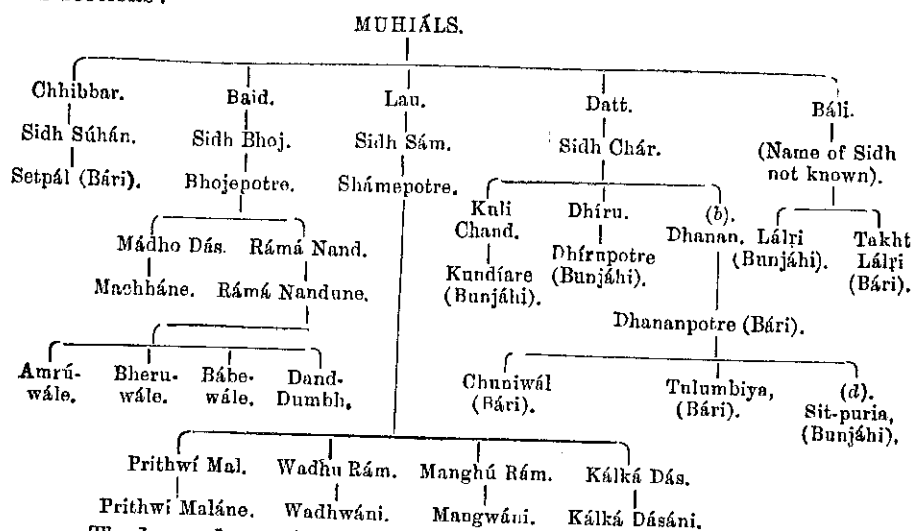


The following table illustrates the origin of the Muhiál sections and sub-sections :—



The descendants of the five Sidhs are further sub-divided into *pánchtolias* (who give their daughters not less than 5 *tolas* of gold as dowry) and *tritoliyas* (who give not less than 3). The latter rank below the former.

The origin of the Muhiáls is thus described: In Sambat 200 Vikrami the five Sidhs went to the Naunúthi Hill and there practised asceticism. About that time too the Khatrís of the Aror family (now the Arorás) and the other Khatrís fell out, so the latter separated from the Arorás and became *jajmáns* of the Sidhs. The Muhiáls who did not attach themselves to the Arorás refused to accept alms (*dán*) and are still purely secular. They are found chiefly if not exclusively in Ráwalpindi (where many are Sikhs); in Jhelum and Sháhpur as landholders or in service. All Muhiáls may marry girls of Brahman families which are not Muhiál.

A small group of secular Brahmans found at Hariána, in Hoshiárpur is the Kanchan Kawal. They are also called Suraj Duaj (Sun-worshippers). Their ancestor came from Delhi as a *kánúngo* to Hariána, whence they are also called Kánúngos. They can marry in the *nánká's got*, avoiding only the father's *got*. They do not take charity (*dán*), and either take service or engage in trade or cultivation. If any one of them takes alms he is outcasted and they do not intermarry with him.

Other purely lay groups of Brahmans are: the DHAROCI of the Dhúnd and Karrál Hills in Hazára, who are also called Mahájans: the TAGAS of Karnál, who are Gaurís by origin and agriculturists by avocation: and the criminal TAGÚS of the same District.

THE SÁRSUT BRAHMANS.

The Sársut is essentially the Brahman of the Punjab, just as the Khatri is distinctively a Punjab caste. The Sársut, as a body, minister to all the Hindu castes, possibly even to those which are unclean and so stand outside the pale of Hinduism. Upon this fact is based the leading

principle of their organization, which is that the status of each section depends on the status of the caste to which it ministers. In accordance with this principle, we may tentatively classify the Sársut thus :—

Sub-group i.—Brahmans of Brahmans, called Shukla.

Sub-group ii.—Brahmans of the Khatrís—

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Panch-záti. | 4. Bunjáhís. | 5. Khokharán.* |
| 2. Chhe-záti. | 3. Asth-bans. | 6. Sarín. |

Sub-group iii.—Brahmans of Aroorás.

Sub-group iv.—Brahmans of Játs.

Sub-group v.—Brahmans of inferior castes, e.g., the Chamarwá.

Further, each of the sub-groups is divided into grades on the analogy of the Khatri caste system thus—

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. Panchzáti. | 3. Bunjáhi. |
| 2. Bári. | 4. Inferior záti. |

Thus we may take the Shukla† Brahmans to comprise the following *gots* :—

Panchzáti	...	{ Gallia Malia Kapuria Bhaturia	or	{ Jetli. Jhingan. Mohla. Kumaria. Trikha.
-----------	-----	--	----	---

The Sársut Brahman of the Khatrís.—The connection of the Khatri with the Sársut Brahman caste is peculiarly close. One tradition of its origin avers that when Parasu Ráma was exterminating the Kshatriyas a pregnant woman of the caste took refuge with a Sársut. When her child, a son, was born, the Sársut invested him with the *janeo* and taught him the Vedas. Hence the Sársuts are invariably the *parohits* of the Khatrís, and from this incident arose the custom which allows *parohit* and *jajman* to eat together.

The boy married 18 Kshatriya girls and his sons took the names of the various *rishis* and thus founded the *gotras* of the Khatrís, which are the same as those of the Brahman. This legend explains many points in the organization of the Sársut Brahman in the Punjab, though it is doubtless entirely mythical, having been intended to account for the close dependence of the Brahman of the Sársut branch on the Khatri caste.

Group I.—Panjzáti i. At the top of the social tree stand five sections, which are the *parohits* of the Dháighar Khatrís. This group is known as the Panjzáti or 'five sections,' and also as Pachháda or 'western.' If the Brahman followed the Khatri organization

in all its complexity we should expect to find these sections constituting the Dháighar sub-group of a Bári group, and they are, it would seem, called Dháighar-Lahoria, at least in Lahore.

There are also said to be two groups, each of 5 *záti*s, which once formed themselves into endogamous cliques. These were: (i) Kalia, Malia, Bhaturia,

* Probably this is correct. The Muhiál having ceased to be Brahman at all, no longer minister to the Khokharán-Khatrís and so a special group of Khokharán-Brahman has had to be formed.

† The Shuklas are beggars, who come from the east, from the direction of the United Provinces. They beg only from Brahman, but are not their *parohits*. They are quite distinct from the Shukal of the Simla Hills.

Kapuria and Baggas, and (ii) Jhingan*, Trikha†, Jetli‡, Kumhria§, and Punbu.¶ The last-named *got* was, however, replaced by the Mohlas¶, because one of its members was discourteous to his daughter-in-law's people.

The Bári group further, in addition to the Panchzátis, comprises the following 7 *gots* : Paumbu, Gangáhar,** Martha, Sethi Churávaur, Phiranda and Purang.

Group II.—Bunjáhi. This group contains several sub-groups whose relations to one another are obscure, and indeed the subject of controversy. They may be classified, tentatively, as follows :—

Sub-group i.—Asht-bans, with the following eight sections :—

In Amritsar :	or in Karnál :	and in Patialá.
1. Sand.	1. Sand.	1. Sand.
2. Shori.	2. Pátak.	2. Suri.
3. Pátak.	3. Joshi Mabrur.	3. Pátak.
4. Mabrur.	4. Joshi Malmai.	4. Joshi Malmai.
5. Joshi.	5. Tiwanj.	5. Joshi Mabrur.
6. Tiwari.	6. Kural.	6. Tiwari.††
7. Kural.	7. Regne.	7. Kural.
8. Bhardwáji.	...	8. Ratn Bhardwáj.

Sub-group ii.—Bára-ghar or Bára-záti (also called Bári) :—

1. Sarad.	7. Manan.	In Hazára—Vajra.	Sang.
2. Bhanot.	8. Bhambi.	Vasdeo.	Sudan.
3. Airi.	9. Lakhan Pal.	Paonde.	Majju.
4. Kalie.‡‡	10. Patti.	Bhog.	Sem.
5. Parbhakka.	11. Jalpat.	Ishar.	Dhammi.
6. Nabh.	12. Sabjpal.	Ramdeo.	Tara.

* Jhingan is said to be derived from *jhinga* or *jhanjh*, a bell, because the sound of a bell was heard at its eponym's birth. This *got* is supposed to be only 20 generations old. It has three sub-sections, Gautam, Athu and Nathu. Further, Nathu's descendants are sub-divided into the less known sub-divisions of Chamnapati and Kanwlapati. The Jhingans *gotra* is Bhardwáj; their *parvaras* Bhrigu, Bharjan and Bhardwáj, their *shákhá* Madhunjan and the Rig Veda their *veda*. At Dipálpur at the house of an ancestor, Bábá Chhajjil, they hold a fair in Mágh, at which the *chula*, *jhand*, *janeo* and other rites are performed. Nathu's descendants all wear a *nath* in the nose.

† Trikha's *gotra* is Parashar and it is sub-divided into the Palwarda, Aúra and Dwija sub-sections.

‡ The Jetli *gotra* is Vatsa, and its sub-sections are Vialepotra, Chandipotra, and Rúpepotra—all eponymous. The two former are replaced by Hatbila and Harapotra, according to another account. The Mihrotra Khatriis make them offerings on the 12th of the light half of each lunar month.

§ The Kumhria *gotra* is also Vatsa and they too have three sub-sections.

¶ Apparently the same as the Paumbu, below.

¶ The Mohlas *gotra* is Somastam, and its sub-sections are Dalwáli, Shiv-Nandi and Akáshi. ** Of the Vasisht *gotra*. They have five sub-sections, Veda Vyás, Gangáhar (*sic*), Gosain, Saráph, and Gangawáshi, so-called because they used to lead bands of pilgrims to the Ganges. They were exempt from tolls under former governments. The Saráph (Sarráf) were bankers. The Gosains had many *jajmáns* and the Veda Vyás were learned in the Vedas. The Gangáhars still perform their *jhand* or tonsure rite near the ruins of old Jhang, near which town they possessed a number of wells, each inscribed with their names.

†† Or Tawaria. At marriage they do not let the bride go to her father-in-law's house, but send instead a big *gur* cake wrapped in red cloth. If however the *mukláwá* ceremony is performed at the same time as the wedding, they let the bride go also, otherwise they send her afterwards when her *mukláwá* is given.

‡‡ Probably the same as the Bhabakkar, a *got* named after a Ritshi. Its members make a boy don the *janeo* (sacred thread) in his 8th year. Clad as a *sádhú* in a *faqír's* dress with the *alfi* or *chola*, the *mirg-chháta* (deer-skin) and *kachkol* (a wallet for collecting alms) he begs from door to door and is then bidden to go to the forest, but his sister brings him back.

The Zát-wále :—

Sub-group iii.—Panj-záti ii. About 116 years ago the Brahmans of the five sections below used to give their daughters in marriage to the *Dháighar-Lahoria* Brahmans :—

- | | | |
|------------|---------------|------------|
| (1) Kalie. | (3) Kapurie. | (5) Bagge. |
| (2) Malie. | (4) Bhaturie. | |

When their daughters began to be treated harshly in the houses of their fathers-in-law, these Brahmans (*panjzát* or five sections) arranged to contract marriages only among themselves and ceased to form relationships with the *Dháighar-Lahoria*.

Sub-group iv.—Chhezát-wálá.—Similarly several other sections of Brahmans gave up giving daughters to the *Dháighar-Lahoria* Brahmans, such as—

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| (1) Pandit. | (3) Dhunde. | (5) Dhan Kaji. |
| (2) Pátak. | (4) Gadbari. | (6) Chhukari. |

Sub-group v.—Panchzát-wále iii—

- | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------|
| (1) Chuni. | (3) Lamb. | (5) Sarballie. |
| (2) Babri. | (4) Neule. | |

Sub-group vi.—Sat-záti—

- | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|
| (1) Sajro. | (4) Neasi. | (6) Sardal. |
| (2) Punj. | (5) Chuni. | (7) Anni. |
| (3) Bandu. | | |

The above four sub-groups are called collectively Zát-wále.

Sub-group vii.—This comprises the remaining Bunjáhi sections.

The Zát-wále stand higher than this last sub-group *vii*, in that they do not accept offerings from, or eat in the houses of, Náís, Kaláls, Kumhárs or Chhímbar, whereas the latter do both. Moreover, the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups claim to be superior in status to the Bárís, but some families of these two sub-groups stooped to give daughters to the latter sub-group, and were, therefore, excommunicated by the remaining families of the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups, so that they lost status and formed a new sub-group called Bans-puj. This sub-group now gives daughters to the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups, but takes its wives, it is alleged, from the Bárís.

Thus the Brahman organization reflects the main outlines of the Khatri scheme, but, though on many points of detail our information is incomplete, it is certain that local conditions modify the organization. For instance in Baháwalpur the Khatriis are few, while the Arojár are numerous and influential, so that we find the following scheme :—

Sub-group i.—Five sections, Mohla, Jetli, Jhingran, Trikha, Kumaria.

Hypergamous sub-group ii.—Five sections, Dhaman-potra, Sama-potra, Bhoja-potra, Setpal, Takht-Lalhári ; and

Hypergamous sub-group iii.—Seven sections, Lalhári, Biás, Kandaria, Kathpála, Shangru-potra or Wed, Malakpura, and Bhenda.

Of these three sub-groups, the five sections of the first are Brahmans of the Khatriis generally, not of the *Dháighar-Bári* Khatriis exclusively, while sub-groups *ii* and *iii* are Brahmans of the Arojár in that part of the Punjab.

The rules of marriage.—Like the Khatrís, the Bunjáhi Brahmans profess to follow the usual 'four-got' rule in marriage, but, precisely like the Dháighar Khatrís, the Zát-wále Brahmans avoid only their own section and the mother's relations. At least this appears to be the usual rule, but it would be rash to say it is an invariable one. For example, the Bans-puj are an exception. The Asht-bans obtain wives from them, but if a father has taken a Bans-puj wife, the son may not: he must marry an Asht-bans or lose status. That is to say, the Asht-bans may only stoop to inter-marriage with the Bans-puj in alternate generations.

Similarly the 'four-got' rule is relaxed in other cases. Thus the Kanchan-Kamal section of Hoshiárpur are also called Suraj Doaj, (Sun-worshippers). Their ancestor came from Delhi as a *qánúngo* at Hariána; hence they are called Qánúngos. These Brahmans can marry in the *nánka got*, avoiding only the father's *got*. They do not take any *dán* (charity) and may either take service or engage in trade or cultivation. If any one of them takes to receiving charity, he is considered an outcast and they do not intermarry with him.

The ages of marriage.—Among the Bunjáhi Brahmans the age of betrothal is from 4-8 and that of marriage from 8-12 years in Ráwalpindi. It is, however, impossible to lay down any universal rules, as, generally speaking, the ages of betrothal and marriage depend upon the status of each family within the group, as is the case among the Khatrís.

The revolt against hypergamy.—It will be seen how the lower sub-groups of the KHATRÍS have endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the higher in matrimonial matters. A similar revolt against the position of the Dháighar occurred amongst the Sársut Brahmans. About 116 years ago, says the account received from Amritsar, the Lahoria Dháighar used to take daughters from the Panj-zát *ii*; but owing to the ill-treatment meted out to the girls by the Dháighar, they resolved to discontinue the custom, and the three other groups of the Zát-wále followed suit while the remaining Bunjáhis continued to give wives to the Zát-wále, but no longer received them in return. The result was that the Bunjáhis could not obtain wives and many families died out, so it was resolved by the Bunjáhis that they should for the future break off all connection with the Zát-wále, unless any of the latter should agree to give them daughters in return. This was prior to Sambat 1932 when a second meeting at Amritsar renewed the compact.

It may be worth noting that in both castes the proceedings of these conferences were conducted in a formal manner, written agreements being drawn up, and the families which agreed to the demands put forward being entered in a register from time to time.

The territorial groups.—Like the Khatrís the Brahmans have territorial groups, but these groups do not usually correspond with the territorial groups of the former. For instance, the Brahmans of the Murree Hills are divided into two sub-castes—Pahária and Dhakoohi, who do not intermarry or eat together. The Dugri Brahmans correspond to the Dugri Khatrís of the Siálkot sub-montane, but they are said, on the one hand, to give daughters to the Sársut, and, on the

other hand, to intermarry with the Batehru group of Brahmans in Kángra. Allusions have been already made to the Pachbáda and to the Lahoria, terms which seem to be applied exclusively to the five highest sections who serve the Dháighar Khatriis.

THE SÁRSUT BRAHMANS OF THE ARORÁS.

The grouping of the Brahmans of the Arorás has already been described in dealing with the Wateshars' system, and they further are said to be thus divided :

Panch-záti	...	{ Bhojapotra.	Sitpál.
		{ Shamapotra.	Takht Lalri.*
		{ Dhaunanpotra.	
		{ The Panchzátis, together with the—	
Bári	...	{ 6. Puchhrat.	10. Bhardwáji.
		{ 7. Shingupotra.	11. Kathpála.†
		{ 8. Malakpara.	12. Kanđhiára.
		{ 9. Khetupotra.	

But the most interesting territorial group of the Sársut is that of the Kángra Brahmans whose organization shows no traces of the Khatri scheme, but reflects that of the Hindu Rájputs of Kángra, and which will, therefore, be described at some length.

THE BRAHMANS OF KÁNGRA.

The Sársut *des* or jurisdiction extends from the Saraswati river in Kurukshetr to Attock on the Indus and is bounded by Pehowa on the east, by Ratia and Fatehábád in Hissar, by Multán on the south-west, and by Jammu and Nurpur, in Kángra, on the north.

Thus the Brahmans of Kángra, who are or claim to be Sársut by origin, stand beyond the pale of the Sársut organisation, but they have a very interesting organisation of their own.

We find the following groups :—

- i.—Nagarkotia.
- ii.—Batehru.
- iii.—Halbaha, or cultivating.

Group I.—The Nagarkotia are the Brahmans of the Kaṭoch, the highest of the Rájputs, and they were divided by Dharm Chand, the Kaṭoch Rájá of Kángra, into 13 functional sub-groups, each named after the duties it performed in his time. These are—

- i.—Dichhit, the Gurús of the Kaṭoch, who used to teach the Gáyatri *mantra*.
- ii.—Sarotari, said to be from Sanskrit *saro ladh*. Their duty was to pour *ahoti* or offerings of *ghi*, etc., into the *hawan kund* when a *jag* was performed. They had learnt two Vedas.
- iii.—Achária, who performed the *jag*.

* The Lalri have five sub-sections :—Lál Lalri, Viás Lalri, Takht Lalri, Ghaniyal Lalri and Raj Bakht or Jan.

† By *gotra* Shámundal, the Kathpálas have four sub-sections, Surangu, Sidha, Gúlkála and Pathak.