other articles and co-ordination of different articles.

which were lying in a heap. After they had finished it was discovered that four out of the fifteen had arranged the books in a very neat and orderly fashion, but the co-ordination of other articles which required some thinking was not carefully done.

Observation No. III. : A dozen boys from a Cūhrā school
Fixing of wooden : and a dozen boys belonging to a high
pieces in different :
holes to judge :
common-sense and : class family were invited from the
adaptability. :

village school, all more or less of the same age. They were given pieces of wood of different sizes and varying shapes, circular, cubic, rectangular, oval and triangular. A special kind of board was taken with holes of shapes similar to the wooden blocks. The pieces were all taken out and placed on the ground leaving the holes empty. Then the boys were asked to put the blocks into the corresponding holes. The clever and more intelligent boys were naturally quick enough to see that a square block was to go into a square hole and a round block into a round hole and so on. It was a test to judge the general working of their common-sense and their alertness of observation. It was discovered that out of twelve high class boys, four were successful in fitting the blocks correctly, while out of the dozen Cūhrā lads three were successful, three were partially successful while six failed to do it at all. It is possible that the cause of

failure was a matter of fear and nervousness: it cannot be concluded that they lacked in intelligence. From this test the writer was able to judge the mental capacity of the two types of children. Some of the Cūhrā lads, to the great surprise of the teacher, showed remarkable initiative and great alertness; they even exhibited more intelligence than the high class boys. The average difference in the two types of boys, however, was not very significant.

It may be noted that, in carrying out the experiments,

- (a) The age of the boy was noted down;
- (b) The time taken by each student in performing the test was recorded;
- (c) Each day the tests were held on at the same time.

The results do indicate an inferiority complex and backwardness, but this is probably due to age-long prejudice and a social and economic slavery. There is no doubt as the writer can affirm from personal observations and experience, that when taught by right methods the Cūhrā boys show both initiative and intelligence and compare favourably with boys of other castes. The examination results of the Cūhrā boys show 75 to 80 per cent. of passes in the Vernacular Final, in the Matriculation and Intermediate Arts Examinations of the University during the last five years. There have been a few boys of exceptional intelligence, with a fair number below the average

Dr. Rice's work with Cūhrā boys, according to the "Binet Performance Point Scale", shows that several tests carried out on 411 Cūhrā boys and caste boys in different schools of the Punjab confirm the above view. His remarks in this connection are quoted in extenso:- "In conclusion we may state that our tests fail to discover any essential disability in the boys who have come from the depressed classes in the Punjab. It is not ^{now} surprising to us to note Risley's remark as to the racial stock of the Cūhrās¹

Risley's views, when comparing the Cūhrās with the Rajputs as characteristic Indo-Aryan types, also seem to add to the conclusions stated above:-

²The most important points to observe in the Indo-Aryan series of measurements are the great uniformity of type and the very slight differences between the higher and the lower groups. Socially, no gulf can be wider than that which divides the Rajputs of Udaipur and Marwar from the scavenging Chūhrā of the Panjab."

³They have lived a simple out door life, and, in spite of social degradation, are a sturdy people. School opportunity has now come to them here and there, and without their seeking it. They are embracing it hesitantly,

1. Rice. Herbert C. "A Hindustani Binet-Performance Point Scale, with a comparison of the Intelligence of certain caste groups in the Panjab. PP 189-191.(Princeton University Press)1929.

2. Risley, Sir Herbert H., The People of India, 2nd Edition, edited by W.Crooke, PP.37-38(Calcutta 1915)Ibid. PP.356-357. *Apdx. III*

3. Rice Herbert C., "A Hindustani Binet-Performance Point Scale, with a comparison of the Intelligence of certain caste groups in the Panjab PP.191(Princeton University Press)1929.

and with canny caution and delay. When they do enter into the life and training of the schools, they are able to measure up very creditably to the norm of the entire population etc."

It is difficult to trace the true racial history of the Guras. Though the old culture is still associated with them, their physical features have undergone considerable changes as a result of their continual intermixture with the neighbouring peoples. Sir Denzil Ibbetson¹ says, "It is probable they are essentially of aboriginal origin but there is little doubt that the aboriginal nucleus has received additions from other sources, of those who have gradually sunk in the scale of occupations or have in any way been degraded to the lowest level."

Risley also refers to the aboriginal strain.² At the bottom of the scale are the more or less primitive tribes Tharus, Kanjars, Doma and Nats- "the last remain ^{Savages, who were once the only inhabitants of the} and sole surviving representatives of the aboriginal Indian Indian Continent, and from whose stock the entire caste system, from the sweeper to the priest, was fashioned by the slow growth of centuries."

Dr. Haddon,³ basing on Risley's result, remarks as follows:-

"Socially no gulf can be wider than that which divides

1. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil-- Panjab Castes. P. 133.

2. Risley, Sir Herbert A., The People of India P. 266.
(Calcutta 1915).

3. Haddon, A.C.- The Races of Man and Their Distribution.
P. 112. (Cambridge 1924).

CHAPTER II.

THE RACIAL HISTORY, THE TRADITIONAL ORIGIN AND AFFINITIES OF THE CŪHRĀS.

It is difficult to trace the true racial history of the Cūhrās. Though the old culture is still associated with them, their physical features have undergone considerable changes as a result of their continual intermixture with the neighbouring peoples. Sir Denzil Ibbetson¹ says, "It is probable they are essentially of aboriginal origin; but there is little doubt that the aboriginal nucleus has received additions from other sources, of those who have gradually sunk in the scale of occupations or have in any way been degraded to the lowest level."

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the Rajputs from the Chūhrā; physically the one is cast in much the same mould as the other. The difference in height can be accounted for by the better nutrition and habits of life of the former."

The term Cūhrā in Panjabi means a fragment or rubbish. The etymology of the word is unknown. It is also applied to them on account of their collecting and removing fragments of rubbish etc. The term may also have its meaning from the Sanskrit word "Cūdā" or चूडा which means head or top. Another term applied to them is Mehtar. Probably the Sanskrit word "Mahat" meaning great is connected with the word Mehtar, being a comparative form (Mahat-tar) meaning greater. Later on, probably, this title was applied by the Hindus to the people who offered themselves for the job of removing the night soil since the advent of the Muhammadans.¹

Strictly speaking Cūhrās are mostly farm servants and only a few living in the cities do the conservancy work. The Cūhrās in villages seldom do any sweeping or removal of garbage.

In the Panjab the Cūhrās are called by different titles, but few of them are the exact equivalent of Cūhrā, such as

1. Parma Nand Bhai- Valmik Ka Jiwan Charetar. Page 2.

Caudhrīs (headman) Jamādārs (chief), Mehtar (Chieftain or nobleman) and very often Khākrob. They use the term "Garīb Log", for themselves. Another word commonly used for Cūhrās in the Southren Panjab is Mehtar¹, a persian word which means a chief. It is a term both honourable and dishonourable, but has now come to be used ironically. Another title now rarely used by the Muhammadans is "HalālKhor" i.e. one who eats what is lawful for one whose earnings are legitimate. Most of these terms are used either ironically or euphemistically. This euphemistic title "HalālKhor" is said to have been introduced by the Moghal Emperor Akbar.²

Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda's Classification of the aboriginal people as Nishada can be extended to the Cūhrās. The Cūhrās are really treated as outcastes by the upper classes in the Panjab. That this part of India was inhabited by the aboriginal people in the earlier days is clearly found from the accounts of Megasthenes and Arrian.³ One is led to think that the present Cūhrās are the remnants of those people, though it would be rash to advance such a view.

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1. The name Mehtar was commonly applied to the servants of Emperor Humayun. Blockman's Ain-i-Akbari I.417.
 2. (Ibid I.139).
 3. Mc. Crindle. J.W., Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. PP.74-78, 200-210 (Trubner & Co., London-1877).
1. K.K.XI., 25.29.
 2. See the Law of Manu, * Muller's sacred Books of the East Vol. XXV., Xth Chap. 51-52. (edited by Muller).
 3. Their names are Purba, Bharshta, Bichara and Bherag. See Punjab Notes & Queries. July 1885.
 Also, The Indian Antiquary Vol. XXV. March 1906.

The Epic Ramayana speaks of an aboriginal race which then inhabited the length and breadth of India known as Kirtas, who have been described as being of a dark colour and who had their hair tied on the head in a knot.¹

Speaking of Kandalas or Candālās, commonly known as Untouchables, who used to perform the menial work for the ancient Aryans, the law of Manu (One of the "Smriti" or books of tradition) says, "But the dwellings of Kandalas and Svapakas shall be outside the village and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place."²

The Cūhrās are probably one of those
Traditional :
Origin and : primitive tribes that have dwelt in the
Legends. : Panjab for centuries. Their vocabulary and dialect when compared with those of Gaggrās, Sāsīs and other criminal tribes do not show any affinity. Their features also do not indicate any racial affinity. Various legends are current in the Panjab to explain the origin of the Cūhrās. Most of these legends carry their history back to Bēlmīk as their progenitor or at least their patron saint. The legend of four Brahman brothers³, of xxx

1. Kiratastikshnachudastha hemabha Priyadarsanah-Ramayana K.K.XI., 25.29.

2. See the Law of Manu, "Müller's sacred Books of the East Vol. XXV., Xth Chap. 51-52. (edited by Bühler).

3. Their names are Purba, Bhrashta, Sidhara and Bharag. See Punjab Notes & Queries. July 1885.

Also, The Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXV. March 1906.

whom one was degraded on account of touching the dead cow and thus segregated from the rest, is current among the Cūhrās. The Cūhrās assert that from time immemorial they have been Hindus and trace their descent along with other caste-Hindus from a common ancestor.

Another legend that refers to the origin of the Cūhrās is very popular and believed to be true. Although Bālle Shāh is considered the Patron Saint of the Cūhrās, we should not forget that the Cūhrās are not of his lineal descendants, as they trace their origin from Kālak Dās, the nephew of Bālle Shāh. The Hindus and Muhammadans of the Panjab always address the Cūhrās as Kālak Dāsīs, that is to say those who are descended from Kālak Dās. It is alleged that Kālak Dās once enquired from his father Bharag (The Brahman) why he had separated the grand Uncle Jhonparā from the family. Bharag addressing Kālak Dās answered, "As a Brahman I should not have done it. "Kālak Dās said, "This is not a fair deal." It is said Bharag got annoyed and replied, "Your Uncle Jhonparā (Bālle Shāh) touched the dead cow with his hand but you will eat it with your mouth". The Cūhrās say that this is the reason why to this day they eat cows, otherwise as Hindus, their ancestors always used to worship it and considered it as sacred. Kālak Dās's wife Sitrā Vantī was listening to this conversation, and she also decided to join Jhonpara along with her husband Kālak Dās, and they became followers of Jhonparā or Bālmik.

Affinity:

The history of how the Cūhrās came to

occupy their present position is not certain. Various mythical origins have been ascribed to them. They have been connected with the Cūhās (rats) of Gujrat, while the present day Hindus look upon them as the descendants of the aborigines of India. According to others they are a mixed race of low class people. All these are mere theories nothing definite can be said about their origin.

Of all the neighbouring tribes of the Cūhrās, the Gaggrās and the Sāsīs have an apparent affinity in their physical characteristics, but on close examination it is clear that both physically and culturally the Cūhrās differ materially from the Gaggrās and the Sāsīs. The Cūhrās do not claim any kinship with either of these tribes.

The Cūhrās have been with us for a long time. They are connected with old Sanskrit words and have a long history of isolation as they were confined to a small area. They were bound to serve the Hindu and Muham-madans, and they often received great injustice at the hands of their masters. Consequently they took to stealing and cattle poisoning as a revenge.

In doing this they had peculiar devices of using cryptic terms and pass-words in order that their masters might not

1. See section on general vocabulary for Sanskrit roots.

CHAPTER III.

SPEECH OF THE CŪHRĀS.

The Cūhrās argo is really a tribal argo which has been influenced by the people among whom the Cūhrās live. It is used by the members among themselves and as they have to live among the Hindus and Muhammadans, now no definite speech of their own remains.

The Cūhrās say that they always spoke the same language as the Hindus did until the Aryans segregated them from their society and caused them to adopt a vulgar form of Panjabi lingo in its place. It is difficult to understand this, as it is not based on any grammar. It appears to be a mixture of Hindi, Punjabi and Sanskrit words.

The Cūhrās have many words which are peculiar to themselves and which have close affinity and resemblance with old Sanskrit words and forms.¹ Under conditions of isolation as Cūhrās were subjected to, such differences were bound to arise. The words used secretly by the Cūhrās are connected mostly with land produce or with animals, particularly with cattle poisoning. The Cūhrās were employed to look after the cattle, belonging to the Hindus and Muhammadans, and they often received great injustice at the hands of their masters. Consequently they took to stealing and cattle poisoning as a revenge.

In doing this they had peculiar devices of using cryptic terms and pass-words in order that their masters might not

1. See section on general vocabulary for Sanskrit roots.

understand them. Dr. Bailey, speaking of the Cūhrās says, "The Cūhrās have no real dialect, a few isolated words are all they possess, remnant of the days, when stealing and cattle poisoning were common practices.¹" When they wanted to take a special portion of the animal killed by them, they used words which were intelligible to themselves alone. As for instance rukre, batlīā, Sommā, Maddar². In olden times when sacrifices were made by ancient Aryans, the priests were given different portions of the body of the sacrificed animal. For instance:

3 { Jaghana. = Hips and thigh
Hrdyam.. = breast.
Jihvam.. = Tongue.
Krodam.. = Sides & ribs.
Yakrit.. = Liver.

The special terms applied for poisoning the cattle was "golī denā" (i.e. giving the pills). Sometimes they used the expression "dhaga lagana (i.e. sticking the thread) or "ghurlā dena" (i.e. administering a ball). Apparently these terms are simple to understand, for they are borrowed from Urdu, but technically they are used only for killing the cattle which belong to other people.

Now, however, the Cūhrās are mixing more freely with the Hindus and Muhammadans and their argo is also disappear

* 1. See Journal of Gipsy lore Society Volume VII. Page 120-124, Edinburgh 1926.

2. All these words refer to different portions of meat.

3. See Pathaka Madan Mohan (Edited by: Katyayana Braut Sutra (Benares Edition) VI: Page 398-402.

4. We find a parallel method or device among the early Christians of the first and second centuries, who in order to keep certain secrets from their Roman masters used cryptic terms. For instance, "Here is wisdom: Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of the man: and his number is six hundred Three Score and Six" Revelation 13: 18.

-ing. But the Cūhrās have still preserved their words for particular topics. It is interesting to note that the Cūhrās are not the only tribe who have a special argo, but the Sāsīns, the butchers, the Bhedghuts and the Barar also have their particular argo.¹ Similarly the Bhangīs and the Doms of the United Provinces and Pariahs of Madras all use special words.²

Two things are most remarkable in Cūhrā speech.

1. Peculiarity of Cūhrā speech and grammar.
2. Peculiarity of Cūhrā pronunciation and sounds.

It is a fact that ordinary Panjabi words are conjugated by a Cūhrā in the same way as used by a non-Cūhrā. For instance, the verb "Suttā" to throw.

Subjunctives.

Singular.

Plural.

1st Person: Maī Suttā (I throw)

Asī Suttē. We may throw.

2nd Person: Tū Sutte (Thou throw-
-est.)

Tusī Sutto. You may throw.

3rd Person: Oh Sutte. (He may
throw.)

Oh Suttan. They may throw.

Similarly it is true of other tenses and moods. But when they use verbs peculiar to themselves such as Sārāo (1.e. go) rādo, (to run) they do not inflect them at all but keep the same form throughout in all tenses, and moods and use plural forms of the singular as well.

1. The Sasis in the Punjab still have distinct calls used as signals among themselves when they go out to plunder. I have heard some of them.

2. Rev. James of the Australian Methodist Mission, Azamgarh (U.P) informs me that when the Bhangīs in village talk about some secret matters and a Policeman happens to come in view they warn each other by saying, "Gulehri āvat" (Squirrel comes) meaning thereby a Policeman is coming. Since the squirrel is stripped with black and white lines on the back, similarly the Police Constables also have stripped badges on the arms.

3. Sanskrit root Sri (to move) or to go.

Example: Sarāo; to go.

1st Person: hamnā sarāo i.e. I or we go.

2nd Person: tumnā sarāo i.e. thou or you go.

3rd Person: osnā sarāo i.e. he or they go.

Again, when using their peculiar words the Cūhrās never use pronouns nor prepositions. For instance, "Lure, Karāviā Asro; Asernā(to beat, lure (boy) karāviā(stick) Beat the boy with stick. This illustrates how they have signified their peculiar lingo.

For ordinary verbs the Cūhrās use the same Pronouns and form of conjugation as an ordinary Panjabi. For instance the infinitive 'Natthenā' to run.

Personal Pronouns.

1st Person Maī Natthā.

2nd Person Tū Natthe.

3rd Person Oh Natthe.

Subjunctives.

Asī Natthiē.(We run).

Tusī Nattho.(You run).

Oh Natthen. (They run).

But when they use cryptic terms, they ignore the use of all Pronouns, Persons and Prepositions etc. For instance, rado(to run both for singular and plural, direct and oblique they use the same form.

Subjunctive.

1st Person: hamnā rādo. I or we run

2nd Person: tumnā rādo. He or they run.

3rd Person: osnā rādo. He or they run.

Again, we see that an ordinary Panjabi uses "tusī" as a term of respect and honour but the Cūhrās have no honorifics. For ap or tusī they use "tū"(thou)tumnā(you).

For instance:

1. "Chōṇa jī, eh tū kī akhiyā"
SHAH JI WHAT HAS THOU SAID THIS.
2. "tumṇā kaun" (WHO ARE YOU)
3. "tumṇā dī kharkanā kitthe e"
(WHERE IS YOUR BOOK?)

In the use of masculine and feminine the Cūhrās follow the same rule as in Panjabi grammar, namely substituting 'i' for 'a' at the termination of each noun. For instance.

Masculine.	Feminine.
Aejā, man.	Aejī, woman.
lurā, boy.	lurī, girl.
kāsno, old man.	kāsnī, old woman.
khanjlā, male buffalo.	khanjilī, female buffalo.
touknā, dog.	touknī, bitch.

Sometimes there are separate words for masculine and feminine forms, such as

Masculine.	Feminine.
Kaūsā, Ox.	Gokharī, cow.

PECULIARITY OF CUHRA PRONUNCIATION AND SOUNDS.

The Cūhrās living in Ambala and Patiala area use a certain type of Pronunciation, idioms and phrases which are different from those used in Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts. Similarly the Cūhrās of Central Panjab, particularly of Lahore and Amritsar districts use sounds and inflections which are entirely different from those used in Sialkot, Gujranwālā and Lyallpur.¹ It seems to me that these

¹ This is not peculiar to the Cūhrās, but is common to all communities.

differences are largely due to territorial division. I have also noticed that the speech of the Cūhrās living in the sub-mountain area (i.e. on the border of Sialkot and Jammu) have been influenced considerably by the hill tribes. The following shows the differences between the pronunciation of an ordinary village Panjabi and that of the Cūhrā.

Village	Punjabi Pronunciation.	Cūhrā Pronunciation.
1. Mubārak.	congratulation.	mamārakh.
2. Tasvīr.	picture.	satbīr.
3. Mulak.	country.	mulkh.
4. Zāt.	caste.	jāt.
5. Kurān.	Muhammadan scripture.	Kurān.
6. Sarak.	road.	shark or chharak.
7. Katābā.	books.	katābarlā.
8. Dhelā.	a farthing (half a pice)	dhelkarī.
9. Khatri.	hindu caste.	khatretā.
10. Tamātar.	Tomatoes	Matātar.

It shows their inability to pronounce certain sounds for which they have substituted easier sounds and hence these phonetic changes I found varied synonyms for one word in one district of Sialkot alone. For instance "dhotī"¹ is called by three or four different names such as Thamāt, Cāddar, Sālu. On the border of Jammu and Sialkot they use the word "lorī"² and "uchī"³ for a little girl. Why should

1. It is a piece of cloth three or four yards long and a yard wide used for tying round the waist. It hangs down as far as the ankles.

2. It is interesting to observe four or five words in English also, for instance, girl, lassie, damsel, maiden, wench.

3. Also compare lorī, with lurī 'cūhrā word, mean a girl.

a piece of cloth or a girl be called by three or four different names, or a plough be called by half a dozen words all pronounced differently? Similarly, in two different divisions of Jullundur and Lahore words like, lakḥ, (back) have two or three different synonyms. For instance, in Lahore division the words used for "lakḥ" are "piṭṭh¹" and kamar. In Jullundur division they are dhulī, piṭṭh and putṭha. That represents to me from the linguistic and anthropological standpoint the great need for one common dialect in the Province.

Again the Cūhrās tend to nasalise vowels. For instance

Khu	well.	khū
hī,	(one side of a bed	hī.
	stead .)	
āyā.	came.	āyā.

Sometimes, the word Jī (Sir) is used with almost every sentence.² For instance

(a) Jī maī jāvā ?	Sir, may I go?
(b) Jī hor kam dasso?	Sir, tell me what more work I should do?
(c) Jī maī ki karā?	Sir, what shall I do?

On the other hand, the Hindus and Muhammadans generally use jī at the end of the sentence. Such as
Example "Maī jāvā jī, May I go Sir?"

1. Generally used by wild tribes in the sub-mountain region of the Hoshiarpur District.

2. This shows the humble position they are in and how degraded they feel.

Tu is used as a term of respect. For instance, addressing a village banker they say:-
 "tũ te sānu ciccar hoke cmar geā ē"
 (THOU ART STICKING TO US LIKE A TICK).

Another tendency among the Cūhrās is to introduce a tonic h or guttural kh, which raises the tone of a syllable in an accented syllable, at the end of a sentence. For instance,

1. "Oh jhā vī (YOU MAY GO AWAY).
2. Maĩ je tenu ikk vārī ākheā. (I TOLD YOU ONCE).

They often start their talk with an abusive term. The only explanation that can be given is that it is due to their lack of vocabulary. Addressing another person, when on familiar term they often say:-

1. haṭṭ mā¹mā parā haṭṭ. (GET AWAY FROM HERE O UNCLE).
2. "he khā, kutte dā puttār" (LOOK AT HIM, SON OF A DOG).

It may be argued however that these divergencies in the Pronunciation and sounds of the Cūhrās and the ordinary Panjabi in a village are comparatively small and hence they can be ignored. But these peculiarities in Cūhrā pronunciation to an educated person would sound crude and harsh.

It is not our business to condemn one and praise the other for its beauty, smoothness and sounds. If a Cūhrā is not understood so easily by other persons because of his peculiar pronunciation and strange sounds, it is no reason to call him illiterate and uncivilized. So, we will call the

1. Satirically used here.

He will divide the Cūhrā vocabulary into three parts, namely general, criminal and religious vocabulary and treat

Cūhrā dialect a local or regional dialect with peculiar tribal pronunciation, but we would not call it an incorrect form of another dialect. Many times in England a cockney speaker would not be understood by a dialect speaker of Edinburgh or Leeds, but they will not call him wrong or illiterate.

So it seems to us that it often happens that these differences and divergencies in speech and pronunciation result through a lack of understanding. What we need to do in such cases is to study sympathetically and see what new things we can discover and learn from each other.

CŪHRĀ VOCABULARY.

The Cūhrā Argo is dying out as it is not widely used and unless an effort is made to preserve their vocabulary, it is bound to disappear with the passing of this generation. The words that have been collected are being gradually forgotten; indeed the younger Cūhrās do not know them at all, and many older ones are no less ignorant.

In order to investigate the Cūhrā vocabulary we need to know exactly what they are interested in and what they are talking about throughout the day. This will give us an inkling into their daily vocabulary. We are told that Shakespeare's vocabulary was of 15000 words. Can we definitely say that the Cūhrā vocabulary consists of one thousand or two thousand words? Their religious vocabulary is limited, probably most of it is forgotten but their criminal and agricultural vocabulary is fairly large.

We will divide the Cūhrā vocabulary into three parts, namely general, criminal and religious vocabulary and treat

them separately. We shall also try to find out the probable connection, if any, between the words used by the Cūhrās and the words used by the Hindus and Muhammadans.

1. GENERAL VOCABULARY.

(A) Nouns.

The following words are used in the daily life of the Cūhrās in their social intercourse. They are peculiar to the Cūhras.

Name of word.	Meaning.	Noun.	Kind of Noun.
1. bhucclā ¹	Hunger.	Noun.	Abstract.
2. dārbu (also Surjo) ²	Sun.	Noun.	Common Noun.
3. hāmlī (It has Persian tendency for SA(SK) to Ha(Persian) as in Hafta(Persian) Shamli(SK) blackish.			
Similarly Hāmlī(Persian) and Shyāmālī(Shade)SR.			
4. daurio.	String.	Noun.	Common Noun.

This may be connected with Dori(string). Initial Da was originally Dāl(Dental) which was changed into Dēl on account of the following ra.

5. aro. (connected with bed. addā(framework). ³	Noun.	Common noun.
6. khauntā. husband. Compare with Khawind(Persian).	Noun.	Common noun.
7. khauntī. wife.	Noun.	Common noun.

1. From Bhuj(SK) to eat.
2. It is interesting to note that in Sanskrit the sun is called Suriya. Also compare Surjo with Suraj(Hindi word).
3. From SK(Kant) beloved or husband, which becomes khaunt.

23. kanti.	Noun.	Common Noun.
24. kanti. (In SK means something cooked in milk.)	Noun.	Common Noun.
25. roti.	Noun.	Common Noun.

8.kāko.(In Marwari Gujarati it means uncle).	Uncle.	Noun.	Common Noun.
9.kākī. (Bengali).	aunt.	Noun.	Common Noun.
10.karāvīā(compare it with khārāvā:Hindi(support)), legs.		Noun.	Common Noun.
11.cāmanīā(compare it with "Chasham"(Persian) and chukshu(SK)abbreviated form of chasham(eyes).	eyes.	Noun.	Common Noun.
12.behēnā.	a village.	Noun.	Common Noun.
13.bīr.	Moon.	Noun.	Common Noun.
bīr in Hindi changed to Vir(brother).The moon is generally known as younger brother of the sun.			
14.sīt.	woman.	Noun.	Common Noun.
15.khom.	face.	Noun.	Common Noun.
16.bhīrvā.	money.	Noun.	Common Noun.
17.mākro.	butter.	Noun.	Common Noun.
compare it with Marakshan(SK).			
18.gārkā.(root go).	sour milk.	Noun.	Common Noun.
19.līprā(lira Panjabi)	cloth.	Noun.	Common Noun.
20.burknā.	A smoking pipe.	Noun.	Common Noun.
21.khanjarā.	a pipe.	Noun.	Common Noun.
22.pīmpṭā or begalā.	coin.	Noun.	Common Noun.
23.kharnī.	bread.	Noun.	Common Noun.
24.mānkan(compare it with marjarā(SK)	cat.	Noun.	Common Noun.
25.taunknā.	dog.	Noun.	Common Noun.
26.taunknī.	she dog.	Noun.	Common Noun.
27.vēdherī.	iguana.	Noun.	Common Noun.
28.kannī.	tortoise.	Noun.	Common Noun.
29.khīrnī.(In SK means something cooked in milk.)	food.	Noun.	Common Noun.
30.roṭlā.	bread.	Noun.	Common Noun.

31. Chā n jī. (for Shahjī).	a term of respect for the village banker.	Noun.	Proper Noun.
32. barud.	clothes.	Noun.	Common Noun.
33. gemī.	theft.	Noun.	Common Noun.
34. nāmā.	name.	Noun.	Common Noun.
35. gathanvālā (SK. Kath) to speak.	instructor or teacher.	Noun.	Common Noun.
36. somnā.	meat.	Noun.	Common Noun.
37. tarbarā (compare it with tarī. (Hindi)).	gravey.	Noun.	Common Noun.
38. sābro or Lawan (from SK Lawanā, salt cuts anything that it comes in touch).	salt.	Noun.	Common Noun.
39. poncā.	sugarcane.	Noun.	Common Noun.
40. ghiree or peeshnī SK. gharat. (Root Ghars)	grinding mill.	Noun.	Common Noun.
41. māthanī. (SK. Mathani month to churn)	churning wheel.	Noun.	Common Noun.
42. rugrī.	cooking pan.	Noun.	Common Noun.
43. vāthlī. (SK from sthālī-, a thing in which something is put).	a plate.	Noun.	Common Noun.
44. berangī. (SK paryānkā).	bed.	Noun.	Common Noun.
45. māchī. (SK. Manca)	bridal chair.	Noun.	Common Noun.
46. tekni. (SK. Take: support)	earthen vessel.	Noun.	Common Noun.
47. dinak (dīp: SK)	light.	Noun.	Common Noun.
48. lāman. (SK. lavenā)	salt.	Noun.	Common Noun.

49. chānju or chānjī.	a kind of vegetable.	Noun. Common Noun.
50. kandulā.	milk.	Noun. Common Noun.
51. kandulī.	sour milk.	Noun. Common Noun.
52. burrā.	straw.	Noun. Common Noun.
53. jānu or dhāknī. (SK. Janu).	knee.	Noun. Common Noun.
54. kalurāh.	big calf.	Noun. Common Noun.
55. kerarā.	small calf.	Noun. Common Noun.
56. behanī (Prakrit rule is to change the second and 4th letter of each class into ha.sk.-bhagnī).	sister.	Noun. Common Noun.
57. bhāu. (SK. bhāvya noble).	brother.	Noun. Common Noun.
58. agnī. (SK. Agni).	fire.	Noun. Common Noun.
59. togrā.	cloth.	Noun. Common Noun.
60. suj (SK. Suchī). compare Hindi (Sujā).	needle.	Noun. Common Noun.
61. chun. (SK. Churnā, powder).	flour.	Noun. Common Noun.
62. godham. (SK. godhuma)	wheat.	Noun. Common Noun.
63. godhanā (SK. wealth of cows).		
B. (VERBS).		
Name of verbs.	Meaning.	Verb. Kind of Verb.
64. Yaotī.	to come. (SK. Aysti)	Verb. Intransitive.
65. jogru.	to go.	Verb. Intransitive.
66. karutā (KR. SK)	to do.	Verb. Transitive.
67. vedak.	to drink.	Verb. Transitive.
68. khīrdo. (Compare khurdan. Pers.)	to eat.	Verb. Transitive.
69. asarnā.	to beat.	Verb. Transitive.

70. suāper or nidhan.)	SK. Svap : (root) SK. Nidhra.	to sleep.) to sleep.)	Verb. Intransitive.
71. kādī (SK. Kred) root.		to play.	Verb. Transitive.
72. ghem.		to steel.	Verb. Transitive.
73. kerustu. (Khrish) SK. root:		to plough. to drag.	Verb. Transitive.
74. phutt jānā.		to go away.	Verb. Intransitive.
75. hussī gae. (SK. Stns)		to sit down. to stand.	Verb. Intransitive.
76. hehtī kasnā.		to retire.	Verb. Intransitive.
77. dhumāo.		to bring.	Verb. Intransitive.
78. ponā or pacchnā. (Pac (SK) to cook.		to cook.	Verb. Intransitive.
79. dhāvo. (dhav SK:)		to wash.	Verb. Intransitive.
80. sunnā. (Sna (SK.)		to bathe.	Verb. Intransitive.
81. rādo.		to walk.	Verb. Intransitive.
82. koro. (root kund-SK).		to jump.	Verb. Intransitive.
83. burrā or kunhā. (SK. Krand)		to weep aloud.	Verb. Intransitive.
84. vekar. (SK. Vifkri)		to sell.	Verb. Intransitive.
85. kohāl. (SK. kolahala).		to make noise.	Verb. Intransitive.
86. kirnā. (SK. kree)		to buy.	Verb. Intransitive.

ADJECTIVE.

87. mīkran.	black.
88. ashkāl. (SK. Shukal; white).	white.
89. rāktā. (SK. rakta)...	red.
90. hedram. (SK. harita)...	green.
91. sidhu. (Siddha-good. Punjabi- straight)	good.
92. kundī...	bad.

93.goru(SK.guru)	long-, tall.(weighty- majestic).
94.ghannu.(SK.ghana & gham).	heavy- thick.
95.dhoor.	beautiful.
96.leeh.	ugly.
97.ābalī.(SK.abala)	weak.
98.jangu.	strong.
99.armānī. ¹	stout.

ADVERBS.

100.kondar.	inside.
101.dhokar.	not.
102.līh.	enough.
103.okal.compare(akela) urdu.	alone.
104.kandī(compare kiyu)	why.

AGRICULTURAL VOCABULARY.

Since 90 percent of the Cuhras work on the farms they have still preserved their old words . For instance

Name of word.	Meaning.	Noun.	Kind of noun.
105.kajjā.	farmer(man).	noun.	common noun.
106.kajjī.	farmer(woman).	noun.	common noun.
107.sāuā.	tenant.	noun.	common noun.
108.baul.	a heap of wheat.	noun.	collective noun.
109.pātnī.	a little por- tion.	noun.	common noun.

1. Compare Vedic word Aryaman means(Over lord).

110. guccā.	wheat mixed with dust.	noun. common noun.
111. gher(SK.grha).	house.	noun. common noun.
112. chellī.	a big sifting fan.	noun. common noun.
113. undek.	bread.	noun. common noun.
114. lās.	soup.	noun. common noun.
115. jaggar.	mest.	noun. common noun.
116. gokharī.	cow.	noun. common noun.
117. nārīyā.	bull.	noun. common noun.
118. khanjlā.	male buffalo.	noun. common noun.
119. khanjlī.	female buffalo.	noun. common noun.
120. khumrā ¹	horse.	noun. common noun.
121. bokrā. ²	he goat.	noun. common noun.
122. bokrī.	she goat.	noun. common noun.
123. kerarā.	heifer.	noun. common noun.
124. gādrā) Compare kōrtā) SK. gar- dāva.	donkey.	noun. common noun.
125. pātlī.	lentil.	noun. common noun.
126. ganṭhoo. (Punjabi gādhā)	onions.	noun. common noun.
127. marso.	chillies.	noun. common noun.
128. goggaru.	black pepper.	noun. common noun.
129. nīrkā.	butter.	noun. common noun.
130. kandulā.	milk.	noun. common noun.
131. kanjj.	rice.	noun. common noun.

1. Khīro (Gujrati) = horse.

2. bokdī. (Gujrati) = goat.

132. supro.	spinach.	noun. common noun.
133. dāo.	barley.	noun. common noun.
134. mānko.	maize.	noun. common noun.
135. kharboso.	melon.	noun. common noun.
136. sūnā. (compare chana).	gram.	noun. common noun.
137. menro.	water melon.	noun. common noun.
138. bhatto.	egg plant.	noun. common noun.
139. kālpā.	pumpkin.	noun. common noun.
140. ponkā. (compare Paundra- SK).	Ponna Panjabi.	noun. common noun.

VERBS.

Name of word.	Meaning.	Verb. Kind of verb.
141. thesālo.	to be quiet.	Verb. Intransitive.
142. rāndnā (compare rinnhna Panjabi).	to cook.	Verb. Intransitive.
143. thussīgeā.	to sit.	Verb. Intransitive.
144. behtī kasso.	to retire.	Verb. Intransitive.
145. thusanā.	to get.	Verb. Transitive.
146. kumānā.	to buy.	Verb. Transitive.
147. gathnā. (SK. granth)	to teach.	Verb. Transitive.
148. passāo.	to walk.	Verb. Intransitive.
149. masto.	to laugh.	Verb. Intransitive.
150. josnā.	to be brave.	Verb. Intransitive.

ADJECTIVES.

151. māndlu.	stubborn.
153. cīman.	modest.
153. bhānu.	kind. (gentle).

154.kairlu.	cruel. hard-hearted.
155.lāgru. (compare lagar: Persian).	lean.
156.dhenu.	fat.
157.celastu.	blue.
158.ajru.	marvellous.

(D) ADVERBS.

159.deru(SK.dure)	far or at a distance.
160.nīgru.	near or close by.
161.senu.	before--- in front.
162.pekku.(SK.Pasha)	behind.

CRIMINAL VOCABULARY.

It is commonly believed by the Cūhrās that the Hindus degraded them hundreds of years ago, and as such the former always bore a grudge against the latter. Consequently the Cūhrās looked for an opportunity to avenge themselves for the great social injustice they had experienced at the hands of their masters. It is rather interesting that in the Rig Veda too we find Aryans were always under the apprehension of their cattle being stolen away or even killed by Dasyus or (Dasas). ~~See Rig Vedic India by Abnash Chandra Das.~~ When they felt the need for a phraseology to keep secrets from their enemies they introduced new words with a view to carrying on their profession. I have collected the following words used by the Cūhrās, words which are unintelligible to an ordinary Panjabi.

Das Abnash Chandra Rig Vedic India.

A. NOUNS.

Words.	Meaning.	Noun.	Kind of Noun.
163. Natardu.	a long iron needle used for poisoning the cattle.	Noun.	common noun.
164. kārḱī.	a big batton or heavy stick.	Noun.	common noun.
165. ghem.	thief.	Noun.	common noun.
166. ghemī.	theft.	Noun.	common noun.
167. lervā.	blood.	Noun.	common noun.
168. ravedā.	policeman.	Noun.	common noun.
169. lendī.	knife.	Noun.	common noun.
170. guṭṭh.	basket.	Noun.	common noun.
171. nārī.	an instrument to break through.	Noun.	common noun.
172. rārḱā. ¹	hindu.	Noun.	common noun.
173. kirbalā	Mohammaden.	Noun.	common noun.
compare with keharbala =	cruel.		

(B). VERBS.

175. rādo.	to run.
176. rādlo.	to run away.
177. dhāmo.	to take off (to pull off).
178. mundaṛo.	to kill.
179. arso.	to carry.
180. lāmko	to hang- to fasten.
(compare lamkanā)	
Punjabi.	

RELIGIOUS VOCABULARY AND TERMS.

The following words have been collected from old men and women of different villages in Sialkot, Gujrat and Gujranwala districts and have been carefully checked and verified. The Cūhrās who live in an area where Muhammadan

1. Compare Kerār (word used for hindus in Peshawar).

influence is predominant use Muhammedan terms .For instance:-

1. Allāh, God.
2. Shukar al-hamd-ill-illah, praise be to God.
3. Lā-illā-ill-illah, Muhammad Rasul illah, God is one
Muhammad is his prophet.
4. Maulā Murtzā Alī, The way God is addressed.
5. Yā allākhair, O God have mercy.
6. Inshā allāh ta'lā, if it is God's will.
7. Rozā, fasting.
8. zakāt, alms.
9. namāz, prayer.
10. hajj. pilgrimage.
11. kasam kalam pak di, I swear by holy word of God.
12. Momin, believers.
13. Murīd, followers.
14. Bālle Shāh pīr, Balle Shah the saint.¹
15. Āmin, Amen.
16. Fakīr dastgīr, one who holds the hand (i.e. supporter),
17. Nurpīr de vele, early in the morning. (when day dawns).
18. Chālīsvā, fortieth day.²
19. Yā allāh yā khudā, O Allāh, O God.
20. Hakikā³ the day fixed for giving a name to the child.
21. Ahl-i-katāb,⁴ the people of the book.

1. They believe at that hour Shah Balla sheds light on the sky.

2. On this day a ceremony is observed to commemorate the dead after forty days. They cook food and distribute it to the poor.

3. It is a ceremony when meat is distributed to the members of the community.

4. This refers to the Christians and the jews.

Similarly the Cūhras who live in villages and towns under Hindu or Sikh influence naturally follow Hindu or Sikh customs and use their vocabulary. For instance:-

1. Rām rām, God.
2. Vāh Guru, sat Guru, God is great, He is true.
3. Ishwar, Parmeshwar, Sirī Rām Parmātmā, } names used for
Krishnā, Mahāraj, Shiv jī, Bhagwān. } God.
4. Dhan Mahāraj, God be praised.
5. Devī, Devtā, goddesses and gods.
6. Sandhiā, prayer, Thān asthān. (place of prayer where the idol of Balle Shah is worshipped).
7. Darshan, holy visit or interview.
8. Sat vantī, Jai Sitā Rām, True God be praised.
9. Latā vālī devī, goddess incharge of flames.
10. Kisse nek de matthe lāī, May I see a lucky face.
11. Sab da bhalā, kul da bhalā, may all be blessed.
12. Mere dushmanē nū mārī, destroy my enemies.

As far as I have gathered, the Cūhrās have no religious terms of their own. They have borrowed all their religious vocabulary from the higher religions with which they have been associated.

LINGUISTIC BORROWING.

It is difficult to say that all the Cūhrā words are derived from Sanskrit or ~~xx~~ its Prakrit forms. It is possible that some of them may have sprung from the common parent-stock and have the same root. Some of them are quite natural as are occasioned by onomatopoeia and are newly formed words based on similarity of some previously known objects. Some of them may show difference in shades of meaning but they are all degraded forms of original words.

To turn to the actual borrowing in the Cūhrā dialect when we examine the vocabulary. One thing is certain that almost all the dialects spoken in the Panjab have greatly influenced the Cūhrā Argo, as they came in close contact with all sorts of communities round about them.

Their mean nature due to economic depression and constant slavery to others compelled them to coin new words for their secret use, and this gave rise to their cryptic words, just as the Akālīs, during the Sikh rule had coined new words with new meanings peculiar to themselves, which are still in use among the Nihangs.¹ For example, they use the word "arāṅg barāṅg" for sleeping. When they beg money, they say "Ugrāhī karnā", which means collection of taxes. It may be that cryptic terms concerned with poisoning of cattle and other criminal words are newly coined by the Cūhrās themselves. But words other than cryptic especially connected with agriculture and so forth may belong to a non-Aryan linguistic stock. These words are strange to real Panjabi and to Kashmiri language. They seem to belong to Non-Aryan stock. Since there are some non-Aryan tribes like the Gaggrās, Sāsīs, Bhedghuṭs, Barar etc.etc. in the Panjab, it is just possible the Cūhrās have come into contact with them and their words have thus been influenced, or the Cūhrās have probably borrowed as they have done from other tribes.

Here and there derivations of Cūhrā words have been traced to their Sanskrit and Prakrit, Persian and even Arabic origin, but most of them are of their own creation based on various important factors, such as derivations, pronuncia-
 1. A sect among the Sikhs.

tion, analogies, roots and possible connections.

CHAPTER IV. MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CŪHRĀS.

Cūhrā houses : The Cūhrā houses are usually built on
in villages :
and towns. : the outskirts of a village or a city. The
site chosen is not according to their own wishes, but they
have to take whatever plot of land is available within easy
approach of the village or city. Those who agree to work as
tenants for the village landlords are given a plot of land
upon which to build their houses. The maximum number of
Cūhrā houses in a big village is thirty to forty. The num-
ber never comes down to ten in any village however small it
may be.

In cities the whole Cūhrā colony is generally termed a
"Bastī or Thattī". The mud houses are generally made with
flat roofs of sun-dried bricks, plastered over with a
mixture of mud, cowdung and straw, and are usually closely
congested. Ibbetson has thus described the dwelling places
of the Cuhra. "The average Cūhrās live in a mud hut of sun
baked bricks generally having either one or two rooms. The
house is big enough for two or three to live in". But such
houses are already fast disappearing and are being replaced
by brick buildings.

The arrangement of the Cūhrā houses in a village is
irregular, they are built at different levels and without
any regard to lanes or streets. The few lanes between the
houses are narrow and as a rule unpaved. There is hardly
any drainage system and lanes and open spaces are generally
very filthy.

Each house has a small open court-yard, twenty to twenty five feet long and fifteen to twenty feet wide. Since the compound is so small, vegetation hardly grows in any of their enclosures. The houses are built in such a congested manner that the roof of one touches the other.

The house walls often bear designs ~~of~~ either of trees or creepers. Some of the Cūhrās are fond of making drawings of peacocks or doves or even mynas (*acridotheres tristis*). Their surroundings do not appear to be very hygienic. Close to their dwellings, there is nearly always a village pond and a heap of rubbish where the manure of the whole village is stored. The pond contains rain~~xxx~~ water and is used for washing, bathing, cleaning vessels and for drinking purposes during drought.

A typical Cūhrā house.: Typical Cūhrā houses are single-storied built of mud bricks. The floor is of bare earth. An average house is thirty to thirty-five feet in length and fifteen to twenty in width and about the same in height. The roof is supported on one or two beams. The walls are generally made thick to keep the house cool in summer and warm in winter. Those who are well to do, build their houses of "pacca" bricks but such houses do not lead to social distinctions. There are generally one or two openings or holes left in the roof for the purpose of emitting smoke and also to let in light and air, for as a rule there is no window. A house has only one door.

The interior of the house is divided into two rooms. The front room is the sitting room, having a "Bharolā" (a mud-construction of cone shape six to seven feet high and

four to five feet in circumference), for the storage of wheat for the year. There is a wooden mantel-piece fixed to the wall on which the utensils are carefully arranged. The back room is generally dark and is used for storing boxes, clothes etc. The house is, as a rule, kept neat and tidy.

The hearth is usually made in one corner of the courtyard and dry cowdung cakes are used as fuel. In summer the cattle (usually cows or buffaloes) are tied up in the enclosure, and in winter, at night time in the back room. Men and women of one family all ~~xx~~ sleep in the same room. The unmarried girls and young men of a Cūhrās family do not have separate dormitories or sleeping accommodation. The young girls sleep on one side, near their mother or aunts and boys sleep near their father or uncle. The accommodation of strangers or friends of the family, visiting during winter always creates a very serious problem for them.

With regard to sanitary observances the Cūhrās are very careless. Their surroundings, streets and other public places, near and round about their houses are not kept clean. Instead of burying the dirt or disposing of it by burning, they keep it near their "bastī". There are no private or public latrines in the villages; and open fields are normally used for this purpose.

Furniture and: As far as furniture is concerned the
Household :
utensils. : Cūhrās are not very well off. All that they seem to have is three or four cots(chārpoyas), prepared with their own hands, one or two "Pīrhīs"(bridal chairs), two or possibly three boxes for keeping clothes etc., a few earthen pitchers, two or three old pieces of bedding, and half a

dozen tins and canisters for storing provisions. Apart from these they have a few clothes, pegs fixed on the wall and a few pieces of old matting.

Food and drinking. : The Cūhrās are not able to maintain a very high standard of living. Wheat is their staple food. Along with this, rice and lentils and some kind of vegetables, mostly onions are all that they can afford for each meal. The brinjal is tabooed among the Cūhrās. They do not take hare's flesh, but relish the meat of x cows and goats. They are very fond of taking marrow from the bones. Sometimes they dry up marrow and rice and keep it for future use. Each family lives on coarse food and consumes about 120 lb. to 140 lb. of wheat or maize every month according to the numbers of the family. Cūhrās are not very particular about the diet of their children. From the very early age of two they begin to give to them solid food. The Cūhrās use a lot of spices and condiments to season their food and they are particularly fond of hot curries.

All the cooking is done by women. Cooking is generally done in the open court-yard both in summer and in winter. There are no set times for meals. Each person eats separately.

Domesticated animals. : Almost every family in the village rears a buffalo or a cow which supplies them with milk and clarified butter. Those who are extremely poor and can not afford to have a cow or a buffalo, keep a goat as a domesticated animal. Almost every house has a watch dog. Some of them keep a few chickens for eggs, which they either sell or eat themselves. Donkeys are kept by some families, for

any lowered in their social status. All kinds of work carrying loads to different parts of the city. It must be said that the Cūhrās are very kind to their animals and look after them well.

Occupations, Industries and their techniques. : Almost 90 per cent. of the Cūhrās in the Panjab work as farm labourers. The remainder

are engaged in various occupations. Some are employed in the Municipalities as scavengers and drummers, some are engaged in the British Cantonments as boot-boys, bearers and cooks, while others have taken to various industries such as curing skins, manufacturing cat-gut or selling hides etc. etc. Those who work as farm labourers, are in their leisure hours kept engaged by their masters in making baskets. The baskets are generally rough and are made from the tender and flexible branches of the mulberry tree. These thin branches are wrapped round and round in a circle till they assume the shape of a conical basket.

Some of the Cūhrās weave cloth of a very coarse texture for their own use. The cotton is collected from their own farm and is spun into threads by their women. Others are employed by the Muhammadan merchants to cure skins for commercial purposes. The Cūhrās become quite expert in ^{this} ~~the~~ particular line of industry. Millions of skins and hides are sent to America, England and other European countries. The most important of all these industrial arts is the manufacture of "Tandī" (cat-gut) which is particularly carried on in the district of Sialkot. Two decades ~~and ago~~ ago it was considered a very dirty and degrading occupation; today the outlook is changed and the work is taken up also by Hindu and Muhammadan young men. In this connection it is necessary to note that Cūhrās working on cat-gut are not in any

way lowered in their social status. All kinds of work whether on ~~xx~~ the farm as labourers, or in a private family as scavengers, or in an industrial art as artisans, all are considered equally honourable by the Cūhrās.

In the manufacture of cat-gut almost all the adult members of the family take part. The most difficult work is done either by the father or by the grown-up son. The easy work is given to the women and young girls. The latter learn from their mothers the art of separating shreds from a tendon, but to learn the whole technique and acquire skill takes time and patience. The women help their husbands only when they are free from their household duties. Cūhrā women take a very active part in helping their husbands in their economic activities. In some families it has been observed that the manufacture of cat-gut is carried on as a joint concern, in which each person is paid according to the share of work which he or she has contributed. Some families become expert in making a special kind of gut, but efficiency really depends upon several factors, mainly on the material used, and the labour employed in manufacture.

Manufacture of : Cat-gut is prepared from two different
 Cat-gut. : kinds of material.

(a) "Paṭṭhā". This is a tendon from the shoulder muscles of cows, bulls and buffaloes.

(b) "Raudā" is the intestine of a cow or a buffalo. These are taken, and all the flesh is carefully removed.

"Paṭṭhā" and "Raudā" are collected from all over the Punjab. In fact, of ~~xx~~ late years, this trade has extended to the United Provinces, Kashmir and other parts of India. Each Paṭṭhā costs from twelve annas to one rupee four annas

(one shilling to one shilling and six pence).

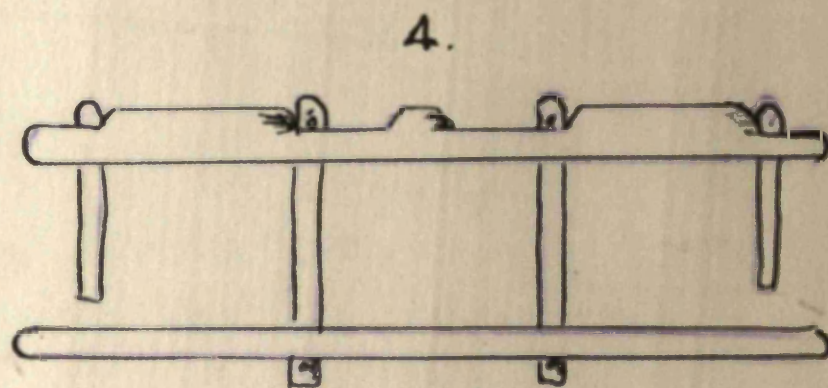
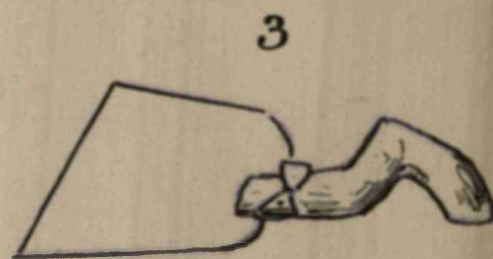
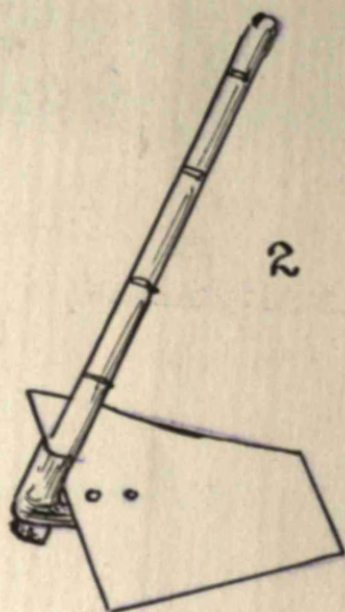
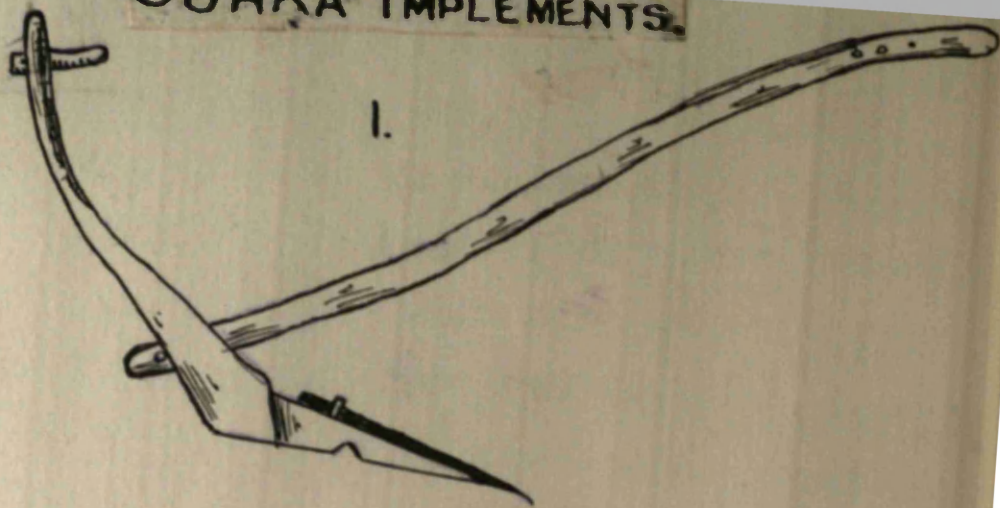
There are several processes adopted for cleaning and during the 'Paṭṭhā' before it can be made into cat-gut. At first it is put in the sun to dry and then it is split into threads by means of a knife. Then it is held in one hand and hammered by a wooden mallet till the whole thing is turned into fine shreds. After this, it is put at night into a big bucket, full of water and allowed to soak until the next day, when it begins to swell and becomes fluffy. It is then taken out bit by bit and twisted on the reverse side of a pitcher or "Cātṭī". This process of twisting with the palm of the hand is done by men and women alike, but women generally can do it more efficiently.

Each person is able to twist from one hundred to a hundred and fifty yards of gut in a day. It is interesting to note that when the twisting of the thread is done, the pieces begin to adhere owing to a natural quality of adhesion, into one long string which dries quickly in the air. Then comes the last process of cleansing. Both ends of the pegs are tied to poles or pegs, and two or three men start cleansing and rubbing hard with sand paper. They continue this process for four to five hours till it becomes quite transparent. There are two kinds of cat-gut.

- (a) Plain white gut which is absolutely transparent.
- (b) Coloured gut which is either black, green or red colour.

The first kind is considered better and stronger and commands a higher price in the market. The coloured gut hides the defects and is generally of an inferior quality, and as a

CUHRA IMPLEMENTS.



1. The PLOUGH (HAL)
2. THE SPADE (KAHI)
3. THE HOE (RAMBA)
4. THE YOKE (PANJALI)

rule is not very durable. Thousands of rupees worth of gut is exported from the Panjab every year to Europe, England, America, China and Japan. As labour and cost of production is cheaper in India than elsewhere it ~~xxx~~ can compete favourably with other countries.

The gut has various uses. It is used for stringing tennis and badminton rackets; it is also used for musical instruments. It is in great demand for surgical purposes, and also supplies a very important need of the community for the making of winnowing fans in different provinces of India.

Implements : The principal industry in which the Cūhrās
and weapons:
 : are engaged is agriculture. Since they are

mere tenants and farm labourers, they do not own any agricultural implements ; these are supplied to them by their masters. The following are the chief implements used.

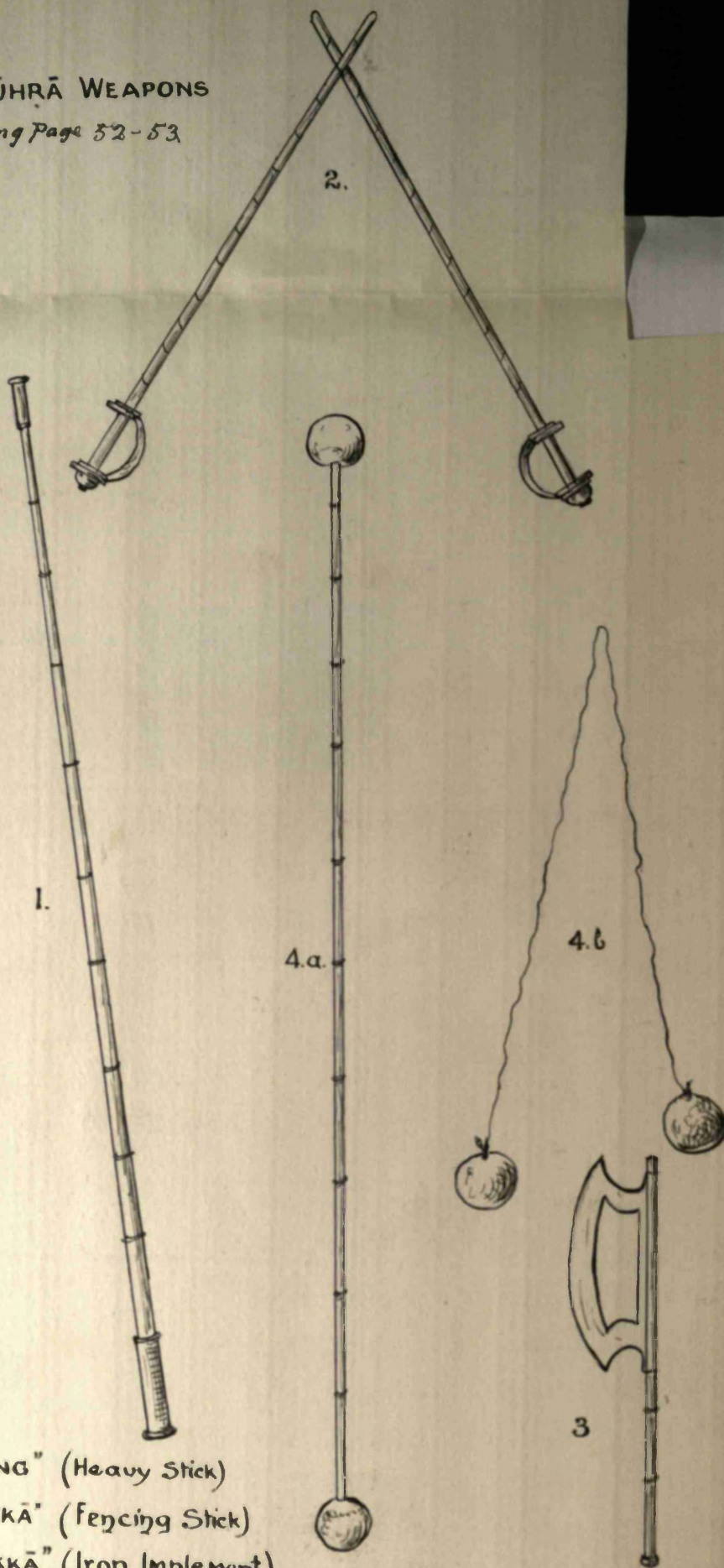
(a) The Plough (Hull). This is made of an ordinary kind of wood with two pieces joined together in an angular shape. It has a big shaft or blade made of steel which digs the ground from four to five inches deep. The plough is pulled by a team of two bullocks.

(b) The spade (Kahlī). This consists of a flat semi-circular iron plate with a very sharp cutting edge. It has a wooden handle about two and a half feet long. This spade is used for digging.

(c) The Harrow called "Sohāgā". This is a ~~xxxx~~ wooden plank or thick flat board six to seven feet long, two feet wide, and an inch and a half ^{thick} ~~thick~~, with two ropes tied to it. The harrow is pulled by the bullocks after the land is

CŪHRĀ WEAPONS

Facing Page 52-53



1. "DĀNG" (Heavy Stick)
2. "GATKĀ" (fencing Stick)
3. "TOKKĀ" (Iron Implement)
- 4.a. "BANETHĪ" (Bamboo Stick)
- 4.b. "BANETHĪ" (String with balls at the end)

ploughed to make the ground level.

(d) The Hoe, called "Rambā". This is another of the important and a very useful implements of the Cūhrās. It is used to dig grass and weeds.

(e) The Yoke- Panjālī. This is a wooden implement of a heavy type. It is put on the necks of the bullocks when ploughing or when drawing water from the well. Although of late some improvements have been introduced in ploughs and spades and other implements by the Punjab Government (Agricultural Department) on Demonstration Farms, yet the conservative trend of mind of the Cūhrās is mainly responsible for their carrying on with their old and antiquated tools. The economic factor is also responsible for the non-adoption of modern implements.

Weapons.

..... (a) "Dāng". The Cūhrās have no weapons except a big strong and heavy stick called "Dāng", which is about five to six feet long. It is covered with a steel ferule tightly fitting at the bottom. Sometimes at the top it is coloured and ornamented. Not only the Cūhrās but also the Mohmmadans, Sikh, and Hindu Jats carry the same kind of heavy stick either when travelling or attending a festival.

(b) "Gatkā". Another weapon of defence and offence is the fencing stick called "Gatkā". This is also made of bamboo, three to three and a half feet long and about three inches in circumference. It has a handle (like that of a sword) and a strong grip for holding it. The stick is covered with leather and sometimes has a piece of steel at the bottom. It is not sharp but is heavy enough to give

a stunning blow. A renowned fencer is respected and held in great esteem. The Cūhrās keep their fencing sticks high on the wall, or hang them up on page where they are highly honoured.

(c) "Tokkā": This is a big iron implement with a sharp edge of wood 1½ to 2 feet long. There is a handle attached to it. It is used for cutting the fodder etc. When quarrels have arisen in the villages the 'tokkā' has on several occasions been one of the implements used for attacking an enemy. If it should strike the head, it causes instantaneous death.

(d) "Banethī": On a festival like 'Bāsakhi' in the month of May or 'Dusehrā' in October, the Cūhrās wield the "Banethī." There is no English equivalent to it. It is a strong bamboo stick from five to six feet in length, with two wooden balls which are fixed with glue at both ends of the stick. Sometimes these two wooden balls are tied to a string. The player holds the stick from the middle and sways it slowly to commence with, then gradually increases the speed, and changing the stick from the left hand to the right till the wooden balls and stick become indistinguishable. In this way he gives a good exhibition of his art and skill. It is used in order to ward off enemies from approaching too near and attacking. Sometimes a bamboo stick five feet long is - -

1. There is a tradition among the Hindus that when the war was being waged between the Kurvās and the Pandavās, the latter to guard themselves at night from the attack of the enemy used banethī with burning rags tied at either side of the stick.

taken, and rags and pieces of cloth are tied on both ends, the cloth being soaked in oil and set on fire. The man holds the stick from the middle, swings it round and round over his head and round his body. This is a common practice even today among the Hindus.

Family life, :
Recreation :
& Amuse-
ments.

The family life of a Cūhrā appears to be fairly satisfactory. The father is responsible for the maintenance of the whole house, and the mother is incharge of domestic duties. She cooks, serves, washes, and attends to the requirements of the household. If the sons and daughters are grown up; ~~like~~ they also work and contribute a share from their earnings towards the family income. While they are very young, they are fed first, then the father, and last of all the mother. The father or grand father is supposed to be the head of the house. His duty as a rule, is to stay at home, give advice in matters of importance and look after the interests of the family. He is considered a source of blessing and inspiration, under whose auspices all the younger people dwell together. The words of an elder are listened to with respect, and the mere fact of old age invests him with authority.

The chief feature of family life among the Cūhrās is their joint family system i.e. of relations sharing the same house. They think that this particular system is most suitable for their needs, but when quarrels arise in the family, young couples sometimes set up separate homes.

Their recreation largely consists of sitting in small groups, of four five and six, talking, smoking, spin-

-ning yarns, telling stories, or playing cards. They enjoy telling stories and listening to tales of heroic deeds recited by "Mirāsīs", (Professional singers) or a "Gyānī" (religious priest) in a Dērā¹. Women, after the work of the day is over, sit together on the roof and sing. Young people often employ their free hours in physical exercises, wrestling, playing "Kabbadī", jumping and running. As a rule the time for recreation for a Cūhrā in cities, and more especially in villages, is very small; the landlords keep them occupied with odd jobs either in their homes or on the land. Many times when there is no employment, they are forced to go and work for touring officers. This forced labour without remuneration is very common in the Panjab villages, and is known as "begār". As a rule the life of the Cūhrās in the villages is very dull.

1. Meeting place where villagers generally assemble for talk.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE CŪHRĀS.

(A) 1. CLAN ORGANIZATION.

The most interesting feature of the

The structure and formation of the clan organization. : social system of Cūhrā society is its clan organization. The Cūhrā social groups or clans known as the "Gots"¹ are formed by the association of various families, which are usually related to one another. This clan system is apparently based on kinship; and the different families which constitute a clan, look upon themselves as kindred.

In Jethike village (District of Sialkot), there were fifteen Cūhrā families living side by side. Eight of them were of the Sohotre clan, three of the Kandare clan and the remainder belonged to the Ghussar clan. Of the eight Sohotrā families, four consisted of a father, a mother, two daughters and two sons each; two families had three sons and one daughter each, and the remaining two families had two daughters and one son each. The clans are generally exogamous but cases of endogamy as a result of the Muhammadan influence are becoming more frequent (See Pedigree tables IX, XVIII and XXX).

1. The Hindu word for the clan is "Gotrā", while the Cūhrās call their clans "Gots", which clearly shows its origin. In this connection it is of interest to note that some of the Cūhrā clans bear the same names as those of the Hindus living in those districts. As instances may be cited, "Gill", "Cimne", "Khokher", "Lute", "Momme", etc. etc.

The following is a list of the different clans of the Cūhrās and their respective totems.

Clan.	Totem. ¹
1. The Gill.	Revere red bricks; they do not eat brinjals.
2. The Cīmna.	Refuse to eat tortoise because their ancestor was carried across the flood by tortoise.
3. The Sohotrās.	They do not look at a tiger; at marriage, their women worship its image as a mark of respect.
4. The Khokhar.	They avoid eating "Bharts" (boiled vegetables mashed).
5. The Bhure or (Goriye).	Avoid using a blanket.
6. The Momme.	Avoid the use of goose feathers
7. The Uthwāls.	Respect camels.
8. The Sindhus.	Respect indigo colour.
9. Kandīare.	Respect the horned rat.
10. The Bhattīs.	They will not sit on a bench of boards or bricks.
11. The Tengare or Kandare.	Abstain from using cloves.
12. The Lute.	They do not eat rabbit or hare.
13. The Povārs (Rajputs).	Abstain from the use of cow's flesh. They are known particularly for their courage.

It is interesting to note that these "Gots" (clan names) are common to the Hindus and the Sikhs and are said to be derived from some important saints or famous ancestor of the clan. For instance, Gill is known for his strength and miraculous power. The Gill² clan holds a very prominent

1. Ibbetson, D. Sir. A Glossary of the Tribes & Castes of the Panjab and N.W.F. Provinces. Vol. II. Page 188-189. (Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore (1911)).
 2. Gill from "Gilla" (A Panjabi word) wet.

position in Cūhrā society and is respected by the Cūhras of other Gots in the Ludhiana district. It is divided into eight sub-clans, such as Sher Gill, Kakkar Gill, Bhure Gill, Bhatti Gill, Waryāh Gill, Sahan Gill, Manhās Gill and Iet Gill. No such divisions are found in other clans.

Origin of the clans. : According to the Cūhrā tradition all the members of the same clan are descended from one common ancestor. It is difficult to give the origins of all the clans but the histories of some of them are partially preserved in the native legends or stories which, though most fabulous in character, afford some indication of their origin.¹

The origin of the Cīmme clan is stated to be as follows:-

The ancestors of Cīmme made a long journey and on the way, they had to cross a river in flood. Almost all the kinsmen crossed the river but the headman was left behind. He tried to swim the river but had hardly crossed half of the distance when he began to sink. In his helplessness, he cried to the gods for assistance, when a big tortoise appeared, and

1. "Various legends have been invented to explain the origins of the Cuhra caste as a whole and of its different groups. ~~None of the Cuhra castes as a whole are as ancient as the Cuhra caste.~~ Most of these carry its history back to Balmik, as its progenitor, or, at least, its patron saint.... One legend avers that Balmik used to sweep Bhagwan's courtyard, and that the god gave him a robe, which he did not put on but buried in a pit. When asked by Bhagwan why he did not wear it, Balmik went in search of it and found in it a boy whom he took to Bhagwan". Ibbetson, D. Sir. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab & N.W.F. Page 188. Civil & Military Gazette, (1911).

asked him to sit on its back, and in this way he was able to cross the river. In order to show their appreciation he and his wife, who had already crossed the river along with the children, promised the tortoise that they would look upon him as their kith and kin, and from that time they assumed its name and they and their descendants promised it protection and reverence. Not a member of their clan would ever dream of killing a tortoise or of eating its flesh. At child birth, in a Cinnā family the figure of a tortoise is designed on a piece of paper which is hung on the wall of the lying-in room and retained there through the period of confinement. They believe, that by so doing the mother experiences a painless delivery and the absence of the drawing ~~x~~ of the tortoise would result in ~~xx~~ the shortening of the life of the child.

The origin of the Kandārā clan is narrated as follows:- While coming back from a journey the ancestor of Kandārā (meaning a hedgehog) who was carrying jewellery fell among thieves who pursued him for several hours. Being exhausted and finding no better protection he sat down near a hedge under thorny bushes in the jungle, and prayed to God for protection from the thieves, promising sacrifices in return. Several hedgehogs suddenly came out of the bushes and asked the poor distressed man to throw the jewellery on the ground. The man did so, and the hedgehogs immediately covered it up by rolling their bodies round it. The Cūhrā meanwhile lay down nearby, and pretended to be fast asleep. The thieves came and searched for the jewellery all round, but failing to discover it left in disgust. The man then rose up, and having taken back the jewellery, thanked the hedgehogs, and promised

to show his allegiance to them. Since then, he and his descendants have always held hedgehogs in great reverence.

Similar legends are connected with the origin of other clans and in several of them super-natural elements have been introduced .

The flesh of the hare is avoided by certain clans of Cūhrā and this taboo is explained by the following legend.¹ "Once a Cūhrā by chance killed a calf, and hid it under a basket, but its owner tracked it to the Cūhrā's house. The Cūhrā declared that the basket contained a hare, and when it was opened it was found that the calf had turned into a hare — so from that time all the Cūhrās have given up eating hare". It is ~~their~~ ^{their} belief that as the turning of the calf into a hare saved the family, it must be regarded by them as sacred and should not be killed.

In ~~xx~~ the Kāngrā district, the general belief is that a hare once sought Bālmīk's² protection and hence the sacredness assigned to the rodent. The above are the legendary accounts of the origin of some of the clans.

The Cūhrās have an entirely different explanation of their own regarding the origin of their clan system. According to this, the tribes, amongst whom the ancestors of the Cūhrās lived, often persecuted and ill-treated them, and tried to destroy their totems. The Cūhrā families that followed the same customs and revered common totems, in order to safeguard their interests and protect their totems, united against their common foes into definite clans. In this way a number of clans originated in different parts of the Panjab

1. Hutton, D. Sir. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.F. Province. Vol. II, p. 189
(Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore, 1911).

2. Another name of Balle Shah.

The basis of the clan: As previously explained, the Cūhrā clans are all exogamous groups in which descent is reckoned on a patrilineal basis. When a Cūhrā dies all his property goes to his direct male issue. In the absence of son the brothers become the heirs. The principal basis on which the Cūhrā clans are generally established is their belief in a descent from a common ancestor or the observance of a totem. Living in a definite area also leads to the formation of a clan. For instance, we see that the Lute and Tengre clans believe that their descent is from common ancestors.

Others like Kaliyāne, Momme and Gill originally lived in a single village. In the village of Gilla, District of Ludhiana, all the people today believe that the village was founded by the ancestors of the present Gill clan. All who first lived in the village were from Gill descent and therefore became members of that clan. Today, after many centuries, we find that half of the population of the village is still of the Gill clan, while the rest of the inhabitants are connected with other clans. Most of the members of the Gill clan are land lords, and others earn their livelihood

Even today we find a strong feeling of solidarity among the members of a clan.¹ In any quarrel they all stick
 1. Once there was a crowd of people at the railway station at Gilla (District of Ludhiana) who had arrived before the train was due. At twelve o'clock noon, their usual time for a meal, almost everyone of them partook of food. There were however two men who did not have anything to eat and enquiries were made as to who they were. One who belonged to the Gill clan was at once invited to join his Gill brethren, but the other ~~was~~ being a non-gill (though a Cūhrā) was not asked. This is an example of the consideration given to men of their own clan.

together, and support each other against interference from other clans, keeping the interests of their own clan foremost.

Exogamy in: Among the Cūhrās, no clan traces its descent
relation to
totem. : from the totemic ancestors although they all believe in totems. The totems are sacred and if by accident a man kills a totem of his own clan or even of some other clan, the Panchāyat is summoned by his clan brethren. He has to feed the Panchāyat, and in addition to pay such fine as may be imposed by this body for his offence and the fine seldom normally varies from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/- (£1.-12sh.6d). This fine is used for the birādari (brotherhood). The members of a clan who believe in a particular totem, consider each other to be of one blood. A person is not supposed to marry or co-habit with a woman, observing the same totems, and hence belonging to the same clan. In other words, exogamy and totem both touch the religious and social side of the Cūhrā society.

Function of: Senior members of a clan are in all cases
the clan. : very particular about the behaviour of the other members. In case of incest, for example, an explanation is demanded from the person concerned, and if the guilty party refuses to listen to reason, the matter is reported to the Panchāyat for necessary action.

Any person desirous of becoming a member of a particular clan has to be introduced through one of the senior members, who is presumed to have personal knowledge of the character etc., of the proposed new member. A meeting of the clan members is summoned and after necessary discussion regarding the eligibility of the new member the ceremony of initiation

takes place. The man who expresses the desire for membership is asked to put on a loin-cloth and lie under a bed, while members of the clan take a basin of water and sitting on the bed, wash their hands and face allowing dirty water to fall on the body of the man under the bed. After the washing is completed the bed is removed and the man is taken and bathed by some of the senior members of the clan, thereby concluding his initiation. A feast is then prepared at the expense of the new member and the entire clan takes part in the feast. Finally the oldest man of the clan, reports the matter to the Panchayat and he is then confirmed as a member, having full rights of voting in the meetings of the Birsadari(brotherhood).

Political and judicial rights of the clan. : The Cūhrās are a self-governing tribe which is run on republican lines and in which the office of the "Pīr panch"¹ is held permanently. In some cases it is hereditary. The Pīr panch has no casting vote.

The Cūhrās have two types of organization, namely clan and tribal organization, but these two are closely linked together. For instance in dealing with a case of incest the tribal organization, through the P a n c h ā y a t (which is its representative body) consults the older members of the clan before any punishment is inflicted. The Cūhrās as individuals have no status because neither the v i l l a g e

1. The head arbitrator, hence the President.

organization nor the governing authorities deal with them as individuals but through the Cūhrā brotherhood, which very often in any village consists of a number^{of} distinct clans. It will thus be seen that a clan itself has no political or juridical rights. Probably there was a time when the clans exercised great political power, but this was only possible when all the members of a clan lived in one and the same village, and constituted a distinct political element. This element became the unit of both social and political organization, and some of the clans eventually attained an important status and position in the village. Their further progress was impeded through their limited ideas, but more probably because of a lack of close contact with other more advanced communities. Sometimes when strong and far-seeing leaders arose, most of these clans lost their individuality and their leaders were often able to amalgamate the isolated clans of a village into a single confederacy. During times of stress, when all the members of one clan living in a village could not find enough to support themselves, or for other reasons found it impossible to live together, numbers of them migrated to other areas and settled side by side with other clans, thereby giving rise to a new kind of brotherhood mostly constituted of members of allied and associated clans; this in several cases led to the formation of new communities.

Although the Cūhrās in earlier times belonged to a specified clan, the clan has lost its importance as a body at the present day. Since the members of the clan do not live in one and the same village, but are scattered all over

the province, and their place has been taken by members or other clans that came and settled down in the village, the power of the Cūhrā community (made up of various clans) of a village is now a days exercised through a representative council called the "Panchāyat".¹ Its members are mostly people who are old and exercise influence and command respect, men who have authority and prestige and who are fully versed in the history and traditions of the community.² The native word commonly used for these old people is "Syānne" (Experienced elderly men).

Tribal Organization.

The Panchāyat in the different places in the province never meets as an organization of the whole tribe, but acts independently in each area or village. This means that a central tribal organization as such does not exist, and the organization is divided into territorial groups or Panchāyats. The panchāyat is not a political body. It does not collect revenue, nor does it exercise any political power over the Cuhra community. The government however does not deal directly with individuals of the Cūhrā community, but with its representative body, "Panchāyat". Such is the case for example in reference to the supply of forced labour etc.

The Panchāyat has judicial powers and holds judicial sittings when a case is to be tried or discussed, and the interests of each clan are carefully safeguarded by

1. For a detailed account of the Panchāyat see vide section 2, Chapter V, Caste Tribunal and its internal government.
2. As such the Cūhrā government may be called gerontocracy.

the Panchāyat as a whole. The judicial authority of the Panchāyat is exercised only, in cases of breaches of marriage laws, divorce and other social rules, disputes regarding the right claimed by a family or a clan to bury their dead in some particular place, questions concerning inheritance and boundaries and disputes between neighbouring Cūhrā families. Occasionally the Panchāyat assumes jurisdiction over persons who are very poor with a view to helping them, and exercises supreme authority in clan and caste-disputes. It punishes offenders by excommunication commonly known as "Huqqā Pāñī Band" (Water and common smoking stopped) and also by imposing fines of Rs.10/- Rs.25/-(15 shillings to £2/-) or even more. The Pīr-panch commissions one of the "Panchs" to take steps to realize the amount of the fine, showing that the Panchāyat has not only judicial powers but also executive powers of a limited nature, which the community acknowledges. Cases of a serious nature such as murder and theft etc. do not come under the jurisdiction of the Panchāyat, their sole responsibility being to take steps to find the culprit and hand him over to the authorities appointed by the government for the preservation of law and order.

<u>Religious and</u>	:	Among the Cūhrās the chief function
<u>Social Functions</u>	:	
<u>of the Clan.</u>	:	of the clan is the regulation of marriage.

It has to see that a person does not, by mistake, marry in his own clan. In case of death, if the deceased leaves no heir or relative, then it is the duty of the members of the clan to raise the money in connection with the expenses of the funeral. The members of the clan assemble together and

mourn over the deceased, men of other clan may also join if they wish to express their sympathy.

The only religious function of the clan is concerning the observance of their clan totem. The clan at present does not make any restriction regarding those who are permitted to eat together whatever their religion may be. Conversion to any faith does not deprive a Cūhrā of the right and privileges of his clan, and as a member he never fails to respect the clan totem whatever his religious beliefs may be.

CHAPTER V.

No:2. CASTE TRIBUNAL (PANCHAYAT) AND ITS INTERNAL GOVERNMENT.

Like other communities the Cūhrās also have a representative elected body called a "Panchāyat" (caste tribunal). The management of the Cūhrā biradari of each village is in the hands of the Panchāyat. This Panchāyat among the Cūhrās is much the same as that of the Hindus, and is recognised by the Government according to the Act of Panjab Manual 1924¹. It is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the community. The members of the Panchāyat are all elected by the people and the head (Pir panch sometimes called "Kharpanch") is selected by the entire community.

Panchs and their qualifications. :

There are generally five to six Panchs in each village Panchāyat, besides the Pīr Panch who acts as the headman. In case of a larger community the number of Panchs is increased. Only those men are chosen for the position of a Panch who are honest, impartial, trustworthy and men of good character. But above all it is essential that a Panch should have the confidence and goodwill of all the village brotherhood. If a Panch proves incompetent he can be replaced by a fresh man who is elected ~~xx~~ in his place.

Powers of the Panchāyat. :

The powers of the Panchāyat are absolute, though not in matters of life, death or for the disposal of property, but their decisions are binding in other matters. The only right of appeal from the

1. Panjab Manual on the Municipal Act 1924.

decision of the Panchāyat is to the court of law. The Panchāyat has the right to expel any miscreant members or inflict corporal punishment (most commonly shoe-beating) for misconduct. The essential point is that the Panchs have to impose laws and customs on the community. The Panchāyat can punish for incest, adultery, theft, seduction, rape, for breach of the law of exogamy, for killing other people's animals, and for slander and revolt against the communal authority. In other words it takes cognizance of breaches of customs, organizes joint activities and enterprises, and represents the community in the performance of ceremonies. It is supposed to know all about the internal affairs of the brotherhood, and exercises minor legislative and judicial powers. On the death of a Panch the entire community meets and is addressed by the Pir Panch about the vacancy and requested to select another person.

Speaking of the village Panchāyat, in general, Baden Powell says¹ "The Panchayat, at the present^{time} day, has indeed lost much of its ancient power; partly owing to the partition of lands, partly owing to the facility of reference to the district law courts. In most cases it is hardly in existence at all; but it will still assemble in connection with some social or caste dispute". But this is not true of the Cūhrās, for with all their difficulties there has hardly been a case which was not easily and readily disposed of by the Cūhrā Panchayat.

1. Baden Powell, B.H. The Indian Village Community, Page 24-25. Longmans Green & Co., 1896.

Panchayat meet- : To hear complaints, settle disputes, make
-ings and the :
nature of pt : investigation or to inflict punishment, the
punishment in- :
licted. : Panchayat meets twice or thrice a year, but
 additional meetings may be held on special occasion. The meet-
 ings are always conveyed in the evening. The cause of dispute
 is then explained and the verdict of the Panchayat is
 passed. The Cūhrās have a great respect for the ~~2~~ "hukam"
 (decree) of the Panchayat. They feel that the Panchs when
 giving a decision about a particular case are inspired. The
 Panchs do not receive any remuneration for this work, except
 that an entertainment is arranged for them by the parties in
 dispute. Of the fine imposed a certain proportion is paid to
 the complainant and the balance is spent on a feast in which
 the Panchs and the rest of the Birādarī take part. "Dand"
 (fine) imposed by the Panchayat is realized by one of the
 Panchs who is deputed for the purpose. Ostracism or excommuni-
 cation, is the extreme punishment and is awarded only in
 special cases. This means that no one from the brotherhood
 is allowed to eat or drink with the culprit. It has very
 serious effects, as it means that the man can not find wives
 for his sons nor husbands for his daughters. Many^atime this
 punishment compels the culprit to leave the village, as it
 affects his standing in the society. In this connection refer-
 -ence may be made to Ibbetson, who speaking of the standard
 of self respect of the people of the Panjab says, "All over
 the Panjab, the dearest thing to a Panjabi is his 'Izzat' i.e.

the estimation in which he is held by his fellows.¹

Private
Panchāyat.

: In the case of a serious quarrel between men
: of two villages, the representatives of the
Panchayats of the two villages meet and hold what is called
a private Panchāyat. Before the meeting is called three or
four men from both villages are appointed to make a thorough
investigation into the matter and then explain^{to} the body the
exact situation. The complainants and the culprits are ask-
ed to come forward and take oath. The oath is taken in the
name of the totem. Should they take a false oath, then the
Cūhrās believe that some ~~xxx~~ calamity will fall on them.
Similarly witnesses are called and asked to take oath on
their honour.

There are no written proceedings of the Panchāyat
and business is carried out on the spot. The oldest man
of all presides at the meeting, and the proceedings are
kept confidential. The writer attended two or three legal
trials in a village (Begowala, Tahsil Sialkot), conducted
by the caste tribunal. He was told by the Pir Panch, that
while judging the case, two things were always taken into
consideration, namely:-

(a) Is the offence against the community as a whole. Such

1. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes
of the Panjab and N.W.F. Province. Vol.II. Page 190.
Civil & Military Gazette. Lahore-1911.

1. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes
of the Panjab and N.W.F. Province. Vol.II. Page 190.
Civil & Military Gazette. Lahore-1911.

offences are the breaking of some religious customs or the disturbance of peace and order in the community, or
(b) Is it against any individual?

The following details of a trial conducted by the caste-tribunal at the village of Begowala would help to explain the procedure and the details of working a Panchāyat.

The Panchāyat or caste tribunal met at 8.30 P.M. at the house of one of the Panchs. The Pīr panch in announcing the purpose of the gathering said, "Brethren, we have gathered here to discuss the question of the quarrel between Jiwan and Shādi. You all know that Jīwan has now refused to give his daughter in marriage to the son of Shādi, though she had been betrothed to him for a long time. According to the contract Jīwan had received a sum of Rs.100/- (£7/-) from Shadi. Besides this, the latter spent over Rs.150/- (£11/-) for clothes, jewellery and entertainment. Now, Jiwan is neither /prepared to return the money, nor is he willing to give his daughter in marriage."

After this, both sides were asked to state ~~ix~~ their case. For an hour or so the discussion went on. The writer noticed that no woman was present in the Panchāyat, but at a distance of ten or twelve yards, in a corner, Jīwan's wife was sitting with two other women. They were heard talking loudly, " Shall we throw away our daughter to a good-for-nothing person. We will not give our daughter to him in marriage, let the Panchāyat do what it likes."

Finally the Pīrpanch after hearing the two sides, announced the decision of the Panchayat. This was to the effect that the father of the girl should either agree to give his

daughter in marriage, or he should refund the total amount of money claimed by the complainant. In case he failed to do so he will be forced to pay an additional dand(fine) of Rs.25/-(£1-18sh). Finally the parents of the girl agreed to the verdict of the Panchāyat.

CHAPTER V.

No: 3 PROPERTY AND SYSTEM OF INHERITANCE.

Among the Cūhrās property may be held by a family or by an individual. The writer knows of only one case in which property was held to belong to the Cūhrā brotherhood as a whole. In this solitary case a house was left by the deceased Kelu in the village Miēnāpurā to his "birādarī" (brotherhood) as he had no relative. The house is used as a meeting place for the Panchayat or for social entertainments.

As a rule the house and land is the property of the family, and household goods and ornaments are the property of the individuals. The Cūhrās however, have a joint family system resembling that of the Hindus, and the sons with their wives and children all live under the same paternal roof. In the life-time of the father, the sons generally have neither a distinct menage nor do they hold any separate property. They may work on different farms for their landlords, or cultivate their own fields, but they all have their separate earnings to the common family fund. If by chance a married son finds it inconvenient to live with the joint family, he has the option to go and set up his own

house. By doing so he does not however forfeit his claim to the ancestral property.

Land. : The Cuhras do not own any land on the farm nor does the land on which their houses are built belong to them. They are mere farm labourers, and it is therefore against custom for them to own land either in the village or in the city.¹ It has been a subject of great controversy whether the Cūhrās should own land or not. They are only given a small plot of land outside the village for building their houses. If they refuse either to work or accept the terms of employment from their masters, they can be ejected from this area at a moment's notice, though this thing seldom happens. The Cūhrās however have definite grazing rights, and in this connection have a distinct understanding with their landlords, so that their cattle can graze on the farm, but only on certain days of the week. On such occasions a boy or a girl is left in charge of the herd of cattle.

Other Cūhrā property consists of their houses, cattle and household goods. These are held under proprietary rights by the head of the family. The household property, as previously mentioned, includes four or five beds, two or three "Pirhīs" (bridal chairs) some pitchers, a few ropes, half a dozen utensils, cheap jewellery etc. etc.

1. In 1911 the Cuhras were given land in the Canal colony area at Lysallpur by the Government on a lease system. Now there are two Cuhra villages, or Martinpur and Youngsonabad, which solely belong to them.

Inheritance.

The mode of inheritance among all Cūhrā clans is very simple. Practically the same regulations are observed in all villages and these regulations are based on custom. The Cūhrās do not have any "tribal" laws of their own with regard to inheritance and succession. The rules of property and inheritance among them are more or less the same as those observed among the Hindus and Muhammadans. When any dispute goes to court, the general Hindu or Muhammadan law (according to the faith they profess) is applied in deciding the dispute.

After the death of the parents, if the sons do not agree to live together, a meeting of the Panchāyat is called, and the property is divided according to Cūhrā rules of inheritance. If the mother and her sons are alive they live ~~ga~~ together. But in case the widow-mother marries another husband the property reverts to her sons by her first husband. In case the husband dies without any male issue, leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow is only allowed a life interest in the property, and she has no authority to sell the house or any household goods without the consent of all the male relatives of her deceased husband. The brothers are the first heirs, and ~~xx~~ the property is divided equally, irrespective of age. The descent among the Cūhrās is patrilineal. Traces of matrilineal descent are also reported from some villages. The responsibility of the mother's brother towards the nephews and nieces at the time of birth and marriage, as described elsewhere (vide Chapter V) also supports the patrilineal law of inheritance.

The following example is given to explain to some extent the ownership rights and the question of Cuhra inheritance. The writer was told that a certain house was built in the village Rahowālī (Tehsil Narowal) by two brothers Nihala and Popi (See Pedigree table No. ~~XX~~). The house had three rooms, two on one side and one on the other, with a courtyard in between. Nihālā the ~~aka~~ elder brother got married and had two sons. When he died, the sons wished to separate from their uncle and divide the property. As their father, however had spent more money on the house, he, before dying, assigned two rooms to his sons. After the father died a dispute arose between the uncle and his nephews about the partition of the house. The whole affair was referred to the Panchāyat, and it was decided that the two rooms already assigned by the deceased be given to the sons in joint ownership, and the third room retained by their uncle. Similarly the courtyard was divided, each party owning half of its area, and a boundary wall was erected separating the two properties. This is recognised by the Cūhrā community throughout the Panjab as a standing custom. In case the children die, the property may be passed on to the agnates or male relatives on the father's side. In the case of a daughter it is a clear rule that she can not inherit any property from her father or mother. The only gift a daughter gets from her parents is in the form of a dowry at the time of her marriage.

When there are no male descendants either on the father's or mother's side, the sons of the nearest agnates have the right to take everything as the only surviving

relatives. If the father of the deceased is alive, he next succeeds and if not, then the brothers of the deceased owner inherit an equal share.

Among the Cūhrās there is a ceremony called "Wandnā" (distribution) which takes place on the fortieth day after death, when all the old possessions of the deceased are disposed of, to the various members of the family. The household goods are equally divided among the sons, ^{though} ~~though~~ they are used in common as long as they live together. Jewellery is also equally divided. In case of cattle, the division is rather difficult. The cattle are generally sold, and the purchase money is shared equally. Cattle are transferred from one family to another. For instance, according to the Cuhra custom, at the time of marriage, the father's brother has to give a buffalo or a cow to his niece. Marriage is the chief occasion of such gifts, and cattle are transferred in this way from one house to another. The sons of the deceased wife, by a former husband do not get any share in the property left by the deceased, but if any such son had been living in the family, he is given a small portion of the house-hold goods, ~~xxx~~ and a small sum of money for his maintenance, but he cannot claim it as a matter of right.

The question:
of adoption.:

The practice of adopting the children of others is not very frequent among the Cuhras. In case a family is childless, a boy from a poor family is chosen for adoption, but the most important thing is to obtain the consent of the parents and also the sanction of the brotherhood. The native word used for adoption is "Mutabannā" (to adopt). The preference is given to a nephew or grand nephew, or some child

from their clan to be the adopted son. The Panchayat, however, is first consulted on such points for the real procedure of adoption is performed by the Panchāyat.

There are certain differences in this custom in different villages. Some villages wish to have a quiet affair and take the child after a solemn ceremony is performed by the Panchāyat. Others wish to make it an occasion for feasting, merry making and music. The one important thing is, that the child, as he grows older, is not told of his real parents, nor of his adoption. The chief reason why the Cūhrās wish to adopt a child is to carry on their name and pedigree after they are dead.¹ Childless persons among the Cūhrās are considered objects of ridicule which is a reason for adopting a son or daughter. Adoption is also designed to prevent the property passing out of the family. I was informed about two cases of adoption. In one case the parents died leaving three children. The uncle of the children could not afford to look after them so he gave two of the children to a third person for adoption and kept one child with him.

An adopted child can inherit or succeed to the ancestral property with the sanction and approval of the Panchāyat, to the entire exclusion of the other agnates. In most cases it depends on the relationship established by the boy with his adopting parents and to a great extent, to his care of the old parents. If the adopted son turns out to be wicked, he gets only his marriage expenses and maintenance allowance, and cannot succeed to nor inherit any property.

¹ At the village Hachar the wife's mother adopted a girl Musaria when she was a month old. Before this the wife was barren; the day the adopted child was brought home, her mother, in a miraculous manner, felt her breasts full of milk and she nursed the adopted child. After a year or so, the mother conceived, and gave birth to a boy. Thus subsequently her barrenness was gone. (See Panchyat No. 455)

(B) 1. KINSHIP SYSTEM.

Kinship Usages. : Throughout the Panjab, the Cūhṛas use almost the same terms of kinship as are used by the Hindus. The father's brother, father's sister, mother's brother and mother's sister have each a separate term of address. The ~~elder~~ elder and younger is determined by the addition of the prefix; "waddā" in case of elder and "nikkā" in case of younger. The classificatory system of relationship is to some extent present among the Cuhṛas of Sialkot and Fajrenwala districts in the following terms.

Classificatory terms. :

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Father:- | Bāpu, Bhāīyā; Lālā; Chāchā. | } All men of the same age as the father, in village biradari are addressed by these terms and are considered of the same rank. |
| 2. Mother:- | Bhābī, Buā, Lāllī, Chāchī. | |
| 3. Uncle:- | Bhāīyā, Chāchā, Tāyā. | |
| 4. Son:- | Puttar, Kākā, Mundā, Bēlak | |

There are separate terms for father's younger sister's husband, and mother's younger sister's husband. The former is called "Phuppā" and the latter "Messar". It is interesting to note that the terms for sister's son and daughter are different in Trans-Sutlej from those used in Cis-Sutlej territory. In the former case, they use "Bhaneva" and Bhanevi but in latter case they use Bhānjā and Bhanjī.

Terms of Address. : In the kinship system no question is considered so important as the question of kinship usages

Near relatives are addressed as follows:-

1. Father addressing his wife will call her so and so's mother. Mother addressing her husband will call him so and so's father.

Younger brother-- brother calls him as Bha Ji(bhara Ji) or bha.

Elder brother... Elder brother calls his younger brother by ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ name.

3. Father's younger brother is called Chaccha Ji and elder brother as Taya Ji. They in return address the boy or girl either by name or by "Kākā or Kākī".

4. Father's father calls his son's sons or son's daughter Kaka and Kaki and they in return address him as Baba Ji.

Speaking of their elders they never address them by name but by some honorific terms.

An examination of the terms of kinship does not reveal any trace of dual organisations nor can any form of division into such be distinguished amongst the Cuhras.

Kinship and Totems. : They never mention the name of their totem but speak of it as the "Sacred ones",

"Blessed and lucky one", "may God's blessing be on it"

Speaking about a hare, they say, "The sacred one met us while we were coming, and it turned out to be a lucky ~~one~~ day for us". *Lowie also speaks of Kirgiz women and their taboos and totems in the same manner.*

Kinship and Taboos. : A Cuhra is prohibited from uttering the name of his father-in-law or mother-in-law.

In order to designate ~~xx~~ them he uses the expression

"Meri ghar wali de peo" (father of my house mistress).

Similarly he never mentions the name of his mother's

brother, mother's sister, father's brother or father's

sister. If he wishes to make it clear he would say, "Mera

mama jehra falane pind rehnda e" (My mother's brother who

lives in such and such village). But distant relatives

1. See Lowie, Robert H., *Primitive Society* Page 81. George Routledge & Sons London, 1921.

and uncles are addressed by name adding kinship terms. For instance, "Oh sade sharike de vicchon chacha lagda e. (He is our uncle by kin and clan.)"

It was noticed that the Cuhras observe taboos, particularly in the case of dead relatives. They fear to take their names, especially if the deceased happens to be older than the speaker. This particular observing of taboos made it very difficult at times for ~~xx~~ the writer to get pedigrees.

Salutations. : The Cuhras observe certain salutations which are regulated by kinship. The most popular Cuhra way of salutation is to say ^{"Pañā" (I bow)} "bandagi" (I bow) to each other. This is observed among equals and sometimes the same word is used for superiors. Another ^{common} way of exchanging greetings is to say "Salam" (peace to you). ^{to shake hands}

But before elders the Cuhras actually bow and touch their feet with their hands and forehead, particularly in the case of father, father's brother, mother's brother, father's father and so on. The usual form of salutation to them is "Pañā", to which the response is "Rabb tera bhsle kare". But ~~xx~~ they never bow before women, for that is considered positively against the common custom. ¹ When a man meets his equal, particularly a friend of ^{his} own kin, he is given a hug and a very close embrace; in the case of an acquaintance sometimes a mere handshake is made. So we notice, that salutation depends largely upon the nearness of the tie in kinship and clan, or upon the age.

¹. Almost all these modes of salutations are observed by the Hindus in the Panjab.

2. GENEALOGY.

The following thirty one genealogies have been collected in the course of the years 1932-34 in different villages from all classes, of Sialkot and Sheikhupura districts. It was discovered that a large number of men could not tell the writer their grand father's name. Others were diffident and showed reticence in naming their dead relatives. The Cuhra women knew more of the genealogical lore than the males, and were always willing and helpful in recounting their own genealogies as well as those of other families. An average Cuhra refuses to name a dead relative for it is considered a taboo for him. The writer was informed that it was against the custom to ~~xx~~ take the name of the deceased relative. The writer put questions to find the relations beyond the third and fourth generations, but some of the informants could not supply information beyond the third generation.

These genealogies are arranged according to their respective clans. An average Cuhra family is comparatively bigger(the number of boys being larger than girls) than that of a Gaggara or a Sansi family. Instances can be quoted where a Cuhra family has worked for three generations as tenants or labourers on the same farm and in the same village.

A careful study of the genealogical tables shows another striking feature, that the Cuhras are fairly long lived people, particularly those who live in villages(see genealogical tables & pedigree No. IA, IB, V). The average longevity of a Cuhra ranges from 50 to 55. Genealogies IB, II, V, IX, XV and XXVIII show cases where the Cuhras reach the ripe age of 75 to 80. The Cuhra genealogies reveal joint

family system (pedigree No. IB, VB, VI.) It was difficult to find out the names of their wives and mothers or of their clan in each case. The names of those collected have been put in parenthesis. For the sake of convenience, the names of males are indicated with an arrow and those of the females with a simple cross. The ages of some of the persons are indicated by figures and are given in brackets. The women who left their husbands and went to live with another person are indicated by an asterisk (table IV, IX, XIX^{etc.}). The abbreviation 'd.y' stand for "died young" and "No ch." for "No child". "S"¹ and "D"² have been used for son and daughter respectively. Where the names of a boy or girl have not been ascertained the following are used to show the sex difference, and arrow for a son and a cross for a daughter.

1. 'S'... = Son.

2. 'D.'... = Daughter.

NAME OF VILLAGES.

Relationship Terms or kinship terms.	Sambarsal (District Sialkot).	Bagge-Ke- Hicchar. (District Sheikhu- pura).	Baddomali. (District Sialkot).	Gilla (District Ludhiana).
Father.	Peo.	Bhaiya (Also Peo).	Peo:(Lala).	Pe:(Bapu).
Step Father.	Matres Peo.	Bhaiya.	Peo:(Lala).	Matres Peo.
F.E.B.	TAYA	Bhaiya.	Bhaiya.	Taya or Tau.
F.Y.B.	Chacha or Bhaiya.	Nikka Chacha.	Chacha.	Chacha.
F.E.B.W.	Tai.	Tai.	Tai.	Tai.
F.Y.B.W.	Chachi.	Chachi.	Chachi.	Chachi.
F.E.S.	Phuppi (Bhua)	Phuppi (Bhua).	Bhua.	Phuppi.
F.E.S.H.	Phuppar.	Phuppar.	Phuppar.	Phuppa or Phuppar.
F.E.S.S.	Bhaneva.	Bhaneva.	Bhaneva.	Bhanja.
F.Y.S.	Phuppi. (Bua)	Bhua.	Bhua.	Phuppi.
F.Y.S.D.	Bhanewi.	Bhanevi.	Bhanevi.	Bhanji.
F.Y.S.H.	Phuppar.	Phuppar.	Phuppar.	Phuppar.
F.F.F.	Dadda: Baba. Pardadda.	Baba: Pardadda.	Baba: Pardadda.	Dadda: Pardadda.
F.F.F.F.	Pardadda.	Pardadda.	Pardadda.	Pardadda.
F.M.	Dadi.	Dadi.	Dadi.	Dadi.
F.F.M.	Pardaddi.	Pardaddi.	Pardaddi.	Pardaddi.

Relationship Terms or kinship terms.	Samberyal (District Sialkot).	Page-ke- Hicchar: (District Sheikhupura.)	Nana (Nanke).	Nana(Nanke). Nana.	Gilla (District Ludhiana).
M.F.	Nana or Nanke.	Nana (Nanke).			
E.B.	Wadda Bhra.	Wadda Bhra.		Wadda Bhra.	Wadda Bhra.
E.B.W.	Bhabhi.	Bhabhi.		Bhabhi.	Bhabhi.
Y.B.	Nikka Bhra.	Nikka Bhra.		Nikka Bhra.	Nikka Bhra.
Y.B.W.	Nikki Bhabhi.	Nikki Bhabhi.		Nikki Bhabhi.	Nikki Bhabhi.
E.S.	Waddi bhain.	Waddi bhain.		Waddi bhain.	Waddi bhain.
E?S.H.	Bhanuja.	Bhanuja.		Bhanuja.	Bhanoia.
Y.S.	Nikka bhain.	Nikki bhain.		Nikki bhain.	nikki bhain.
Y.S.H.	Nikka bhanuja.	Nikka Bhanuja.		Nikka bhanuja.	Nikka bhanuja.
Wife.	Wauhti or Buddhi.	Vauhti or Buddhi.		Vauhti or Buddhi.	Rann: Bauhti Bahu.
W.E.B.	Wadda Sala.	Wadda Sala.		Wadda Sala.	Wadda Sala.
W.E.B.W.	Waddi Sali.	Waddi Sali.		Waddi Sali.	Waddi Sali.
W.Y.B.	Nikka Sala.	Nikka Sala.		Nikka Sala.	Nikka Sala.

Relationship Terms or (Kin ship terms).	Wardha District (District Sialkot).	Baghe-ke- Hachar. (District Sheikhu- pura.	Baghe-ke- Hachar. (District Sialkot).	Wardha District (District Ludhiana).
Husband.	Khassam.	Khassam.	Khassam.	Khassam.
H.E.B.	Jeth.	Jeth.	Jeth.	Jeth.
H.E.B.W.	Jethani.	Jethani.	Jethani.	Jethani.
H.Y.B.	Deor.	Deor.	Deor.	Dewar.
H.Y.B.S.	Doriya.	Doriya.	Doriya.	Doriya.
H.Y.B.W.	Dorani.	Dorani.	Dorani.	Dewarani.
H.Y.B.D.	Dori.	Dori.	Dori.	Dori.
H.E.S.	Waddi Nand.	Waddi Nand.	Waddi Nand.	Nand.
H.E.S.H.	Wadda Nandoi.	Wadda Nandoi.	Wadda Nandoi.	Badda Nandoi.
H.Y.S.H.	Nikka Nandoi.	Nikka Nandoi.	Nikka Nandoi.	Nikka Nandoi.
H.F.	Sohora.	Sohora.	Sohora.	Sohora.
H.M.	Sas.	Sas.	Sas.	Sas.
Son.	Putter.Putt.	Putter.	Putter.	Putt.
Step Son.	Matrea Putter.	Matrea Putter.	Matrea Putter.	Matrea putter.
S.W.	Nunn.	Nunn.	Nunn.	Nunn.
S.S.	Potra.	Potra.	Potra.	Pota.
S.S. D.	Potri.	Potri.	Potri.	Poti.

Relationship Terms (or Kin ship terms).	Samooryal (District Sialkot).	Bagge-ke- Hacchar: (District Sheikhu- pura).	Bagge-ke- Baddomali. (District Sialkot).	Gills. (District Ludhiana).
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D.D.H.

Dohtra
Jawai.

Dohtra
Jawai.

Dohtra
Jawai.

Dohtra
Jawai.

D.H.F.

Kuram.

Kuram.

Kuram.

Kuram.

D.H.M.

Kurmani.

Kurmani.

Kurmani.

Kurmani.

F.....

FATHER.

H. . .

HUSBAND.

M.....

MOTHER.

D. . . .

DAUGHTER.

B.....

BROTHER.

S. . . .

SON.

S.....

SISTER.

E.....

ELDER.

Y.....

YOUNGER.

W.....

WIFE.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE CUHRAS.

(C).1. CUSTOMS OF BIRTH.

The ceremonies connected with child-birth among the
Customs of : Cūhrās begin before the birth of a child.
birth. :
 A pregnant woman is not allowed to go about freely. At about the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy a ceremony called "Sirwārna" is performed. At this time her female relatives generally put some wheat in a piece of cloth or vessel, swing it round and over ^{her} head and then place it under her bed. Among the Hindus this ceremony is known as "Pumsvana"¹. In the second or third month of pregnancy the members of the family join in offering prayer called "Havan". After singing of sacred songs a kind of snuff made of "Gillo" and sycamore leaves is prepared and given to the expectant mother as a snuff. It is believed to ward off all diseases. Then a quantity of wheat is put in a vessel, and this ^{is} swung over the head of the child and mother and distributed to the poor.

The writer asked the meaning of the rite and was told that in this way they take a vow to distribute food generously to the poor after the recovery of the mother. The next day the corn is handed over to the midwife as her perquisite. On such an occasion there are miscellaneous expenses to be met with; for example, the Cuhra custom of "Sadqa" is

1. Daya Nand Swami "Sanskara Vidhi". A Manual of Sacrament.

an imitation of the Hindu custom "Varna"¹ (sacrifice money).² This custom means to give something to the "Kāmīns" (menials) for the performance of sundry services to the family. The only difference which has been discovered between "Sadka" and "Varna" is that in the case of the former, the expenses are much less than in that of the latter.

Special Observances and restrictions. : No special arrangements are made : for the expectant mother. Among the Cuhrae the mother to be attends to her household work to the final day. The delivery takes place in a small room. The mother goes to the room exactly when the labour pains commence. No man is allowed to enter the room. If by chance the husband enters the room, he is required to go and take a bath with a view to purifying himself. No outside woman is allowed to enter into the house lest the new born child or the mother should fall a victim to the evil eye². Even the father of the babe is not permitted to see the child for the first two days. Only the female relatives who attend the mother are allowed to come and go freely in the house. The husband's mother is supposed to attend to her daughter-in-law x during and after confinement, though she is helped by the Dai (midwife, noted for her skill) or other female relatives.

1. Among the Chamars the Ceremony of Sirwarna is also observed. Briggs says "Mustard and Dil seeds, or bran and salt, are waved around the mother's head and then thrown into a vessel containing fire". Briggs G.W. "The Chamars". P.67. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1920.

2. Similary, "the sickness or death of either the mother or the child is attributed to the influence of evil spirit, or of the ~~xxxx~~ evil eye. Briggs. G.W. "The Chamars". P.69. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920.

Falling this they send for the mother of the girl to come and assist. If the delivery is delayed, Gur(Home made sugar) is given by the Bhagat¹, for quick and safe delivery. The "naf"(cord) is cut by a special knife which is very sharp. This operation is done by the midwife. The after birth and placentas are buried deep down by the father so that dogs and animals may not eat it. Sometimes if the child is still born, its body is immediately ~~buried~~ ^{buried}.

A special kind of diet is given to the young mother so long as she is confined to bed. She is not allowed to put on jewellery till after the child is born, nor is she expected to leave her bed for five or six days. But cases have been observed where the woman begins to attend to her household duties three or four hours after her delivery. In the Sohotra clan the woman is not allowed to leave her bed at least for a week.² On the other hand among the Kalyana and Mattu clans women get up on the third day, and do not mind carrying their baby in public. Thus the customs of the Mattu and Kalyans differ from those of other clans. While the mother is still in seclusion the women of the brotherhood however come to her room, stand outside and offer their congratulations.

1. Bhagat, Sanskrit Bhakti (devotion) one who is given to prayer and meditation.

2. This period of seclusion observed by the mother and the child as a rule extends from a week to ten days.

Gift offering ceremony. On the third day the dhobi(washerman) of the village brings a parrot made of paper or cloth stuffed with rags. The parrot is fixed on a piece of card-board. This hangs from the ceiling of the room where the mother and the baby lie. The parrot is regarded by the Cuhres, as well as by the Hindus, as a lucky bird. It seems that this is done, partly to bring luck, and partly to amuse the new born child.

During the period of the mother's confinement gifts are brought in cash and kind, and presented by the relatives and women of the brotherhood. The sweeper woman of the village brings a bow and arrow which is given to the mother. It signifies that her son will be a brave man.¹ If the baby is a female nothing is given.

If the village is predominantly under Hindu influence they send for a Pandit(Priest)but if the Muhammedans have a majority of the population then a Mullah(A Muhammadan religious leader) is called.He is asked to give "Azān" (a call of thanksgiving)on behalf of the family, thanking God for the favour done to them.²

Tips. : After this thanksgiving ceremony is over, the village dhobī(washerman), the "Nāī(the barber), and the 'Mirāsī'(the professional singer), are sent for.

1. Among the Todas there is a similar ceremony called "Pursutpinni" or the ceremony of bow and arrow we touch. This ceremony is performed about the seventh month of pregnancy. Rivers W.H.R. "The Todas" page 319.

2. At the time of repeating "Kalma"(God is one and Muhammad is His Prophet) the members of the family stand up and join in prayer).

They are given clothes and some money as a present from all the members of the family. Among all the attendants the midwife gets the lion's share of presents on such occasions. Usually the fee charged by her is annas eight (9.d.) though in some places they have now begun to pay a rupee (one shilling six pence). In addition to this she is given many clothes, utensils, sweets and wheat.

While the mother is in seclusion, the baby's face is kept covered and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. On the fourth day, another ceremony takes place. This ceremony is commonly known as "Muh vakkhai" (showing the face of the baby). The grand father and the maternal uncle are informed of the birth of their grandson or grand-daughter or niece through the "Lagi" (messenger) who is sent on this particular mission to convey the news to friends and relatives of the family. The Lagi is paid a little fee for his services, besides a certain number of privileges which are granted to him. He is expected to carry some Gur (coarse raw sugar) to distribute among the relatives of the mother, this being intended to give a hint to the grand parents of the birth of the child. These feel exceedingly happy to hear the news, and give a rupee to the "Lagi" for bringing the good tidings. Next day they start off with the Lagi to pay a visit to their daughter and to see their new grandson. They bring with them many presents, such as clothes, money and jewelry consisting of ear-rings, bangles¹ etc. for the child.

1. In this connection it is necessary to remember that these presents are given irrespective of the sex of the child.

They are also supposed to present new clothes, ghee (clarified butter), sugar, and if possible, some jewellery to their daughter. The Phuppi (father's sister) is also expected to give a few clothes and a little jewellery, and in return she receives a present of a cow or a buffalo from her brother. On this occasion it is customary for the relatives of the mother of the child (brothers, sisters, mother and father) to give a big sum of money, jewellery and clothes to the new born child. Similarly custom expects relatives of the husband (father, mother, brothers and sisters etc.) to be generous and give clothes to the child, and money for the servants, for custom demands more from ~~the~~ the mother's relatives than from the father's people. On such an occasion the mother's parents and other relatives send "Panjiri" (a preparation of flour, sugar and butter and almonds) and a special cloth called "Potra" (a napkin for the child) and some money as a gift.

Veil Vadhai. : The professional singer of the village generally seizes a favourable opportunity and goes up to the roof of the house with his wife. They both begin to sing and beat the drum in great excitement on such an auspicious occasion. The relatives reward the singers for their labour, and give presents in ~~the~~ the form of clothes, cash and some wheat. This ceremony is commonly called Veilla¹

1. The writer was once present in a village when the ceremony of veilla was performed. It was observed that different members of the family brought their gifts and gave them to the singer and his wife. Both of them pretended not to be keen to receive the gifts. It was an indirect way of asking for more.

The value of these presents varies from five to six ruppes (7sh. to 9 sh.) .Sometimes when the presents are not large, the singers keep on beating the drum signifying their dissatisfaction and unwillingness to receive such a small gift. If the parents of the child are financially well-off they sometimes award a calf to the singer. This is done if the child is a boy. The ceremony of awarding a calf is known as "Vadhai". Hindus call this ceremony by the name Jot Karan Sanskar (ceremony of good wishes given after the birth of a child).

Every member of the brotherhood is supposed to pay a visit and extend good wishes to the parents of the child. Almost all the relatives on the father and mother's side are present on this occasion to receive the visitors.

As mentioned above, the young mother is not allowed to leave her bed for at least four or five days. During this period a strong lock is put at the head of her bed. The fire is kept burning all the time with a view to keep the evil spirits off, or avert any bad influence from the child and his mother. Other means are also used to drive away the spirits, such as tying an iron chain and a lock to the bed. The midwife takes some assfoetida and, having wrapped it in a piece of cloth, ties it on the arm of the child and his mother in order to ward off calamities¹.

1. It is more or less like a soldier carrying a copy of the Gospel with him with the superstitious idea that it is holy and will save him from all dangers. It may also be compared with the wearer of the rabbit's foot in U.S.A., or horse-shoe over the door, which is regarded as a type of magic.

The Cuhras call it "Tavit" (Amulet). The leaves of Sharinh (acacia) are tied at the door, as the green leaves symbolise joy and happiness.

All precautions are taken in rearing the boy. The Cuhras spend a lot of money in honour of the first child, if he is a boy. The woman is regarded as unclean for the first twenty days.¹ During this period meals cooked by her are tabooed. In fact she is not supposed even to touch the cooking utensils. On the twenty first day the ceremony of purification takes place; this is generally known as "Sutak kaddhna" (washing and cleansing of the body). The ceremony is regarded as obligatory, and failure to perform it is considered a social offence. Speaking of purification rites observed by the Cuhras, Ibbetson writes, "After child-birth a woman is unclean for 21 days. In the period of menstruation she does not go to a well, and after it she washes her clothes and bathes."²

At the time of the bath, the midwife demands some silver or gold to be placed under the feet of the mother to be given in alms. Generally a rupee is so placed and this is supposed to be given to the midwife.

These ceremonies observed at birth have acquired social significance and have come to be regarded as necessary. Most of these ceremonies take place either in the morning or in the evening.

1. Among the Batwals the woman is considered unclean for 10 days. Other similar groups like Meghs and Bhanjaras observe 10 days, but woman is officially declared clean after forty days.

2. Ibbetson Sir D. A. Glossary of the Tribes & Castes of the Panjab & North West Frontier Province, Vol. II. Page 199.

Hakika and Dhaman. : Another ceremony called "Hakika"¹ is performed. A big thanksgiving feast is held in honour of the safe delivery of the mother and the general health of the child. On this occasion the child is anointed with oil, and the soot of the mustard oil lamp is applied just under the lower eye-lids. Batashas(sweets) are distributed among the members of the brotherhood. The whole ceremony is known as Dhaman.

Rite peculiar to the Cuhras: There is one particular ceremony which is peculiar to the Cuhras. When the child is about a month old, in different localities his parents visit the most important or most efficacious deity. For instance, in Sialkot the child is presented before Balle Shah's Asthan(Shrine of Balle Shah). The parents bow before him and thank him for the favour done to them. Similarly in Hoshiarpur, they have a special favour for Vishnu Devi. They feed the girls and boys in the Devi's name so that the children may be preserved.

There is no set time for giving ~~xx~~ the name. It may be given at birth, or when the mother leaves her bed. Generally

Naming of the child. : the baby is named on the fourth or fifth day when the face has been uncovered.

Usually, the name is suggested by the mother's sister or by the father's sister and sometimes with the consultation of both. They are expected to provide the child with

1. The ceremony of Hakika is also observed among the Moham-madans, but not by the Hindus. For further study of 'Hakika' see article by Gulab Singh. "Some Indian Mussalman Birth Customs". Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVIII, Page 193.

all the necessary clothes for the occasion.

The name is sometimes taken from a day of the week. For instance, a boy born on Wednesday is called "Buddhu" from Budh(Wednesday, Viru from Virwar(Thursday), Manglu from Mangal(Tuesday) and so on. A girl born in the house of her mother's parents is called Nanki from Nana(grand father). It is interesting to note the Cuhra custom of naming the boy after his grand father. It was observed that this particular custom was practised in three or four villages, namely Killa, Sobha, Gilla, Ghutalian and Badiana(District Sialkot) (Vide Vadhava, pedigree Number III, Mangu pedigree No.IV, Ruldu Pedigree No.V, Uttam Pedigree No.VII).

But Pedigree No.VIII shows the names given after the name of the father's younger brothers, Ghajju, Dalipa, Waryama. Similarly the mother's sister's names are repeated in Pedigree No.X.

After a week or so follows the ceremony called "Jhand karana" or "Jhand munana(shaving the head). The barber receives from four annas to one rupee(5.d to one shilling and six pence.)¹ The mother's sister or the mother's brother's wife gives her a handful of cotton seeds and barley which she is required to scatter and throw on the roof and in the air, signifying that henceforth she will be fruitful and prosperous for all her life. On the twenty

1. In case of a baby girl they observe the ceremony called
2 "kann bindana"(piercing the ear). It may be done any day. Generally four or five girls of different families in the village get their ears pierced on the same day.

first day the midwife is dismissed with presents, clothes and other gifts varying in value.

Feeding of the child. : When the midwife departs the leaves and small branches of a Sharinh tree (acacia) are brought and tied with a piece of string to the door of the porch. Some families throw "Akk"¹ (Calotropis Procera) on the roof of the house with a view to invoke the gods to grant plenty of milk for the child. If the mother is ~~able~~ ^{able} to nurse the baby, they conclude that the gods have heard their prayers. But if unfortunately the mother's milk is not sufficient, they regard her as having fallen a victim to evil spirits. In that case the baby is brought up on the milk of a cow. Sometimes if the mother is not able to nurse the baby, they arrange for a wet nurse from among their brotherhood. The nurse is paid a nominal sum and is given two meals a day.

Ordinarily the child is nursed for two and sometimes three years. Among the Hindus the mothers are supposed to nurse their children at least for one and a half years but for not more than two years. No child should be born during this period.²

Neondra and Khir Cattai. : When the child is six months' old another feast is given to the friends and the relatives of the two families. On this occasion they are supposed to give "Neondra" (a special offering) to the child. These presents in cash are really given with

1. It grows in sandier tracts: See chapter On Herbs, Shrubs and trees: Page 75. Douie, James Sir, (The Panjab North West Frontier Province & Kashmir-Cambridge. 1916.

2. Dayanand Satyarath Parkash: Chapter III. Lahore 1911.

a view to helping to meet the expenses of entertainment. The girl holds a lower position than the boy.

A special kind of rice pudding is prepared and the father's sister (paternal aunt of the child) is entrusted with the task of feeding the child with "Khir" (rice pudding). This is commonly called "Khir Cattai"¹. It is very significant that rice is given instead of a wheat preparation to the child. Although the Panjab is a wheat-eating province, yet it is interesting to see that rice is used for the child, at the first ceremonial eating. This ceremony signifies that ~~here~~ hereafter the child is able to take a little solid food, though he is mainly fed on milk for a period of two years or more.

"Twins". : Views differ with regard to twin children.

If the twins happen to be boys they are thought to be a great blessing to the family, and great care is taken of them. But if one is a boy and the other is a girl it is looked on with great disfavour. The Cuhras regard it as foreboding poverty. Sometimes it so happens that the child dies soon after his birth. In such cases the child is taken and put in a pitcher and buried under the floor of the house. They believe that if they do so the child is sure to re-enter the womb of his mother and have a second birth.

1. Practically throughout India the ceremony of Khir cattai is observed on such occasion. The Cuhras in the Panjab have either borrowed this custom from the Hindus or the custom form one of the basic institutions which developed into the modern Hindu institutions.

Devices used : A barren woman, as among the Hindus and
to cure barren :
-ness. : Muhammadans, is regarded as under a curse.

In such cases, the Cuhras use devices to cure barrenness, a kind of charm thread, or incantation, or a special kind of herbs are given by a Sadhu (Hermit) to be taken with milk¹.

They believe that an ascetic or a Sadhu has power to cure the barrenness and remove all manner of evil from which the Cuhras may suffer. Strangely enough, many times through their blind faith they are cured of their disease.

The Bath. : Many times when all devices fail they ~~xxx~~ send the barren woman to take a special kind of bath which they consider to be very efficacious.² Sometimes they take the cast skin of a serpent and make into powder and give it to the barren woman to eat with honey.

The baths which the barren women are supposed to take are of several types

For instance (a) The woman is expected to go out into the jungle all alone early in the morning and carry water in a new pitcher. This water is taken from six or seven different wells. She sits on a big gourd or pumpkin, and believing that she is going to be cured of her troubles, begins to bathe with this water.

1. Similar devices are also used by the Chamars (Tanners) of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh. Ashes taken from the smouldering log belonging to a holyman, and medicines obtained from Faqirs, are used as cures; and some women wear around their necks blue-black threads blessed by a Bhagat, or wizard. "Briggs, G.W. 'The Chamars' Page 60 Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1920."
 2. In the Sialkot district there is a well called "Puran Bhagat well", famous for its miraculous water. The writer has seen this well. Barren women come from different parts of India to bathe. Several cases of barrenness are reported to have been cured. Whether it is their blind faith or the water that cures, it is difficult to say. Similarly one is reminded of the Lourdes waters in France which are said to have healed hundreds of impotent people.

(b) Sometimes Cuhra women take a new pitcher and fill it with water and allow it to remain for three or four days. This is given to the woman to drink and bathe in a course which she believes to be very effective.

(c) The third kind of bath is very interesting and at the same time very peculiar. They take the dead body or head of a cobra and put it under a big basket. The woman is then required to sit down on it and take her bath.

(d) The women generally go on a pilgrimage as to Puran's well¹ where they wash and bathe and drink water.

Infanticide among the Cuhras was practised to some extent, but of late it has been given up. The present preponderance of males among them may be accounted for, to some extent, by this fact.

There are very few cases of abortion. Drugs are used to secure fertility. But on the whole there are very few occasions on which such drugs are used.

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1. Puran was the son of Raja Salu or Salbahan. It is alleged that his hands and feet were cut off and he was thrown into the well for his disobedience to his step-mother who was reported to be a bad woman. A Sadhu (Saint) is said to have come and restored the hands and feet of the helpless boy. He was then taken out, and since then the water of the well is thought to be good for curing diseases.

Dunlop Smith. J. R. "Gazetteer of the Sialkot District"
Page 22. Civil & Military Gazette Press, 1895.

CHAPTER V.

2. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Forms of Marriage. : The Cūhrās are as a rule monogamous.

Instances are found in the districts of Ludhiana of a few polyandrous marriages (Pedigree No. XXIII -A-2.* Polyandry is also prevalent among the Sikhs of this district and this may be due to the lesser number of women. The Cūhrās generally follow the fraternal type of polyandry, two brothers sharing one wife; but the one who goes through the marriage ceremony with the woman is considered to be the father of all the children born and he is responsible for their maintenance, though the brother who shares ^{the} wife, helps him in all ways. Both husbands leave all their property to their children, a fact which shows that polyandry is not practised in all its forms as among the Toḍās or the Tibetans. This is due to the fact that the community does not allow this practice officially. Levirate marriage is practised (See geneological tables Nos. II, IV, V-B, VII, XII). Marriage within the same clan is also sometimes met with which is due to Muhammadan influence, (Pedigree No. XXI, XXIV, XXVI) and marriage between all sorts of cousins is also prevalent through the same influence. Cross cousin marriage is also in vogue (see table XVIII, IX, XVII). Inter-marriages between the following three pairs of clan (Sohotrās and Cīmme, Khokhar and Tengree, Sindhū and Kal-yāns are prohibited among the Cūhrās. The reason for such a prohibition, the writer understands, is due to certain internal feuds which took place between these clans many centuries ago.

Marriages by exchange¹ of sons and daughters between families is also in vogue among the Cūhrās (See Pedigree Nos. XX-A & XX-B). Instances of love marriages followed by elopement are also found (See Pedigree Nos. XXII¹⁰, XV¹⁰, XXII⁸, & IX⁴).

Modes of con-:
tracting mar-:
riage:-

The Cūhrās practise infant marriage, although since 1929 that is falling into dis-²use. In all cases the bride-price is required to be paid. The average bride price ranges from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 300/- (£15/- to £20/-) and a cow or buffalo. Marriage is always contracted among the Cūhrās by the village barber or by a Laggi³, who is considered to be the professional match-maker. The parents of the boy do not take any actual steps in the selection of the bride, although now, as a general rule, women are allowed to see the boy or the girl before the selection is approved. The relative ages of the boy and girl are first ascertained. On approval, gifts are brought and handed to the girl. In cases where the parents of the girl send the barber to find a suitable bridegroom, he gives as a token, a rupee (one shilling and six pence) to the boy selected by him. This custom is known

1. Among the ~~Cūhrās~~ Chamars "there are special forms of marriage contracts which may be mentioned here. One is marriage by exchange (watts satts, gurawat, adla badla), where each family gives a girl in marriage to a son in the other. This is done to save marriage expenses and is practised among the poor. Briggs G.W. The Chamars, P. 33.

2. "Among the Chamars early marriage is all but universal. The betrothal is very early, often in infancy, and marriage is usually as early as ^{the} eighth year.... However, the age for the consummation of marriage is pretty generally recognised as that of puberty." Briggs G.W. The Chamars. P. 37. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, Bombay 1920.

3. Laggi from Lag (commission) or "Haq" (due). Briggs speaking of the chamar marriage customs says, "In making marriage arrangements chamars, with some exceptions, do not employ barbers unless they be members of their own caste." Briggs G.W. The Chamars. P. 37. Oxford University Press. 1920. Bombay.

as "Roknā", that is, reserving the boy for some particular girl. Then the barber hurries back to the parents of the girl to inform them of the arrangement which he has made and for services he receives a reward of two rupees from both parties.

Mangnī or Kurmāī. : Every marriage is preceded by a formal betrothal of the contracting parties. It is interesting to note that the usual formalities observed at the engagement and marriage among the Cūhrās are very much the same all over the Panjab. When the ceremony of the Mangnī (betrothal) is to be observed ~~observed~~, the whole Biradari (brother-hood) is invited). On this occasion 'gur' (a lump of brown sugar) and batāshās (sweets) are distributed. Among the Hindus the father of the girl sends dried dates, sweets, a ring, and five rupees to the boy and well-to-do families include a pair of ear-rings also. In return, the father of the boy sends clothing, which always includes a scarf, for the girl. The girl is presented with her trousseau, and a little jewellery, by the parents of the boy. Sometimes the father of the girl makes a special gift of a cow or a buffalo to the prospective bridegroom. In addition to this the bride's parents are expected to offer a suit of clothes to the father and some presents for the mother of the boy. A daughter's betrothal is much more expensive than that of a son. Gifts are sent to the parents of the bridegroom and some of the Laggīs receive Inām (presents). The guests are entertained, with "khitcharī" in the evening, and "borvā" in the morning. The former is a preparation of rice and lantils properly seasoned with spices and cooked in butter. The latter is a preparation of brown sugar and ghee which is generally eaten with hot 'chaspatis'.

(bread). This custom is known as 'Bagg pahnānā' or 'trever denā'. Along with this the servants and the laggis are given money in recognition of the help rendered on the occasion. These servants are usually the barber, the washerman, the shoe-maker, the village singer, the carpenter, and the village potter, the Mullah (priest), and the village watchman. Money presents to the village attendants are known as 'Lāg denā'. After these ceremonies are concluded, Mangnī (the betrothal) is supposed to be complete.

The knot tying or fixing the wedding date. : Usually, when the time for fixing the appropriate date for the marriage has arrived, the parents of the girl send 'trevar' or wedding clothes, and a sum of five rupees (7/6) to the boy through the barber of the village. Besides this a few clothes are also sent as a nazrānā (offering) to the parents of the boy. Sometimes the parents of the bride send for a fixed sum of money to defray the expenses for entertainment at the time of the wedding. The girl with her own hand ties in a silk handkerchief a few dried dates and some sweets, and all these things are carried on her behalf to her future husband. When the representatives of the girl arrive at the boy's village they are carefully looked after, and no effort is spared to make them comfortable. Mustard oil is poured at the threshold of the house to signify good luck. Then, with common consent, a certain number of knots are tied on a string, each knot representing one Thursday.

1. Speaking of the betrothal (sagai or Mangnī) among the Chamars Briggs says "The girl's father with male relatives and friends goes to the boy's home to make arrangements. He then gives a rupee, and makes a mark (tikka) on the boy's forehead with rice and curds, or turmeric, saying ('I have given you my daughter'). This rupee is the sign (Nishānī) that the engagement has been made." Briggs G.W. "The Chamars" p.73.

The men of the party are seated on one side of the courtyard on a matting, and the 'trever' of the wedding garments, are placed on a bed to be seen by all the members of the birsdari who assemble on this occasion. This display is known in Punjabi as Vakhala, or exhibition of the wedding clothes.¹ These are generally of exceptionally bright colours. Soon after this the father of the girl asks two or three lambarbars or head-men of the village, to accompany him into the house, from which they bring two small baskets full of 'gur' and batashas, which are distributed to all present. Then the barber, who is sent as a messenger with clothes, etc., by the parents of the bride, having congratulated the boy, places the sweets and dried dates in his right hand. On this, all the members of the community, including the parents of the youth, begin to express hearty congratulations to the messenger. This ceremony is called the ceremony of Mamārakh.²

Maulī and Rit-1-Sazan.: As soon as this ceremony is over, a certain number of knots are tied on a coloured thread³ the number of knots indicating the number of Thursdays before the wedding is celebrated. Among the Hindus it is observed on the fourth day of the "Kurmāī". This special thread is generally red and white, and is known as "Maulī". On this occasion special kinds of clothes are prepared by the mother and the aunt of the boy, consisting of one "sālū", one "Phulkārī"⁴ and some "Hinnah".⁵ Besides these, some estates

1. The father receives one coat, one turban, one shirt, a pair of shoes and a dhoti, and the mother is presented with a shirt, a small blouse and long scarf and head-dress.
 2. A Punjabi term which means 'congratulation' or good wishes. Originally the word was "Mubarak".
 3. This is very significant thread, and is specially prepared by the priest or Mullah of the village.
 4. In salu cloth embroidery is confined to the border only, but in Phulkari spotted flowers are worked throughout its length and breadth.
 5. It is a kind of dyeing material or dried leaves used by the women in the Panjab.

like "batāshās", fruits, cocoanuts, dried dates and almonds are also collected, and all these things are sent to the girl. The ceremony is called Rit-sagan, i.e. the ceremony of great joy. But all the presents, spoken of together, are called by a special term "bidd" or gifts.¹

It is interesting to note that even on this occasion the lāggīs, particularly the servants responsible for the entertainment and arrangements are given a certain amount of money and clothes according to the custom observed at the "Kurṃāī" or betrothal. Drinking used to commence as soon as all the engagement ceremonies were over, and often went on till midnight, but of late the Cuhrras have given up the use of liquor on such occasions for economic reasons. All the expenses, which sometimes amount to a fairly large sum, are borne by the father of the boy.

The Ceremony: A good deal of time and money is spent on making the clothes ready for the near relatives of the youth and the maiden. Both families according to their means endeavour to collect provisions for the birādarī and send out brown sugar by their lāggīs to be distributed among the friends and relatives. The lāggīs inform all the members of the brotherhood of the exact date fixed for the marriage.

1. Among the Chamars "the betrothal is followed by gifts of nine yards of cloth, ten seers of grain, two betel nuts some grains of rice dyed yellow etc. This is called 'Laggan'. Briggs G.W....The Chamars.P.74. Oxford University Press, 1920.

Māīā : In the meanwhile, until the marriage, the parents of the boy try to get some jewellery and a few clothes made for the bride's maids and for other girls of their family. At the same time garments are prepared for the brother-in-law of the bridegroom. A week before the marriage, a special ceremony is observed known as Māīā. Among the Hindus it is called "Shāntī Pūjā"; it is also known as oil offering. A piece of wood, one and a half feet long, and twelve inches wide, is taken, and a red tape called 'gānnā' is tied to it and is placed under the feet of the boy.

On this occasion a little quantity of wheat called 'ghunganlā', is boiled and distributed among the birādarī and all friends, and relatives of the two families. It may be observed that every woman present wishes to see that her son should get the first helping of the ghungannia so that he may get married soon. The neighbours in return send rice and food to the parents of the bridegroom. This special food is called 'mānjarā'.

Vatnā : Several young girls and women assemble at the house of the bride and seating her on a footstool rub a certain kind of ointment on her body known as 'Vatnā'. The same ceremony is performed at the house of the bridegroom - the only difference being that in his case his mother, aunt and elder sisters take charge of the 'Vatnā' ceremony. Among the Hindus Vatnā is a part of 'Shāntī Pujā'.

Gānnā : After the vatna ceremony is over, the women
gānnā : quickly prepare two small pads each containing barley seeds, a cowrie, and an iron ring, one being tied with

string to the right wrist of the boy and girl respective. This is known as 'gānnā bannhnā'. These three things in the pad are believed to be a source of blessing to the young couple.

It is a custom among the Cūhrās to commence singing and beating drums about a week before the mangnī, and to Vel.: continue even after the marriage. When the ceremony of 'mangnī' is over, the parents of the boy or girl send a respected woman from the birādarī who, on her arrival is required to distribute 'ghungenlā' equally and put them into the vessels sent by the different members of the biradarī. In return, all the members of the brother-hood send the vessels back filled with corn. This is commonly called 'Vel'¹. During this period all those who are invited from the birādarī begin to assemble at the house of the girl. The women and the girls commence singing to the accompaniment of the drum, but the men sit apart and entertain each other either by singing or smoking or telling stories. Occasionally they send for a professional singer.

Gharā gharolī: Next day before dawn the women of the
and khāre
cārnā. : two families arise, and having taken three or four new pitchers of different sizes, which are specially made for the occasion, they go quickly to the village well to fetch fresh water for bathing the girl and the boy in their respective homes. This ~~ka~~ is known as 'gharā-gharolī'. The boy is then asked to stand up on the chair or foot-stool

1. This custom is not observed now among the Cūhrās.

which is called "khāre cārhnā", a small light (known as Dīvā) is placed underneath the chair of the footstool in order to make his shadow and all darkness disappear from beneath. The village barber is then called upon to bathe the boy. When he is about to come down from the chair the village potter is asked to place four or five small earthen plates called "cappannīā" on the floor in ~~the~~ the bath room, and the boy is required to jump hard on the plates which all break under his weight. The potter is supposed to receive a reward or compensation from the boy or his father. The maternal uncle of the youth is expected to help him down from the 'khārā'¹. After the boy has finished his bath and is dressed, he is brought ~~to~~ outside and is seated in the midst of the brotherhood. It is understood that the eldest sister brings all the wedding clothes for her brother. In return she is entitled to receive a cow or a buffalo or some money from her father. At this juncture the gardener's wife brings a beautiful wreath and puts it around the head of the bridegroom.

"Hoknā or : Soon after this the barber goes inside the
Tambol". : house and brings some rice and a little quantity of brown sugar in a brass plate and places it before the youth. This is followed by the relatives of the bride and bridegroom all offering their contributions. The gifts are given in cash, or in kind, and the name of the donor is announced by the barber. This custom of giving presents is called "hoknā". An accountant is expected to take down the name and amount given by each relative.² All the wedding

1. It is a square basket made of strong reeds in the shape of a chair without any support for the back.
2. This custom is common in almost all communities of the Panjab.

gifts, along with the presents sent by friends of the two families, are known as 'tambol'. It is usual for those who give money to reserve one pice (half Penny) in the rupee, which is set apart as a portion for the mirāsī (professional) singer or the barber. This payment of a fixed rate is known as 'hokkāl'.¹

This is followed by the distribution of gifts and present to the attendants.² The major portion of the money goes towards the expenses of the feast, and a part towards the payment of the lāggī and other servants. After the distribution of money the boy goes inside the house to put on his wedding dress, and having arrayed himself in fine apparel comes before the audience.

At this time all the female relatives of the boy present him with a sum of money which is called 'salāmi' (salutation). It was a custom, in days gone by, on the day before the wedding procession started for the house of the bride, for the parents and the near relatives to take the boy to some local sacred shrine, so that he should show reverence and give obedience to the village god or goddess.³ All his relatives made a large offering, and the lad and his parents took a vow that if they returned safely from the house of the bride, and with their wishes fully satisfied, they would give larger offerings for the shrine. But now this custom is not observed in the Sialkot area.

1. It is interesting to note that the occasion of marriage is a regular source of income for the professional singer and other attendants. Practically all the donations are given to the servants.

2. Giving to lāggīs is a custom or a mere formality observed by the Hindus. But ancient authorities are silent on this point. 3. Among the Chamars, before the procession starts for the bride's home they pay their respects to the village godlings. Briggs, G.W. The Chamars, p. 84. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1920.

Janj or : On the eve of departure the lāggīs are sent
Wedding :
Procession. : to the village to ask all the members of the
brotherhood to accompany the wedding party the next day. This
party is composed of the boy and his male relatives, and all
the hangers on, such as the barber, the professional singer,
the washerman, etc. The bridegroom is seated on a horse, but
the rest walk on foot. If the family can not afford to spend
much, the bridegroom also goes on foot in the procession to
the house of the bride. When the 'Janj' (the wedding proces-
sion) comes near to the bride's village, the father of the
respective bridegroom starts the fireworks and illuminations
which are a signal of their arrival.¹ The father of the girl
goes out of the village to welcome the guests, and on meeting
the father of the bridegroom, they embrace each other. This
is commonly known as "milnī or mulākat" (reception).

The professional singers begin to recite verses in
praise of their respective leaders. As soon as the relatives
and friends of the bridegroom arrive at the village, the
attendants quickly spread a large quantity of matting and
carpets in an open courtyard, on which the guests are seat-
ed. The servants and the lāggīs at this point are supposed

1. Among the Hindus the wedding procession starts in the
evening after sunsēt. The music plays in front and the
bridegroom with his friends and members of the family walk
behind the musicians till they reach the house of the bride

to attend to all the requirements and needs of the party supplying the people with refreshments etc.

Then a few girls bring a brass tumbler or a bowl full of fresh milk and offer it to the bridegroom. This is called *Dudh ghutti*¹. The boy, taking the milk, places one rupee and four annas (i.e. $1/6$) in the brass plate. This money is regarded as the due of the barber. At this juncture the girls bring a lot of thread and try to tie it round the company with a view to encircling them. Meanwhile some of the young men very cleverly continue to cut the thread unnoticed and thus prevent the young girls from achieving their purpose.

The actual marriage ceremony is performed at two or three o' clock in the morning, or just before the day dawns.

When the dinner is being served, the bridesmaids come and take the bridegroom inside the house. As soon as he reaches the threshold of the house he is given a little knife to cut the skin of the sieve that hangs at the door. The boy is expected to make only two attempts. If he succeeds he is thought to be strong and manly, if he fails, he is considered a weakling and a coward.

*"Mutthi kholnā : After this test is over the girls bring a
and Phurkarā :
marna."* : boy disguised in the garb of a girl, and

1. In Ferozepur and Ludhiana districts this ceremony is called 'channā kadhānā'. The writer was once present when the ceremony was being performed. Great excitement prevailed and the friends of the bridegroom made a lot of noise and teased the girls that offered the bowl of milk.

prēsent him to the bridegroom. The supposed girl stretches out her closed fist and the bridegroom is required to open her hand. This is called 'mutṭhī kholnā'. If the bridegroom fails in his attempt the supposed girl, having ground a quantity of rice with her teeth, and having taken the veil off, throws ~~and~~ the rice into the bridegroom's face. This is called "Phurkarā mārṇā".¹ After this the bride is presented in the same way, and bridegroom is expected to try to open the closed fist, and this he finds very easy to do.

Ghoro-berī.: The girls then take the bridegroom, and expect him to join them in another ceremony known as 'ghoro-berī'. The Hindus do not observe this ceremony at all. The Cūhrās take a 'pīhrī' (footstool or bridal chair), and fasten some ordinary reeds to it. Then they bring a lot of hand-made toys, of various shapes, prepared from dough, and place them on the footstool and commence singing, addressing their song to the bridegroom.

"hae ve laūngā dā kī karīe"
(TELL ME WHAT WE SHOULD DO WITH THE CLOVES)

"teri mā nū gahne dharīe"²
(WE SHALL PAWN YOUR MOTHER O BRIDEGROOM).

All these ceremonies take a considerable time, and are sufficient to exhaust the poor bridegroom. Consequently he is

1. Among the Hindus coconut is chewed and then spit out into the face of the groom.

2. It is a kind of small sitting stool of bed shape, generally one and a half feet long, and of the same size and width used as a chair.

Lately in some village communities of the Hindus the ceremony of Ghoro berī has been introduced, but the Hindus in cities object to it and look upon it as vulgar.

allowed to go to bed for the night. Next morning when he is washed and dressed for the day, the bridesmaids come and take the bridegroom again into the house. They all stand around him and compel him to repeat some common proverb. This is called 'Chand', or 'Pahelī kahṇā' i.e. reciting the proverbs). All the girls join together and sing.

Like the bridegroom, the bride has to go through the bath ceremony at the hands of her 'nain' or barber's wife, who gets all the old clothes.

'Dhurīā bakherṇā.' : After the bride is dressed for the wedding the women bind her hair very closely. The knots are left loose in order that the bridegroom may not find it difficult when he is called upon to undo them. The loosening of the head knots is known as 'dhurīā bakherṇā'. This ceremony is peculiar to the Cūhrās. The bride is made to stand in the centre, and the boy is required to walk round her several times which is called 'lāvā phere or phere pānā'.¹ As soon as this ceremony is over a 'Bhagat' (a Cūhrā priest) or a 'Maulvī' is called to perform the nuptial or marriage ceremony known as the 'nikāh'. If the couple follow the Hindu ceremony, the Hindu Pandit, according to the doctrines of his religion, repeats some mantras or Hindu sacred prayers. When the 'phere ceremony' begins, the priest after each round says, "Here ends the first round", and so on.

1. This seems to be an imitation of the Hindu custom when the priest makes the boy and girls walk round the fire several times. In several parts of the United Provinces and Delhi division, at the time of marriage the chamar Christians in villages are asked by their priests to walk round the cross seven times.

But if the couple come from a village where Muhammadan influence is predominant then a Mulla, or Muhammadan priest, is called who reads a few verses from the Kuran as an exhortation to the newly married couple.

At the time of the wedding the bride and the bridegroom are not brought together nor are they expected to see each other. The bridegroom all this time is not permitted to speak and the bride is found seated inside the house closely veiled. As soon as the formal ceremonies of marriage are over the parents of the bride bring out the dowry, the presents and gifts, which they wish to give to their daughter. These consist of clothes, ornaments, a bed, household furniture, money in cash, and sometimes a cow or a buffalo according to the parents' means. All the presents are placed on the ground to be seen by everybody. This ceremony of exhibiting gifts before all the guests and visitors is known as 'khutt or jahej'.

The Palanquin ceremony.

: When all the necessary ceremonies of
: the marriage are over, the procession
leaves on its return journey. The bride's maids take ^{the bride} groom
inside the house for the last time and, without his knowing,
tie one end of his turban to the scarf of the girl. This causes
great laughter. The fastening of the knot is commonly
known as 'gandh cstrāvā'. The lāggīs then bring some mustard
oil and pour it on the threshold and on the road, thereby
meaning that they desire the way of the new couple may be
smooth and safe from all life's dangers and troubles. The
groom passing through the door generally gives some money
to the attendants for their good wishes and for pouring
out this customary oil for good omens.

The last : When the time comes for the bride to depart from
farewell. : her parents, the bride's maids, having undone the knots, carry the bride in their arms and put her in the palanquin. The brothers and the near male relatives of the bride come forward and lift up the palanquin on their shoulder and carry her a little distance from the house, while a weeping company of women, headed by her mother, escort her part of the way.

The father of the bride walks in front of the palanquin and begins to throw copper money into the air over the palanquin. This is called 'Soṭ' of alms giving. Some people call it 'sadkā' or sacrifice, for the sake of the bride. After the bride is carried some distance from her home the palanquin bearers relieve her male relatives and carry the 'doli' on their shoulders. Then the father and all the relatives gather around the bride, and bid her farewell. The bride's father gives a rupee to each of the doli bearers. At the same time the relatives of the groom also give a rupee to four of the bearers. This special rupee is commonly called 'dandī ṭhok' or tip money.

Drum beaters are employed to beat the drum in front of the palanquin, and continue beating untill the procession arrives at the village of the bridegroom. When the palanquin approaches the houses, the sister of the bridegroom and other women of the village come out to meet the new wife, and welcome her with songs and music.

"dholle dā mūh khol ve bhain ghollī kahārē"
 (OPEN UP THE PALANQUIN, O BEARER, FOR WE, HER SISTERS ARE DYING, IMPATIENT FOR A SIGHT OF HER).

The palanquin bearers answer:-

"de ja merā māi, te le jā apnā lāl"
(GIVE ME MY DUE (MONEY) AND TAKE AWAY YOUR DARLING).

Among the Hindus and Muhammadans the newly married couple can not enter the bridegroom's house till the stars come out. When evening falls the women come out to meet them with songs and music, and lead them in.

The women continue to sing:-

"leḥ tallālā tangne asā hor vī aṭhe mangane"
(QUILTS AND COVERING WE WILL HANG (THE PRESENT OUR BROTHER HAS BROUGHT WITH HIM), WE SHALL ASK FOR MORE GIRLS FROM THAT VILLAGE FOR OUR BOYS).

The mother-in-law of the bride addressing the women sings:-

"Bhainō vekho merī m nuh kahī jāī sohnī"
(SISTER, LOOK HOW BEAUTIFUL IS MY DAUGHTER-IN-LAW).

After the singing is over, the girls join together and carry the bride in the arms, and bring her into the house and seat her comfortably on the matting, and then feed her.

"Gānnā : The bride and her groom are then asked to
Khednā. : come and sit in front of each other and loosen each other's gānnās¹ and knots, to signify that in future there will be no secret between them. They remain busy for some time, until the mother of the groom brings some flour in an iron plate, with which the bride and the bridegroom play. They try to draw or gather all the flour on their respective sides. This is known as 'gānnā khednā', and signifies a wish that both of them may continue to dwell happily together all their life. After-wards the flour is given away to the barber. Among the Hindus very few practise this ceremony.

Sharika : After a lapse of a few days a special day is
Ralānā. : fixed when all the women of the birādārī

1. It is a kind of thread to which a ring is attached, with a few seeds of barley tied in the shape of a pad.

assemble. They send for a big brass basin, and having filled it with water touch it with their bare heels, and give that water to the bride to drink.¹ This means that henceforth she will have the privilege of being counted as a regular member of the bīradarī. This is known as 'Sharīkā Ralānā'. It signifies that in all matters of her sex, she will have the right to speak and express her opinion.

Muklāvā : Usually on the second or third day, the bride is sent back to her father's house and stays there for a short time. Thereafter she is brought back again to her husband's home. This is known as 'muklāvā', which is the final bringing home of the bride to live with her husband. Even at this time the father of the groom spends a good deal of money, though not so much as at the wedding. This concludes the actual marriage ceremonies among the Cūhrās. Among the Hindus this custom of muklava is also observed, but they call it "Do Rogāman" (i.e. to come a second time). Unlike the Cūhrās the Hindoos have an offering of prayers at the house of the bridegroom that the new home may be blessed. During the last two decades the Cūhrās have adopted Hindu and Muhamdan customs as they have come in close contact with the two communities. It is interesting to note how the Cūhrās have

1. Among the Chmārs "When the bridal party reaches the groom's home the bride worships the feet of her mother-in-law ("Parin Puja"). Briggs. G.W. "The Chmārs". P.91.

modified and transferred the customs in conformity to their own cultural ideas.

Divorce.

Divorce among the Cūhrās is regarded as legal under certain conditions. It is allowed only if either of the parties is guilty of adultery. In the case of adultery, custom is harder on the woman than on the man. If the man is found guilty he is heavily punished by the Panchāyat (Council). Either he has to pay a "dand" (fine) of twenty five rupees (£2/-) and feed the birādarī, or he is ostracised and deprived of all social privileges. But in the case of a woman she is ex-communicated. Sometimes difference in temperament leads to continuous family quarreling, and ultimately results in divorce. A divorced woman can marry again, but no formal ceremony takes place for a second marriage. Barrenness is to some extent considered a reason for divorce, and cases are reported where a man has sent away his wife on a mere pretext of constant illness or for some suspicion¹. (Table.XV.8¹).

Among the Cuhras there are several restrictions laid up on all unmarried persons against sexual intercourse. They are conscious of the fact that sexual behaviour always has a great influence both on the family and on the whole community. Hence sexual relations under all circumstances with any woman are forbidden. Similarly, sexual relations for married people with any other person are forbidden.

1. In the Punjab Chamar women are sold to Jats, to Gujars, to some Rajputs, and to Muhammadans as wives. (Census Report of India 1911. Page 378). Some bring as high a price as 200/- to 300/- Rupees. But this is not true of the Cuhra women.

CHAPTER V.

3. DEATH AND BURIAL RITES.

Cūhrās beliefs concerning death and the dead. Death is looked upon among the Cūhrās as a punishment from the gods for certain sins committed by the deceased or by his relatives.

Most of the Cūhrās think that death by accident or injury is caused by the malice of evil spirits who come to take revenge for harm done by a particular person. The death of an old person is considered to be natural, in this case supernatural agencies are supposed to have no hand at all.

As with savages, the Cūhrās do not believe in the annihilation of the soul at the moment of death, for, it has been observed that the Cūhrās to this day pray to their dead ancestors.¹ The souls of the departed are worshipped and food is offered to them from time to time.²

Fasting and lamentation after death is regarded as dutiful tribute to the dead. The Cūhrās do this in order to bring about a close contact between themselves and the soul of the departed. They believe that the soul after death is raised to a higher sphere of influence, and also that the souls are capable of conferring upon them benefit, or of inflicting upon them harm.

1. Briggs, speaking of ancestor-worship among the Chamars says: - "The sainted dead are household guardians". Briggs. G.W. "The Chamars". P. 114. "Regular worship of ancestors, conducted by the oldest son living is performed by the offering of a goat. Sometimes this is performed in the ancestral shrine". Briggs. G.W. The Chamars: Page 115. Oxford University Press, 1920.

2. Westermarch writing about early customs of the savages remarks, "Extremely prevalent custom is to place provisions in or upon the grave and very commonly feasts are given for dead". Westermarch, E. Dr. The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas", Vol. II., Chap. XLV. Page 518.

Funeral Rites. : The Cūhrās bury their dead; cremation is not at all practised.¹ They have their separate burial places. If there is no burial place, the grave is dug near or behind the house. All the relatives, friends, and members of the brotherhood, come forward to help in the interment of the dead.

There was a time when the Cūhrās living in a Hindu village used to lift the dying man on^{to} the ground. That custom, however, is not now observed and the sick are allowed to breathe their last on the sick bed. The same practice is observed in cases of dying children. When anybody dies, the news is sent to all the relatives and friends, who assemble as quickly as they can to join the "Janāzā" (burial ceremony). Many men and women in the brotherhood are drawn together by hearing the weeping and wailing of the women, which is generally very pathetic.

When the relatives and friends have seen the face of the deceased, the dead body is laid on a wooden plank and washed by the male members of the family or by his close friends. If the deceased is a woman, she is bathed by female relatives, or a "Nān" (barber's wife)². After the washing, the body is laid out upon a bed in the courtyard, and

¹ "Chamars both bury and burn their dead and there seems to be no fixed rule that determines the matter". Briggs. G. W. The Chamars. P. 102.

² Among the Chamars, "If the corpse be that of a woman, it is annointed with ghi". Briggs. G. W. The Chamars. P. 100.

covered from head to foot with a white sheet of long-cloth called the "Kaifan" (shroud) while their old clothes are piled near by. Men sit either on a carpet or a matting on one side, and the women sit separately.

They wait until all the relatives and the members of the "Birādarī" have assembled. The corpse is never allowed to remain unburied for more than half a day. The women stand in a circle, and Mirasan (wife of the professional singer) stands in the centre and commences some mournful tune, the other women joining in. A few specimens of what they sing are given under the chapter "Songs of the Cūhrās".

It sometimes happens that the eyes of the dead are left unclosed, in such cases the Cūhrās either place two copper coins on the eyes, or tie a handkerchief on the head and around the chin.

Four men come forward and carry the bed, as the Cūhrās use no hearse, or other means of bearing the body. It is a custom among them that the body must be carried on the shoulders of men. Carriers are not hired to do the work, but it is considered a great privilege for every one in the brotherhood to help to carry the body to its final resting place, and many are desirous of sharing in this privilege.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all, and visitors are invited by the Cūhrās to join them. The rites are not so elaborate as on the occasion of marriage. Formerly it was the custom among the Cūhrās to spend a lot of money and observe many rites at burial, but as it impoverished the people, that has now ceased.

The order of procession. :

The body is borne from the village to the burial place, on a bed. At the head of the procession, there is always the priest and relatives.¹ Then comes the bier, carried by the friends and male members of the deceased, who are followed by the chief mourners. One remarkable thing about a Cūhrās funeral is that the women are not allowed to accompany the men to the grave side, but follow on in a separate group. Next in the procession are the friends and relatives of the deceased, carrying incense. These are followed by members of the 'Barādarī'.²

The graveyard of the Cūhrās is always separate from that of the Muhammadans although, strangely enough, the care-taker of the graveyard is usually a Muhammadan.

There is no hard and fast rule for determining the contributions from the different members of the family, but all the relatives give something, so that the burden of the expense may not fall on any one person. The money thus collected goes to meet the expenses of the funeral and also for servants and for entertainment. Whatever is left over, is given to the children and wife of the deceased.

When the coffin arrives near the cemetery, two men get

1. Briggs, speaking of funeral procession among the Chamars says, "During the funeral procession chosen men (Mahants), going before the body, read from the Santvirass. As they proceed, they sing. Some of the songs are songs of rejoicing." (Briggs. G.W.) The Chamars. P. 104.

2. Unlike the Cuhra's, among the Chamars, "The procession is sometimes accompanied by a low-caste man beating a dhol" (drum). Briggs. G.W. The Chamars. P. 102.

down into the grave to help in the lowering of the body. The sheet which covers the body is taken off so as to let the sky see the face. If the deceased is a Mohammedan, his face is turned towards Mecca, but if he is a Hindu his face is turned towards the east, and then his body is lowered down into the grave. It is extended in a lying position.

A few objects such as a tumbler, a shirt, a dhottī (sheet a pair of shoes and a stick are placed in the grave. These objects are buried with the deceased, so that he may use them in the other world. Food and milk are also placed near the grave, and this ^{is} renewed from time to time for seven days. The food placed at the grave includes flour cakes, sweet rice and milk. Those who have witnessed Cūhrā funerals have noticed that offering of food¹ and placing of articles is a mere formal custom and not a faith or belief of the average Cūhrā. There is no throwing of earth at the funeral of a woman.

This is followed by a ceremony of putting a handful of earth inside the grave. The earth throwing is limited to the relatives and intimate friends only.

After this, the grave is filled in and an earthen pitcher is placed upside down near by. The bed sheet is considered the property of the care-taker.

"Among the Chamars, "When the meal is served, a little food is taken from each plate and carried out on a leaf-platter by the chief mourner and left for the dead." Briggs. G.W. The Chamars. P.113.

When all the people return from the graveyard those who may have touched the dead body are expected to bathe. The relics of the deceased are divided and shared by the relatives as a token. But the property, other than the grave goods, like bedding, old clothes, and the bed are all destroyed, particularly if the person dies of a contagious disease.

On the third day, the members of the brotherhood assemble^e at the house of the deceased. If the house belongs to a Muhammadan, they read a kalima, or count beads on the rosary, and then offer prayer. In the evening all present eat rice and lentils, or wheat cakes called "chapātīs"(bread). The common-meal after the burial is a very moving incident, partly because the Cūhrās believe that they(as members of the family) have done their duty to the departed soul, and partly because of their fellowship in common sorrow.

It is a general practice among the Cūhrās for the sons of a deceased father never to leave their home during the days of mourning. They are not expected to visit, or receive visitors, but are confined to the house with the other mourners for at least four to six days. During this period their time is occupied by listening to prayers recited by Bhagats, or reading the Kurān. They wear neither shoes nor head dress. A lamp or a candle is kept burning day and night during the days of mourning. The widow and other near relatives go on the third day or on the seventh day to the grave to weep and wail. Sometimes they are accompanied by their friends. Again on the fourteenth day the final wailing ceremony is performed, and after this the house is cleaned, plastered, and purified, ~~xx~~ All relatives who had gathered to weep disperse

Signs of mourning. :

The customary signs of mourning among the Cūhrās vary according to the relationship of the mourner to the deceased. The signs consist in the adoption of black cloth. No ornaments are worn, neither is any kind of oil applied to the hair. In the case of a young man or young woman dying, the relatives ~~h~~ shave their heads and remove moustaches.¹ This ceremony is commonly known as "Bhaddarā karnā" (To shave the moustache and head). Meat is not eaten during the days of mourning.

On the fortieth day, commonly known as "Cālīsvā", the final ceremony is observed with a view to satisfying the spirit of the deceased, so that it may not enter the house again nor trouble anybody. It is believed by all the Cūhrās throughout the Panjab, that when a person dies, the spirit does not leave the house, but roams around restlessly, and haunts every room. When the days of mourning are over, the sons and the near relatives of the deceased rise early in the morning, and ^{go} to the cemetery to offer prayers for the repose of the soul and its sure life in paradise, by appealing to Bālle Shāh. Then they bow their heads in silence, offer a prayer, and retire.

During the days of mourning and grief, (that is for the first seven days), food is cooked and brought to their home by

1. Speaking of the chief mourners among the Chamars, Briggs says, "On the 10th day the chief mourner, or the nearest male relative, is shaved. ~~xxx~~ Other near relatives have their hair trimmed". The Chamars: (P. 109),

their neighbours and friends.

If an old man or woman dies, the occasion is used as a time of rejoicing. Sweets are distributed indicating that the soul is free from all the worry of a feeble body. When the body of an old father is buried, the mourners come back and throw grass over the head of the son with a view to ~~re~~ keeping the spirit of the deceased away.

On the third day the ceremony of "Kānniā" is observed. Sweet rice is cooked and the four coffin-bearers are fed.

The ceremony: The coffin-bearers then bring some flowers, of "Kānniā" : and funeral : and place them on the spot where the deceased feast. :

was bathed. Three days after, the women of the house clean and plaster the spot. Again on the fortieth day when the birāderī is fed, the Cūhrās place some food and sand under the bed where the deceased died. They believe that the spirit of the deceased comes and leaves on the sand the foot-prints of the animal or ~~re~~ creature whose form it has taken. Next day the bed and food etc. are given away to the poor. The Cūhrās think by doing this they get rid of the spirit.

In the case of an old man dying, the women come, and make a mock mourning saying:-

2 "bābā mar geā jānke
kothe hethā ān-ke."

(" THE OLD MAN HAS DIED INTENTIONALLY BY COMING UNDER THE FALLING HOUSE. ").1

1. Among the Chamārs, "If the deceased was an old person, singing and dancing by boys of the caste is provided." Briggs. G.W. The Chāmārs. P. 110.

People seeing all this laugh heartily. The men and women all bow their heads and worship at the foot of the deceased. In this way they show their respect to the departed soul. The writer once observed that when an old man died, his grandsons distributed a few copper coins to the children. When the deceased was being carried to the burial, they threw almonds, dried dates and "cowries" (shells) over his coffin, and also ~~xx~~ coloured cloth.

But now, in the course of time, most of these customs are being changed. In fact the Cūhrās in the Panjab are losing their original customs much more rapidly than the sweepers of the United Provinces. This ^{is} largely due to the social and educational work of reformers, and those religious bodies which have been engaged in the social uplift of the masses, particularly among the Cūhrās. The Cuhras are now beginning to follow the rites of the educated classes on almost all occasions though they do retain some of their old practices.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CŪHRĀ RELIGION AND ITS PRACTICES.

Beliefs: Like other savage races, the Cūhrās believe in supernatural agencies. Their ideas of the deities and spiritual beings are so vague that they make no attempt to reproduce in carvings or drawings the mental images which they have of them.

An average Cūhrā believes in the existence of "mysterious beings" although he never tries to classify them by name, merely pointing out their particular functions. He believes that his whole life is influenced by supernatural powers and he looks upon them as spirits living in a jungle and as such both invisible and intangible. His big heavy stick called "Dāng" is the symbol of the supernatural power and to this he shows veneration. He believes that the supernatural powers can be propitiated by worship and prayers.

The Cūhrās believe that if a shoe is put upside down or one on the top of the other there will be a quarrel in the family. To see a cat when leaving on a journey is a bad omen. If a dog is heard crying, there is sure to be a death in the family or in the vicinity. Dreaming of smoke or of dirty water is supposed to bring grief and misfortune. They attach to dreams precisely the same significance as to actual events. The Cūhrās have a strong belief in 'Pīrs and Fakīrs' (dervishes and monks) who, they believe, practise magic. They further believe that the 'Pīrs' have authority over evil spirits and can control them by using spells and

charms. The Cūhrās believe that God became incarnate several times and revealed Himself to mankind as 'Rām' 'Krishnā' and then 'Bālmīk'. They further believe that souls will be punished when they return to God, the Creator. They believe that all who repeat the creed of 'Bālle Shāh' will be saved by his intercession on the Last Day. They further hold that those souls whose sins are not forgiven are allowed to wander and torment others. Sacrifice is looked upon as an essential part of Cūhrā religious practice. They sacrifice animals, usually fowls or goats according to their means, and also present offerings of corn, 'gur' (brown sugar) and 'ghee', which are cooked together and placed on the shrine of 'Bālle Shāh.' This offering is called 'Kerhāī', while "The Panj Siftan" (Five attributes) are sung in praise of 'Balle Shah'.

Evil : To ward off the evil eye, the Cūhrās observe
Eye. : the following practices:-

In front of the door of the house or in the wall a big iron peg is driven. Sometimes a bamboo is fixed on the wall with a black cloth tied to it. Once a week mustard oil is poured on the threshold to prevent the supernatural being from entering a house. A very common practice is to erect a masonry construction outside the village to keep off a small-pox. Another common device to drive or frighten away the evil spirit is to light fires in three or four places around and near the village. A house visited by sickness is protected by burning incense. Sometimes men carry torches and bamboos and march in a company round the village challenging any evil power to come out. These precautions

are believed to protect those who are in danger. If all these devices fail to get rid of the evil spirits, they have to be propitiated by making an offering. No one will go out alone at night as they are particularly afraid of darkness. The Cūhrās think that the demons and evil spirits live in the trees beside the village temple.

Objects of worship. : Huge stones and big rocks are looked upon with great awe as dwelling places of spirits.

Similarly, huge trees like "pīpal"(Ficus religiosa) and Sycomore(Ficus Sycomorus) are considered to be places of abode of the mysterious beings and are never cut down. A Cūhrā labourer in Hoshiarpur was once asked to break stones with an iron hammer, but refused to comply for fear of injuring the spirit which, he believed, dwelt there. They dislike to kill a snake because they believe it has supernatural qualities and embodies spirits which should not be infuriated. But today, the Cūhrās because of their close contact with educated people, have ceased to hold these conceptions of supernaturalism.

Cūhrā Gods and Goddesses. : Being under the Hindu influence for a long time the Cūhrās believed in many gods and goddesses. At the same time they have always had their own gods and goddesses whom they worship to this day. Their conception of God is of a great power which is over all (one that is Almighty, who is to be feared and held in awe, who reveals Himself in nature by fire, thunder, earthquake, lightning, sun, moon, stars, etc. This God, it is believed, can be worshipped through images.

Classification : The following gods and goddesses are
of Cūhrās gods. : worshipped by the Cūhrās.

A. Male deities:-

(1) 'Bālle Shāh.' (2) 'Guggā' Pīr.

(1) For 'Bālle Shāh' or 'Bālmīk' in Ambala, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur Districts they make a mound of earth or a masonry construction, in which they bury three knives, one of gold, one of silver and one of copper together with the head of a goat and a cocoanut, all these things are tied up in a yard and a quarter of cloth. On the other hand in Sialkot, Gujran-wala and Sheikhupura districts, the Cūhrās bury a head of goat, an idol of silver and a hatchet¹. An altar of mud is raised in which three ^{niches} are made for earthen lamps. They have a lofty conception of 'Bālle Shāh' and pay him all homages. He is considered to be their principal god.

(2) 'Guggā' is the second god of the Cūhrās, whom they call 'Guggā Pīr.' He is peculiarly the god of the Cūhrās and is not worshipped by the Hindus. The Cūhrās tie coloured rags, and sometimes peacock feathers to a pole dedicated to 'Guggā'.² They recite special mantras or charms and prayers

1. The head of a goat signifies sacrifice the idol represent Bālle Shāh and the hatchet stands for the weapon used by Bālle Shāh, the Mārkhānd (robber) when he used to go out to plunder and to kill.

2. Guggā is peculiarly the honoured god of the Cūhrās. In his honour they observe every year a festival in the month of August. The flag is carried in a procession. Music is played. The flag is placed on Bālle Shāh 'Asthān'. In Ambala and Karnal districts they make shrine and call it "Marī". For full account see Punjab Notes & Queries 1883 or The Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVI, Article by G.M. Douie on "Guru Guggā as a "snake god".

to 'Guggā'. For instance. " O 'Pīr Guggā', hear our prayer, we promise thee an offering. We will not leave thee unless thou attend to our petition."

(B) Female deities:- (a) 'Cint Purnī Devī'. (b) 'Kālkā Devī' (c) 'Mātā Devī (d) 'Vishnū Devī.(e) 'Jawālā Devī.'

These principal deities are worshipped particularly by the Cūhrās of the Cis-Sutlej states and of the Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts. They are held in great esteem and awe. Every year, the Cūhrā women pay visits for the purpose of worshipping and making offerings. If a child falls a victim to small pox it is taken and presented to the Sītla Ranī (Goddess of small pox).

(C) Trees & Plants:-

The Cūhrās show great veneration to the following plant gods.

- 1) 'Pīpal ' tree ("Ficus religiosa) "
- 2) 'Sarīnh'.(Acacia).
- 3) 'Aqq'. (Calotropis Procera).
- 4) 'Tulsī((Salvia plebeja).

In almost all their wedding, birth and death rituals, use is made of these plants. Each plant has an important significance and is considered sacred. The Cuhra women make offerings to them of milk, ghī or whey, and sometimes pure water is poured before them. They never allow any one to destroy these plants.

(D) Natural Objects.- Under this heading are included the following five objects:-

- (1) The Sun, (2) The Moon and (3) The Stars.(4)Thunder, Lightning, and (5) Earthquake.

The sun, moon and ~~the~~ the stars are worshipped by the Cūhrās as the benign deities, and the shaking and earthquake ~~was~~ are considered a phenomenon resulting from the change of the earth from one horn to the other of a bull who according to Hindu and Cūhrās mythology is supporting the earth.

(E) Animals and Reptiles:-

(a) Rabbit or hare, (b) Tiger, (c) Snake, and (d) Tortoise.

Great respect is paid to these four gods.

Whatever is powerful, terrible, awe inspiring and incomprehensible is considered by the Cūhrās to be a god. This shows that their conception of a deity is very vague.

Temples, Cūhrā : The Cūhrās do not build elaborate temples
worship and :
shrines. : or shrines like the Hindus and Muhammadans.

They believe that 'Bālle Shāh' could not live in a man-made temple, as no temple could be spacious enough for him¹. The Cūhrās wish Bālle Shāh to enjoy nature, the sun and the rain. As Mr. Strickler of the American Mission, Lahore, suggests, this is probably due to their poverty as they can-not afford to build temples. The Cūhrās do not require big temples or buildings for religious worship because they seldom have joint or congregational meetings, except once or twice a ~~year~~ year during the summer season.

Mr. Strickler in his exhaustive study of the Cūhrā

1. Similarly the Druids of Europe considered it unlawful to worship God within walls and under a roof. Hastings, J. "Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics. Page 85, Vol.V..

religion makes mention of a Cūhrā temple in Ferozepur (Punjab). He says, "It is a brick and lime building covered with white wash. On all sides there is a deep arched verandah. At the centre stands a small rectangular room in which is a 'Takht Posh' or wooden platform on legs. On this platform is spread a 'Bokhara' rug, while two book-stands occupy a prominent place on the side nearest the main door. These stands hold large, "Granth" of the Sikhs and copies of the Valmik Ramayan. This, I believe, is due to the dominance of Sikh influence. The books are covered with embroidered cloth. Nearby stand small brass images of Hanuman and Krishna. There are several large 'Sankh' (sea shells) which are blown at sun-set, at which time also is beaten "Nagara" (a sort of large kettle-drum). In front of the temple at the right side of the entrance stands a red flag and over the doorway itself is a sign "Balmik Samaj Mandir". This little shrine to 'Mata Rani' (Devi) goddess is just at the back of the temple". Whenever two or three families settle down they erect a low mound of brick or dry mud as a symbol for Bālle Shāh. It has four or five openings or niches, where earthen lamps are placed. In villages or in small towns it is built close to a "Dārā" (meeting place) but in cities it is constructed away from the houses. The shrine in the village faces the east, it has no idol but only two or three "Dīwās" (earthen lamps). The Cūhrās do not worship daily, all they are obliged to do is to light a lamp every Thursday and place it on the shrine of Bālle Shāh. This they have learnt from the Muhammadans.

When a temple is dedicated to Bālle Shāh, the order

of religious ceremony is as follows:-

A large basket containing "Chūrmā", a preparation of flour, butter and brown sugar is taken and placed near Bālle Shāh Asthān'. The 'Chelā'¹ (disciple) takes an earthen vessel containing 'ghee' and pours it on to a fire together with spices and camphor.² All who assemble on this occasion stand around 'Bālle Shāh Asthān'. The Chelā then sprinkles 'Lussī' (butter milk). A big bowl of water is passed round, in which every one puts his offering; this is called "Chandā" (money offering). This Chelā takes the money as his share, while the people standing behind him, give a dedicatory litany which takes about twenty minutes to half an hour to recite.

After this, all seat themselves and then 'churmā' is distributed to all the worshippers. A part of the 'churmā' is reserved for the women of the village and a little for the crows, the dogs and for friends in the neighbourhood who are absent.

This is followed by music. Four cakes consisting of dried cowdung are lighted for the drummer and for the man who plays on his ~~drabana~~ "rabbana" (tambourine). The 'chelā' is then asked to sing to the 'rabbana' and all present join in singing the five attributes of God. This kind of service is held every year in the month of June.

The Cūhrās do not have congregational services every week, but individuals worship whenever they get time. They generally pray to Bālle Shāh for supply of food and milk and also for a son and heir. Above all, they pray for health and safety. The character of Cūhrā worship is mark-

1. New disciple or follower. 2. This is very much like the "Havan" ceremony of the Hindus.

-ed by the fact that there is no fixed time or order of service, nor a set form to follow. They merely go and bow before the shrine, take a vow, and make a small offering and depart. One noteworthy thing in the annual as well as in the daily, or weekly worship of the Cūhrās is, that women are absent and children are also excluded from joining in worship. The women visit the "Asthān" whenever they are free from household duties. Sometimes four or five or more women join together and bring cooked rice or pan-cakes or milk to offer to 'Bālle Shāh.'

Apart from 'Bālle Shāh', in some villages the Cūhrās have another shrine commonly known as "Nau Gazā". Some say that he was called "Nau Gazā" because he was nine yards tall while others say that 'Nau Gazā' really means "Nau Gāzī" (new valiant soldier) who died for the noble cause, fighting against enemies during the reign of the Lodhī kings and was buried along with his spear which was nine yards long. There are half a dozen shrines of "Nau Gazā" in Sialkot city and Cantonment area. One is in the compound of Imām Sāhib; another on the road leading to the artillery bazar, and one also close to the Hunter Memorial Church at 'Bārā Pathar'. It seems the term 'Nau Gazā' has now come to be applied to a martyr, who lays down his life for his religion. The grave near Hunter Memorial Church is really that of a 'Purbiā' Jail warder who was a prominent ring leader in the disturbance in 1857, and who shot Rev. Mr. Hunter, and then cut Mrs. Hunter and the child to pieces. He escaped to Jammu and evaded capture until 1862, when he was discovered and executed.

His body was sent to Sialkot for identification, and strange to say he was buried close to the house formerly occupied by the family that he had so cruelly butchered.¹ On every Thursday the Cūhrās go and light candles or earthen lamps on the shrine and show their veneration towards him. The prostitutes make offerings and decorate the grave with garlands and flowers.

Jagg Feast. : The Cūhrā priests are known as 'Gyānīs'. They are all well versed in ancient legendary-lore. They are -called together once a year at the time of the 'Jagg', (a day of feasting observed by the Cūhrās) which may rightly be called "The Id of the Cūhrās". The real object of the 'Jagg' ceremony is thanksgiving for the blessings and favours of God to that particular family. It may be perhaps for a good harvest or because of the birth of a son in the family.

On two occasions I attended a 'Jagg' feast in a village called Begovala. An old man who knew me came and said "Do you know it is our 'waddi Id'?" Great preparations were made for celebrating the 'Jagg'; five or six men had been appointed to get everything ready for the feast. It was in the month of July when the monsoon had set in. 'Gyānī Dī Rikhī' was invited by the Cūhrās. The harvest had been gathered and a company of 230 people, mostly men, assembled for the occasion. Three or four heads of different families contributed their share of flour, brown sugar, 'ghee', and almonds to prepare 'chūrmā' or chūrī. Big mats were spread for the people to sit

¹ Dunlop Smith J.R. Gazetteer of Sialkot District (1894-1895)
Page 31-32.

upon, but for the 'Gyānī' a special carpet was placed on a wooden platform. The 'Gyānī' was clad in a saffron robe and sat cross-legged in a silent and erect posture and pretended to meditate. He was wearing a big white turban on his head and a sash round his shoulders and holding a rosary in his hand. When everybody had taken his seat, the 'Gyānī' first burnt some incense in a brass plate, and then began to recite some 'mentras' from his book and to tell some stories of ancient warriors. Two of the 'chelas' (disciples) were sitting, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, helping him and at the same time fanning him. Before the commencement of worship, a professional singer or 'ragi' was asked to chant or sing some 'Sift' (Praise). This was followed by the 'Gyānī's' recital in praise of Bālle Shāh. Below is given a true copy of the opening prayer in the worship at a big annual 'jagg'.

"avval sift Allāhdī karīye ruhā nāl fazl de nur".
(FIRST, LET US PRAISE GOD WITH OUR SOUL WHO IS THE LIGHT OF GRACE.)

"jis kul ālam paidā kitā sabhnā ohdā pyālā pitā".
(WHO HAS CREATED THE WORLD AND WE HAVE DRUNK OF HIS CUP I.E. ARE ALL HIS CREATION.)

"dujī sift Shāh bālle dī karīye, maī parhā augan hārā".
(SECONDLY, LET US PRAISE SHAH BALLE, I WHO AM GREAT SINNER, SING HIS PRAISES.)

"cau kottā vicc roshan hoeā ohdā vajeā dīn nakārā".
(IN ALL FOUR WORLDS (I.E. DIRECTIONS) HE HAS BEEN REVEALED (I.E. THE LIGHT OF HIS NAME HAS SPREAD AND OF HIS RELIGION). THE DRUM HAS BEEN BEATEN (I.E. HIS NAME IS MADE KNOWN).)

"Allāh pāk ne paidā kitā pīr nurī shāh Bāllā".
(HOLY GOD HAS CREATED PIR NURI SHAH BALLA (THE ENLIGHTENED SAINT)).

"Pīr Bāllā maī nā dhāvā har dam parhā sohāī".
(O SAINT BALLA MAY I WORSHIP THY NAME FOR EVER, MAY I EVER PRAISE THEE).

"jhandā terā vicc maghfurī roz kiāmat tāī".
(THY BANNER IS IN THE PLACE OF FORGIVENESS AND WILL REMAIN TILL THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.)

"Bālle nūrī pīr shahā dā nāl fazal de rangī".
(BALLA, THE ENLIGHTENED, IS A SAINT OF KINGS, WHO IS COLOURED WITH GRACE (I.E. HE HAS THE GRACE OF GOD)).

"Cattī sāl rehā vico jal bambe umar sahī kar langhī".
(FOR THIRTY SIX YEARS HE LIVED IN WATERS AND THIS PERIOD PASSED OFF WELL).

"Kull jal banhe sail karendā nur illahī sohnā".
(HE TIED THE WATERS AND NOW WALKS ABOUT AND BY GOD'S LIGHT HAS BECOME BEAUTIFUL).

"Bāllē nūrī jot lagāī kul makhluḥ dā sāī".
(BALLE SHAH REVEALED LIGHT, HE IS THE LORD OF ALL CREATURES).

The above lines will give the reader an insight into the nature of the prayer offered by the Cuhra priests and their conception of God, and the honour they give to Balle Shah. The following "Sift" is a popular prayer and thanksgiving; both have been copied from the original.¹

"arshī latthā shāh pīr Bāllā dhareā os asmanē thā".
(FROM HEAVEN SHAH PIR BALLA CAME DOWN, HE MADE THE HEAVEN ABOVE).

"Cukk cauthe pīr Bāllā, sacce sāhab dā takrārī".
(HE IS THE FOURTH PIR OR SAINT, HE IS ONE APPOINTED OF GOD).

"Pīr mere pānde maujre sīne balkārī".
(MY SAINT WHO PUTS ON SOCKS HAS A VERY STRONG CHEST).

"Tū ē dātā tūē manneā tū khalkat acche cāēā".
(THOU ART THE GIVER, THOU ART THE RECOGNISED BY ALL, THOU ARE THE CREATOR).

"Tū hī apne āp pāyā".
(THEN THOU FOUNDEST THYSELF).

"tū hī ikk nā terā maī kalma bharā".
(THOU ART THE ONE NAME, I THY KALMA HAVE RECITED).

"Pahle jag kī warteā, sone dā hatt, sone dā ghatt".
(IN THE FIRST AGE WHAT DID YOU USE, GOLD ARMOUR, GOLD CHAIN COAT)

"jis par carh āyā swāmī saccā maharban".
(UPON WHICH CAME RIDING THE LORD, THE TRULY KIND ONE),

"sacce shāmī dā lar lageā hove muft dawār".
(I HAVE SEIZED THE BORDER OF THE SHAMI'S GARMENT, THIS WILL GIVE ME FREE SUPPORT).

"sharbat gattī shāmī vicc gattī, kunkā kis de nām dā".
(THE DRINK OF SALVATION IN THE SWAMI THERE IS SALVATION)

¹ The original copy is in the possession of Rev. John Strickler of the American Presbyterian Mission.
La Chaux.

IN WHOSE NAME IS THE PUDDING OFFERED).

"rabb de rasul de nã^{da} gaũsã , kutbã, aullã amĩrã de nã dã"
(IT IS IN THE NAME OF GOD AND HIS MESSENGER PIR GAUS,
PROPHETS AND RICH PEOPLE)

"te apne pĩr de nã dã".
(AND IN THE NAME OF OUR GREAT SAINT(I.E. PIR BALLA).

"Bollo momino ikkoĩ nã paun dhanĩ".
(SPEAK YE BELIEVERS ONE NAME LORD OF THE AIR).

Magico-Religious: A review of most of the religious prac-
beliefs & prac-
tices. : tices observed by the Cũhrãs will convince
us that much of it can be classed as negative magic, or
religion of a very elementary nature. In Cũhrã religion
there appears to be much in common with magic. For instance,
the Cũhrã Bhagats or "Pĩrs" use spells(charms) and incanta-
tion in magical practices just as prayer or invocation is
used as religious exercise. But in spite of this close
resemblance, magic and religion are quite distinct to an
average Cũhrã. As may be seen from their practices some
factors may appear to be in common, but they do not inter-
mix; just as between spells(charms) and prayers there is a
resemblance, but they do not intermix at all. In magic, the
Cũhrãs make use of their emotions and very little of reli-
gious ideas. For instance, the man at Pasrur while "playing"
made himself believe that a spirit had come, and he showed
by his face and eyes the signs of a change and of violent
passion and anger. In his need of relief, he required the
help of another person to speak to him, and by this inter-
ruption, to break that communion, which was being carried
on between the man and the spirit. The belief is shared
by all the Cũhrãs that they can ask and enquire from a per-
son possessed by a spirit hidden things and mysteries. They

are so credulous that they believe it is the spirit which makes the man play.

Ordinarily, magic and charms reign supreme in Cūhrā life. For nearly all of them use amulets¹ which contain written prayers enclosed in a metal case, square or oblong in shape, and fixed with a thread which is worn either round the neck or tied round the left biceps.

The following are the most popular forms of amulets used in the Panjab.²

Shirī	Shirī	Shirī
Shirī	Shirī	Shirī
Shirī	Shirī	Shirī

Tie this amulet on a child's neck and it will ward off measles and small pox as well as the evil eye.

40	50	27	
6	5	47	48
49	44	8	1
4	5	45	47

Keep this amulet in camphor or musk and you are sure to be honoured in Bāllā Shāh's court.

Note: These numbers indicate stars or different constellations which ward off all evil.

Lā-illā-ill-illā
Muhammad
Rasūl-illā.

This inscription is the kalmā or creed of the Muhammadans written on a piece of paper and placed

inside the 'tavīt'. The inscription means, there is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is His Prophet.

- 1. The Cūhrās and the illiterate classes among the Muhammadans call it "Tavit".
- 2. An extract from the horn or tongue of a cow is considered to be very valuable as a child's amulet.

The Cūhrās, like the Muhammadans, think that there is a magical efficacy in the amulet which helps them in their daily life.

Different kinds of charms are used for protection against the evil eye. Since agriculture is the main pursuit among the Cūhrās, magic is most often employed for the purpose of agriculture. Bālle Shāh is looked upon as their "Ann Dātā" (The giver of corn). They offer boiled corn or corn cakes to Bālle Shāh as their first harvest offering. The oath by Bālle Shāh is used by all.

Another common superstition among the Cūhrās is the falling of "Chāvā" (black shadow) which is often cured by blowing over or by reading of "Kalmā" which they believe has power to heal.

Most of the Cūhrās believe that fainting and swooning commonly known as "Khednā" or demon possession, are the result of a ghostly visitation which only magic can cure.

As stated above, the Cūhrās believe that when magic acts in a player, the eyes and looks are changed by the influence of the spirit that makes him play and the person is then 'possessed'. The belief in possession by spirits "Jinn" and "Bhūt", is universal. The Cūhrās say that some spirits gets hold of them, hence the person possessed, has periodical attacks. Such men and women are said to be "Kheddo" (Play)¹. Cases of disease caused by black shadow etc

1. Punjab Notes & Queries August 1884.

are cured in several ways. The ashes of the cremated body of an unmarried person are taken by a 'fakīr', who mixes the ashes with herbs obtained from the hills, and compounds pills. These pills are given to barren women who dispose of them in a drink given to an enemy. It is believed that in this way, the evil spirit which is responsible for the woman's barrenness is driven away and that she will no longer be childless.

Sometimes a fowl is killed and offered as a sacrifice for the recovery of the sick person. A thread is dipped in the blood of the fowl and afterwards it is tied round the neck of the patient, assuring him that the evil spirit will not come again.¹

Omens and:
Taboos. :

Like the Hindus, the Cūhrās also believe in good or bad omens. For instance, at the time of a person's departure, if some one sneezes, or calls after him, it is considered unlucky, and the man has to give up his intention of proceeding on the journey. Tylor², speaking of sneezing, says: "In Asia and Europe, the sneezing superstition extends through a wide range of race, age and country". When a Cuhra sneezes he will say: "May God save me". He considers sneezing a sign of bad luck or sickness.

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1. Ibbetson D. Sir. A. Glossary of the Tribes & Castes of the Panjab & N.W.F. Vol. II. Page 207-208.
 2. Tylor, E.B. Primitive Culture Vol. I. Page 100 (4th edition) London 1903.

Tuesdays and Thursdays are looked upon by the Cūhrās and Hindus as days of ill omen but Wednesdays and Fridays are taken to be days that bring good luck. The following famous Cūhrā saying illustrates the truth:-

"Mangal vironā jāvī pahār".
i.e. (NEVER GO TO THE HILLS ON TUESDAY AND THURSDAY).

"jittī bāzī āvē hār".
(LEST YOU LOSE THE GAME ALMOST NON).

A Cūhrā will never step over a broom. The broom that is only used to sweep corn is hung upon a nail in the house. Sometimes a broom is put on a grave, but never in an upright position. There are some men who are known to carry good fortune and who are sent out to meet travellers and visitors. If a Cūhrā goes out and meets a braying donkey it is considered a good omen.

The Cūhrās observe certain ceremonial prohibitions or "Taboos". For instance, they never touch a Sāsī (Gipsy) or a -'Gaggrā', as it is considered to be taboo. Similarly Cūhrā women and children are not supposed to go near graves. The wife never mentions her husband's name nor that of her husband's father or mother.

When a new house is being built they put up an earthen pot with a black figure marked on the top of the door, designed to prevent pollution. In other words, the house is protected by a "taboo". The Cūhrās believe in a taboo as "Negative Magic", as a thing held to be sacred and hence protected from all dangers. I have often noticed that they tie a black cloth on a stick or a bamboo and fix it in the field when the harvest is ripe. It is considered partly as a scare-crow and partly as a taboo, to subdue their ~~enemies~~

enemies and save the field from the evil eye. The Cūhrās observe taboos not only in religion but also in ~~the~~ their social life; anything which is sacred to them they will neither eat nor drink. They have taboos on names, especially over those of dead relatives; they refuse to speak about them or name them. If a person breaks a taboo, he has to accept social penalties. The breaker is excommunicated and heavy penalties ~~are~~ are assigned to him for the offence, such as fines and ostracism, for a fixed period. In breaking a taboo, it is not only the social punishment about which the Cūhrā is afraid but he is anxious to abstain from all acts that may bring upon him and his family the ill-will of the mystic working powers.

The foregoing pages reveal to us that the Cūhrā religion in its primitive stage, was a heterogeneous blend of ~~the~~ the early Brahmanic and the supernaturalistic elements grafted on to an animistic foundation. We have seen how the Cūhrās of some districts worship 'Siva', 'Durgā', 'Bhadrā Kalī Devī' etc, which is purely due to Brahmanic influence. 'Lakshmī' is worshipped also and the sacrifice of a goat ~~is~~ is offered to her in sub-mountain regions. They have a dread of the goddess whom they cannot afford to displease. The object of all worship is to please their deities.

Neither the Hindus nor the Cūhrās in the Panjab worship Kali Devī, but Durgā is worshipped by the most orthodox section of the Hindus. The Cūhrās of Northern & Central Panjab do not worship Durgā, except in the Hoshiarpur and Ambala districts. There, the custom of worship of Durgā among the Cūhrās varies from village to village.

The form or mode of worship of Durgā, and other deities in these districts is common to both Hindus and Cūhrās. The Cūhrās like the Hindus, look upon Durgā as the goddess of safety and protection.

She is described as the benign deity, protecting her worshippers from all dangers.

Their conception of form and shape and symbol is also the same as that of the Hindus, namely a girl with ten hands, seated on a lion, with her two sons 'Kārtic' and 'Ganesh' on the right and left respectively. She is generally represented as engaged in the act of killing the buffalo- ("Mahish a shur") and holding a sword, a shield, a human head or a skull, with a spear and a shield to protect her.

Mode of worship. : Durgā is worshipped with pomp and grandeur. Varieties of food and offerings are given to her according to the means of the worshipper. The image of the goddess, after the worship is over, is immersed by the Hindus. The following year they make a new image of clay. The Cūhrās, however, here differ, for they do not immerse the goddess in water. The Cūhrās, like the Hindus, recite Mantras and hold large festivities and on these occasions only devotional music is used. The songs in praise of her power are sung, and this is a very important part of worship.

The Cūhrā conception of the deity of Durgā, like that of the Hindus, is, that she is held or believed to be the consort of the God Siva, who is one of the gods of the Hindu trinity and who presides over destruction. She is

par excellence the goddess of prosperity, worshipped by the Hindus as well as by the Cūhrās and Chamārs, and by all who want riches and children.

But owing to their contact with Muhammadanism, Christianity, and Sikhism many things have now crept into their religion which have made them monotheists.

Priests and: The Cūhrā priests are called 'Gyānīs'. The
Their in- :
fluence. : word 'Gyānī' is derived from Gyān(Knowledge).

Hence a person who has a knowledge of religious traditions and tales is called Gyānī. These historical tales are written in Panjabi poetry and are known as "waren". Any one who is able to commit them to memory is called Gyānī. Every day the Gyānī teaches a one couplet to his new disciple who recites the lines learnt on the following day. Similarly next day he is taught another couplet and ^{so on.} ~~xxx~~ x. In this way the training of the disciple is completed in a year or two year's time, till he becomes a full fledged Gyānī. Among the Cūhrās(who are "Musallīs) the priests are called Pīr. The priest-craft among the Cūhrās is not hereditary, but when one Gyānī becomes too old or feeble to work, his place is taken by his disciple who has been trained for a number of years. The duty of a Gyānī or a "Pīr" is particularly to officiate at marriages and funerals. In addition to this he is considered a professional story teller, who recites historic tales of ancient kings and queens, or the deeds of chivalry of various heroes and heroines of the past. He also conducts a 'Jagg' an annual or six monthly feast. From time to time the Gyānīs(or Pīrs) teach moral lessons to the Cūhrās. They pay visits twice or thrice a year to collect their share of harvest from each

Cūhrā family (their votaries or followers) as remuneration for their services. Each family supplies their Gyānī with from fifteen to twenty seers (40 lbs) of corn, besides lentils and rice. Each Gyani has a dozen to fifteen villages in his jurisdiction or in the field where he works and these supply the needs of their Gyānī.

The Cūhrās look upon their priest as one endowed with supernatural powers, who can cure their diseases, and they therefore hold him in great esteem. He is considered to be the intermediary between the Bālle Shāh, the high priest, and God. If a boy or a girl or any person among them happens to fall ill, or suffers from some serious disease, they send for a Gyānī, who reads some "Mantras" (charms) and utters prayers (which they can not follow), and gives some powder or snuff (like ashes) to drink with water. If by chance the patient is healed, then they make much of the Gyānī. His fame spreads all over the district and the people come from far and near to see the clever Gyānī. They entertain him and give him gifts such as clothes, money and sometimes a cow, to show their appreciation.¹

A Cūhrā would never dare sit beside a Gyānī, thinking it to be a great insult to the latter; indeed they give him a very exalted position. If by chance any food is left over

1. The writer attended a Cūhrā Jagg at village Ugoke. The ~~xxx~~ villagers collected twenty rupees (one pound ten shillings) to pay the Gyānī. They also gave him a buffalo and a coloured blanket.

by the Gyānī, they take a pride in sharing it among themselves. They do this, believing that the spirit of the Gyānī will come upon them.

Other religious leaders: Bhagats Mirāsīs and Bāvās, called Sādhūs. : The groups which we have now to consider are usually known as secret societies.

Besides Gyānīs, the Cūhrās have other religious leaders, known as Bhagats, Mirāsīs and Bāvās (Sādhūs). These are all voluntary secret bodies and their function is kept private but their ritual is open to all.

Bhagat. : Bhagat, Sanskrit, bhaktī (devotion). One who is given to meditation and prayer, is called a Bhagat. - Sometimes among the Muhammadan- Cūhrās, he is called "Pīr" (saint). A Bhagat or "Pīr" generally exhorts and teaches the people among whom he lives, and is looked upon as an ideal to be followed by every Cūhrā. Apart from a Bhagat being a godly person, he is supposed to be a man of wisdom and knowledge. He recites stories of historical personages, and verses in praise of Bālle Shāh. His profession is not hereditary. A Bhagat often claims to exercise control over demons by reciting black magic. Some of them claim to cure the diseases of men and women. The importance of a Bhagat depends upon the number of followers he commands among the Cūhrās.

Mirāsīs. : These are known as professional singers, and sometimes they act as Lāggīs (dependants), particularly on the occasion of marriages. The word 'Mirāsī' literally means one who inherits, but strangely enough, they receive nothing tangible by way of inheritance except the

common traits of their parents and grand parents. These are considered to be a definite caste and ~~xx~~ their profession is hereditary, each clan having its separate Mirāsī. For instance the 'Sohtrās' have their professional bards, and the 'Kandā-ras' have theirs also. Their chief work is, to commit to memory the genealogies of the different castes and persons. Most of them try to trace the genealogy of a person to some hero or valiant chief in ancient history and thus make themselves feel proud of their ancestry. I heard the following "Kursīnāmā" (genealogical table)¹ being repeated at 'Sambaryāl' where 150 people of different "gots" or clans met together. The "Mirāsī" (bard) began to sing in praise of the man who had given some money as a present, in the following way; tracing his pedigree to Rājā Kashāb Gill, 'in almost all cases these pedigrees are specially invented). Logo Gill, a Hindu jat, son of Baggā, son of Pīrmal, son of Sadhar, son of Nihālā, son of Jamjī, son of Goddu, son of Vasāvā, son of Sobrā, son of Vasro, son of Karan, son of Rājā Kashāb of Gill descent.

It is not only on the occasion of marriage that the Mirāsīs are ~~xxx~~ called; but whenever there is the birth of a child or a death, their services are requisitioned. At the death of a member of the family, the "Mirāsans" (professional women singers) are hired to come and make the women weep. This ceremony is known as "Sog" or lamentation. The Mirāsan is paid her share of grain, every six months, and is considered very useful in all village communities.

Bāvās. : Bāvās (Sādhūs) among the Cūhṛās, generally wear only a loin cloth, and tie a few

¹ The term used by the Cūhṛās is "Kursīnāmā" descent of their - Yungun, p. 2-5. In Cūhṛās, p. 2-5.

strings round the tuft of hair on their head. They also smear their bodies with ashes and sit in a pensive mood and keep a smouldering fire burning in front of them. Women come, and bow and worship them like the Hindus. They wear long hair which either hangs in twisted curls or is sometimes plaited with "barh kā dūdh" (milk of the banyan tree) or may be tied in coils at the top. Their work is to expel evil spirits with ~~xx~~ their mantras (incantations) and magical powers. Sometimes they are seen going from door to door in the village and offering prayers. The women in the villages are generally flattered by the words of a Bāvā. Some of the Bāvās act as fortune teller and in this way the fair sex is usually led astray. Each village has its own Bāvā and each Bāvā tries to become a leader in his circle in order to earn the title of "Peshwā" or chief among the Bāvās. The Bāvās are expected to live a life of celibacy and renounce the world and all its pleasures. Once the writer enquired of a Bāvā why he and his fellow Bāvās did not marry. He replied: "Because God lives alone and we are also trying to do the same. Parmeshwar (God) is also a "Sādhū" like us and hence He is called "Nek Kalank" or spotless and holy". But all Bāvās are not always honest. Some of them are full of mischief and are of loose character, given to theft and other evil practices.

Initiation of :
a Cūhrā priest :

In order that a young man may become a candidate for the office of a Sādhū, a period of apprenticeship and training & sometimes for months is considered necessary. He is brought by an old Chelā and introduced to his master. He has to submit himself to a very strict discipline and has to give up all his comforts and his

-free will. Sometimes a boy of twelve or thirteen is taken as a disciple, but generally a grown up man is preferred.

There are three things which are required of a new disciple.

- (a) Implicit obedience to the order of the Gurū(Master).
- (b) Respect to elder members of the association.
- (c) Service.

During this period of training and education, he is expected to gain a general knowledge of the community and to acquire some kind of art, such as the playing of an instrument or the manufacture of implements and weapons. As a candidate he has to sleep on the floor, abstain from rich food, wordly lust, all greed, love of women, and he must be temperate. The only drink he is recommended to take is "bhang" or poppy preparation made of milk, almonds, cardamum, and sugar. He is expected to renounce the world and this he has to keep in view throughout his period of apprenticeship. He is closely watched in his daily life and is given instructions as to how he should conduct himself. Sometimes the guru expects a little too much from his newly converted disciple. For instance, he expects him to cook, to wash his Master's feet and to massage him daily. He can not have a will of his own in any thing.

The ceremony of initiation.

The ceremony of initiation among the Cūhrās is very interesting to watch. The disciples are initiated into the Sadhu fraternity one by one. Women are not allowed to join. A novice is given a bath in holy water and is supplied with the sacred thread. His head and face are covered with a cloth, the idea being to observe

the sanctity of that particular part of the body. There is a belief among the Sādhūs, that, at the time of initiation, the new disciple, and the group as a whole, come into contact with the ghosts of dead ancestors. The ceremony is arranged in August or September on some Wednesday evening during full moon and the whole takes from two to three hours. The Gurū reads out Mantras (charms and incantations) from the book; meditation and prayer are the chief part of the ceremony, and silence is observed by all. Then the Gurū gives his new disciple a handful of ashes with which to smear his face and body.¹ The disciple is expected to grow his hair long, and then tie it in a coil on his head. He is required to have a loin cloth only, but generally the question of a loin cloth depends upon the climatic conditions. There is no pomp or show at the initiation of a "Chelā" (disciple); and the occasion is considered too solemn for wordly grandeur. The last instruction given to the new disciple is that he must live a righteous and sober life. Should he do anything evil he is told, that he will disgrace the society, and lose the sanctity which he has acquired by the ceremony of initiation. After this he becomes a recognised Sādhū, and is considered purified. All then join in partaking food prepared by the new disciple. The 'chelā' can only become a teacher or a Gurū and succeed his master after the latter's death.

1, - Rubbing of ashes is considered as a sign of humility.

Cūhrā
Morality.

Custom is the basic foundation of Cūhrā
morality and plays in it the chief part.

Custom attains to sacredness through long
usage.

The Cūhrā conception of morality is not rational but
is impressionistic. It can be best described as the expres-
sion of a collective impression rather than individual ideas.
-It may be said that Marett's conception of morality fits
in with the idea of Cūhrā morality.¹ Cūhrā morality is of
primitive character which is based on custom and habit,
whereas morality in advanced communities is based on reflec-
tion and attentive meditation or it may be called contempla-
tion.

1. Marett. R.R. Anthropology Page 236-239.

CHAPTER VII.
CŪHRĀ FOLK = LORE.

The Cūhrā folk-lore can be divided into five groups, namely

- (a) Traditions, which are more or less historical, in which the supernatural element plays little or no part.
- (b) Legends. Next in order of importance come the legends which are stories of the early history of the tribe in which the supernatural largely figures.
- (c) Animal and fairy stories. General stories classified as animal and fairy tales and the stories of birds and snakes etc.
- (d) Songs. The folk tales and traditions are followed by a few typical songs and folk dancing.
- (e) Proverbs, riddles and nursery rhymes.

Traditions concerning the creation of the world.: Before the world came into existence and God lived in the waters as the ruling and guiding force. By his order a big flower grew having twelve petals, the principle one being the Bālmīk swāmī. On the water there was a big earthen vessel which contained fire, and Bālmīk or Bālle Shāh was its custodian. So, God created two goddesses and sent them to bring ashes from Bālmīk's pitcher. This they did and God sprinkled the ashes on the surface of the water. Thus the earth came into existence. Hence they call themselves "Khākroḡ" (those who sweep the dust). They take pride in the belief that the earth received its present ^{form} from their ashes.

Stories of Bālle:
Bālle & Bālle :

Stories of five: Another popular tradition among the Cūhrās
Sādhūs & Bālle :
Shāh. : It is that Bālle Shāh lived in Kashmir with his
 family. His wife's name was Manan Matā¹ and she bore five
 children. One day they were sitting together, when five
 "Thākars" (priests) came to Bālmīk and begged for food. Bālle
 Shāh bade his wife to grind corn quickly and prepare food.
 She made haste and cooked the food very carefully as she was
 asked. The five Thākars seeing the lentils and plain food
 left the house, but Gurū Bālmīk went after them to bring
 them back. He met them in a lonely place and begged them to
 return. They said: "If you can carry our cudgels then we will
 accompany you." Whereupon Bālmīk lifted the heavy cudgels
 and the Thākars returned with him. When they reached home,
 Bālmīk called his two boys, and having taken his knife, kill-
 ed them in order to prepare a good meal for the Thākars.
 Seeing this, the Thākars said: "If you are truly a worship-
 per of God make the children return to life again". Bālmīk
 called his sons and they both came laughing and playing-
 (Hansrakh) helped in the washing of the earthenware dishes,
 and the younger son (Mansrakh) helped in preparing for the
 guests to wash their hands and then the meal was served. The
 Thākars after taking their food began to call Bālmīk "Guru"
 in the following words: "Guru" Bālmīk, here is thy morsel
 (i.e. thy food is accepted by God). Badar Dīn, one of our
 chief informants, told the writer that among the Cūhrās
 there is an ancient tradition that Bālmīk was the incarnatio:
 of 'Sūrā Pūrā'². It is said that once an old Maulvī³ of the

1. Youngson gives the name as Mansa Devi. See Youngson. W. "The Cūhrās." Page. 3.

2. Sūrā Pūrā was a warrior in ancient days. He was known for his miraculous powers. 3. A Muhammedan religious teacher of the Kurān.

city put Bālmīk to the test in order to ascertain the truth and sincerity of his prophetic person. He invited him to dinner and killed a bitch and a cat and cooked them together. When Bālmīk came, he saw the food and recognised the meat and said:-

"dure kuttīe te chur billīe"
(Get away bitch, and run away cat).

Whereupon both animals were restored to life and ran away. Since that time people believed Bālmīk to have a wonderful magical gift.

Hākam Shāh of Sambarīśl (District Sialkot) in narrating the tale of Bālmīk says:-

"Bālmīk is looked upon as a tortoise who has assumed human form. At one time there was no man, sky or land; the only thing that existed was "Jall Bamb" or water of the ocean. It is believed that Bālle Shāh lived in water. A tulip flower grew up and Bālle Shāh made his abode in the flower.

They believe "Khuda kēval phull k vicc rehndē e, te Bāvē dandī rau rehā" i.e. God lives in the petals of the tulip and Bāvē Bālmīk, his incarnation, is hidden in the stalk or stem.

A very popular tradition is that Rama Chandra was the incarnation of Bālmīk. He fought many battles and defeated Ravana in the famous battle of Lanka. They further believe that Bālmīk sat on a hill-top and called out with a loud voice, to the accompaniment of a guitar. "O Thou Creator, Thou art All in all". Saying this he jumped down from the hill and coming before God fell down and worshipped him. After this he complained to God saying:

"din Hindu, Hindu jappange,
te Mussalman din apnā".

ile. the Hindus follow their own religion and the Muhammadans follow theirs; but there are none who acknowledge me as the Leader. The Lord is said to have answered, "I have not made thee inferior to any prophet, but thou must seek thine own "Ummat" (followers)". The tradition goes that the followers of Bālmīk were all locked up under the flood, in order to control the waters. Guru Bālmīk went and performed his mission successfully and his followers praised their Gurū in the following way:-

"O Guru, we will worship thee for thou art Ram Chandra the second, thou wast born in the house of God, Thou hast risen high and art the priest of the old generation. We thy believers pray to thee to come and release us. Thou hast saved thy believers from the mouth of the flood and hast thus shown thy great power. Truly Bāllā is the son of God (i.e. born of God). He is Ram Chandra the second. Thy broom is made of gold, and thou art a confident of God's court. Thou art a great dignitary and removes of all pain. Speak, O ye believers, truly he is Guru".

One day Bālmīk went out to plunder, and by mistake entered the house of a Cūhrā where there were several bodies of dead cows and other animals. In the dark, Markhand's clothes got soiled and he was very angry with the Cūhrās. He ordered them to put up some small erection as a mark, in order that he might pass by the house on his next visit. Many years after the Cūhrās began to worship the Stupa and called it Bālle Shāh.

In some parts of the Panjab, like Ambala and Karnal, Balle Shāh is known as Lal Beg.

"guru Bālmīk Lal Beg ditto autār"
(LAL BEG IS THE INCARNATION OF GURU BALMIK).

We shall narrate one more legend which a priest, Nādir Shāh selected and read out from the Gujranwala book. The story is written in the form of a ballad. In the introductory lines the poet invokes God and praises His handiwork. Then he goes on to relate the story of the dead cow and the visit of the four Brāhman brothers to God. Guru Jhōparā (i.e. Bhṛshtā) was commissioned to carry away the dead cow and because of this he was ostracised by his brothers. The ballad ends with Jhōparā's pathetic appeal to God to fulfill His promise and restore him and his followers to their original position. The ballad runs as follows:-

"alif Allāknū yād kar dhen surjanā hārā".
(I REMEMBER GOD WITH LETTER 'ALIF', BLESSED BY THE NAME OF THE CREATOR).

"kur dunīā te varteā, mule sacc pyārā".
(IN THE BEGINNING SIN CAME INTO THE WORLD, O MULA GOD LOVES TRUTH)

"bāvā ādam sājeā gohke mohkam gārā"
(ADAM I MADE KNEADING FIRM CLAY).

"hindu musalmān dā kīttā rāh niārā"
(THE WAY OF THE HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS I HAVE MADE SEPARATE).

"vāh vāh kujratā terīā terā khel niārā"
(WONDERFUL ARE THY DOINGS AND THY WAYS (SPORTS) MYSTERIOUS)

"cugdī cagdī gokharī ho ke paī mardārā"
(THE COW WHILE GRAZING FELL DEAD).

"ralke jānde devte shēmī¹ deg dadārā²".
(ALL FOUR GODS (I.E. FOUR BROTHERS) INTERVIEWED GOD).

1. Mistaken pronunciation of swami meaning saint.
2. Dedarā from dīdar to interview.

"tuhhāde viccō kaun hai, rakessar bhārā"
(GOD SAID:- WHO IS THE FIRST BORN AMONG YOU FOUR?)

They answered:- "Sādde viccō guru Jōhparā hai rakessar ~~xxxx~~
bhārā".
(AMONGST US GURU JōhPARA IS THE FIRST BORN).

God said:- "jā khā gokharī sutte ā mann baccan hamārā"
(GO AND THROW AWAY THE DEAD COW, LISTEN TO MY COMMAND).

"ose goshe cārḥke suttī pāl pichvārā"
(HE(I.E. JōhPARA) TIED THE COW WITH HIS BOW AND ARROW AND
HURLED IT BEHIND THE HOUSE).

"āyā gokharī sutt ke hoke bheh niārā"
(THE DEAD COW HE THREW AWAY, AND CAME BACK AS AN UNTOUCH-
ABLE).

"ralke jēnde devte shāmī deg dadārā"
(ALL THE GODS WENT TO INTERVIEW THE LORD).

"csuthe jug nu mēl sā kite kaul karārā"
(IN THE FOURTH AGE I WILL UNITE YOU, THUS THOU HAST PROMISED

"tre jug suthe vāpre cauthā shayāvārā"
(THE FIRST THREE AGES HAVE PASSED AND THE FOURTH ONE IS
THE AGE OF CHRISTIANS).

This is the time when the Cūhrās have been uplifted and
have been restored and welcomed into the fold.

Now we come to the general stories of demons, animals,
fairies, trees, of a king and a clever faqir. These stories
are very popular among the Cūhrās.

The demon : It was commonly believed by the villagers
and the lion-
hearted man. : that across the stream which was flowing
nearby, several demons and fairies were

residing, and whenever a traveller happened to pass by at
night, they ~~xxx~~ frightened him. This is why the travellers
look upon it as a dangerous spot.

There was a very brave man who was called by the name
of "Sher Dill(Lion hearted). It was customary for him to
go without fail every day and visit his grand-father and

to return again at night. Very often he and his grandfather used to dine together at the same table and pass the evening in talk. Whether it was hail or sunshine he would not miss seeing his grandfather.

One day he returned home, being unusually late. The grandfather said to him, "It is getting very late, you had better lie down here and sleep", but he replied, "I have to sow the harvest, it is, therefore, expedient for me to go". So he went away but his grandfather appeared to be very sad.

It was known that Sher Dill was a man of great courage and that was the reason why no one from the city was able to stand in opposition to him. Stories of his bravery and courage were on every tongue.

The next day Sher Dil went as usual to see his grandfather and he was chatting and laughing more than he usually did. He said to his grandfather that when he left the house it was quite dark, so much so that no traveller was able to see the road. He was making his way by mere guess work, when suddenly his eyes fell upon something strange which looked like a big elephant. He said to himself that it was not proper for him to return, but to try his strength with the creature, so he girded up his loin cloth, tied his turban carefully, and caught hold of the trunk of the elephant. No sooner had he seized the trunk, then behold, it was turned into a "Berī tree(plum) whose thorns pricked his hands. When he reached home he recited the whole story to his grandfather who said that he also had a similar experience and since then no one in the village dared go

into the jungle after dark.

The story of :
a faithful :
donkey. :

It is said that Rāmjī Dās, the potter, had a faithful donkey. Just as the donkey grew in years, so also did it become more mischievous, so much so that no one except Rāmjī Dās could control it.

The donkey was so knowing that whenever Rāmjī Dās called it by the name 'Bakoo', it would run along to him and place its nose on Rāmjī Dās' shoulders as if two parted friends had been united after a long time.

One day Rāmjī Dās took his donkey laden with goods and went to a distant place. While passing through a forest he was attacked by thieves, one of whom hit him on the head with his hatchet and killed him on the spot. The thieves took the donkey, but no sooner had they removed the load, than the donkey ran back to the spot where Rāmjī Dās' body lay. Next day the people began to talk in the village of the incident. When the Police came to the spot to investigate the matter, they found the donkey was restless, coming to the Police Officer and then running back to the dead body of Rāmjī Dās. This he did thrice, until the Police officer understood the donkey's movements, so he followed it, till it stopped near to the house of the robbers. After a thorough investigation the thieves confessed their guilt. When they all returned again to the spot where the body of Rāmjī Dās lay, they found the donkey standing there. It looked up once and fell dead near the body of its master. Since that day whenever a person happens to pass on the road with a donkey, the people of the village talk of Rāmjī Dās and his faithful

donkey.

The Auspicious:
Tree.;

It is said that in a village there lived an old man, who was a very God-fearing and abstemious person. He had three sons and one daughter. The old father had taken pains in educating his children and when they grew to manhood he got them married, and all lived happily together as a joint family.

The sons used to go out to work as day labourers and their wives would stay at home and spin and cook. When the sons returned home late in the evening, the family would sit together and eat.

One afternoon, the old father was sitting in the court yard basking in the sun when a stranger appeared, and told him that there was a pitcher full of silver coins under the thick tree, and asked him to come and dig it out. As soon as the old man went, the stranger lifted him up and disappeared in the hollow of the tree. The young girls ran after their father-in-law but trace of him was found.

In the evening when the sons returned home they heard the story of their father's disappearance, and were tremendously grieved. One of them ran up to the Police station and reported the matter and the Police Officer ordered that the tree should be cut down. When the first stroke of the axe fell the closed hollow opened and the old father came out alive. Since that day the tree is considered an auspicious tree.

~~The~~

The King and the clever : Once upon a time a king issued a Procla-
Facir. : mation that he would give anything asked of
 him. A Sādhū came and asked to rule his kingdom for a day,
 whereupon the king gave him his crown and throne. When he
 returned to his Palace, the queen enquired concerning his
 early arrival and the king told her what he had done.

The next day the king put on his royal attire and
 went to the Sādhū and asked him to return his crown. The
 Sādhū ordered his courtiers to turn him out and the order
 was obeyed. When the King returned home he thought it
 advisable to leave the city with his family, so he took his
 two sons and the queen and went to the stables to take two
 of his horses, but when he arrived there he was asked to
 show a permit which he could not produce, so he was compel-
 led to return home disappointed.

Next day the king and the queen took their two sons
 and left the city on foot in the middle of the night. The
 following morning the children asked for bread, and the
 mother out of the provisions she carried, gave them some-
 thing to eat. In the meantime a merchant came to his house
 and requested the king to allow his queen to come and help
 his wife who was in pangs. Since the king had learnt to
 say yes to any thing he was asked for, he could not refuse.
 The merchant took away his wife and never returned.

The king waited for a long time but the queen did
 not come back. At last carrying his two children he went in
 search of his queen. Reaching a river he left one of his
 sons on the bank and carrying his other son on his shoulders
 tried to cross the river. He had hardly reached the middle

of the river when he heard the cry of his son who was being carried away by a wolf. He tried to get back but his foot slipped and other son fell into the river and was swept away. With great difficulty he got out of the water and started off towards the city. In the way he met a big crowd of people who told him that their king was dead and that it was their custom to crown the man on whose head the auspicious bird sits. The king sat down with the crowd and at the fixed time the bird was released when it flew around and eventually came and perched on the king's head. So the people took and enthroned him.

One day the vizier told his daughter that the king was a very fine person but he always appeared to be sad. She asked permission to go and talk to the king and the vizier agreed. She came back and told her father that the king's relatives were all scattered here and there and that he kept weeping for them.

The vizier asked the king what would make him happy. The king asked for two handsome boys of eight and nine years old to be brought to his court, and that arrangements should be made for their education. The vizier sent men to bring two beautiful boys for the king and while they were searching they met a boy who was leading along the Dhobī's bull. The Dhobī told them that he was childless but that he had saved the boy from drowning in the river.

After a few hours the servants went towards the river where they found a beautiful boy playing on a flute and looking after the sheep. The servants asked the herdsman to hand over the boy, but he replied that he had saved

him from the mouth of a wolf so the servants gave him money and land and he allowed them to take the boy. The boys were brought to the palace but the whole thing remained a mystery. One day the merchant came into the court of the king and after a long chat wished to take his leave but the king insisted on his staying longer. The merchant said that he had married a new wife and he was afraid she was alone, so the king gave orders to bring his wife in a carriage and to let ^{her} sleep near the two children. They began to talk of their early days and how they had been separated, and the women, hearing their story, came to know that they were her own sons. They all fell on each other's neck and cried aloud, and the noise was heard in the palace by the king who came running in and when he was informed about his wife and children he could not restrain his tears. He ordered that the merchant should be brought and cut to pieces and hung on the door archway. A big feast was arranged in honour of his queen and children, and the clever Faqīr was also invited to the feast. He came, and after the dinner was over fell at the feet of the King and confessed his crime, but the King pardoned him and made him the governor of his lost kingdom.

The Cruel Snake: It is said that in a certain village and the Nessel.: birds used to come and roost on a big banyan tree in which some of them had built their nests and ~~many~~ had laid eggs. Under the tree, in a big hole, there lived a snake which used to climb the tree and eat the eggs and young birds.

One day the snake was trying to climb the tree, as

usual and the mother birds, seeing ~~the~~ the snake coming up, began to make a noise. A traveller who was passing by, heard the noise, and coming near found a big snake trying to climb the tree. He began to throw stones and after hitting the snake twice, it dropped down and began to chase the man who ran for his life. Luckily in the way a weasel was sitting in search of food and seeing the snake coming, it fell upon it and grabbed it by the neck. Both wrestled for half an hour and finally the ~~s~~ weasel won the fight and killed the snake. This is one reason why the Cūhrās are very fond of rearing weasels in their homes and never allow any one to kill and destroy a weasel. By some it is considered as a taboo.

An Unfortunate Jackal. : Once upon a time, in a jungle there lived many jackals who were always harassed by hounds and hunters. The jackals held a council and unanimously voted to select a chief. The lot fell in favour of an old jackal, and in order to differentiate between an ordinary jackal and the chief, it was thought that a sifting or winnowing fan be tied round the neck of their chief. This was done and the chief was greatly pleased with the idea.

One day when the jackals were going into the jungle, the dogs pursued them. Almost all the jackals hid themselves in holes dug in the ground, but the unfortunate chief was left out. One of them remarked: "Why do not you come inside?" The chief replied, "I wish to come in, but this winnowing fan prevents me from doing so, and the hounds came and tore the chief into pieces.

CŪHRĀ SONGS.

The following songs were collected on several occasions from different villages. These songs are divided into four or five classes such as:-

- (A) Songs sung at weddings. }
- (B) Songs sung at death. }
- (C) Songs sung while grinding) ^{1.}
- (D) Songs sung by a lover to his beloved and vice versa.)
- (E) Songs sung while dancing.)
- (F) Songs sung at a feast.)

These songs are recorded as nearly as possible in the dialect and exact words in which they are sung.

(A) The following are a few samples of "Ghorīs" (songs addressed to the bride):-

The sister of the husband sings:-

"kis mangī kis mangāī, putt mangī ghorī bāp mangāī"
(WHO ASKED FOR HER AND WHO SENT FOR HER. THE SON ASKED FOR HER, THE FATHER (I.E. THE GIRL). THE FATHER SENT FOR HER).

"ghorī ān baddhī us rāhī de vehre, pādshāhī de vehre,
nagar vel vadhai"
(THE MERE IS BROUGHT AND TIED IN THE COURTYARD OF THE TRAVELLER, AND IN THE COURTYARD OF THE KING, AND THE MUSICIANS CONGRATULATED HER).

"bhain ākkhe kī lakkh ghorī dā mull ve virā"
(THE SISTER SAYS "O BROTHER, IS THE MARE WORTH A LAKH OF RUPEES).

"mere mā peo jāē kī lakkh tejjan āī"
(MY PARENTS HAVE GIVEN ME BIRTH, WAS A LAKH OF RUPEES PAID FOR TEJJAN).

"ikk lakkh ā ghorī dā mull nī bhainā"
(@ THE MARE IS WORTH ONE LAKH O MY SISTER).

1. Some of these songs point out and show Hindu Mythology.

The brother sings.

"apnī bhain de maī shagan manāvā"

(FOR MY SISTER I WILL CELEBRATE THE AUSPICIOUS DAY(I.E. HER COMING WEDDING DAY AFTER I AM THROUGH)).

"dand khand dā curā carhāvā"

(I WILL PUT ON IVORY BANGLE MADE FOR HER).

"je ghar leāvā vannī"

(WHEN I BRING MY WIFE)

"appne bāp nu rāj bahāvā"

(MY FATHER I WILL SEAT ON THE THRONE(I.E. HONOUR HIM),

"je ghar leāvā vannī"

(WHEN I BRING MY WIFE).

"mā apnī nu rāj bahāvā"

(MY MOTHER I WILL SEAT ON THE THRONE).

"dine rāttī pihre bahāvā"

(NIGHT AND DAY I WILL SEAT HER ON THE CHAIR).

"je ghar vannī leāvā"

(WHEN I BRING MY WIFE).

Then the women present there sing the second ghorī, or part of the song"

"ghorī ān baddhī tere nāī ve lāl"

(THE MARE IS BROUGHT AND TIED O BARBER).

"terī punn hoī karmāl ve lāl"

(THE ENGAGEMENT YOU MADE O BARBER IS ARRANGED AND BLESSED).

"ghorī ān baddhī tere agge ve lāl"

(THE MARE IS BROUGHT AND TIED BEFORE YOUR DOOR).

"ghorī laung supārīā cabbē ve lāl"

(THE MARE EATS NUTS, AND CLOVES ETC.)

"lāre nu kesrī dī cāh, mā nū vekhan dī cāh"

(THE BRIDEGROOM IS FOND OF KESAR(I.E. FRAGRANCE), BUT THE MOTHER IS FOND OF SEEING THE BRIDE).

"dendī lāggīā nū lāg¹, vandde motīā de thāl"

(SHE GIVES COMMISSION TO THE SINGERS, AND DISTRIBUTES PLATES FULL OF PEARLS).

In the house of the bride the following songs called "Sohag" are sung on this occasion:-

"deĩ ve bāblā os ghare jitthe sāssu de bauthre putt"
(O FATHER GIVE ME TO THAT HOUSE WHERE MY MOTHER-IN-LAW HAS MANY SONS).

"ikk mangē ikk vihāvā, shādīā vekkhā maĩ nitt"
(SO THAT I MAY GET ONE ENGAGED AND ANOTHER MARRIED; MAY I CONTINUALLY SEE WEDDINGS).

"deĩ ve bāblā os ghare jitthe borīā kālīā^a sutt"
(O FATHER GIVE ME TO THAT HOUSE WHERE IS A CROWD OF BLACK BUFFALOES).

"ikk coā ikk pasmāvā merā cāttī cāth¹ hattk"
(SO THAT I MAY MILK ONE AND HANDLE ANOTHER- MY HAND¹ MAY BE ON DIFFERENT BUTTER POTS).

"Bāblā terā pun hove, terā sukkh vasse darbār"
(O FATHER MAY IT BE A GREAT GIFT- MAY YOUR HOUSE CONTINUE IN PEACE).

"deĩ ve bāblā os ghare jitthe gharat ghare sunyār"
(O FATHER GIVE ME TO SUCH A HOME WHERE GOLDSMITH MAY ALWAYS MAKE JEWELLERY (I.E. RICH FAMILY)).

"ikk pava ikk lunava mera dabbi dabbi shankar"
(SO THAT I MAY PUT ON ONE, AND TAKE OFF ANOTHER, THUS MAY I KEEP MY JEWELLERY IN BOXES).

After the bridegroom is washed and bathed he comes out. Then the women of the family present sing:-

"vadde mamme vairh ditti nikka de te janie,"
(THE OLDER UNCLE HAS GIVEN A CALF, IF THE YOUNGER UNCLE ALSO GIVES ONE, THEN I WILL ACKNOWLEDGE HIM AS AN UNCLE).

"hare nahae, hare dhoe hare thanda panis"
(I HAVE BATHED, I HAVE WASHED, THERE IS COLD WATER FOR USE.)

"dede mammia ~~xax~~ verh vacche dharm tera janie"
(GIVE, O UNCLE, EITHER A BIG CALF OR A LITTLE CALF SO THAT I MAY KNOW THY GENEROSITY.)

2.1. Handling refers to the pressing of the animal's teats previous to milking.

When the procession starts and the bridegroom is about to ride the horse, the women sing:-

"carh malla ve ghorl, teri nal bharava di jori"
(RIDE THE HORSE O BROTHER, FOR YOUR BRETHERN ARE ACCOMPANYING YOU)

Then the sister of the bridegroom comes and holds the reins of the horse and sings

"ki kucch dens en bibba vag pharai"
(WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO GIVE ME, O BROTHER, FOR HOLDING THE REINS OF YOUR HORSE?)

At the time of "Milni" when the fathers of bride and bridegroom meet, the following song is sung.

"bhalli o bhalli gall kareo ve kurmo, bhalli o bhalli gal kareo"
(TALK GOOD THINGS AMONG YOURSELVES O YE FATHERS-IN-LAW, TALK OF THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE AGREEABLE).

"cunni utte hass dhareo ve kurmo cunni utte hass dhareo"
(PLACE YOUR NECKLACE AS YOUR GIFT ON THE BED SHEET, PLACE A NECKLACE ON THE SHEET).

The girl and friends of the bride after the wedding ceremony is gone through, then come and address the bridegroom singing:-

"hae ve lares launga da ki kariye".
(TELL US, O BRIDEGROOM, WHAT WE SHOULD DO WITH THE CLOVES).

"teri ma nu gahne dhariye"
(WE SHALL PAWN YOUR MOTHER, O BRIDEGROOM).

Then all the girls join and holding each other's hands move in a circle and sing:

"chand baragi sie jaye, chande agoge murli"
(WE RECITE THE PROVERB WALKING UP AND DOWN AND PLAYING THE FLUTE).

"sohre mainu mahi ditti main banava khurli"
(MY FATHER IN LAW HAS GIVEN ME A BUFFALO, LET ME MAKE A MANGER).

When the guests are being entertained and they are all busy eating, the girl friends of the bride addressing bridegroom, commence singing:-

"tsuri sakkan pai ve lares"

(WE HAD PUT THE EARTHEN VESSEL IN THE SUN TO DRY).

"teri mām nū sharam nā āl"

(BUT, O BRIDEGROOM, YOUR MOTHER NEVER FELT ASHAMED OF TAKING IT AWAY).

In this way the girls tease the bridegroom and when the "Palanquin" is about to be lifted by the carriers, the women of the house commence singing, addressing the bride.

"bol ni meri e bantan kole, des bagane kyu calli e"

(SPEAK, O MY SWEET CUCKOO, WHY ARE YOU GOING AWAY TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY?). She responds and says:-

"bap ne mere dharam jo kita kaula di baddhi calli a main".

(BECAUSE MY FATHER HAS TAKEN A SOLEMN OATH, THEREFORE TO KEEP HIS WORD I AM GOING AWAY).

Then the people in the wedding procession commence singing for the bride.

"le calle babbla le calle ve, dolli pa kahar beti le calle"
(THEY ARE CARRYING ME AWAY, O FATHER, THEY ARE CARRYING ME AWAY).

The bearers are taking away your daughter in a Dolli).

"rakh le babbla rakh le, mainu aji di rat udhari rakh le"
(KEEP ME, O FATHER, KEEP ME WITH YOU, ONLY FOR THE NIGHT JUST KEEP ME AT YOUR HOUSE).

The father sorrowfully replies:-

"ja ja dhie ghar apne rabba ne sak karasa"

(MY DAUGHTER, GO TO YOUR NEW HOME, FOR GOD HAS ARRANGED THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP).

When the palanquin approaches the house, the sister of the bridegroom and other women of the village come out to meet the new bride and welcome her with songs, singing:-

"dolle da muh khol ve bhain gholli kahara"

(OPEN THE PALANQUIN, O BEARER FOR WE HER SISTERS ARE DYING (I.E. IMPATIENT FOR A SIGHT OF HER) TO SEE HER).

When evening falls the women of the village come out to welcome the new bride with the following song:-

"lef tallia tangne, asa hor vi authe mangani"

(QUILTS AND COVERING WE WILL HANG (I.E. PRESENTS OUR BROTHER HAS BROUGHT WITH HIM). WE SHALL ASK FOR MORE GIRLS FROM THAT VILLAGE FOR OUR BOYS).

B). Songs : Dr. Youngson, giving an account of the Cuhra
sung at :
Death. : death custom says, "The woman that leads re-
pests the Alahni and the other women beat their breasts thus
making Siapa."¹

(B)I- SONG : Burial Song.²
sung at death: "Maut puchendi ai haif javani da"
(DEATH COMES SEEKING, ALAS FOR YOUTH)

"baitha pava mal"
(SEATED HE GRASPS THE FOOT OF THE BED).

"lain na dendi sah"
(HE DOES NOT LET YOU BREATHE).

"karan na dendi gall"
(HE DOES NOT LET YOU SPEAK).

"ki hoes , ki hoes haif javani da"
(WHAT HAS HAPPENED, ALAS, FOR YOUTH)

"ki hoes, hsiiran skhia dulh sia"
(WHAT IS THE MATTER, I AM SURPRISED, WHY ARE THE EYES UP-
TURNED).

"kikkur moea mera lal"
(HOW HAS MY LITTLE RUBY(I.E. SON) DIED).

"mah siayala see"
KME(THE COLD SEASON HAS COME).

"te chejjan pakhria"
(AND THE BEDS ARE SPREAD).

"horni chejji kannan"
(OTHER BEDS ARE FULL OF LIGHT).

"teri chejj haner"
(YOUR BED IS DARK).

When the time comes for the people to remove the body
from the house, women come forward and commence singing:-

(2) "cau janea ral cukkeo"
(FOUR MEN JOINING LIFT HIM UP),

"the manjalo manjal calleo"
(AND CARRY HIM BY STAGES).

"jangal ai rat"
(NIGHT HAS FALLEN IN THE FOREST.))

"os haneri na jaeo"
(GO NOT INTO THAT DARKNESS).

(1. Professional singer's
wife leads the women by
beating breast and by cry-
ing. This is called Siapa.
2. Youngson. W. The Cuhras.
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"pher nahi anna hog"
(THERE WILL BE NO RETURNING).JG).

The following dirge is very common in the Panjab

(3) A Dirge : villages and is sung at the death of a woman.
for a woman.:

"jo marnāte sacc hai vauhti cure vallie"
(DEATH IS CERTAIN, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"hath katora dahi da vohti cure vallie"
(WITH A DISH OF CURD IN HER HAND WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACE-
-LET).

"nhaun gai tallao vohti cure vallie"
(SHE HAS GONE TO WASH AND BATHE IN THE TANK, WIFE OF THE
MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"tu pahle dolle ditthio, vauhte cure vallie".
(I SAW YOU FIRST WITH MARRIAGE PALANQUIN, WIFE OF THE
MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"tur ghar a val, vohti cure vallie".
(COME HOME NOW, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"naha dho ghar ai, vauhti cure vallie,"
(WASH AND BATHE AND THEN COME, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"dah pihra banh sāmne, vauhti cure vallie".
(PUT DOWN YOUR CHAIR AND SIT, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACELET).

"phiri pihre sangar vauhti cure vallie"
(YOUR JEWELS ARE PLACED ON THE FOOTSTOOL, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE
BRACELET).

"tu gaio nikel bahar, vauhti cure vallie,
(THOU HAS GONE OUTSIDE, WIFE OF THE MARRIAGE BRACELET).

On the death of an old man , the women come and
sing the following song and make a mock mourning:-

"babba mar gea janke, kothe hets an ke".
(THE OLD MAN HAS DIED INTENTIONALLY BY COMING UNDER THE
FALLING HOUSE).

Among the Cuhras who still observe Hindu rites, they
call the Priest who reads "Shalok"(quotations or verses) from
sacred books. The following two verses are very popular.

"nam dan ashnan mukkh manjan kijiye"
(TO REPEAT THE NAME OF GOD, TO GIVE ALMS, TO BATHE ARE RELI-
GIOUS MATTERS).

~~"pakarva hath mander dihlave"~~
~~(HOLDING HAND LEAD ME TO THE TEMPLE)~~
1. Temple here means Paradise i.e. the place of eternal rest.

"Pakarvā hath mandar dikhāve"
(Holding hand lead me to the temple)¹

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"agee picce hoke jan se band chudave"
(GOING AHEAD LOOSE HIS BONDS).

"he babba kaun hai gur bin par uttare"
(O FRIEND, WHO CAN CARRY ME ACROSS EXCEPT THE GURU(GUIDE)).

"siri gurmukh nam jappo mere parani"
(TAKE GOD'S NAME O MY FRIEND).

"tera sagra kull nistare"
(SO THAT ALL THY FAMILY MAY BE SAVED).

"jitte parsn base ghatt bhittar"
(THE LIVING SOUL LIVES IN THE BODY).

"bin hukmi so us se na chutte"
(WITHOUT HIS ORDER IT CANNOT ESCAPE DESIRE).

"picce se pachtave parani prsn banke chutte"
(AT THIS END THEY REPENT THAT THEY DID NOT WORSHIP HIM SUFFICIENTLY).

"he babba kaun hai gur bin par utare"
(O FRIEND, NO ONE CAN CARRY US ACROSS EXCEPT GOD).

(5) At the burial ceremony of the Cuhras it is a custom to repeat the following lines:-

"balle shah de balke tu sadha sohana e"
(O BALLE SHAH'S DISCIPLE, YOU ARE ALWAYS BEAUTIFUL).

"mohde tere chanjilli tu dharu udhana e"
(ON YOUR SHOULDERS THERE IS A WINNOWING FAN(I.E. YOU ARE WINNOWING CORN)).

"hokka pie etna do vice johana e".
(YOU SMOKE THE HUQQA(1) SO MUCH, YOU WILL NOT LIVE IN THESE TWO WORLDS).

"mar ges kauda te kabadda"²
(KAUDA AND KABADDA ARE DEAD).

1. Temple here means paradise i.e. the place of eternal rest.

2 Two imaginary or fictitious names of the Cuhras.

"dabbo jske cuhreo ragrea pes janaza"
(O CUHRAS GO AND BURY THE DEAD, FOR THE FUNERAL IS READY).

(C) The following songs are sung while grinding and spinning.

"battia vata rakhdi, diva bale sari rat"
(I WILL GET THE WICKS READY, SO THAT THE LIGHT MAY BURN THE WHOLE NIGHT).

"aunde nu pucch lagi kitthe guzari sari rat"
(WHEN HE RETURNS I SHALL ASK HIM WHERE HE SPENT THE WHOLE NIGHT).

He sings:-

"pucchengi te das deaga reha si kanjri de pas"
(IF YOU ASK ME, I WILL TELL YOU I HAVE BEEN WITH A PROSTITUTE).

"kis lusea zalam marohe de buta, kis ditea pani ni"
(WHO HAS PLANTED THE MAROHA TREE AND WHO HAS WATERED THE PKKI PLANT I.E. WHO HAS LINKED US TOGETHER, AND WHO HAS WATERED OUR FIELD)?

"ni babal lusea marohe de buta, mere vir ditea pani"
(MY FATHER HAS PLANTED THE TREE AND MY BROTHER HAS WATERED THE FIELD).

(D) The following song is sung when a lover has jilted his beloved.

"natth garhai rijha nai katta mere co gea"
(I HAD MY NOSE-RING MADE WITH GREAT DESIRE, BUT HE HAS MILK-ED MY MALE BUFFALO, I.E. MY LOVER HAS DONE AN EXTRA-ORDINARY THING.)

"vekkhan vela gulam ni kitthe baih reha"
(WHERE~~has~~ THE MESSENGER GONE AND SAT?)

"amb de bute heth ghora ni bannh gea"
(MY LOVER HAS TETHERED HIS HORSE UNDER THE MANGO TREE AND HAS DISAPPOINTED ME).

"kar ges kaul karar bachna tho jhuttha pea"
x(HE GAVE ME HIS WORD, BUT HE IS NOT TRUE TO HIS PROMISE).

2. The beloved sings at her lover's illness. The lines show her devotion to him.

"nakk de baisar tere veda nu denia"
(I WOULD OFFER MY NOSE RING TO YOUR PHYSICIAN).

"tera ved na labhda koi zalam vi"
(BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND A PHYSICIAN, O HARD-HEARTED ONE.)

"Dakkhan dhunda purah dhunda"
(I look for him south and east).

"Tera ved na labhda zalam koi vi"
(BUT I CANNOT FIND A PHYSICIAN, O HARD HEARTED ONE).

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3. The lover dies and the beloved expressed her feelings of sorrow in the following lines:-

"chhati teri val vekha ve zalam"
(I AM LOOKING AT YOUR CHEST, O HARD-HEARTED ONE).

"nale cham cham roa ve"
(WEEPING BITTERLY).

"tera ved na labhda koi vi"
(BUT I CAN NOT FIND A PHYSICIAN).

In the evening when the women are free from their domestic duties they gather for a special time and sing the following songs among themselves. The songs represent a lover's feelings of suspense for her beloved.

(a) "kurta gumti de vicc rakkhni a"
(MY SHIRT IS MADE WITH ROUND BUTTONS I SHALL KEEP IT CAREFULLY).

"reli carh nahi gee mai berabbar takni a"
(I HOPE MY LOVER HAS NOT TAKEN THE TRAIN AND GONE OFF, I AM CONTINUALLY WAITING).

(b) "relle vales rel vicco nikle dhus"
(O RAILWAY GUARD, SMOKE COMES OUT OF YOUR ENGINE)

"udd cal bambea ve teshan te jana tu"
(O FUNERAL FLY FAST, FOR YOU HAVE TO GO TO THE STATION).

(c) "begghe te ki carna jehri khar khar kardi e"
(WHAT IS THE USE OF RIDING IN A CARRIAGE, FOR IT MAKES A RATTLING NOISE).

"carhie rella te jehri suttea nu khardi e"
(ONE SHOULD RIDE IN A TRAIN WHICH CARRIES THE PASSENGERS SLEEPING).

(E). Song sung: The following songs known as 'Giddha' while dancing: or ¹'kilkili' are sung in the evening while

1. This is a game played among the girls and young women. They hold each other's fingers two by two and turn round on their heels.

dancing.

"kilkili kalir di, pagg mere vir di".
(I PLAY KILKILI WITH MY FRIENDS AND GET MY BROTHER'S TURBAN

"ve hatheli meri saita mare ja, ve sunheri cire vales"
(THE PALM OF MY HAND IS ITCHING, GO AWAY YOU WITH A GOLDEN COAT AND TURBAN).

(3) "udde ucce burj lahor de jatti dea jamna"
(THE TOWERS AT LAHORE ARE VERY HIGH, O SON OF A JATTI, I.E. ILLITERATE).

"heth vagge darya ni bhari jatti dea jamna"
(BELOW FLOWS THE BIG RIVER, ON SON OF A JATTI).

"mal mal nahaun kararia jatti dea jamna"
(THE HINDU WOMEN BATHE, RUBBING THEMSELVES HARD, O SON OF JATTI).

"murgai vanger terdi mai tere passand nai ai we"
(I SWIM LIKE A WATER FOWL, BUT YOU HAVE NOT LIKED ME) .

"bagge vicc a mahia, nale gell sun ja"
(COME INTO THE GARDEN, O FRIEND, AND LISTEN TO WHAT I SAY).

"nale ghara chukka mahia, tenu dea dua"
(ALSO COME AND HELP ME LIFT UP THE WATER-PITCHER THAT I MAY GIVE YOU A BLESSING).

(F) Song : It is said that once the Cuhras found a big
sung at a :
feast. : piece of meat. They separated the big bone
from the flesh and took out the marrow. A big feast was
held called Jagg and they started singing.

"meddar pir pahari carhea khalkat matha tekdi".
(THIGH BONE HOLY MAN TO HILL ASCENDED, PEOPLE FOREHEAD BOW).

"sundi mai rotia pakave giccli mai sekdi"
(CHOP MOTHER COOK BREAD KNEE BONE MOTHER TOASTS THEM).

"giccli mai jhand khelare danda valo vekhdi"
(KNEE BONE MOTHER SHREDS HAIR, TEETH TOWARDS LOOKS).

"sundi mai akkar bhanne vicc kunali letdi".
(CHOP MOTHER TWISTING BREAKS, IN THE EARTHEN PAN SHE LIES).

"tarbara agge de ghurakia burki mai sametdi".
(THE SONGS IN FRONT GIVE THREAT I.E. BARING HOT) THE
MOTHER MORSEL GATHERS IT.)

The woman says:- "kha lau mere kurmo"
(EAT MY RELATIONS IN LAW).

Ceremonial : Dancing among the Cūhrās is not very
and folk :
dances. : frequent. It is usually at festivals (particularly in the beginning of May at Basākhī when the harvest is ripe), that the Cūhrās dance. There are also other occasions such as at a wedding, or at the birth of a son, when dancing or merry making is arranged. Sometimes the singers and professional dancers are called. Sometimes mummers are invited to entertain the people by dancing.

On the occasion of a wedding, when the bride and the bridegroom are about to leave the house the girl friends of the bridegroom form a circle and dance. This particular dance is called "ghummar", from its quick steps and turning. They sing, "pherī lai nī pherī lai, duggar dīe mai nī kurīe pherī lai" (I.E. TAKE A TURN, O MOTHER OF DUGGAR, TAKE A TURN). Thus they keep substituting the name of different members of the party. Not only the Cūhrās but also the Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammadans dance in different groups. Women do not take part in any dance.

The Cūhrās dance during informal gatherings where music is chanted. In this dance they work themselves up into a frenzy and they imagine that some spirit has taken hold of them. On such an occasion they look as if they were raving mad. They shake their head continually for hours. The worshipper sits, but varying his posture from time to time, shouts with increasing voice, and with changes of voice production, the several phrases of the creed .Allāh hū:

Allāh hū (GOD IS LIVING).

This dance, khednā (i.e. play) is found not only among the Cūhrās but in almost all classes and communities. Some people think that the imagination of man is responsible for this movement. He is possessed by this idea and it forces him to play. On the other hand there are some who call players eccentric, and mentally disordered, and ~~xx~~ their dance is regarded as a form of hysteria.

Every dance is preceded by a long course of 'Sadd' (Cue). The following 'sadd' is historical and is connected with the ^{early} history of the Cugtta clan¹, which rebelled against Aurangzeb. It relates the story of Tārā Azām², who revolted against his elder brother Bahadur Shah, but was finally killed by his hand. The "Sadd" runs thus:-

"carh ve tara azama, dharag vajje ghari"
(ASCEND O STAR OF AZAM, I.E. BE VICTORIOUS, THE DRUM IS BEATEN FOR AN HOUR).

"ghonni akkhi pharia vang baja bahari"
(LIKE THE HAWK AND THE FALCON HE TURNED HIS RED EYES, I.E. BURNT WITH ANGER).

"mera daru sau mana da e, pa de gubari"
(MY GUNPOWDER IS HUNDREDS OF MAUNDS, IT CAUSES DARKNESS EVERYWHERE).

"mere gole vajjan tar tar pat den pahari"
(MY SHELLS WILL BURST AND BOMBARD AND WILL THROW X DOWN THE MOUNTAINS).

"kaun bhadar shah e jehra mere agge thaire"
(WHO IS BHADAR SHAH WHO CAN STAND AGAINST ME).

1. A clan of the Pathān descent who constantly rebelled against the Mughal kings.

2. Tārā Azām and Bahadur Shāh were the sons of Aurangzeb when both brothers fought against one another. Finally, Azām was killed at the hands of Bahadur Shāh.

Thus it is seen that the subjects of their songs are generally typical, only a few ~~xx~~ being historical.

NURSERY RHYMES.

The following nursery rhymes were gathered from women of various villages. The writer invited some old women to his house and asked them to recite these rhymes. They felt shy but finally came in a big crowd of thirty or forty along with their young girls (some of them nearly wedded), and children. Sweets were distributed to all and thus they were humoured. Gradually they got over their shyness and began to sing lullabies one after another.

(a) "alla-blari, dudh bhari katori"
(O HERMIT, THE CUP FULL OF MILK)

"pi gea ka te kakke da lagg gea na"
(THE CROW CAME AND DRANK, BUT THE BABY WAS BLAMED FOR IT).

(b) "alls bella ave jyun kakke de mamme"
(COME O HERMIT COME, MAY THE BABY'S UNCLES LIVE LONG).

(c) "alls bella bave da, bava kanak lysveda"
(THE HERMIT IS BABY'S FRIEND, THE CHILD WILL BRING CORN)

"bivi beihke cattegi, mohitta mann pakavegi"
(HIS WIFE WILL SIT AND WINNOW, AND COOK COARSE LENTILS FOR HIM).

"khirki ohle khavega"
(HE WILL SIT BEHIND THE WINDOW AND EAT).

(D) "a ve kuttas mari suttes"
(COME O DOG, SLEEPING ON THE TOP OF MY HOUSE OF REEDS).

"mari kanne, jyun tabban¹ de mamme"
(MAY TABAN'S UNCLES LIVE LONG).

(e) "kakke da ghar kehra hai, amba vali kothari"
(WHICH IS THE BABY'S HOUSE, IT IS THE ROOM WHERE MANGOES ARE

1. Tabban is a typical name of a Cuhra girl.

"anara vala vehra hai"
(STORED AND THE COURTYARD WITH POMEGRANATES).

(f) "sila maia pingh carhala, maie budhie."
(GIFTS HAVE COME, AND THEY HAVE BEEN PUT ON THE SWING,
OLD WOMAN)

"tinde bhande sambh le, kakke di gaddi a gai"
(GATHER UP THY UTENSILS, FOR THE CHILD'S CARRIAGE HAS
COME)

(g) kka see tandeo gur kaddha kore bhandeo"
(THE LITTLE BABY HAS COME FROM A DISTANT COUNTRY, LET ME
TAKE OUT BROWN SUGAR FROM A NEW JAR).

(h) "kora bhanda sakhna mere kakke da muh sslakkhna"
(THE NEW EARTHEN VESSEL IS EMPTY, BUT MY KKA LITTLE BABY'S
FACE IS CHARMING).

(i) "Alls tu, teri boddi lare ju"
(THOU ART GOD, A LOUSE BIT THE BABY'S HAIR)

"kaddan valia massia kaddhan vala tu"
(HIS MATERNAL AUNT'S WILL TAKE OUT THE LOUSE, AND THE BABY
WILL HAVE IT TAKEN OUT).

(j) "sadekre sadok, duai dende lok"
(MAY I SACRIFICE MYSELF FOR THEE, THE PEOPLE PRAY FOR THEE)

(k) "kakke see khedke roti pakki vel ke"
(THE CHILD HAS RETURNED FROM PLAY, I HAVE BAKED BREAD
MAKING IT ROUND).

(l) "kakke dia bodia, cuman catten jogia."
(BABY'S TUFT OF HAIR IS WORTHY TO BE KISSED).

CŪHRĀ PROVERBS AND CŪHRĀ SAYINGS.

The following proverbs and sayings are very commonly used throughout the Panjab among the Cūhrās. They were collected from Sialkot, Fajranwala, Sheikhupura and Gujrat Districts, and a free rendering into English has been given. The occasions where these proverbs are used and applied have also been mentioned.

1. "churs nu phar mussalli kite skar ohde ohia"
(THEY CAUGHT A CŪHRA AND MADE HIM A MUHAMMADAN, BUT HE
IS OBSTINATE AS EVER).

1. "ojri de pata pakka, maza ohda goha"
(A PILAU WAS COOKED OF INTESTINES AND THE TASTE WAS LIKE
COWDUNG).

1. It is an Indian dish made of rice & butter. Some meat is also cooked with rice & the whole thing is delicious.

Just as from ojri or intestines delicious pilau can not be cooked, similarly to change the nature of a "Cuhra" is impossible. The obstinacy of a Cuhra is proverbial.

2. "pahlī pihri allam gallam. duji shekh zade"¹
(THE FIRST GENERATION WAS MONGREL, THE SECOND GENERATION SHEIKH)

"ahnd guahnd de mar gae, reh gae sayyad zadde"²
(Their neighbours died and then they become children of Sayyads).

It shows how the Cuhras often claim and try to pose as coming from high class families.

3. "sari hoi gulli te na parautha"³
(IT IS A CHARRED PIECE OF BREAD, BUT CLAIMS TO CALL ITSELF PARAUTHA I.E. FRIED PAN CAKE).

This proverb is used when a man tries to appear what he is not.

4. "ma meg⁴ni pyo man⁵has, te puttar da na thakar das"
(THE MOTHER IS MEGH AND THE FATHER A MANHAS, BUT THE SON'S NAME IS THAKAR DAS).

This proverb is used when the parents come from a low class and the son is called by a high flown name.

5. "psiro duddi Lahore da dhia "
(LAME OF FOOT, BUT CLAIMS TO BE GOING TO LAHORE).

This proverb is used when a person has not got the ability to do anything but brags of doing big things.

1. Sheik is a title of honour which is given to new converts in Islam.

2. Sayad is a title of the descendants of Hazrat Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad.

3. A pan-cake of a very large size cooked and fried in butter.

4 & 5) Two ~~castes~~ castes of very low rank in Hindus.

5.

6. "kall rahel te ajj lippi lippi"
(YESTERDAY THEY HAD THE GRINDING STONE ROUGHENED AND TODAY IT IS THROWING AWAY HANDFULS OF CORN).

When a thing is repaired and the next day works as badly as before.

7. "jiddhar jae tat bhalatti, tandla vi ohdi hatti"
(WHEREVER THE WIFE GOES, THE HUSBAND IS SURE TO MEET HER).

It is used of frequent accidental meetings.

8. "devar de bharvese, khasam gusea hasse"
(IN HOPE OF GETTING HER BROTHER IN LAW SHE LOST HER HUSBAND IN LAUGHING).

A thing started in jest often results in serious consequences.

9. "ps'cca mudd barabbari ghonni barveli"
(WITH THE HEADMAN OF THE VILLAGE THE SILLY WOMAN TRIES TO BE EQUAL. SHE WANTS EQUALITY WITH BIG PEOPLE WHEN SHE BELONGS TO A LOW CASTE).

It is used when a man of low position tries to be friendly with people of higher social position.

10. "vassen nu kotha nahi te na haveli"
(FOR LIVING HE HAS NO ACCOMMODATION BUT IS CALLED A HAVELI)

11. "saiknis tabakris te utte cavalla akkarie"
(EARTHEN PLATES AND VESSELS BOTH BOAST).

Used for a person of humble origin who boasts much.

12. "phitta jett uthave kal, phitta sahcha na vagde hal"
(THE OBSTINATE JAT(OR VILLAGER) WILL LIFT UP A HEAVY MACHINE: THE OBSTINATE BULL WILL NOT PULL THE PLOUGH)

1. Haveli. -house generally two or three storeys high.

12. "phitti mahi na khandi khal, phitta cuhra bhenave gal"
(THE OBSTINATE BUFFALO WILL NOT EAT OIL-CAKE, THE OBSTINATE CUHRA WILL (HAVE) GET HIS NECK BROKEN. THE FOUR THINGS MENTIONED ARE TYPICALLY OBSTINATE).

13. "jatt sandha sansar kabila gale"
(A VILLAGE JATT, A BULL A ~~XX~~ CROCODILE WILL ~~ruin~~ THEIR CLAN).

"kukkar, ka. kamboh kabila pale"
(BUT A COCK, A CROW, A VILLAGE LABOURER WILL ALWAYS REAR THEIR CLAN).

14. "chall balakke tere doie¹, chall balakke tere"
(YOUR WAYS, O DOI, ARE CUNNING).

"vas nahi kujh mere bhaia, vas nahi kujh mere"
(IT IS NOT IN MY POWER, O BROTHER, IT IS NOT IN MY POWER)

"je kare athere, te vekhe ghasse mere"
(IF YOU MOVE ME UPSIDE DOWN, YOU WILL SEE MY SLIPPINGS I.E. HOW QUICKLY I MOVE IN A COOKING PAN).

15. "sandhu² milea sandhu nu jyu kutta milea handu nu"
(BROTHER IN LAW MET BROTHER IN LAW AS A DOG MET ANOTHER DOG I.E. ONE SHOWING INDIFFERENCE TO ANOTHER).

16. "sshne khudd vicc te sikha gharan gai"
(THE CHAMELEON IS IN THE HOLE, WHILE SHE HAS GONE TO GET THE TONGS SHARPENED (I.E. TO CATCH IT WITH). TO LET A THING SLIP).

17. "channi ne vshri nu mehna ditte."
(THE SEIVE TAUNTED THE EARTHEN BOWL (WHICH HAS ONLY ONE HOLE)).

"~~khax~~ cal ni check chakalie"
(GET AWAY YOU HAVE SUCH A BIG HOLE).

"vshri ne akhea, jihnu ikk vi nahi"
(THE EARTHEN BOWL REPLIED?, "YOU WHO HAVE NOT EVEN ONE")

It is ironical, as the seive is full of holes. This proverb is used when a person who has many defects tries to find fault with another person.

1. Doi, a big wooden spoon used for cooking food.

2. Two men marrying two sisters are sandhus to each other.

18. "khandi se pindi se rehndi se sukhalli"
(I USED TO EAT AND DRINK AND USED TO LIVE AT EASE).

"khesam karen di cah nahi ai, gappa vale mari"
(I HAD NO DESIRE TO GET A HUSBAND, BUT THE TALKER ENTANGLED ME I.E. LITERALLY KILLED ME).

19. "kakha di kulli dand-khand da parcha"
(THE HUT IS MADE OF STRAW, BUT THE GUTTER OF IVORY I.E. DOING A FOOLISH THING).

20. "vassan nu jhulani te gappa nu passer"
(FOR LIVING IS LIKE A TINY ROOM, FOR TALKING LIKE A HALL).

21. "massi kol bhaneva aas ji sukhala rakhan nu"
(THE NEPHEW CAME TO HIS AUNT TO KEEP HER CHEERFUL).

"kamm dhanda bathere dassdi ann na dendi cakkhan nu"
(SHE TELLS HIM TO DO A GREAT DEAL OF WORK, BUT GIVES HIM NOTHING TO EAT).

22. "jatt meva te cangs par chittis nal jharda"
(THE JAT IS A NICE OLD MAN BUT WITH SHOES IT IS BROUGHT DOWN, I.E. A JAT IS BROUGHT ROUND ONLY IF HE IS HAMMERED).

23. "nakko phini te laung da shauq"
(SHE HAS² FLAT NOSE BUT DESIRES TO HAVE A NOSE RING).

24. "rakha rakha na sunida, rakha tare mire da"
(WE HEAR OF A WATCHMAN BUT HE ONLY TAKES CARE OF TARAMIRA).

"akhi ohda shora vagda palla phere bhure da"
(FROM HIS EYES THE DIRT FLOWS AND HE COVERS HIMSELF WITH A BLANKET, I.E. HE CLOTHES HIMSELF SHABBILY).

"citti pagg nu bhann na jane pec ki jane cire da"
(HE HARDLY KNOWS HOW TO TIE A WHITE TURBAN, HOW CAN HE TIE A RED ONE).

"lun mac da khan vela suad ki jane sire da"
(HE IS USED TO EATING SIMPLE SALT AND PEPPER, HOW CAN HE KNOW THE TASTE OF TREACLE OR SYRUP).

25. "do ranna vales kahis bania"
(YOU HAVE TWO WIVES, HOW DO YOU FARE).

"ikk vachandi vachauna dujji kasdi tania"
(ONE SPREADS THE BEDDING, THE SECOND KNITS AND WEAVES).

"ikk ne dhario phares te dujji ne panj satt jaria"
(One seized him the by the beard the other gave him five or six blows).

1. It is a kind of green grass used for fodder.

"kothe te carhke ahnda e. do ranna vales tenu kahia bania"
(HIS FRIEND GETTING UPON THE HOUSE TOP ASKED, "YOU WHO HAVE TWO WIVES, HOW DO YOU FARE?")

26. "vauhti pake nere te nit pai kandhere"
(IF THE WIFE'S PARENTS ARE NEAR, SHE ALWAYS GIVES TROUBLE).

27. "chajj hoea pursna tera agga piccha jana"
(THE FAN IS OLD, I KNOW YOUR PAST AND PRESENT).

28. "ma mar gai madhenu te dhi da na thindi"
(MOTHER DIED YEARNING FOR A COW, BUT THE DAUGHTER IS CALLED BUTTERY I.E. OILY).

This is used when the parents have never seen a good days but the children boast and brag.

29. "ma de utte julli nahi te dhi da na garmi"
(MOTHER HAS NOT EVEN A BLANKET AND THE DAUGHTER'S NAME IS WARMTH).

30. "raul, munde ranna tinne ujar da banna"
(FORTUNE TELLER, BOYS AND WOMEN ARE ALL THE BOUNDARIES OF WASTE LAND, I.E. THEY ALL SQUANDER MONEY).

31. "Dohta bhande te handhota muh"
(WASHED VESSEL, AND UNWASHED FACE)

"te candri nuh, ihna tinna da phitte muh"
(A GOOD FOR NOTHING DAUGHTER IN LAW, MAY THE FACE OF THREE BE CURSED).

Note. When a person is sick of everything he curses everything.

32. "hal dharakni rann karakkui dhagga phire kuassa"
(A rickety plough, a high-handed wife, a bull going crooked in ploughing).

"os hali da ki bharavassa"
(IN SUCH A PLOUGHMAN WHAT ~~GOOD~~ TRUST CAN THERE BE. IT IS USED FOR A PERSON WHO CAN NOT CONTROL HIS PLOUGH, HIS BULL AND HIS WIFE).

33. "pind agg laggi gholi ik nu kattan di cah"
(THE VILLAGE HAS CAUGHT FIRE, AND THE SILLY WOMAN WANTS TO SPIN).

It is used when a thing is done out of time and place.

34. "jatt jeha koi rhath nahi je thire na(or phire na)"
(THERE IS NO ONE BRAVE AS A JATT IF HE DOES NOT WAVER).

"tut jeha koi kath nahi je dire na"
(THERE IS NO WOOD AS GOOD AS MULBERRY IF IT DOES NOT BEND).

"ma jh jehs koi mal nahi je ~~gm~~ bhire na"
(THERE IS NO ANIMAL AS GOOD AS A BUFFALO IF IT DOES NOT FIGHT).

"tind jehs koi bhandā nahi je rirhe na"
(THERE IS NO VESSEL AS GOOD AS A "TIND" IF IT DOES NOT TURN OVER).

35. "bhaunra bhund ikk rang, ikk jehi hug"
(THE HORNET AND WASPS ARE OF ONE COLOUR AND OF THE SAME SOUND).

"kammi pes janie kaun bhaurakaun bhund "
(THROUGH HAVING DEALINGS WITH THEM WE MAY KNOW WHICH IS THE HORNET AND WHICH IS THE WASP).

36. "titter khambi badli rann malai kha"
(A CLOUD OF PARTRIDGE WING COLOUR, AND THE WOMAN THAT EATS CREAM).

"on vasse¹ oh ujre gal na virtha ja"
(THE FORMER RAINS, THE LATTER IS RUINED, THIS DOES NOT PROVE FALSE).

37a) "mapes jeha pyare nahi je vicc nar na hove"
(NO LOVE LIKE PARENTS IF THERE IS NO WIFE(I.E. IF THE SON IS NOT MARRIED)).

"nari jeha pyar nahi je badkar na hove"
(NO LOVE LIKE A WIFE'S? IF SHE IS NOT EVIL).

"bharavajeha pyar nahi je vicc khar na hove"
(NO LOVE LIKE BROTHERS, IF THERE IS NO JEALOUSY).

"sannh jeha guzar nahi je magariwar na hove"
(NO ENTRANCE LIKE HOUSE BREAKING, IF THERE IS NO ONE TO CATCH YOU OR WATCHING BEHIND YOU).

"jhuth jeha suad nahi je vicc phitkar na hove"
(NO RELISH LIKE LYING ~~and so on~~ IF THERE IS NO REBUKE OR REPROACH OR ABUSE).

"jue jehs vihar nahi je vicc har na hove"²
(NO OCCUPATION LIKE GAMBLING IF THERE IS NO LOSS)

38. "car galla awalle "
(FOUR THINGS ARE POSITIVELY BAD).

"nengi pairi waddhe salle"
(BARE FEET ARE PIERCED WITH THORNS).

"nadi kanare ghora calle"
(A HORSE WALKING BY THE RIVER SIDE).

1. Vassna means to rain, also to be inhabited. In the latter sense it is opposite of ujarna (i.e. ruined). 2. This mark indicates that the proverbs are common with Cuhras and non Cuhras.

"randi runn handave challe",
(A WIDOW WEARING JEWELLERY).

"kanwari dhi jehra gol khalle"
(SENDING A VIRGIN TO A FOREIGN PLACE).

39. "cuhrea de ghar janjj thukki nal vajje rabana,"
(THE WEDDING PARTY ARRIVED AT THE HOUSE OF A CUHRA, ACCOMPANIED BY THE BEATING OF DRUMS).

"cuhri akar bhandi, mere chhel jawana;"
(THE CUHRA WOMAN BOASTS SAYING, "BRAVO! MY YOUNG MAN).

"mal ds lar waddhke hatth badho ganna"
(CUT OFF THE "MAL" (THICK ROPE WITH WHICH THE CUHRAS WORK AT THE WELL) AND TIE A GANNA (WEDDING RIBBONS) TO HIS WRIST

"cuhria picche gaundia, hae hae jawana."
(THE CUHRA WOMEN FOLLOW SINGING, PRAISING THE YOUNG BRIDE-GROOM).

Most of these proverbs are in common daily use of the Cūhrās. They touch upon particular phases of their life. From them we learn how far figure and metaphor enter into their habits of thought, and what subjects attract their observation, and what qualities are praised or blamed. It is just possible that some of these proverbs are also used by the Hindus and Muhammedans, but the writer heard them used by the Cūhrās in their own peculiar way.

Riddles. : The following riddles were collected from different villages of Sialkot, Sheikhupura and Ludhiana districts.

"hatth utte tankenia mai kitte khiddo e"
(I FLING THE COIN ON MY THUMB, AM I A BALL?)

1. "car mere pave, main kitte manja a?"
(I HAVE FOUR BED POSTS, AM I A BED STEAD?)

"sola mere cela main kitte jogi a?"
(I HAVE SIXTEEN DISCIPLES & OR FOLLOWERS, AM I A BEGGAR?)

Answer:- A silver rupee which has sixteen annas and four, four anna bits.

2. "eithar mars ohdar mars, lohe di panseri"
"mars chetti nal das bai kaun kirea?"

I hit this way and hit that way. I beat with an iron measure called "Panseri (5 seers piece), tell me quickly who has passed over?

Answer:- A friend whose name is given.

"Eidhar^ooh gai"
(IT PASSED FROM THIS SIDE TO THE OTHER SIDE")

ANSWER:- Glancing of the eye or "Eye sight".

4. "katore vicc katora, puttar peu kola vi gora"
(A TUMBLER WITHIN ANOTHER TUMBLER, THE SON IS FAIRER THAN THE FATHER).

Answer:- A coconut.

5. "ikk janawar aisa jehdi dum utte paisa"
(THERE IS AN ANIMAL, ON WHOSE TAIL THERE IS A PICE).

Answer:- A peacock.

6. "ikk janawar uddo bhuddo ekk janawar thuss"
(THERE IS AN ANIMAL WHICH IS LAZY TO LOOK AT BUT IT GETS TIGHT)

"ikk ~~xx~~ janawar eo akhe meri dhilli kamar kass"
(BUT THERE IS AN ANIMAL WHICH ~~xxx~~ SAYS "TIGHTEN MY LOOSE BACK").

Answer:- a water skin.

7. "hari si mann bhari si, raja ji de bag vicc doshala ohre
khari si"
(I WAS ONCE GREEN AND WAS FULL OF CORN, I STOOD IN THE GARDEN OF THE RAJA COVERING MYSELF WITH A SHAWL.)

Answer:- A maize cob full of corn or maize.

8. "ik gall main tenu dassan sun ve bhai hakima,
(LET ME TELL YOU ONE THING, HEAR ME, O BROTHER PHYSICIAN)
"lakaria vicco pani nikle pani vacco thema".
(WATER COMES OUT OF WOOD AND PEBBLES OUT OF WATER).

Answer:- Sugarcane.

9. "kali ma, te kali dhi, te kalara joai"
(BLACK MOTHER AND DARK COLOURED DAUGHTER AND DARK SON-IN-LAW).

"carh kothe te vekkhan lagge, te kalea di janj ae"
(CLIMBING ON THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE THEY SAID THAT THE WEDDING PROCESSION OF DARK LOOKING THINGS IS COMING.

Answer:- The crows.

10. "nili telli caul baddhe, dine gaoce rati labbhe"
(IN A BLUE COLOURED CLOTH ARE RICE TIED, THEY WERE LOST DURING THE DAY BUT WERE REDISCOVERED AT NIGHT.)

Answer:- Stars.

11. "atth athengan, bara baigan, car chakk do tores"
(EIGHT TEATS OF A SHE DOG AND TWELVE TEATS OF A SHE BOAR, FOUR TEATS OF A BUFFALO AND TWO TEATS OF A SHE GOAT)

11. "jehri merri gall ne manne ohnu laggan coria"
(ONE WHO DOES NOT LISTEN TO WHAT I SAY, MAY BE ROBBED).

Answer: Teats of a cow or of a buffalo or of a goat.

12. "ucce batte mamma mavasse"
(ON A HIGHER ALTITUDE, MY UNCLE RESIDES).

"mai java te talvara kasse"
(IF I GO TO MEET HIM, HE GIRDS HIS LOINS WITH A DAGGER I.E. WITH A VIEW TO FIGHT).

Answer:- hornets and wasps.

13. "ikk gall kartaro pai dhidd nalo andara vakharis"
(KARTARO (NAME OF A WOMAN) RELATED A STORY. THE INTESTINES ARE SEPARATE FROM A STOMACH).

"gutto phar kaccheri khari galle kare sulakhanis" G
(IT WAS CAUGHT BY HER HAIR AND DRAGGED IN THE COURT (MEETING) AND THERE SHE TALKED THINGS OF COMMON SENSE).

Answer:- A guitar.

14. "ikk pippal do sirea, chdi muddhi pani bharea"
(A PEEPAL TREE HAS TWO HEADS, IT HAS WATER IN ITS TRUNK)

"ohdi dum nu laggi agg banda reha kinare lagg"
(ITS TAIL IS SET ON FIRE BUT THE MAN HAS REACHED THE BANK I.E. SAVED)

15. "bara kucchar bara pet, bara kheddan thalli heth"
(TWELVE ARE IN MY LAP, TWELVE IN MY BELLY AND TWELVE ARE PLAYING UNDER A TEAK TREE).

"bara tur gaea pades, ajje mai autari"
(TWELVE HAVE GONE TO A DISTANT PLACE; AND YET I AM A VIRGIN).

Answer:- A mosquito.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFECT OF RECENT CONTACTS, EDUCATION ETC., ON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CŪHRĀS.

Different factors : The Cūhrās have lived as a separat^e
responsible for : class from times immemorial. It is only
influencing the : life of the Cūhrās :
life of the Cūhrās : as a result of : during the last forty years that they
as a result of : contact.

seem to have come into contact with different castes and classes of people. As a result of this contact, their speech and customs have been greatly influenced by the Hindus and Muhammadans, and at the present day the Cūhrās are following the customs and manners of these people rather than their own.

Even within recent time the Cūhrās were considered as Untouchables, and their very shadow was enough to defile a Brahman; but as a result of the social uplift of the backward classes and gradual tolerance towards other religions the conditions have changed very materially in the Panjab. There has been a broadening of spirit, and as a result of this a great change has taken place in the attitude of the higher classes towards the Cūhrās. In fact, today there is a distinct effort made by different communities to absorb the Cūhrās into their respective folds.

One of the most important factors that has influenced the social and religious life of the Cūhrās is the effort and work of the Āryā Samāj and of the Christian Missions. The reformers of these two societies have uplifted almost the whole Cūhrā community in the Panjab and besides giving them a new vision of life have materially raised their

social status. Schools have been opened all over the Province and free education is being given to them in both primary and secondary schools, while hundreds of them are being taught various kinds of industries in vocational institutions.

The Sikhs by their cosmopolitan spirit are also receiving the Cūhrās with open arms. Thousands of them have embraced Sikhism, particularly in the Ambala, Ludhiana and Ferozepur Districts. There are several thousands of the Cūhrās who by adopting Sikhism have been recruited as soldiers in the army, both in the Indian Army and in various Native States. As a result they have acquired the martial spirit of the Sikhs and they rendered a very good proof of their bravery and courage during the last World War.

Another factor which has to a great extent influenced their life and thought is their contact with the Europeans. This has been not altogether an unmixed blessing. They have become cleaner in their habits and in their life. Working for the Europeans has given them an opportunity to secure different kinds of jobs, for there are hundreds of them today who earn their livelihood as cooks, bearers, boot-boys and orderlies for the British Officers and soldiers throughout the Panjab. They have given up the profession of their forefathers and now refused to be called Cūhrās. On the other hand this contact has made them very extravagant, and ease-loving, and as a result there has been a marked decline in the physical and social life of the community as a whole.

Another influence which has to a great extent told upon their life is the introduction of modern machinery in

agriculture, as a substitute for their simple plough and manual labour. Their plain instruments are being replaced by complicated tools and up-to-date machinery, which is being introduced on the big farms in the Canal Colony Areas.

Contact with other tribes.: In villages, the tribes with which the Cūhrās mostly come into contact are the Batwals and Meghs; with these they wish to meet on social equality, while their points of contact with Hālīs, Sāsīs, Bhedghuts and Gaggras are much less important. The Cūhrās and the Batwals are agriculturists employed by the Hindus and Muhammadans, while the Meghs and Camārs are the artisans of the upper classes and are regarded by them as socially inferior. The contact of the Cūhrās with other tribes and their relationship with neighbouring communities has been so great that very little of the individuality is left.

Effects of these contacts.: As a result of these contacts the Cūhrās are giving up their old culture, their primitive and simple ways and manners and many of the customs which were peculiar to them. Their young people, particularly who are educated, are beginning to despise ~~xxx~~ and forget their old life and traditions. I have often surprised the young folks with tales of their fathers and grandfathers, which they found amusing but which they had never heard about. Perhaps some literary soul among them will some day publish out of the Gujranwala book and other sources. "Tales of a Grandfather" on the lines of Sir Walter Scott."

An analysis of the social and religious customs of the

Cūhrās shows that they are at present not considered necessary for their social and economic life, and hence there is a tendency to give them up. If such changes go on at a rapid pace there is every possibility that the primitive manners and customs will be completely forgotten in the near future.

A period of transition and the spirit of the time. : Today the whole Cūhrā society : is passing through a period of transition in which they are facing the great problem of whether they can retain their old customs, beliefs and practices (and there are some among them who think that their old culture and primitive ways should be retained, in fact some of them are still following them) or whether they must adopt the customs of the educated classes. Their intercourse with the higher classes and communities as previously mentioned has already resulted in the disappearance or extinction of Cūhrā primitive ways. Their whole clan-system is undermined in every direction, so much so that they no longer even observe those old social restraints which governed their matrimonial alliances.

With this change and rapid development they are beginning to develop a sense of self-respect. The central idea that dominates their life and thought today; however, is the economic development of the community. Their ultimate aim is the uplift of their community and raising their standard of living, but above all they as a community wish to be recognised as human beings and to be treated as such.

It is a matter of great gratification that there is a distinct change in the attitude of the upper classes, mainly due to the spirit of the time. In fact all the communities, whether educated or uneducated, advanced or primitive are feeling its effects, and the Cūhrās though very backwards a few decades ago are as alive to the present day influences as any other community.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to describe the life and habits of the Cūhrās with reference to their speech and customs. After recording the views of the three distinguished English scholars who studied this interesting class, I have attempted to give a succinct account of my observations on the Cūhrās extending over ten years.

The Cūhrās appear to be the most primitive and interesting tribe of the various backward tribes which are found in different districts of the Panjab. They form 3.5 per cent. of the total population in the area under British rule. They are distributed all over the province but are more numerous in the central districts. Socially they are considered by the Hindus and Muhammadans to be below the Camārs and the Meghs, but above the Gaggās, the Sāsīs and the Hālīs.

As described in detail in a previous chapter, the Cūhrās are physically a strong and muscular race and are well known for their powers of endurance. Their complexions vary, some from dark to dar-brown but a few of a lighter colour are also found. Mentally they are not highly developed; they are unambitious and apparently as a result of their peculiar status in society ranging over several centuries they have lost almost all, if not all, the spirit of independence and self-reliance. Their obstinacy and bull-dog tenacity, however, are well known. Racially, although they have a lot of aboriginal blood, there has been during the last four decades considerable intermixture

with other tribes and this has brought about a great change in their physical ^{features} ~~characteristics~~ and to a great extent masked their original characteristics.

So far as their language is concerned, the Cūhrās assert that they always spoke the same language as the Hindus until the later Āryans segregated them and caused them to adopt a very vulgar type of Panjābī. Today this argo is peculiar to the tribe and is used by the members among themselves.

Their material culture is not very ~~greatly~~ advanced. Their houses, their furniture, their clothes, their utensils and their daily food-- all give an impression of their poverty.

The Cūhrās in general are a very backward class and as they are not specially equipped for any well-paid industrial or other employment, the normal income of a family is barely sufficient for its support. Their implements and weapons are of a very primitive type, and their conservatism and poverty are apparently responsible for no advance having been made in spite of the great changes that have come about in the material and moral progress of the Province since its annexation by the British after the Sikh wars.

Like other groups the Cūhrās are divided socially into a number of exogamous clans, except in villages, where the Muhammadan influence is predominant. The origin of each clan, based more or less on traditions or mythology, is described as far as possible. The clan system appears to be based on a common totem common descent or the occupation of a common territory. Descent is reckoned on a patri-lineal

as those of the Hindus and Muhammadans of the area. Here and there, a few ceremonies peculiarly to the class are also found. A remarkable feature of the Cūhrā ritual to which special attention may be directed is, that, no ceremony is considered complete unless it is accompanied by special songs suited to the occasion.

The Cūhrās today firmly believe in super-natural agencies and mysterious beings. In the earlier stages they mainly believed, like the Hindus, in Brahmanic and super-naturalistic elements, mixed with animism, but since the advent of Muhammadan rule in the Panjab, numbers of them have become more or less monotheists.

The Cūhrās of a Hindu village believe, like the rest of the villagers, in numerous gods and goddesses while those who have been influenced by the Muhammadans believe in one God only.

All Cūhrās however believe in Bālle Shāh as their patron saint. In addition, they worship natural objects and have a great veneration for them. They also believe in the influence of the evil eye, and magic and diseases are largely attributed to these agencies. Magic is looked upon as a part of their religious practice. To guard against all dangers a magical charm, written, either by a Gyani (religious priest) or a Maulvī, is worn round their neck or on the arm as an amulet.

Their folk-lore, traditions, tales, nursery rhymes and riddles show that they are not mentally inferior to the other tribes, nor are they culturally so low as to be treated as out-castes.

From a cultural point of view they were formerly very

Their folk-lore, traditions, tales, nursery rhymes, and riddles show that they are not mentally inferior to the other tribes, nor are they culturally so low as to be treated as out-castes.

From a cultural point of view they were formerly very backward, but gradually with the progress of time allied influences and contact with other communities has brought about a distinct change.

My observations on the Cūhrās show, that although they are backward, and suffer from an inferiority complex, they show a distinct initiative and intelligence when taught by right methods and given any encouragement. This view is also supported by the observations of Risley and Rice.

The Cūhrās, though not a homogeneous group, form a very important element of the agricultural population. They form the back-bone of agricultural society in as much as the most of the farm labour in the province is supplied by them.

In towns and cities their main occupation is the removal of garbage, and conservancy work, and the maintenance of sanitation and hygienic conditions in most of the cities of the province is therefore dependent on their work. Within recent years the Cūhrās have also taken to other pursuits. Some of them work as skin-merchants, others as manufacturers of cat-gut, while some work as weavers, carpenters etc. Many of them have become Christians. Some of the more highly educated and trained Cūhrās have taken to responsible professional positions as Doctors and nurses, teachers and preachers etc. and are gradually beginning to play a very important part in the school life of the country.

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APPENDIX.*.1. ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE CŪHRĀS.

THE FINANCIAL RETURNS AND BUDGET OF A CŪHRĀ FAMILY.

The following chart illustrates or shows the average total monthly income of a Cūhrā family in a city.

Family Chart.

me.	Where working & No. of people engaged in earning.	No. of hours each day.	Monthly income per head.	Other sources of income.
Other	Working in Municipal Com- mittee and in ten private houses.	8 hours & 2 hours.	Rs.12/- = 18 sh. & Rs. 5/- 7/6.sh.	Daily food and sometimes old clothes.
Two sons.	Working in Municipal area and in 8 to 10 private houses.	6 hours & 2 hours.	Rs.7/- 10/6d.	Money paid for removing dead cow and food & clothes occasion- ally.
The big girl.	Working in 10 houses.	3 hours morning & 2 hours evening.	Rs.6/- 8/- sh.	
Small girl and other.	Stays at home and cooks and attends to odd jobs.	4 to 6 hours every day.	Rs.6/-	8 sh. Sometimes mother goes out to work & wash in private houses and re- ceives tips.
	Total.		Rs42/- £2/2/6.	

Thus each member of the family contributes something towards the income of the household, unless the children are very young.

Family Budget:- Monthly Expenditure of a Cūhrā family.

Different items of Expenditure.	Amount spent.	Remarks.
Food & provisions.	Rs.20/-	30 sh.
Tobacco for friends & family.	Rs. 3/-	4 sh.
Charity & alms.	Rs. 1/-	1/6 sh.
Barber & Bard.	Rs. 2/-	3/- sh.
Entertainments.	Rs. 2/-	3/- sh.
Clothes.	Rs. 3/-	4/6 sh.
Miscellaneous.	Rs. 7/-	10/6 sh.
Total.	Rs38/-	57 sh.

Income.....Rs. 42---0--0.
 Expenditure.....Rs. 38---0--0.
 Balance.....Rs. 4---0--0. (6 shillings).

Thus the family living in the city is able to save some thing against a rainy day. The financial returns show they are economical in their ways of life. But if there is a wedding in the family or in the Birādarī (brotherhood) they become extravagant. On such occasions they do not only spend what they had saved but also borrow money at a very high rate of interest.¹ I have seen several Cūhrā weddings in the city as well as in the village. The following were the items of expense undertaken by the father of the bride in a Cūhrā wedding in Miānāpurā (Sialkot)².

Expenses for feast and wedding festivities.

	Rs.	As.	Ps.	£	S.	D.
Rice.	30	0	0	2	4	6
Ghee (Clarified butter).	25	0	0	1	18	0
Brown Sugar }	10	0	0	0	15	0
Clothes.	20.	0	0	1	9	6.
Utensils.	15	0	0	1	3	6.
Ornaments & Jewellery.	50	0	0	3	11	6.
Bed & Bridal chair.	15	0	0	1	3	6.
Miscellaneous	10	0	0	0	15	0
Professional singers.	5	0	0	0	7	6
Servants (Tips).	5	0	0	0	7	6
	195	0	0	15	11	6

1. Pickett. E. Dr. Economic Survey Committee Report of Mission Nov. 1931.

Pasrur Study:- Total No. of families surveyed ...520.

Total No. of families in debt...388.

" " " not " " ...132.

Grand total of debt. Rs. 110206 (£8162-10sh.)

The average debt of all the families Rs. 211/- (£17/2/-).

The average interest of each family Rs. 28/- £2/1/6.

Total interest of all families. Rs. 3055/- £226/5/-.

This shows that the debt is curable if wasteful weddings are stopped; debts for food, animals and clothes are small.

2. For details see "The Economic life of a Punjab Village"

Lucas E. D. page 51-52.

From the above chart we see how the father of the bride spent almost Rs.100/- £7.10sh. on entertaining the guests alone and the rest for jewellery and clothes. This is done to keep up self respect and social position.

We will now take a typical Cūhra family living in a village. There are three kinds of farm labourers working for the landlords. They are generally called by the following terms.

(a) Sepīs. (b) Ātharī (c) Baṭāīwālās.

(a) Sepīs.: Sepīs are those labourers who are supposed to work from nine to ten hours daily for their land lords. They are generally hired by four or five landlords on their respective farms. Their chief duties are watering the field, scattering manure in the field, hoeing the ground and winnowing the harvest.

(b) Ātharī.: Next comes the Ātharī who is employed to work day and night for the one landlord. He is in other words a full time servant. He looks after the field, and the bullocks and attends to the repairs of the well and agricultural implements. Thus the difference between a Sepī and a Ātharī is that the former is a part time worker but the latter is engaged to work all the year round. He cannot leave of his own free will, nor can the landlord turn him out, as the contract is binding on both sides for one year. Also the wages of an Athari are higher than those of a Sepī.

(c) Baṭāīwālās.: These labourers work under contract and receive half of the total produce. The Baṭāīwālās are very few in Sialkot and Gujranwala districts.

Generally we find them working on those farms where the land lord is very old or is a boy who is a minor.

Though the average income of a village Cūhrā is lower ~~the~~ than that of a city Cūhrā, the former has the advantage over the latter in being able to keep his own cow or a buffalo, and get free fodder. Also the income of a village Cūhrā is not steady throughout the year. They ~~get~~ several things free, such as vegetables, fuel and fodder for their animals; and their monthly expenses are not half as great as of the Cūhrās living in the city. But the village Cūhrās waste much more on their rejoicings at marriages, births and other social events.¹

The following chart will illustrate the expense incurred at a village Cūhrā wedding.

	Rs.	As.	P.	£	S.	D.
Rice.	30	0	0	2	4	6.
Ghee (Clarified butter).	25	0	0	1	18	0
Meat.	15	0	0	1	2	0
Sugar.	20	0	0	1	8	6
Clothes & Utensils.)	50	0	0	3	11	6.
Bed & Bridal chairs.	15	0	0	1	2	6.
Servants & professional singers).	25	0	0	1	18	6.
Fireworks and Miscellaneous	20	0	0	1	8	6
Total.	300	0	0	22	18	0

1. The Economic Survey Committee of Joint Missions at Pasrur 1931, pointed out that one reason why the Cūhrās are in debt is that almost all of them buy and sell their daughters at the time of marriage. This bad custom is not confined to Cūhrās alone. Mr. Darling mentions two or three cases of similar nature among the Sikhs in the district of Ludhiana where the cost of marriage amounts to Rs. 1000/- in each case. Darling M.L., Punjab Peasant in Prosperity & Debt. Page 61. Milford London 1925.

Like ~~a~~ their brethren of the city, the village Cūhrās also borrow money from the village banker at the time of wedding or family rejoicings. As a result of this they have to pay very heavy interest for many years. Cases have occurred where they have paid more interest than the amount of money borrowed.¹

The following table shows the yearly income of a ~~an~~ typical Cūhrā (Ātharee) family in a village. ⁻⁸¹

Name.	Where working & No. of people engaged in earning.	No. of houses per day.	Yearly income.	Other sources of income.
Father.	Working on the land for one land lord only.	8 to 10 hours a day.	3 Manis of grain (4 Mds. or Lbs. 320/- or Rs. 60/- or Sh. 80/-	For twice a day. Extra for winnowing corn. 2 seers per maund.
Wife.	Removes Cowdung; cleans courtyard washes tanks & cleans gram.	4 to 5 hours a day.	2 Maunds wheat (160 lbs) and a pan cake each day.	5 Mds. grain in all.
Young girl.	Helps the mother but she does not get any wages.		Some women are given standing crop in one kanal land- 3 Maunds or Rs. 9/-	
Big boy.	Works on the land	5 to 6 hours.	2 Manis to 3 Manis. Rs. 70/- or Rs. 80/- or Rs. 55/- to Rs. 66/-	5 Maunds for winnowing grain.

I. Dr. Lucas speaking of the people of Kabirpur village (Distt: Hoshiarpur) says, "Family Budgets" will show these expensive social customs are among the main causes of the poverty of the people. It is with difficulty that they make both ends meet. Indebtedness incurred on the occasion of marriage or the performances of some other ceremonies bring them down to the position of indebtedness from which they never rise". Lucas E. D. "The Economic Life of a Punjab Village." Page 54. Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore, 1925.

It is difficult to give accurately the income per month of an Atharee, as he receives everything in kind. The land lord generally supplies almost all the needs of his Atharee and his family. The average yearly income of the family, roughly speaking, comes to Rs.250/- to Rs.300/- i.e. £19/10/- a year or Rs.25/- per month (£1/18/-).

Yearly income of a typical Sepi family in a village.

Name.	Where working & No. of people engaged.	No. of hours per day.	Yearly income.	Other sources.
Father.	Working on the land for five to six landlords on different days in the week.	7 to 8 hours a day.	Five maunds from each landlord. He gets 25 maunds of grain & 5 Mds. for winnowing Rs.60/- to Rs.70/-.	Sometimes he carries loads or cuts grass which he sells in the xxxkag village.
Mother & Daughter.	Remove cowdung & make cakes, clean court yard and gather cotton etc.	4 hours a day.	Two maunds of wheat. Rs.9/-	Food once a day.
Big boy.	Works on the farm.	6 to 7 hours a day.	4 to 5 Maunds. Rs.60/- to Rs.70/-	Food once a day.

The average yearly income of a Sepi family comes to Rs.200/- to Rs.225/- Rs.18/- to Rs.19/- per month.

A table of expenses of a village Sepi family.

Different items of expenditure.	Amount spent.					
	Rs.	As.	P.	£.	S.	D.
Food & Provisions.	10	0	0	0	15	0
Smoking.	1	0	0	0	1	6.
Barber & Bard.	0	8	0	0	0	9
Charity & Alms.	0	4	0	0	0	4
Clothes.	2	0	0	0	3	0
Entertainments.	1	0	0	0	1	6.
Miscellaneous.	2	0	0	0	3	0
Total.	16	12	0	1	5	6

The little savings they have, are used in buying jewellery, which is considered as their reserve bank.

APPENDIX II.

EXPLANATION OF PEDIGREES.

Pedigrees Nos. I & IX of the Laddhar clan show thirteen married males, of whom four have married into Gill clan, three into Teji clan, one into sindhū clan and five into Gorīye clan. It is also found that five daughters of the two pedigrees (I and IX) are married into Tejī (clan II⁶ and II¹⁵) and Sohotra clan III⁴ and Chaprivan clan XXII⁷. Pedigree Nos. X, XVIII, XXI & XXV of Sohotrā, Gorīye, Cimme and Gaudme clans respectively show 2, 2, 4, 2 wives respectively of Laddhar origin.

Pedigrees Nos. V & XV of the Bhattī clan show 24 married males of whom two married into Uthwāl clan, six into Kandāre clan, three into Sohotre clan, one into Bhūre clan, three into Ghussar clan, six into Khokhar clan and three into Gorīye clan. The total number of males from Bhattī clans were 23, and the number of wives married were 24. One wife of Gorīye clan dies and another girl of the same clan was taken which brings the total to 24.

Four daughters of the two pedigrees Nos. VA and XV are married into one in Momme (clan table XIV) two into Gorīye (clan table XVIII) & XVIII^{3B} and one into Khokhar (clan VIII^{9A}). Pedigrees Nos. VIII^{6B}, X, XI^{4B}, XVI, XVIII, XIX and XXX of Khokhar, Sohotre, Kandāre, Uthwāl, Gorīye, Ghussar and Bhūre clans respectively show 6, 3, 6, 2, 3, 3, and 1 wives respectively of Bhatti origin.

Again, Pedigrees Nos. VI and XXIV of the Matṭū clan, show 15 married males of whom 3 are married into Gill clan, 1 into Kandāre clan, 2 into Chaprivan clan, 3 into Bhūre clan

1 into Gaudme clan, 4 into Rattī clan and 1 into Sindhū clan. Eight daughters of the two Pedigrees Nos.VI and XXIV) are married into Cīmme clan XVII and XVII, Ghussar clan XIX, Sindhū clan XXIII, Sarōīye clan XXVI and XXVI, Khokhar clan VIII and Mattū clan 5 and 6 (a case of incest)

Pedigrees Nos.II, IV, XII, XXI of Teji, Kalyāne, Sindhū and Cīmme clans respectively show 6, 1, 2, 1 wives respectively of Mattū origin.

Pedigrees Nos.VII & XXII of the Chaprīban clans show 14 married males of whom 2 have married into Sohotrā clan, 2 into Bhattī clan, 2 into Ghussar clan, 5 into Rattī clan, 1 into Khokhar clan, 1 into Laddhar clan and 1 into Gill clan. Six daughters of the two Pedigrees VII and XXII are married into, 3 in Laddhar clan XXII and XXII, IX one in Mattū clan XXIV one in Rattī clan XXVII and one in Sohotrā clan XIII -,-

Pedigrees Nos.II, III, IV, XVI, XIX, XXV, XXVIII and XXX of Teji, Gill Kalyāne, Cīmme, Ghussar, Sarōīye and Bhūre clans respectively show that 2, 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 1, 1, wives are respectively of Chaprīban origin.

Pedigrees Nos.X & XIII of the Sohotrā clan show 12 married males of whom 5 married into Gill clan, 2 into Momme clan, 1 into Uthwāl clan, 2 into Laddhar clan, 1 into Chaprīban clan and 1 into Khokhar clan (Total 12, one woman died and so another one was married, numbering 12). Three daughters of the two Pedigrees (X & XIII) are married into one in Gill clan III one in Laddhar clan III and one in Momme clan XIV .

Pedigrees Nos. XII & XXIII of the sindhū clan show 15 married males of whom 1 married into Gill clan, 1 into kandāra clan, 1 into Gaudume clan, 1 into Rattī clan, 7 into Kalyāne clan, 4 into Maṭṭū clan, 1 into Khokhar clan, 1 into Sindhū clan and 1 into Saroye clan (1 being the case of incest, three died and so in their place three were married total 18).

Six daughters of the two Pedigrees Nos. XII & XXIII are married into 1 in Maṭṭū clan, Table VI, 2 in Kandāre clan (XXVIII & XI), 1 in Laddhor clan table XXIII and two cases of incest and polysndty; table XXIII Pedigrees Nos. XXI, XXVI and XXIX of Chaimme, Saroye and Momme clans show that 1, 2 and 1 wives are of Sindhu clan.

Pedigrees Nos. XI & XXVIII of the Kandāre clan show 18 married males of whom 2 are married into Gill clan 3 into Momme clan 1 into Kandāre clan (case of incest) 2 into Bhattī clan, 3 into Ghussar clan, 6 into Bhūre clan and 1 into Tejī clan. It is also noticed that 4 daughters of the two Pedigrees (No. XI & XXVIII are married into Sindhū clan XII, Kandāre clan XI (Incest) due to ~~Mumma~~ Muhammadan influence), Laddar clan XXIII and Bhattī clan XV.

Pedigrees Nos. II and XXIV of Tejī and Maṭṭū clans respectively show 1 and 1 wives respectively of Kandāre origin.

Pedigrees Nos. XIV and XXIX of the Momme clan show 14 married males of whom 3 are married into Uthwāl clan, 1 into Sōhetrā clan, 7 into Bhattī clan, 2 into Tejī clan, 1 into Khokhar clan, 1 into Sindhū clan and 3 into Goriye clan (Total being 18, three died and three in their place came in

in marriage). It was observed that four daughters of the two Pedigrees (XIV and XXIX) are married into Bhattī clan XV and X, Goriye clan XVIII and Kalyāne clan V. Pedigree No. XXVII and XXVIII of Rattī and Kandāre clans respectively show 1 and 3 wives respectively of Momme origin.

Pedigrees XVII and XXI of Cimme clan show 20 married males of whom 3 are married into Gill clan, 6 into Laddhāra clan, 1 into Sohotrā, 2 into Chaprīban clan, 1 into Bhattī clan, 3 into Rattī clan 1 into Kalyāne clan, 1 into Matṭū clan and 1 into Khokhar clan (Total 24 wives).

It was noticed that three daughters of the two Pedigrees (XVII and XXI) are married into Sindhū clan table XVIII Kalyāne V and Cimme clan table XXI (case of incest). Pedigree Nos. VIII and XVIII of Khokhar and Ghussar clans respectively show 2 and 4 wives respectively of Cimme origin.

Pedigree XIX & XX of the Ghussar clan show 13 married males of whom 4 married into Gaudme clan, 2 into Rattī clan, 2 into Kalyāne clan, and 1 into Sarōīye clan, (Table 14), one died and so another girl was taken as a wife). Four daughters of the two Pedigrees (XIX & XX) are married into, 2 into Sindhū clan, No. XXIII & XXIII and 1 into Bhūre clan XXX.

Pedigrees Nos. II, IV, V, VII, XXVI and XXVIII of Tejī, Kalyāne, Bhattī, Chaprīban, Gaudme and Khokhar clans respectively show that Nos. 2, 3, 2, 3, 4 & 3 wives are respectively of Ghussar origin.

Pedigree Nos. I & III of the Gill clan show that 21

married males of whom, 3 married into Momme clan, 3 into Uthwāl clan, 2 into Laddhar clan, 2 into Kandāre clan, 4 into Sohotre clan, 1 into Chapriban clan, 3 into Bhattī clan, 6 into Kalyāna clan, 1 into Maṭṭū clan and 1 into Sindhū clan. It was observed that six daughters of the table 26 two Pedigrees (I and III clan) are married into, 1 in Kādāre XI^{2A}, 1 in Ghussar XX^{2B}, 2 in Momme XIV^{9B} and XIV, 1 in Chapriban XXII⁴ and 1 in Kalyāne IV^{6B}.

Pedigree Nos. I^B, II, VI, VIII, X & XII of Laddhar, Tejī, Maṭṭū, Khokhar, Sohotre and Sindhū clans respectively show that 3, 2, 3, 2, 2 & 1 wives are respectively of Gill origin.

Conclusion: From ~~xx~~ the foregoing accounts we conclude that the Cūhrā clans are strictly exogamous,, except in rare cases like Genealogical table Nos. VIII^{XX}, XXIII and XXIV where members are found to have married within the same clan, due to Muhammadan influence, but all such cases, are generally regarded as incest (like Genealogical table No. X, XI, IV & XII (Sohotra and cimme, Kalyāna & Sindhū) and against the common custom. The analysis of the Genealogical record has shown that restrictions on marriage are enforced with rigidity.

The family in all cases is a patrilineal one. Kinship is traced in the male line; inheritance is also from father to son.

APPENDIX III.GLOSSARY OF WORDS.

Ahimsā	Non violence, or a doctrine of non injury to life.
Ahl-e-Katāb.	People of the book, a term applied by Muham-madans to jews and christians whose scrip-ture they accept as the Word of God.
Āryā Samāj.	Reformed section of the Hindus who are against all idolatory and superstitions.
Ātā	flour
Ātharī	A labourer on farm
Badām	Almonds.
Begār	Forced labour, without remuneration.
Bahisht	Paradise
Balā	Evil, Calamity
Bāllā	Title of Balmik
Bālmīk	Name of Cuhra Saint.
Bandagi.	Literary to bow-- a mode of salutation.
Batāshā.	A kind of sweet.
Bāvā.	Title of respect for old man.
Bhagat.	Priest - a saint.
Bhakatī.	Devotion, worship.
Bhain.	Sister.
Bhangī.	A term used for sweepers in the United Provinces.
Bhrā.	Brother.
Bhang.	An intoxicating drink.
Bhūrā.	Blanket.
Bhūt.	Ghost.
Birādarī.	A brotherhood, kin.
Bolo	Speak
Brahman.	Brahman.

Cāddar.	A cotton or woollen shawl.
Camār.	Leather worker.
Cann.	Moon.
Canāb.	Name of the river in the Panjab, near Gujrat.
Capāttī.	A corn cake of unleavened bread cooked over a tava or a flat piece of iron.
Carkhā.	Spinning wheel.
Cārpai.	Native word for the string cot or bedstead
Caudhrī.	Headman of the village.
Cellā.	Disciple.
Chāttī.	Bread
Chattī.	Thirty six.
Citthī.	Letter.
Dāl.	Lentil.
Dakdar.	Doctor.
Dend.	Fine.
Dērā.	Meeting place of friends, in a village.
Dergāh.	The site of a pir (Mohammadan).
Dhartī.	Earth.
Dhobī.	A Washerman.
Dhotī.	A cloth or sheet worn round the waist.
Dīvā.	An Earthen lamp.
Dolā.	A bridal chair covered all round with a sheet.
Fakīr.	A beggar- a word sometimes used for a holy man.
Fatvā.	A religious decree promulgated by a Court of Mullas or one Mullah of authority.
Gaddī.	A carriage.
Gaggrās.	A criminal tribe, by profession leech doctor.
Gāl.	Abuse.
Gal.	A word.

Gharā.	Pitcher.
Giclī.	A portion of meat.
Gohā.	Cowdung.
"Got"	A clan or tribe.
Gur.	Mollase
Gurū.	Spiritual guide.
Gyānī.	A religious leader or teacher.
Hākam.	Ruler.
Hakīm.	A native doctor.
Helvā.	A kind of sweet pudding.
Herīs.	A friend.
Hatelī.	Palm of hand.
Hissā.	Share.
Hukkā.	A smoking Pipe- hubble bubble
Id.	A Muhammadan feast day; the Cuhras have borrowed this term and observe it as a festival.
Ikk.	One.
Ikkoi.	Only one.
Izzat or Ijjat)	(Honour) Modesty. Prestige.
"Jagg."	World, age or long period.
"Jugg."	Feast of the Cuhras.
Jāgīrdār.	Landlord.
"Jal."	Water.
Jal-bambe.	Primeval waters
Jamādār	The head of the Cuhra brotherhood.
Jamme.	Clothing
Jat	A farmer, an agriculturist.
Jhendā.	Flag.
Jhārū.	Broom.

Kālā	Black
Kalmā	(from kalima) the Muhammadan Creed, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet)" The Cūhrās have borrowed the term and have adopted it for their use, "Bolo Momano ikkol na paun dhani"
Karmā.	A Hindu doctrine that deeds determine our birth in the next world.
Karṇāī.	An iron vessel.
Kattī.	Spinning.
Khatīk.	Tanner.
Khed.	Play.
Khichrī.	A dish made of lentils and rice cooked in butter.
Khīr.	A dish made of rice and milk cooked together.
Kismat.	Fate, destiny.
Korā.	An unused vessel.
Kull.	All.
Kunkā.	Sweet pudding
Kurbān	Sacrificed ; expression of devotion
Kurmai.	A betrothal.
Kshatriyā	A fighting caste among the Hindus.
Lāccīā.	Cardamum seeds.
Lekkh.	A hundred thousand
Lērā	Bridegroom
Lellī	A typical heroine famous for her beauty.
Lipnā.	To plaster with cowdung.
Lubān.	Incense.
Luhār.	Blacksmith
Lūn	Salt
Mahatmā	Great soul,
Mārī	Jungle

Manganī.	(See Kurmai).
Marnā.	to die.
Mātā	Smallpox
Mazbhī	A name given to the Cuhras who follow the Sikhs.
Mehndī	Dry leaves of a shrub
Mehtar	Sweeper.
Mellā.	A religious fair, of name.
Mirāsī.	A professional singer.
Moman.	Believer.
Mullāh.	A Muhammadan preacher
Munshī	A clerk
Nā	Name
Nāch	A dance
Nāin	Wife of a barber
Nānke	Maternal grandparents
Naugazā	The nine yard one
Nazar or Najjar	Evil eye
Nēndrā	Wedding present
Nūh	Daughter in law
Og	There
Om	God
Os	Dow
Oudh	Name of a Province in North India.
Pagrī or Pugg.	Turban.
Panc	A Council-- an assembly generally of five arbitrators.
Pancāyat.	A Village Council to decide cases.
Pānī	Water
Pārācherī	A south India village inhabited by untouchables.
Parḍā	Veil.
Parmeshvar	The Almighty.

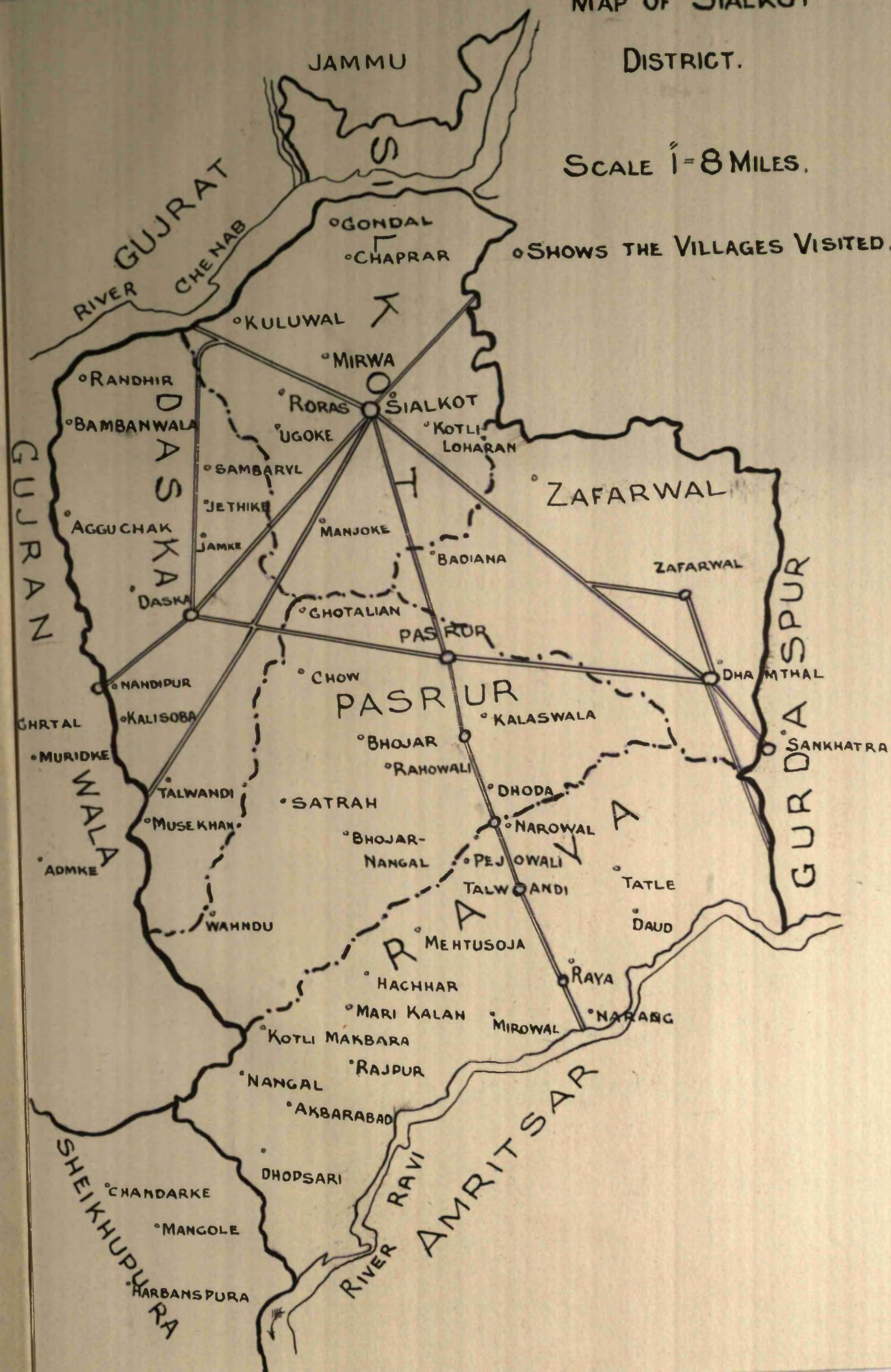
Pār	Across, beyond
Pherā	Rounds taken in marriage.
Phūk.	Breath, to blow
Pīhrī	A foot stool, a bridal chair.
Pīr	Saint
Prārthnā Samāj	Reformed Hindus devoted to a life of prayer
Rabb.	God
Raggi	A singer
Rāmāyan	A sacred book of the Hindus
Rām	Hindu way of addressing God
Rambā.	A hoe
Rahīm	Merciful, a term used for God
Rishī	A saint
Rotī	Bread, a pancake.
Rupee.	A rupee or one shilling sixpence.
Sādhū.	A religious beggar- An ascetic
Sāī	A title used for a Sadhu
Samāj	Religious section of the Hindus
Sānū	To us
Sāsī	A criminal tribe.
Sardar.	A chief or a leader
Sarkār.	A usual term for the British Government
Sāuf.	Aniseed.
Seppī.	A tenant at will, or a labourer who works on the farm.
Shakkar.	Brown sugar.
Sharam.	Shame
Shuddhī	Purification. Receiving a non Hindu into Hinduism.

Sītlavantī	Name of a goddess presiding over smallpox
Smyrtī	Consisting of early philosophy of the Hindus.
Surāj	Sun
Syānī	Wise woman
Tansīl	The sub-division of an administrative district, the centre for the collection of revenue.
Tāngā.	A carriage pulled by one horse.
Tan	Body
Taubā	Repentance
Tavā.	Cooking iron plate
Thālī	A metal tray
Thambb.	Pillar, support
Thindā.	Greasy
Tūmbā	Jewellery
Ustād.	Expert.
Vaisha	Trading class among the Hindus
Vasēkh.	The month of April and May
Vilayatī	Belonging to Europe specially applied to an article manufactured in foreign country.
Yār	A friend, a helper.
Yūnānī	Pertaining to Greece. This is the word usually applied to that system of medicine which was derived from Greece.
Zamīndār } or Jīmīdār }	A farmer, a land-owner.
Vatnā.	A kind of g fragrance rubbed on the body of the bride and bridegroom before marriage.
Vyāh.	Marriage.
Wāg.	Reins of a horse.
Zāt or Jāt)	Caste
Ziārat	To visit a shrine or a place of pilgrimage or the grave of a Saint.

DISTRICT.

SCALE 1" = 8 MILES.

SHOWS THE VILLAGES VISITED.



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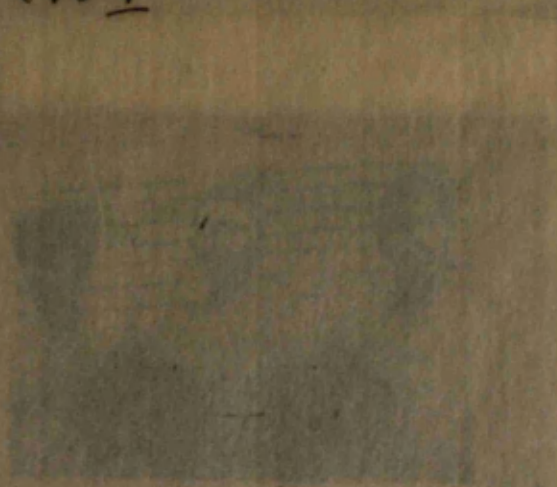
Set N°2
for Book III

1 photograph for Blocks

No 1



Northern Type
of Cakia



Southern Type
of Cakia



Central Type
of Cakia



Cakia Village



Cakia Village House



Cakia City House





Northern Type
of Cūhrā



Southern Type
of Cūhrā



Central Type
of Cūhrā



Cūhrā Village



Cūhrā Village House



Cūhrā City House



Earthenware
and
Utensils



Ploughing



Cūhrā Harrowing

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Weeding.



Woman picking Cotton



Tending Cattle



Nothing



Drummer



Spinning "Patta"
on Spindle



Harvesting "Patta"
with a "Mallab"



Twisting Cat-gut
on the "Mallab"



Cleaning the Cat-gut
with "Mallab"



Weeding.



Women picking Cotton.



Tending Cattle.



Ploughing



Drummer.



Dried "Pattha"
in Shreds



Carpenter



Hammering "Pattha"
with a Mallet.



Twisting Cat-gut
on the Chatty.



Cleaning the Cat-gut
with Sand-paper.

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No III



Member of the Society
Free (Slave)



Conservancy Card

Member of the Society



The Game of "Kabuki"



Boys



Member of the Society
Hugging



Mode of Salutation
(Shaking Hands)



Cikra Village Council
(Pancayat)



A Member of the Sanitary Force (Scavenger)



Conservancy Cart.



A Group of Musicians.



Cūhrā Recreation (Wrestling)



The Game of "Kabaddi"



Bowing.



Cūhrā Mode of Salutation (Hugging)



Mode of Salutation (Shaking Hands)



Cūhrā Village Council (Pancayat)

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Bride in a Palangpin
(Dolli)



Bridal Choir
(Dolli)



Curah Priest



Bride



Bride

Bride



Tomb of Naugaza



Bride in a Palanquin
(Dolli)



Bridal Chair
(Dolla)



"Gauchar Shah" (A Curah Priest.)



"Sadhu" or "Bava"



"Balle Shah"



"Mata Rani"



"Gugga Pir"



Tomb of Naugaza.

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A Page from 'Sipihana' Chamanas
the Gujarwala Book.



Folk dance in a village



A Cutchra Village Primary School
class.



A village Teacher



Cutchra City Council
Panchayat.



An educated Cutchra family



A Page from "Sipi-Nama" (Known as the Gujranwala Book).



Folk-dance in a village.



A Cuhra Village Primary School class.



A Village Teacher



Cuhra city Council
"Panchayat".



An educated Cuhra family

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For Book No III

Genealogical tables for
31 Cudra families

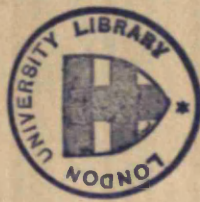
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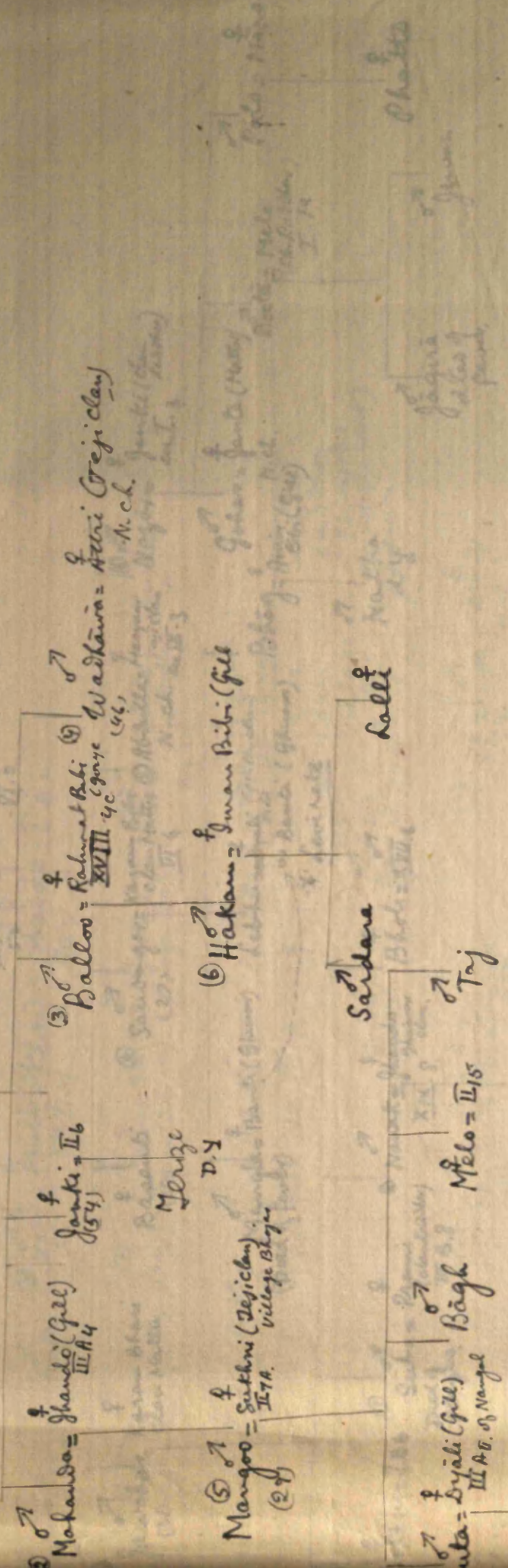
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Name --- Jayla
Clan --- Radokhar
Village --- Chakianwala
Tharal --- Paerun (Dist-Balest)

① ♂ Jayla = ♀ Begam (gonye)
(75) see XVIII, 11



Pedigree No II

Name --- Phagoo

Clan --- Teji

Village --- Bhojar.

x

1

Phagoo

(175)

Nando (clan Chopur)

died: N. ch. VII. 4.

Laja (Chopur)

VII. 2.

2

Kishna

52

Banti (clan Mattu)

VI. 2.

3

Jawahar

(31)

Karam Bhai

clan Mattu

4

Basanti

(29)

Saidagar

(27)

Karam Bhai

clan Mattu

VI. 6

Haddulla

N. ch. sec. 18. 3

5

Mangla

(Died of fever)

Banti (Ghoom)

Lakhu

Banti (Ghoom)

Bholi

Nank

Gulab

Basakhi

(Died of fever)

Surjo

d. y.

6

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

7

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

8

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

9

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

10

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

11

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

12

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

13

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

14

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

15

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

16

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

17

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

18

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

19

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

20

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

21

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

22

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

23

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

24

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

25

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

26

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

27

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

28

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

29

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

30

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

31

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

32

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

33

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

34

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

35

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

36

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

37

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

38

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

39

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

40

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

41

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

42

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

43

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

44

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

45

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

46

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

47

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

48

Sukhni

IB 6

Subra

Premi

Basakhi

Surjo

d. y.

49

4th Oct 1981

Pedigree No III (a)

♂ = ♀ (clan) Solohia
Village ... Killia (Dist. Sialkot)

Name ... Rangu
Clan ... Gill

① Rangu = 1. Rajji = 2. Rath (younger of Rajji) Gango = XXII 4 ♂
died (Kalyan) (75)

♀ Gulab = IV 6A Buta ♂
(49) ♂ Y. ♂
③ Kalu = 1. Phulli (clan) Phando = I. B. 2
(46) See X. 7 ♂

♀ Surjo = XIV 4A. ♂ Rarjka = 1. Umar Bili = 2. Gairan (younger sister) Uura = Janta (Mater) ♀
(19) ♂
③ Umar Bili = 1. Umar Bili = 2. Gairan (younger sister) Uura = Janta (Mater) ♀
(19) ♂

♂ Sindar = 1. Sindar (Kashmir) ♂ Syali = I. B. 8 ♂
IX. 14 ♂
Dandor = 1. Dandor = 2. Dandor (Kashmir) IX. 14 XIX.

Pedigree No III B.

Name ... Sundar
Clan ... daddor
Village ... Mangota
= Gendi (daddor) No. ch.

① Sundar = 1. Lachmi Gori (died) XVIII 67.

② Santu = 1. Sindri Chaprison XXII 36.

③ Shalwa = 1. Shalwa = 2. Kesar (gore) N. d.

④ Moti = 1. Hiri (Gill) Uttam Dei ♂
Pyara D. Y. ♂
Haria = 1. Haria = 2. Kesar (gore) ♀
⑤ Hariana = 1. Gendi = 2. Kesar (gore) ♀
died

⑥ Prem = VII. 8 ♂
Pyara D. Y. ♂
Shana = 1. Shana = 2. Ganeshi (Gill) ♀
Hariana ♂

⑦ Milkli = 1. Dungi (Gill) Shkur Dei ♂
died of small pox ♂
x. Sevir

Pedigree No IV

Name --- Jangru
 Clan --- Kalyane
 Village --- Rana Malo (Dist. Salkot)

① Jangru = Hesso Ghosor
 73.

② Rajji = IIIa
 73.

③ Ratto = IIIa
 73.

④ Saello = XII.1

⑤ Changu = Bulandi
 XVII.2

⑥ Buta = Jendi
 XVII.2

⑦ Kalu = Jendi (Moune)
 XVII.2

⑧ Anlo = XXV.5
 XVII.2

⑨ Piran Buta = Barkata (Matter)
 Divorced
 N. ch.

⑩ Jani = Gulobu (Gier)
 XVII.4

⑪ Kalu = Jendi (Moune)
 XVII.4

⑫ Anlo = XXV.5
 XVII.4

⑬ Dina = Buddhi
 Ghosor.

⑭ Jankor = Rani (Cunine)
 dies of cholera

⑮ Sirdana
 d. y.

⑯ Melo
 dies of cholera.

⑰ Haveli = Begam Phulleli = Rani (Bhune)
 dies of fever.

⑱ Buta = Phatto
 Uthwal

⑲ Buta
 d. y.

⑳ Buta
 d. y.

㉑ Subedar = Untar Bibi
 (Khotkor)

㉒ Buta = Phatto
 Uthwal

㉓ Buta
 d. y.

㉔ Buta
 d. y.

㉕ AK Gor = Hakam Bibi = Jalawa (Khotkor)
 died

㉖ Buta = Phatto
 Uthwal

㉗ Buta
 d. y.

㉘ Buta
 d. y.

㉙ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㉚ Ghulam Nobis = VII.11.

㉛ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㉜ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㉝ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㉞ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㉟ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊱ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊲ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊳ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊴ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊵ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊶ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊷ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊸ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

㊹ Ashraf = Sugran (Sokotia)
 7 age

Pedigree No IV B. D Sahibzada = Lachmi Khotka

Name Sahibzada
Clan Kalyans
Village Haachar Dist Sheerkhupung

① Bhag = Wasawi
23, died after one year.
Manglu = (1) Jifoni
(2) Wasawi
X. Devirale.

② Khim = Sibda
(44) Bhua
Lakhi
(42) G.

(3) Fayl Bin = Hussain Bibi
(Khotka)

Pir Baksh
Nichali = XXII A4.

Ba-Kato = IV.5

③ Bada, Din = Daulat Bibi
(Cinno)

Rura = Aziz (Mounne)
XXIX.12

Binjamin = Nawab Bibi

Wilson
Moris

Yusuf = ...
Bibi

Pedigree No VI

Rehna = Manglo (Gandun)

Names Rehna
clan Mattu
Village Machi (Dist. Pakot)

Bhagtu = Sundara
XII.3
Bawiti

Mungla = I A4.
Janti = I A4.

Jumman = Umri (Gill)
I. A7.

Bukha = Manglo
Gill

Dewali = XVII 7

Karam Bibi
= II 6.

Buta = Rani (Rati clan)
Gharita = Ishri (Gill)
N.ch.

Sharapa Bibi
= XVII.8.87
Cinno

Ganda = Toban Rati
Malatiri = XVII 11 (Gursha)

Sirdar
Manglo = XXV 12
Nikki = XXVI 13. Lal

Gandor
Sarna

Pedigree No VII

Name Sunen
Clan Chaprihan
Village Chandor ke Mangole
(Dist-Saket)

① Sunen = Attari (Bhatti)
1757

Nandini (77) = I₂

(54) Uttam (d)

(2) Santu = Ratto Gussor

Melanga = Ralli (Ratti)
XVII. 4

⑤ Jolal Bibi (d)
= XXIV. 6

⑥ Lal = Sharma

X. Devinota

Sharma

④ Umr = Gujari (Bhatti)
XV. 3. B

③ Alol Ditta = Hukmi (Gussor)

① Khera = Zinat (Ratti)

④ Anaru

③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Alol Ditta = Daulta (Kotli) (10) Jolal = Hakam Biki (Sohotri)

③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

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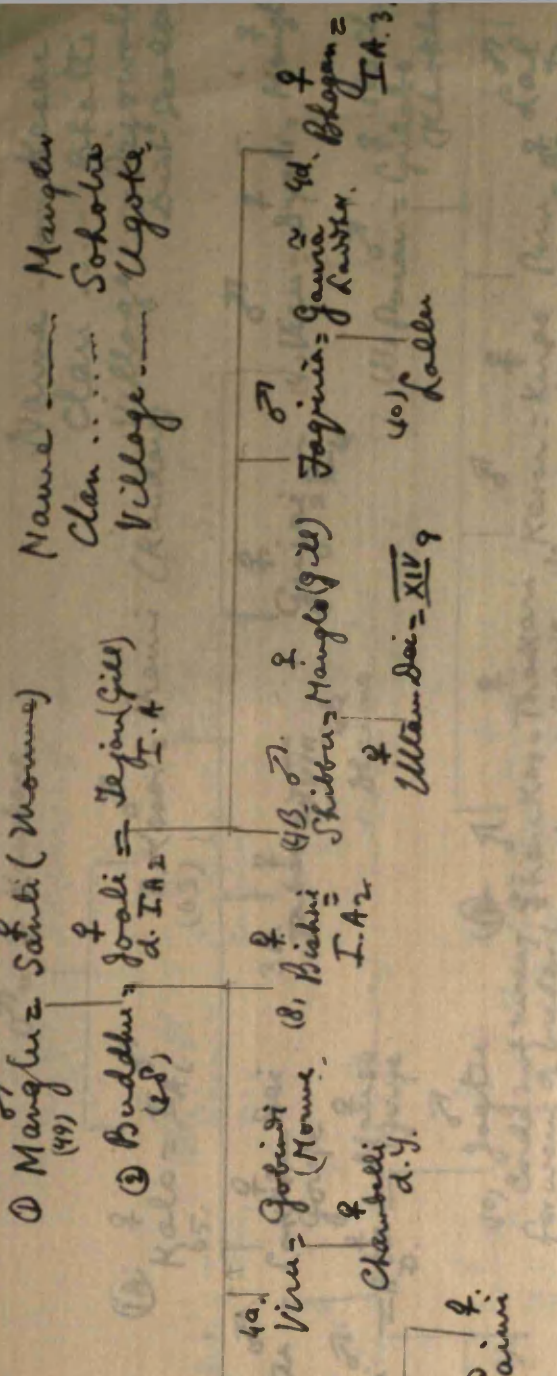
③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

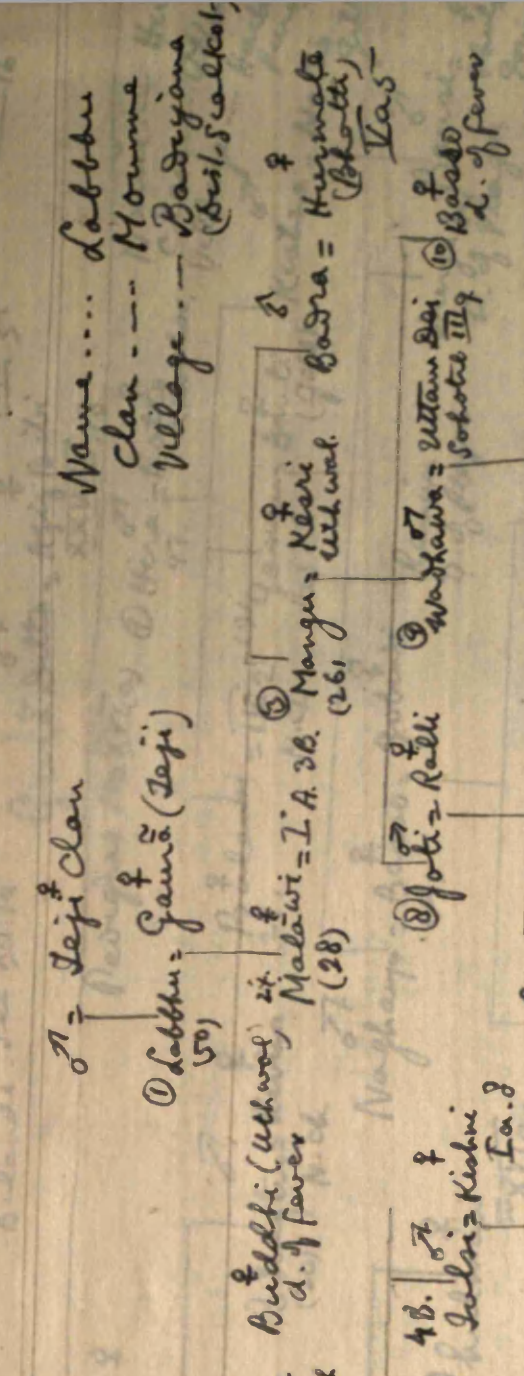
③ Baso = I A₂:2

③ Baso = I A₂:2

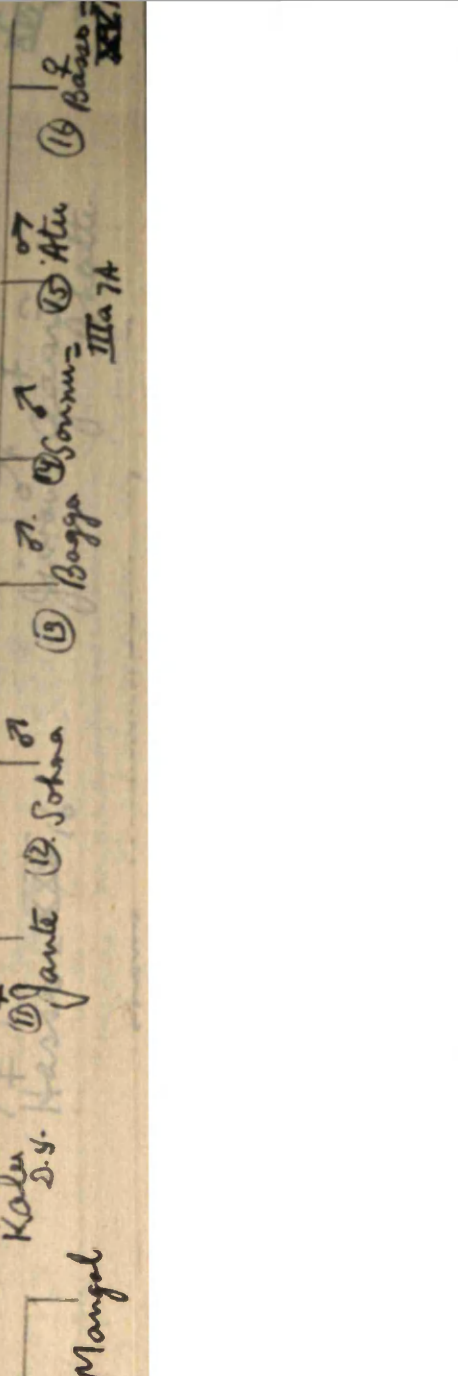
Pedigree No XIII



Pedigree No XIV



Pedigree No XV



Pedigree No. XV.

♂ = ♀ Kandrae

Name --- Kesar
 Clan --- Bhatti
 Village --- Pijowalo
 (any) Dist Gwalior

(1A) ♀ Kolo = 1A1.
65. ♂

1 B. Kean
(63)

(2) Ater[♂] - Lokkan Dei[♀] Gorie.

3A. ♀
Taber

Guizot = VIII^u

five

(7) $\text{Zn}^{2+} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightleftharpoons \text{ZnOH}^+ + \text{H}^+$

♂ Karma - Bishni (Kanday) - Nanjo (Kanday) ♀
 No. Ch. Bhagtu
 Remte divorced ♂

110, Jagtvej
Could not
for want of
price, 800
Bulandi. S

any) PhonKov = The
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oped with
xii.10

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e (b),
7

25 June.

$\text{Pier} = \text{Basso D}^{\text{37}}$
XIV 16

Pedigree No XVI (6) Mansa = 2

Name --- Manasa	7	♀
Clan --- Gonye		
Village --- Nager Mukanda = Mangla		
Dist. Shekharpur (22)		

♂ Bhagter = Levin
(20) N. ch.

27, $P_{\text{ulandi}} = \overline{11.2}$ N.4.

D Hine = R
97.

box. R

Name --- Hui
Clan --- Ulu
Village --- Harba
District --- Natch

4
Gobindi

Phulwari ♀

11 May

$\gamma_0 = \text{Baiss} = \text{gob}$
(d)

Rancija
D. J. Plof

Dr. D.

7
gasai Bansi = ♀
of plague Phulani
Gorix

下

$$H_{\text{asso}} = \overline{XXX} / 6$$

given =

215

41

4 Pedigree No XVIII

Name --- Santu
 Clan --- Curme
 Village --- Basti Shik
 Dist. Jullundur

① Santu = Ieehi (Ghusor)
 (36)

(20) Uttam Dei = XXXI
 36
 (21) Bhanu = XXXI
 34
 (22) Bishni = XXXIX
 30

③ Dina = Kesri (Ghusor)
 ④ Joti = (Manglo)
 Choprim. A.3
 ⑤ Jenda = Shanti (Ghusor)
 15
 ⑥ Sohna = Bhola (Teji)
 II.9
 Bhog = Dewali
 III.5
 Natto Uttam = Manglo
 (Hater)
 VII.6
 Anni = IB
 (A-6A)

Pedigree No XVIII

Name --- Wajira
 Clan --- Goriye
 Village --- Kotli Dohari
 (Dist. Simlakt)

① Begam = IB
 (51)
 ② Wajira = Manglo
 (Sohite)
 (48)
 ③ Jattan = XXXIX
 1

(23) Attu = Chanda (Moumy)
 (24)
 ④ Shama = XXXI
 21
 ⑤ Bhola = Viro (Moumy)
 ⑥ Chama = Rana (gic)
 ⑦ Shanti = Kesri (Ratti)
 ⑧ Bhogtu = Kesri (Ratti)
 ⑨ Kharbia = Kaku
 XXXIX
 ⑩ Jattan = Jatti
 (19)
 ⑪ Annu = Jatti
 (19)
 ⑫ Sharma = Tattan
 XV.3
 ⑬ Rahmat
 = I.B.
 ⑭ Shama = XXXI
 21
 ⑮ Shanti = Kesri (Ratti)
 ⑯ Bhogtu = Kesri (Ratti)
 ⑰ Kharbia = Kaku
 XXXIX
 ⑱ Jattan = Jatti
 (19)
 ⑲ Annu = Jatti
 (19)
 ⑳ Sharma = Tattan
 XV.3
 ㉑ Rahmat
 = I.B.

Pedigree No XIX

Noora = Aethi
(42)

Name --- Noora
Clan --- Ghuras
Village --- Manjoke
(Dist. Sialkot)

(2) Jivan = Bhagan
(57) Hasso = IV.1.
25. N.ch.

③ Hokaun = Karun Biki = Hurimale
(Cimmer) No. ch. divorced
Anwar = Gulabo
(Chapriban)

④ Fozl = Barkide (Bhura)
N.ch. (died.)

⑤ Rohino
(Kalyans)

⑥ Ghulam = Tullyja (Ratti)
XXVII.8.

⑦ Bulandi = XX
A.12 Mukkha.

⑧ Khushia = Janta
(Cimmer) N.ch (divorced)

⑨ Chirog = Jhanda
Rango = XXIII A. 7A.
Puthi Sindh

⑩ Sukhai = XXVIII
A.12 Mukkha.

Jhanda = II.8.

Name --- Nilola
Clan --- Uthwal
Village --- Jethike.

XXB. Nilala = Rajjo (Goding)
Bura = Royjan
(Bhura)

Gulabo = Pala
Gopi = Khemo Pala = Gulabo (Uthwal)

Rolla = Basas
(Bhura) Clan --- Ghuras
Village --- Ratan
Dist. Sialkot

Name --- Rala
Clan --- Ghuras
Village --- Ratan
Dist. Sialkot

Dyola
D.Y.

Nilala = Melo
Pala = Keeri
Khetri = XXVIII
Bulandi

⑪ Khushia = Sundri
Chirog

⑫ Horia = Nichali
(Kalyans)

⑬ Rajjo = V. A.2
Rajjo = V. A.2

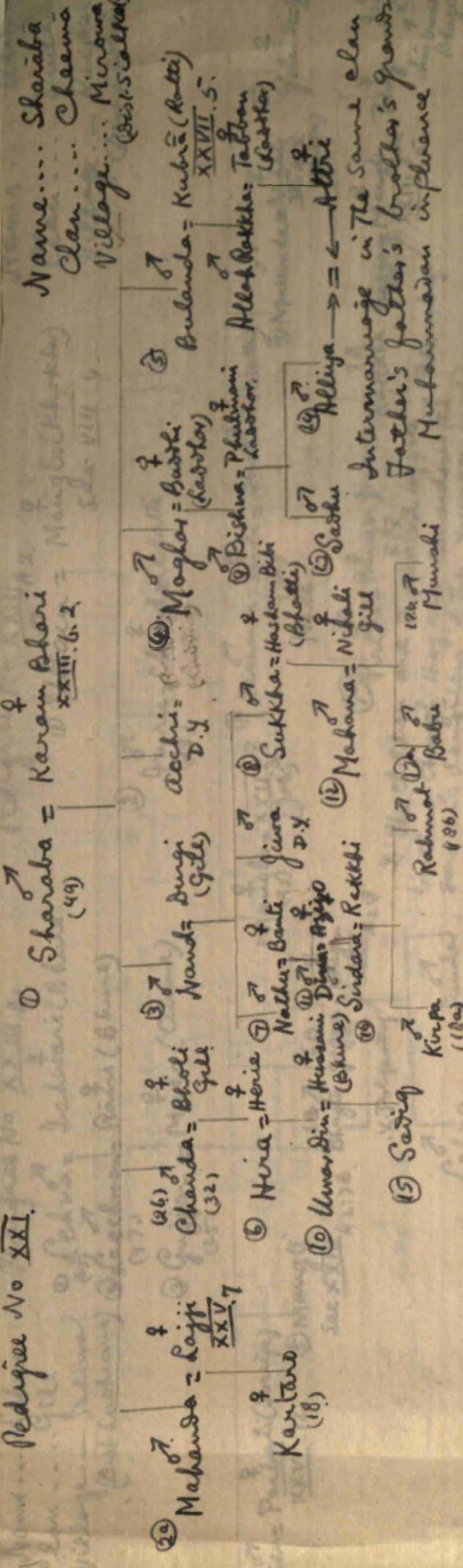
Marrige by exchange
Brother and sister marrying
Sister and brother.

⑭ Rajjo = V. A.2

Pedigree No XXI.

Name.... Sharaba
Clan.... Chaema
Village.... Mirona
(Dist. Sialkot)

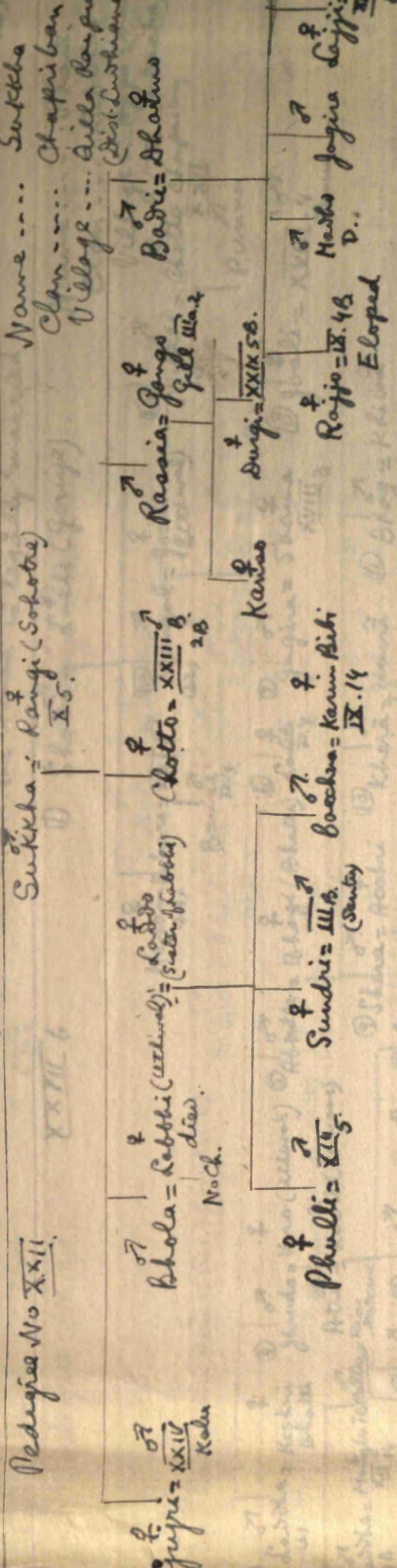
① Sharaba = Karan Bhatti
XXIII. 6. 2



Pedigree No XXII.

Name.... Sukkha
Clan.... Chapriban
Village.... Gilla Ranpur
(Dist. Ludhiana)

Sukkha = Rangji (Sohotra)
XV. 5



Name.....Sohna
 Clan.....Gill
 Village.....Sahiwal
 (Dist. Lyallpur)

7711X X

Pedicular No XXV

100

Village - Hugu Chat
 (Thakur Basti)
 Mulkhi = Chotto Chaprim.
 XVIII
 Punnu

③ ♂ Laddka = Kishni
 ④ ♀ Jhanda = Viro (Udhwa)
 ⑤ ♂ Ab-dilla = Bhagi (Bhali) Doli
 ⑥ ♀ Jagira = Shama XVIII
 ⑦ ♂ Joli = XVIII
 ⑧ ♀ Anu

♂ Buddka = Manglo Tolalla = Kiri
 XII 14
 ⑤ ♂ Jopl
 ⑥ ♀ Nish Rakka = Nant Maro
 ⑦ ♂ Atri = Kori (Kalyan)

♂ Karam Khori = XI
 ② ♂ Mangal = Joli
 ③ ♀ Kethwal
 ④ ♂ Banar
 ⑤ ♂ Khori = Umri
 ⑥ ♂ Bhag = Khira
 ⑦ ♂ Khori = Umri
 ⑧ ♂ Sirdana
 ⑨ ♂ Jorog = Saccho VIII
 ⑩ ♂ Khushia
 ⑪ ♂ Bastia
 ⑫ ♂ Khushia
 ⑬ ♂ Khushia
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 ⑮ ♂ Khushia
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Name - ... Kaku
 Clan - ... Maller
 Village - ... Narang
 Dist - ...
 Name - ... Kaku
 Clan - ... Maller
 Village - ... Narang
 Dist - ...

Kaku = Gujar (Chapiban)
 see XII.1.13.
 Name - ... Kaku
 Clan - ... Maller
 Village - ... Narang
 Dist - ...

Pedegree No XXIV
 Abulla = Kirpo (Bhune)
 Nando D.Y.
 Bholla = Rapi (u.)
 Gobind = VIII.2
 28,

Maula = Jalal Bibi (Chapiban) (D. of Ashura) (D. of Bronchitis) No. ch.
 Manglo (Bhune) Ratto = Manglo Ratto = Cousin Marriage
 Muhammedan influence

Yagirda = Hakam Bibi Wajira = Nattho (Ratto) Dyol = Tabban (Ratto) Buta
 Inayat Died of lung trouble Khaira Hayati Samuel
 Pedegree No XXV

Doshandi = Helme (Vice of Samkhata) Rasia = Phulmai Giridhar = Aturo (Kalyans) Bhag = N.ch.
 Jowela = Raskam (Sohoty) Sohna = Nainsi (Ratto) Unno Din = Dyal Gile
 Manju Rasia D.Y. Gohar Allah Din Allah Ditta

Name - ... Harji
 Clan - ... Gandur
 Village - ... Matha
 Dist - ... Sikar
 Name - ... Harji
 Clan - ... Gandur
 Village - ... Matha
 Dist - ... Sikar

Gohar = Karim Bibi (D. of Divorced) Malanga = Harun Bibi (Lashkar) Allah Din = N.ch.
 Allah Ditta Saraj Bibi D.Y. Sohna D.Y. Manju = Hass

- ① Gaihnā = Santi (Kalyan) $\frac{IV}{4c}$
 59
 ② Bura = Joli (Ghussor)
 38

Name Gaihnā
 Clan Saroye
 Village Kali Soba
 (Dist. Gujranwala)

③ Rura = Gijri (Chaprian)
 (20)

④ Sharno = XXIX $\frac{18}{2}$ Umorskah = Ghura
 18, 14, Jango = XX $\frac{5}{5}$

⑤ Shadi = Jivani (Ghussor)
 ⑥ Edu = Hassan Bili
 (Kalyan)

⑦ Bura = $\rightarrow = \leftarrow$ Ralli
 Muhammadan Influence.

⑧ Kalu = Budhi (Sundhy)

⑨ Khursid = Mangla (Matta) $\frac{VI}{14}$
 ⑩ Inayat = Nkhi (Matta) $\frac{VI}{17}$

⑪ Parbati = XXII $\frac{44}{44}$

⑫ Mukanda

⑬ Badra
 D.Y

Pedigree No XXVII

Allah Rakka = Umri (Mamma)
 (63)

Name Allah Rakka
 Clan Ratti

② Mahanda = Joli (Mamma)
 (42)

③ Nazir
 D.Y.

④ Ralli = VII $\frac{3}{3}$ Kura-XX $\frac{5}{5}$

⑤ Village --- Badryon
 (Dist. Sialkot)
 Rattan = Tabban (Bhatti)
 Village Bhophalwala

⑦ Rangha = Kato (Bhatti) $\frac{18}{18}$
 ⑧ Tulliya = XIX $\frac{5}{5}$

⑨ Labtha = Lakhi
 Bhura

⑩ Nattun = Zainab
 Bhatti

⑪ Naini = Sohna $\frac{XXV}{2}$
 (Maliw Surjo Umri)
 All died of Cholera

⑫ Wasawa = Basoo

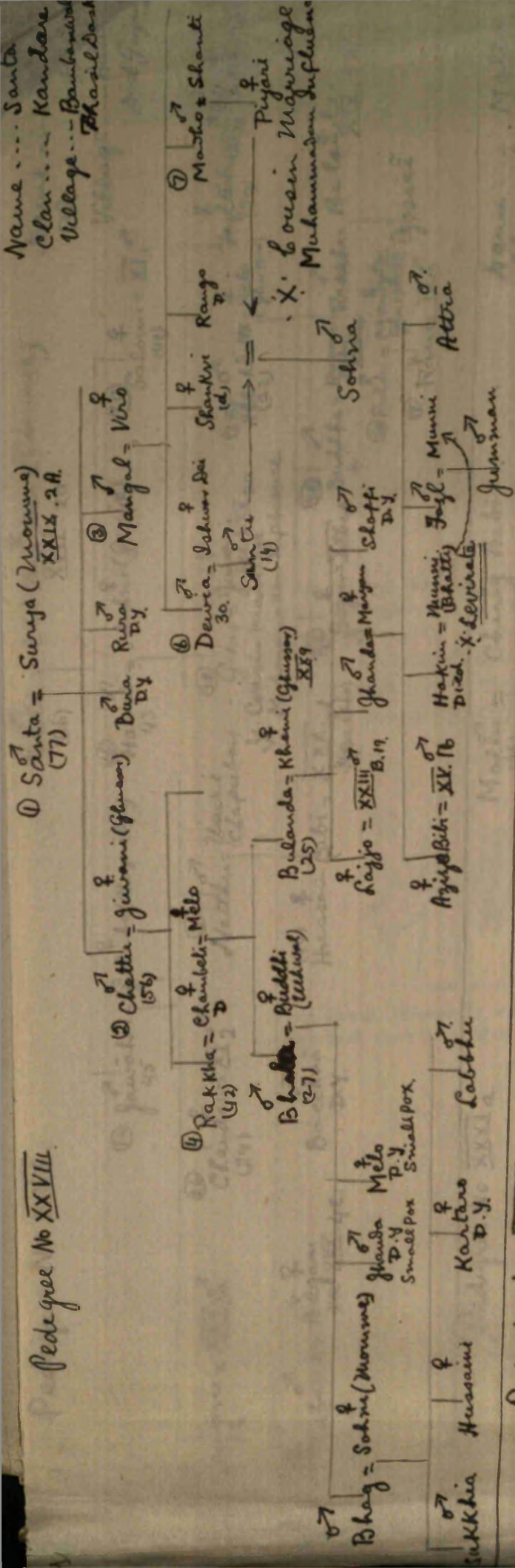
⑬ Bhura Barkata
 ⑭ Bhura Barkata
 ⑮ Barkata
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㉑ Alliya

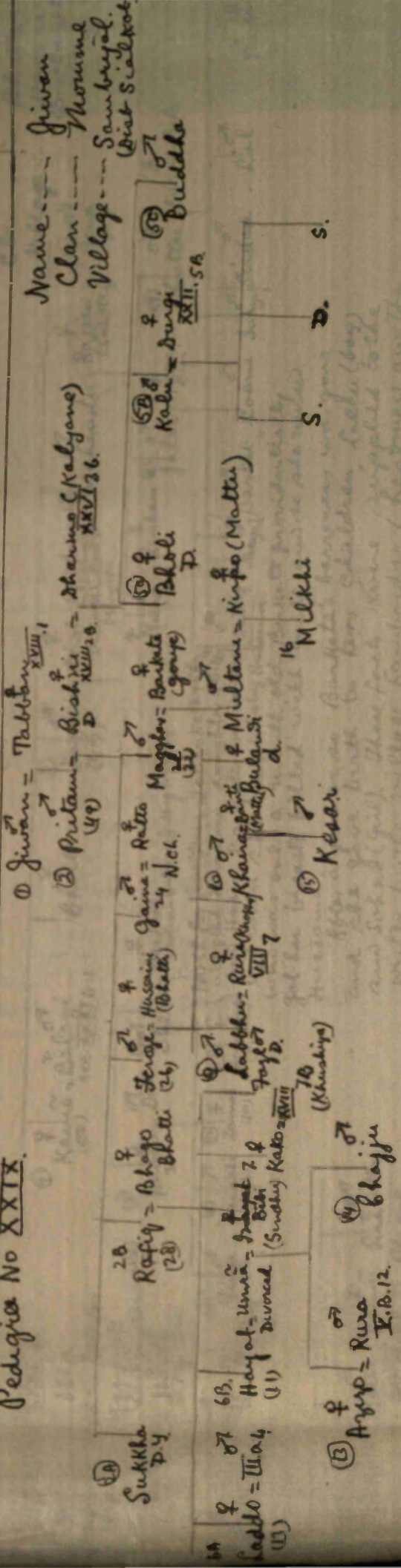
㉒ Massaniya

⑯ Ghafara = Lojja
 XXII

Pedigree No XXVIII



Pedigree No XXIX

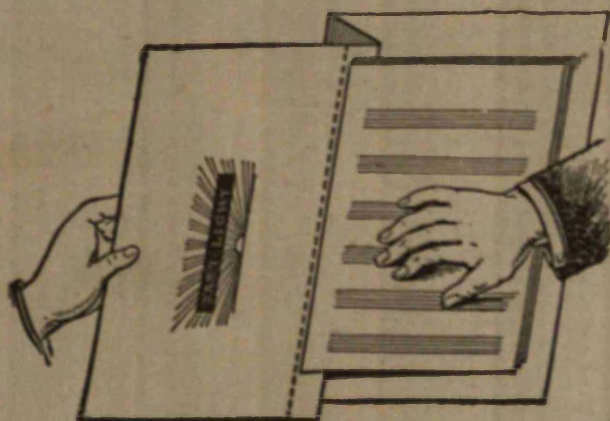


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