THE SIKLIGARS OF PUNJAB
(A GYPSY TRIBE)
Books by Sher Singh 'Sher'

The Sansis of Punjab.
The Sikligars of Punjab.
DEDICATED

To all the gypsies of the world, who have been bravely sneering, spurning and sacrificing, since centuries, the alluring but enfeebling, enslaving and unnerving luxuries of the modern age, for the sake of their adventurous, fearless, frolicsome and free ways of life, which are the indispensable sources of human vigour, vitality and virility.
PREFACE

The sphere of Indian gypsyology remained unexplored for the last so many centuries. The wandering, gypsy and once wrongly branded 'Criminal Tribes' of northern India are ethnically as much Indo-Aryans as any other settled, civilized and well-to-do peoples of India. There are different theories to account for the origin of gypsies but in my opinion they are the blood and bone of the Indo-Aryans as I have already said on page 43 of my book, 'The Sansis of Punjab.' "According to my own view the Gypsies are the descendants of the Indo-Aryans who entered North-West India in ancient times. As history bears it out the Aryans entered India just as Gypsies, wandering shepherds and hunters. As the time elapsed and the circumstances grew favourable, they assumed permanent abode in North-West India and especially in the Punjab. Most of them settled as cultivators of land but some of them remained wanderers, shepherds and hunters like their forefathers. In the course of many centuries, the settled Aryans, socially separated themselves from their peregrinating brothers. The present and advanced settled communities of North India are the descendants of those settled Aryans of that time whereas the Gypsies are the descendants of their nomadic Aryan ancestors. It also seems to be true that some of the settled Aryan people joined their wandering fold after being expelled from their homelands in the Punjab and Rajasthan, due to the Muslim invasions mutual fights and famines."

It is the general human propensity to follow the beaten path and to avoid the new routes expected to be infested with hardships of journey. Such people do not think that after all a beaten path was also trampled by somebody for the first time and then countless travellers followed his footsteps. The Indian writers are mostly believed to be ease-loving and easy-going persons and usually they write on the trite topics which are, if not over-written, are plentifully put into print. The result is nothing better than chewing the cud and this is the reason that numerous intelligent
Indian professors are wasting their genius in writing class-notes and examination-guides. This also seems to be the reason that no Indian scholar paid due attention to the study of the gypsy and denotified tribes, formerly called Criminal Tribes.

The late Dr. D. N. Majumdar, the professor and head of the department of Anthropology, Lucknow University, was the first anthropologist who endeavoured to study these people on scientific lines but he contributed only a small chapter to each of his books named ‘Fortunes of Primitive Tribes’ and ‘Races and Cultuers of India’. He had a larger plan to write on these people and as he told me, he was writing a book on them but nature did not smile on him to enable him to complete it because he died in 1960. We met last on the 9th April, 1960 when the Conference of the Central Anthropological Board was held in the Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, and we separately discussed the ethnological and socio-cultural problems of gypsy and ex-criminal tribes after its session. He talked to me of his proposed book on these people and he also asked me to supply him some reprints of my published research papers on them. I disliked rather discouraged the title of his book in preparation as it neither justified the subject nor supported his own views which he wanted to express in that book. I sent some reprints of my research papers to him on 11th April, 1960 for which he had made a request to me. In my accompanying letter, I again suggested to him the appropriate title of his book to be published, the contract of which was undertaken by him with some American publishing firm, when he was out to England in 1959, as a visiting professor to the British Universities. He replied to me vide his letter No. AL/152/11/60 dated 13th April, 1960 and wrote to me, “I thank you for your registered letter containing the papers which I need and you could spare. I am at present very busy due to the examination at our University. I shall write to you later on, on the subject. I appreciate your suggestion regarding the title of the forth-coming book, on the Ex-criminal Tribes and shall certainly ponder over it. I shall let you know when I come to Delhi.”

Alas ! our next meeting was not destined to take place. He expired next month, May 1960 and India lost her greatest and
the world lost one of its greatest anthropologists.

I can never forget his discussions with me. I found him as high in his erudition as he was humble as a man. He frankly confessed, "I have not personally studied the gypsy and denotified tribes of Punjab, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir. After long discussions with you, I have known that there are some errors in the manuscript of my forth-coming book. So I will be thankful to you, if you could spare some copies of your published research papers on them." I complied with his request as stated above but his above-cited words reflected the truest scholar in him. Ever struggling and desirous of learning more and more, because the limited human intellect cannot boast of its perfection of knowing all about the universe. Then I was a pigmy in the field of anthropology but the frank confession of the man of such a gigantic scholistic stature compelled me to bow to him.

He encouraged, rather inspired me to carry on my researches into the Indian gypsiology—a lacuna in the science of anthropology. My project of research received a great impetus from his encouragement, but neither he was destined to see his own forth-coming book, nor my books were destined to be read by him and be blessed and benefited by his useful and scholarly opinion.

Perfection is the claim of God alone and so I think that other anthropologists and sociologists will improve upon and add to not only my pioneer efforts but will also contribute their lot to the Science of Man. Now I feel to say something about the book in your hands and the scope of the subject.

This is the first effort to study the Sikligars. The Sikligars are a gypsy tribe. Originally, they were the Rajputs of Rajasthan and they relate that their ancestors fled away from their homelands after the fall of Chittore. They took up the profession of making the weapons of warfare, after their egress from their native places. The patronage of the Sikh Gurus and their brave followers, the Singhs of Guru Gobind Singh, known to be the swordhand of India, attracted them to Punjab, where they embraced Sikhism.
The Sikligars are gypsies to this day and so it was not possible to study some large and compact universe of these people in the Punjab. However, many Punjabi Sikligars of West Pakistan settled at Delhi after the Partition of India in 1947 and after their migration to India. So at Delhi I studied 663 Sikligar families, settled in various colonies, comprising the total population of 3358 souls. I have tried to study all the possible aspects of their life, but some points might have been left untouched or might have been treated incompletely, which is inevitable in the case of a peregrinating and secretive people.

In the beginning I tried to consult the data already available in ethnological and sociological literature, but nothing at all was available about them. The Census Reports are usually a great source of ethnological information, but the Sikligars have not been recorded separately in any Census Report of Punjab. Therefore, I had to do the spade-work of the study of Sikligars and excepting the chapters on their historical background and the Gypsies outside India in which some authors have been quoted, the whole of the rest of the study of this ethnic group is the outcome of my direct investigations, which involved observations, discussions and actual participations in their social functions.

The scope of this research work is very vast and important. Firstly, before this, nobody has studied the gypsies of India systematically and this monograph may inspire some other investigators to study some other gypsy tribes, the forgotten children of India.

Secondly, the primitive culture and ways of life of the primitive people are rapidly disappearing and their study now will do a great work to preserve some useful and interesting information about the nonliterate societies which will be changed soon by the modern forces of acculturation and very invaluable information will be lost forever to the anthropologists and sociologists.

Thirdly, many welfare schemes for the backward people of India are being run by the Government, and a proper understanding and knowledge of the life of these people can prove very
helpful and useful to the social workers and the personnel employed to implement the schemes undertaken for the amelioration of these people.

Fourthly. a sympathetic and objective study of these people goes a long way in their integration in the general society.

Fifthly, the gypsies of Europe are the descendants of the natives of Northern India. Many European scholars have studied the European Gypsies, but such comprehensive study has not been made in India. Hence, this type of study can prove very useful to remove some doubts, if a comparison is made between the actual ways of life and the dialects of the gypsies of India and those of Europe.

Sixthly, the origin and history of many gypsy tribes of India have never been studied and their preservation in literature is useful for the tribes themselves from the historical, social and political points of view.

I am highly grateful to my Sikligar informants named Aroor Singh, Bahadur Singh, Chetan Singh, Narain Singh, Kamal Singh, Noor Singh and Munshi Singh, for their kindness to spare time to discuss many points and problems with me and give me the required information about their community. I am obliged to all those persons without whose help this work could have never been completed and am especially indebted to those Sikligars who allowed me to take their photographs anthropometric measurements and blood samples. I am also thankful to all the authors, whose books have been read or quoted by me. I am obliged to Kanwar Surjit Singh because he drew the magical diagrams included in this research work.

SHER SINGH "SHER"

Jullundur
September 11, 1966.
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<td>To cure bites of mad dogs and other animals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>To cure abortion and miscarriage.</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>To cure impotency and sterility.</td>
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<td>29.</td>
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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SIKLIGARS

The Sikligars are an offshoot of the Vanjaras or Banjara, descended from the Indo-Aryan ethnic stock. The word "Sikligar" is comparatively of a recent origin and is derived from the Arabic word "Siqal", a polisher and furbisher of metals. So the Sikligar is a caste of armourers and polishers of metals. The Vanjaras or Banjaras or Charans are a true Gypsy tribe of India and even at present they possess all the typical traits of the life of a Gypsy. We cannot properly understand and trace the origin and history of the Sikligars unless we account for the background of the history of the Vanjaras.

2. The Vanjaras are largely distributed in India and are found in various parts of this vast country. They are known by various names. Their population is about seven lakhs in India. According to many writers the term "Vanjara" means a trader as Vanaj or Banaj means trade. According to Shakespeare's Dictionary this term is derived from Persian word "Bijnjar" and means a rice carrier. At any rate the true derivation seems to be from the Sanskrit word "Vanija" (trade). This word gives rise to Baniya also. Another speculation is that this is derived from the Sanskrit word "Vanachara" which means a wanderer or a resident of jungles. As a matter of fact both these traits are present in the Banjara tribe—trade as well as nomadic life.

3. The Labanas of Punjab are also the descendants of Vanjaras. In the South India the Labanas are called Lambadis or Lambanis. The terms "Labana", "Labhan" or
"Lambadi" are derived from "Lavan" which means salt and the members of this tribe were residents of Littoral areas and used to trade in salt. One of the branches of the Vanjaras is called Sugali or Sukali. According to Aiyappan it means, "Sugwala (good cow-herd)". We again read about the Lambadis, "Various fanciful accounts have been given of their origin by early writers, but all are agreed that Northern India probably Marwar was their original home". Athelstane Baines writes about them, "it is not certain how the Banjaras came to be settled in Rohilkhand, and its neighbouring Tarai, but their own tradition is that they belong to North-West Rajputana, and were driven out of their native country". Nanjundayya and Iyer, say, "Various fanciful accounts are given of their origin, and it is difficult to find any consistency or significance in any of them, but all agree in assigning Northern India, probably Marwad, as their original home. They claim to be Kashatriyas and to be descended from Rajput ancestors". Their claim of Rajput origin is also mentioned in the Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1949, page 12. Mr. M. Kennedy also described briefly their life as one of the denotified tribes but does not say anything of ethnological and historical importance because he dealt with them only with a detective purpose of the police. The mythological origins of the tribe as described by its members, are given below:

(1) They relate that once a beautiful damsel was produced out of the seed of the Creator. The damsel created a boy out of the sweat of her body. She wanted to consort with him but her wish could not be fulfilled. Then she created another boy but he also objected to her wish. At last she succeeded and those two brothers became the progenitors of mankind. They had many descendants but the name of Raja Dhaj is well known in the ancient classics of Hindus. It was from Dhaj that the line of the Vanjaras and their related tribes started, whose genealogy is given below:
DHAJ  
KOWDHAJ  
KARAN  
KESHAB  

CHADA  
(His descendants are believed to be the settled people of the villages and towns.)  

THIDA  
(His descendants are the Gypsy tribes descended from his five sons.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATHAD</th>
<th>JOGHAD</th>
<th>KHAMID</th>
<th>MOTA</th>
<th>MOLA</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Ancestors of Vaghris)</td>
<td>(Ancestor of Jogis)</td>
<td>(Ancestor of Gypsy blacksmiths or Lohars to whom the Sikligars belong)</td>
<td>(Ancestor of Labanas)</td>
<td>(Ancestor of Banjaras or Vanjaras)</td>
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This version is also given by Nanjundayya and Iyer.  

(2) The second mythological version of their origin is related by them as follows:—

According to this version their lineage starts from Sugriva, a well known character of the Ramayana. Sugriva married Tara, the widow of his brother. The name of one his descendants was Thida. Thida had two sons, Mota and Mola. Mola was an attendant of Krishna. It is believed that Krishna entrusted all the one thousand Gopis, except Radha, his favourite, to his followers before dying. They say that perchance Mola was not present at the time of that assignment. He became angry with Krishna, because he was not given any Gopi. He rushed at Krishna with a stick, but he was appeased by the assignment of Radha to his charge. He was afraid of touching her due to her divinity but by and by and by personal service he won her favour. At last she accompanied him in his wanderings in the jungles. They took up the profession of dancers and acrobats. They displayed their dexterity before their kings named Dhanjighad, Bhanoghad and Jagatghad. They were highly pleased with their unique skill and asked them to demand any thing they liked. They asked them for the donation of a son
of each of them whose respective names were Rathaur, Pawar and Chohan after whom three present well-known Rajput tribes are found in India. These three brothers married three Brahman sisters, because according to the custom of that time they had been abandoned in the jungle by their father because of not being married after their marriageable ages. The Banjaras, the Labanas or Lambadis, the Sikligars and Gadi Lohars are the descendants of those Rajput ancestors. Even now the custom of teasing a Brahman in their marriage is prevalent for abandoning those three young girls in the jungles, whom their ancestors married. They further say that the descendants of Mota were the ancestors of Labanas, Gujjars and Marwaris. The names of the sons of Mola, the progenitor of the various sections of the Vanjaras are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOLA</th>
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<tr>
<td>CHOHÀN (had 6 sons)</td>
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<td>8. Tarani</td>
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<td>9. Seoth</td>
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<td>10. Hamswath</td>
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<td>11. Goran</td>
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This second version of Sugriva as a progenitor of these large Gypsy tribes of India are also mentioned by Nanjundayya and Iyer, Mullaly, Aiyappan and Thurston. Respective articles of Crooke and Russell may also be read with some advantage.

As it has already been mentioned the Banjaras including their akin tribes constitute the largest Gypsy communities of India. They have been wandering in various parts of India, since centuries, and are found almost in all the parts of this
Subcontinent. They are not only confined to India but are also found in several countries of Europe and mostly in Hungary to which they migrated in the dim past in course of their wanderings. That is why it is said about them, "They are goodlooking people having affinity with the Hungarians". This fact of the affinity of these Gypsies of India with the Gypsies of Hungary was especially asserted by V. Ball, once of the Geological Survey of India. He wrote, "I was informed by a Russian Prince, who travelled in India in 1874 A.D. that one of his companions, a Hungarian noble-man, found himself able to converse with the Brinjares (Banjaras) of Central India in consequence of his knowledge of the Zingeni language. In the Punjab the Banjaras and the Labanas are synonymous terms, "Banjara and the Labana castes are generally said to be identical, being called Banjara in the Eastern Districts and Labanas in the Punjab proper."

The Banjaras kept wandering for many centuries in different groups and in different parts of India eking out their livelihood by whatever profession and means they could according to their circumstances and situation, till the Muslims and particularly the Mughals utilised them as grain-carriers to their troops, salt carriers and as smiths to make swords and other weapons for them. The Sikligars have descended from the black-smith ancestors who were descendants of Khimad, the third son of Thida. They accompanied the Muslim invaders even to the South India and the present Banjaras or Lambadis have descended from those who settled in the South India and Athelstane Baines writes about them, "The use of bullocks as a means of transport is an ancient custom in India, but it received its great impetus from the Muslim invaders, who engaged large gangs of Banjaras to accompany their forces from North to South. Similarly the British armies in the earlier campaigns trusted to the Banjara trains for their commissariat and forage supplies and found the Naik or Gang-leaders, fully up to the work and worthy of confidence."

The Banjara lohars usually called Gadi-lohars (the black-smiths with a cart, from which the Caravan or the Van of the
European Gypsy has originated) are found mostly in Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Bombay, Andhra Pradesh and Madras. They are the counterparts of the European Gypsy tinkers and blacksmiths.

The Vanjaras who worked as arm-makers in the service of the Muslim invaders and rulers of India had acquired a great skill in this art. Their reputation had spread far and wide for the quality of the swords, shields, guns, daggers, spears and armours made by them. They used to sharpen and shine the arms by means of rubbing and using their own indigenous mixtures of chemicals to do it. The work of sharpening and imparting lustre to arms was called saiqal and the persons who used to do it were called Sikligars, or Saiqalgars, just like some other professions after whom some castes have been named Zargar (goldsmith), Bazigar (Acrobat), Ahangar (black-smith), Karigar (workman), with the passage of time the Banjara lohars ramified into two sections (1). The Gadi lohars who even now make several articles of iron for sale and mend iron utensils, and other domestic articles, like the tinkers and keep moving from place to place.

(2) The Sikligars who used to prepare arms including guns, put them in a cart and move from place to place in order to sell them. The Rajas of the native states were their greatest patrons because they had to supply arms to their state-troops.

The ancestors of Sikligars of the Punjab first came into contact with the Sikh Gurus in the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century A.D. Guru Har Gobind, (1595-1644), the sixth Guru of Sikhs first gave the military form to his followers. It was he, who began the organisation of the Sikhs on perfect martial lines. His dearest wealth from the worldly point of view were good horses and good arms. He rightly inferred from the tortured death of his father, Guru Arjun Dev, that the Mughal Rulers of that time did need power to thwart their tyranny. He instructed the Sikhs to present him with as best arms and horses as they could afford and procure. The Sikhs of Majha (Central Punjab) used to purchase swords from a lohar named Maula Bakhash, who was a resident of Lahore. The Sikhs used to pay him his desired prices and be
used to supply the swords of the best quality. Somehow or other the Muslim rulers came to know of the transactions of that Lohar and the Sikhs. The Sikhs used to fight against the haughty and high-handed Muslims. The Muslim Imperialists could not tolerate that Maula Baksh, being a Muslim, should supply swords to the Sikhs who would cut them into pieces with the very arms. So he was admonished by them and was compelled to play false with the Sikhs by supplying them the swords made of raw iron having loose hilts and blunt edges so that they might betray them in the battle-field. Maula Baksh did as he was commanded to do in order to save his own life. On the receipt of a large lot of swords the Sikhs found out the deceit and the prominent Sikhs like Bhai Bidhi Chand, and Bhai Jetha led the other Sikhs to explain that exploit to Guru Har Gobind Sahib. According to a writer they requested the Guru in the following words:

"Maula Bakhash Lahore da Sikligar hoshiar,
In Passon Satguru, paia bahut tarwar,
Muthe dhile dhar bin kacha jin ka saar,
Sikh Bidhi Chand ad kai dhig Gur kari pukar,
Shashtar Rahe na kam de kim haun kara parhar,
Aja bhed sam din jan turk saman baghia,
Kheti khawan khet sam rakhe ban kar baar." 18
(Maula Baksh was a clever Sikligar of Lahore. Many swords came from him to the true Guru. They were blunt having loose hilts and made of raw iron. The Sikhs like Bhai Bidhi Chand led other Sikhs and requested the Guru.
The supply of arms is useless and what should be done about them.
The followers of other religions are like sheep and Muslims are like wolves.
The savours are devouring the helpless as a hedge eats up the crop).
Maula Baksh was brought to the presence of Guru Har Gobind and on asking him about the matter the true but helpless Sikligar explained himself in the following words:
"Sat Gur pas kaih sach sunaiya
Jan bachia-dagha kamaya.”17

(He spoke the truth before the true Guru saying,
“I have deceived you for saving my own life”).

Hearing his true confession the Guru was pleased with him and forgave him because he had done that for the sake of his life and under the cruel pressure of the Muslim Rulers. Maula Bakhsh returned home safe and sound being deeply impressed by the lofty character of the Guru of the Sikhs. After that Guru Har Gobind called Bhai Bidhi Chand and Bhai Jetha and asked them to give up purchase of arms from Maula Bakhsh in future. He asked them to go to Marwar and bring some Rajput Lohars (Sikligars) who being Hindu could safely be relied upon. About such Lohars Baines says, “There is also a body of Lohars along the Rajputana border, consisting of Rajputains who from stress of circumstances, probably famine were driven out to adopt this means of getting their living and though called Lohars are apart from.....and above the rest.”18

According to the wish of the Guru some Sikhs went to Marwar and brought some Marwari lohars with them. They met the Guru at the village of Muzang in the vicinity of Lahore under the leadership of their Sikligar brother named Kehar Singh. They were asked to make some swords, spears, guns, and other arms and produce them before the Guru. They prepared the arms as required and after some time came to the Guru at Wadali Guru, situated at the place where now Gurdwara Chhelarta Sahib in the suburbs of Amritsar is situated. Their arms were so masterfully and genuinely prepared that their very sight pleased the Guru and the Sikhs beyond expression. They were asked to remain with the Guru and Sikhs for good and serve them by supplying arms for the battle fields and the Guru took responsibility of their maintenance along with their families.

17 After that many more groups came to the service of the Guru and Sikhs. The Sikligars who came to the Guru became his regular Sikhs and earned a great deal of respect among the Sikhs for their distinguished, loyal and honest services.
During the Gurudom of the Sixth Guru, the Sikhs fought three battles under his command with the Mughals and in all the three battles, the Mughals were utterly routed. But after his death there again came a peaceful lull in the Sikh history which continued until the death of the Ninth Guru, the youngest son of the Sixth Guru. During this period the trade of the Sikligars received some set-back and some of them went back to their native place Rajputana, some settled at different places in the Punjab, some again took to wandering life and some remained with the Guru and the Sikhs. They say that some of them accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs to Assam when he went there in order to help Raja Bishan Singh. By this time thousands of the Sikligars had settled in the Punjab and especially in the native States. The Sikligars became true Sikhs of the Guru whereas their other akin brethren remained Hindu. Their Labana brothers also became Sikh. Although they were addressed by separate appellations, yet ethnically they never considered themselves separate. That is why Rose says, "They are the carriers and hawkers of the hills, and are merely the Punjabi representatives of that class of Banjaras who inhabit the submontane tracts East of the Ganges". That is why, the Banjaras, the Sikligars and the Labanas take equal pride in and respect equally the Saints and brave soldiers of their community, who made some mark in the Sikh history. For instance, Makhan Shah Labana was a true sikh of the ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur. He used to voyage in his ship as a tradesman. Once his ship was caught in a storm in the darkness and dead of the night. He took a vow of offering a large sum of money to the ninth Guru if his ship escaped shipwreck. His vow was fulfilled and his ship was saved from that calamity. As a true Sikh he reached Baba Bakala in the District of Amritsar where the ninth Guru was staying at that time. It is narrated in the Sikh history that after the death of the eighth Guru, Guru Hari Kishan, a great confusion and dispute arose in regard to the succession of the Gaddi of the Sikh Gurudom. Just at the time of his death, he uttered "Baba Bakale". This was a reply to the question of his followers present around him at that time and guided them as to whom should they follow as a Guru after him.
After his death the people went to Baba Bakala but there were 22 Cots of imposters, who claimed the Gurudom as ninth Guru. In the same quest Makhan Shah also reached there in order to fulfil his vow. He was also confused like others for the recognition of the real Guru. At last he went to everyone of them, one by one, and just offered a few pice to each. He believed that the real Guru, who had saved him from the calamity would demand the real amount of the vow, of his own accord. None did it but one—Teg Bahadur and he shouted out of a spiritual thrill, “Guru Ladho Re, Guru Ladho Re” (The Guru has been found). The Sikh history records this fact in the words, “Led by Makhan Shah of the Labana Tribe, who, was a trader by profession and was acting as a Massand in Gujrat (Kathiawar), they sought out Tegh Bahadur and proclaimed him the real Guru.”

Rai Bahadur Kaniya Lal though differs in the name and the place where the person came, narrates that the Guru correctly told even the colour and other particulars of the container in which the avowed money was kept for offering to him. Mohammad Latif, Cunningham, Rose, Macauliffe and Chhabra, all make a mention of this incident of Makhan Shah. James Tod, the unique authority on Rajasthan also describes the Banjaras and their Tanda.

By the time of the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur (1675 A.D.), besides the Punjab the Sikligars had spread in different and remote parts of India. Excepting Sikligars who exclusively took up the profession of the black-smiths, specializing in making the arms, the Labana and Vanjara sections mostly stuck to their traditional profession of carriers.

At the execution of the ninth Guru his dead body was mercilessly and tauntingly exposed at Delhi by the Muslim Imperialists and no Hindu of Delhi dared cremate it on account of the thirsty sword of Aurangzeb, for the blood of the Hindus. Chhabra writes about this, “After the Guru had been executed not a Sikh in Delhi dared to come forward and take away his body for cremation only
under the cover of the stormy night, Bhai Jaito, a Sikh of Labana tribe, removed the body of the Guru for cremation while his head was taken away to Anandpur by Bhai Jiwan. Again we read about the same event, "Only Labana Sikh with a few tribesmen eluding the vigilance of guards, took the headless trunk in a cart to his hut outside the city, and burnt it with all his belongings in order to make out that it was an accident." 

The place where the headless body was cremated is called Gurdwara Rikab Gunj, which was erected in 1790 A. D. by Sardar Baghel Singh, the then leader of the Karor Singhia missal of the Sikhs. As a matter of fact Rikab Gunj was the name of a village. It is situated adjoining the Parliamentary House and Central Secretariat. Now the old building has been demolished and a new elegant building of the white marble is under construction, whose all the expenses are being paid by a Sikh devotee, named Sardar Harnam Singh Suri of New Delhi. The spacious place and surroundings around, enclosed with high walls on all sides, was saved from encroachment and inclusion in the layout of a road of New Delhi, planned by the British Rulers, by the brave resistance of Mata Sham Kaur even by jeopardising her own life. At present her only son, Sardar Gurbax Singh and his family live in F-62, Green Park, New Delhi.

By the time of the death of the ninth Guru there was not much social segregation between the Labanas and the Sikligars, but after that a social divergence began between them. Truly speaking, the Sikligars as Sikhs and their service to the Khalsa Panth became more distinguished during and after the time of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs.

Guru Gobind Singh was inexpressibly hurt by the callous cruelty and religious orthodoxy of the Muslim rulers. His father's death and its episode of the cowardice of the people for whom he sacrificed his life injured his feelings beyond consolation, because those for whom his father laid down his life did not dare even to declare that they were Sikhs and should cremate the dead body of the martyr. Hence he determined to uproot the prejudiced Muslim rule from the soil of India, which he did in an unparalleled brave and sacrificial way. After a long meditation of years he
founded the Khalsa with the title of Singh (lion). Five Kakas or Ks (Kes, Kangha, Kara, Kachhehra and Kripan) became the indispensable religious symbols of the Sikhs. He prepared a vast ground before making such a community of Singhs because he did it about 25 years after the death of his father.

The Kirpan or the sword became the constant companion of the Sikhs, and thousands of the Hindus and the Sajjdhari Sikhs began to assume the principles of Singhs of Guru Gobind Singh. The trade of making swords and other arms was vigorously rejuvenated and the Sikligars again had roaring trade, patronage and appreciation as armourers. They came to know that like the Sixth Guru by whom their forefathers were patronised, Guru Gobind Singh, his grandson and son of Guru Tegh Bahadur had revived the martial spirit of the degenerated people of India. They reached Anandpur Sahib to see him and on asking their whereabouts, they said to the Guru, "We have come from Marwar. We are armourers and since generations we have a high reputation for making arms of the best quality. Binjoli and Salamboor are our native places in Marwar. We are Rajput Sikligars. We had seen Guru Tegh Bahadur when he went to Assam and Raja Bishan Singh won victory; we used to make arms for the army of that Raja. We were saved by the grace of the Guru, otherwise we would have been washed away in the river. The Raja succeed due to the kindness of the Guru and we had been his true Sikhs and have come to you on knowing that now you have succeeded him and you have a great love for arms." At that time, Bhai Chaumpa Singh and Bhai Nand Singh one of the famous devotees of Guru Gobind Singh were sitting there. They presented two swords to the Guru and then they opened a wooden box full of different arms whose examination gave a great joy to the Guru and he said, "We need you very badly. So your coming is very useful to our Khalsa Fauj (the Sikh army). Go and bring all the arms which you have brought in your cart." They did as desired by the Guru and he asked them to remain with him at Sri Anand Pur Sahib to serve the Khalsa with the art of making arms. The names of those Sikligars were Ram Singh and Veer Singh.

Ever since that time the Sikligars have been keeping themselves separate from the Vanjaras and the Labanas though
historically and ethnically they are one and the same people. They were called Marwaris or Marwari Lohars in the Sikh army. By their hardwork, integrity and loyalty their respect and importance rose so much in the eyes of Guru Gobind Singh that they were not only confined to the making of arms but they also became Jathedars (Group leaders) in the Khalsa Army. Besides their perfection as armourers they were enviably brave soldiers. Even nature of their profession needed a great deal of courage and confidence because they had to make, sharpen, repair, replace, and make all sorts of arms in the base of the battlefield, jeopardising themselves in the shower of arrows, bullets and enemy's attacks of all sorts.

Guru Gobind Singh respected the arms much and even in his own writings he addressed and simulised God with arms. His most used simile is sword which he describes as Bhagauti:—

"Pritham Bhagauti Simarke Gur Nanak laeen Dhiyae".
(remember the sword and then invoke Guru Nanak).
He again says while addressing God:—
"Tuhi Kharag dhara Tuhi Bahadwari,
Tuhi Teer Tarwar Kati Katari".
(You are the straight sword and you are the curved one,
You are the arrow, Kati and Katar).

Besides his versified invocation he begins a new composition in the Dasam Granth with the words, "Sri Bhagauti Ji Sahai" (May the Sword help us).

All the true soldiers respect their arms and sometime this type of respect develops into a religious sentiment. That is why the historic arms of the Sikhs preserved at Sri Anand Pur Sahib, Sri Akal Takhat Sahib, Amritsar, Sri Hazur Sahib, Nader etc. are held in great reverence and the Sikhs consider it a great blessing to see them.

One day the Sikligars named Ram Singh and Veer Singh along with their other comrades were busy in making swords. Some were hammering, some were furbishing and some were straightening them, pressing them under their feet. At this time some devout but simple type of Sikh saw them and told them that the arms were being sacrilegied by being trampled under their feet and they
should not be treated so roughly. The armourers immediately kissed the arms with reverence and placed them on their heads. They kept sitting in this position stopping their work. By chance Guru Gobind Singh came walking to that side and he was amazed to see them in that condition. On asking they told him about the matter and the comments of the Sikh who admonished them. The Guru said, "The arms are to be respected indeed by the soldiers who wear and use them in the battle field but the armourers cannot make them if they observe such formal sentiments. Please, begin your work, make and temper with them as you need and like."³⁴.

Being patronised by the tenth Guru a separate bazar of Sikligars was settled at Anandpur Sahib. The Sikligars remained in the service of the Khalsa discharging different duties—soldiers, armourers, watchmen, and wood cutters etc. Bachittar Singh, Sikligar, won an ever-lasting reputation for his bravery when he faced an intoxicated elephant of the enemy and drove him back piercing his forehead with his spear. Bachittar Singh was the son of Ram Singh, who first came to the tenth Guru with his present of arms.

His genealogy is given below:—

| Kehar Singh |
| Bhojoo Singh |
| Veer Singh |
| Rattan Singh |
| Ram Singh |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chittar Singh</th>
<th>Bachittar Singh</th>
<th>Bihara Singh</th>
<th>Hari Singh</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>(Alam)</td>
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</table>

The historical event of the fight of Bachittar Singh with elephant is briefly described below:—

The Hindu Rajput Hill Rajas of Punjab sided with Aurangzeb and attacked Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur Sahib, where the Sikhs along with the Guru were besieged in a fortress by the myriads of the combined forces of the
Hindu Rajas of the Punjab Hills and the Muslim army. One of the most proud Rajas was Kesari Chand Jaswa who intoxicated an elephant and fixed iron plates on his head in order to raze the gate of Lohgarh (the fortress in which the Sikhs were besieged). He took a pledge about which Macauliffe says, "Kesari Chand, however, swore, that if he did not take the fort by evening, he was no true son of his parents. All the future punishments attending to great crimes against the Hindu religion should be his if he failed in his enterprise. He represented that in point of numbers the Sikhs were not even porridge of the Hillmen."³⁵

The Guru heard of Kesari Chand's boasts. Duni Chand, a well known follower of Guru Gobind Singh had also joined the Sikh army along with his other men. Duni Chand came to Anandpur Sahib to help the Guru, with great brags and pomp and show. The Guru told Duni Chand that he had to personally face the intoxicated elephant which would be sent to the gate of the fortress of the Sikhs, as designed by Kesari Chand. Duni Chand was definitely deputed for this courageous duel. At night Duni Chand stealthily fled away along with his companions of Majha from the fortress in order to escape his proposed combat with the elephant. He got out of the fortress by means of a scaling ladder and as God willed his leg was broken by falling down from the ladder. However, he managed to reach his home Amritsar, where he died of the bite of a cobra.

Knowing the cunningness and cowardice of Duni Chand the Guru patted, blessed and exhorted Bachittar Singh Sikligar to face the elephant which was frantically rushing at the gate of the fortress. Mr. Macauliffe again say's, "Bachittar Singh found means to open the gates and went forth to meet the ferocious animal. He raised his lance and drove it through the elephant's head armour. On this the elephant turned round on the hill soldiers, and killed several of them with the offensive weapons attached to his trunk. Some he tread under-feet and others he impaled on his tusks, so that he became a powerful ally of the Sikhs. The hill men made great efforts to stop his career but in vain."³⁶

This historic deed of Bachittar Singh is mentioned by almost
all the historical works of the Sikh history including those of Bhai Santokh Singh, Giani Gyan Singh and Rattan Singh Bhangu, who are the established sources of the Sikh history and the Sikligars as a community, are ever-proud of Bachittar Singh as the Mazahbis are of Jeewan Singh who carried the head of the ninth Guru to Anandpur Sahib, as the Sansis are of Maharaj Ranjit Singh, as the Kalals or Ahluwalias are of Jassa Singh Kalal or Ahluwalia and the Tarkhans or Ramgarhias are of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, for their respective roles which they played in the Sikh history. The Sikligars have now settled a colony named Bachittar Singh Nagar near Gurdwara Bala Sahib, Bhogal, New Delhi.

Like several other loyal Sikhs, some Sikligars also accompanied Guru Gobind Singh during his sojourn to Nader (Hyderabad Deccan) after his exodus from Anandpur Sahib. The Sikligars claim that the Jathas which were sent by the tenth Guru to the Punjab from Hazoor Sahib (Nader) had two Sikligars named Sundar Singh and Bhagat Singh. They also say that Mohan Singh and Badan Singh the members of their tribe accompanied Guru from Punjab to Nader.

Guru Gobind Singh died in 1708 and after his death, the word “Sikligar” became a well-recognised appellation for a certain tribe of armourers in the Punjab. That was the time of sword as the modern warfare and modern scientific weapons of war had not yet come into being. Therefore, they kept wandering, making arms and supplying them wherever they could sell their products. According to Harnam Singh the Sikligars named Manglawri Singh, Lauti Singh, Mangat Singh, Ram Singh, Bal Singh, Lal Singh and Bhagat Singh had been in the service of Maharaj Ala Singh, the founder of the Patiala Sikh State, who died in 1765 A.D. They used to make arms for his army. The descendants of the above named persons are still living at Patiala.

At the time of the war between Sahib Kaur of Patiala and the Marathas, the Sikligars—Kesar Singh, Mehtab Singh, Khem Singh, Gulab Singh and Jawahar Singh made arms for the forces of Patiala. But the traitor Misar Naudha was in collusion with the Marathas and he was displeased with the loyal conduct of the Sikligars and afterwards he imprisoned every one of them for 14 years.
After that the Sikligars served different Missals as armou-

ers. Maharaja Ranjit Singh dissolved all the Missals, but he
employed many Sikligars in his service. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died
in 1839 and the chaotic conditions of his successors and treachery of
the Dogra brothers drove the last nail in the coffin of the
Sikh Empire. The English annexed the Punjab in 1849 A.D.
when the Sikligars were one of the nomadic tribes of the Province,
but they ostensibly and honestly followed the profession of
armourers. Some of them were employed by the Britishers
for making swords and especially khukris of the Gurkhas. Since
the later half of the Nineteenth Century the Science has been
making very long strides. The Lethal weapons, aeroplanes, air-
guns and bombs have displaced swords and many other arms
of battle field due to which the traditional and hereditary pro-
fession of Sikligars received a great set back.

After the suppression of the crime of Thuggee, the British
rulers began to restrict the movements of the wandering tribes
of India. Instead of their rehabilitation and reclamation on
proper, humane and scientific lines they imposed on them an
unimaginative, "CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT" in 1871 which
demoralised, degenerated and degraded them for generations.
We read about the Banjara brothers of Sikligars, "They are
notified as a Criminal Tribe in four Districts of Uttar Pradesh
and in parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Lambadis of
Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar Districts and those from other
provinces were notified in Bombay State and Lambadis
(also known as Sugalis) in Madras were once declared as a
criminal tribe. Charan Banjaras are a notified criminal tribe
in Hyderabad."38 About this one may see also the works of
Kennedy,39 Macmunn40 and Mullaly.41

But to the good-luck of the Sikligars, they were not inclu-
ded in the Criminal Tribes Act and though they are one of the most
wandering and well-known Gypsy tribes of Northern India,
they have never been stigmatised with the bad odour of criminals.
However, their socio-economic and political back-wardness en-
titled them to be included in the list of the Scheduled
Castes and they are treated so in the Punjab, Hamachal Pradésh
and Delhi as notified in the lists and gazettes published by the Indian Government.

Insipite of being members of the Scheduled Castes there were the persons of certain communities who could not avail themselves of the reserve rights and concessions of the Scheduled Castes because the Government declared, "Notwithstanding anything contained in Paragraph 2, no person who possesses a religion different from Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste, provided that every member of the Ramdas, Kabir Panthi, Mazhabi or Sikligar Caste resident in Punjab or the Patiala and East Punjab States Union shall in relation to that State be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Castes whether he possesses the Hindu or the Sikh Religion."

Therefore along with some other castes the Sikligars could avail themselves of the reserve rights inspite of being Sikh but they have not taken proper advantage from this privilege because of their unsettled life and illiteracy. However, now some groups of these people have settled at Delhi and in various parts of Punjab. Their tendency to settle down is on the increase and consequently great cultural, social, economic, religious and political changes are likely to occur in their life in the near future.

REFERENCES

5. Ibid: pp. 136, 137.


13. Ibid: Quoted in the Footnote


17. Ibid


30. Ibid.


32. Ibid. p. 809.

33. Ibid, pp. 169, 171, 172, 175, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, and 187.

34. Ram Singh: Shastar Shinghar, p. 18.


41. Mullaly S. Fredrick: Notes on the Criminal Classes of Madras Presidency, pp. 28 to 45, Madras, 1892.

See also the report of the Backward Classes Commission, Vol. II, pp. 148, 151, 179 and 182.

43. The Gazette of India, pp. 168, 171, published by Ministry of Law, Government of India, New Delhi, Friday August 11, 1950. See also Ministry of Law Notification, pp. 5, 6, 12 September, 1951, New Delhi.

44. India's President's Constitution (Scheduled Castes Order), 1950. See also the report of the Backward Classes Commission, Vol. I, pp. 29, and 30.
DEMOGRAPHY OF SIKLIGARS*

Although most of the wandering tribes of Punjab have taken to a settled life yet the Sikligars lead a gypsy life. Excepting at Delhi there is no large and permanent habitation of these people anywhere else in Northern India. The Sikligars of Delhi settled there after their migration from the West Punjab at the time of the partition of the province in 1947. The following encampments are found in Delhi where they have been living for 18 years. Their population is open because scores of their families sometimes go to Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, lead a wandering life for a year or so and again come back to Delhi. Sometimes new families also come and settle themselves in these colonies. I have studied 663 Sikligar families of Delhi and the data were collected in the months of April, May, June and July, 1962. The colony-wise distribution of the Sikligar families, is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colonies</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bachittar Singh Nagar, near Gurudwara Bala Sahib, Bhogal, New Delhi.</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bahadur Singh Nagar, near Ashram, Bhogal, New Delhi.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Along the canal bank, near Bagh Kare Khan.</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bharat Nagar.</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hill of Prem Nagar.</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>663</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,358</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## AGE-GROUPS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Total No. of families</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
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<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
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<td>585</td>
<td>303</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
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<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>663</strong></td>
<td><strong>3358</strong></td>
<td><strong>1762</strong></td>
<td><strong>1596</strong></td>
<td><strong>440</strong></td>
<td><strong>373</strong></td>
<td><strong>214</strong></td>
<td><strong>181</strong></td>
<td><strong>466</strong></td>
<td><strong>449</strong></td>
<td><strong>421</strong></td>
<td><strong>399</strong></td>
<td><strong>191</strong></td>
<td><strong>172</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage of Total Population</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>52.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>47.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(III) Their Original Districts

I gathered information from each family regarding its original district from which it came to Delhi. Most of the families have migrated from the West Pakistan, but some of them also hail from the various Districts of East Punjab, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Original District</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur State</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhar (Sindh)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad (Sindh)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shālkāpūr (Sindh)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi (Sindh)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multān (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyālpūr (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhpura (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīālkot (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshiarpur (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurdaspur (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat (W. Punjab)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambala (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferozepur (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangra (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hissar (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathinda (E. Punjab)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was discovered on investigation that the Sikligars who have come from Sindh and Bahawalpur had gone there from Punjab and some of them remained there for even 20 to 30 years before the Partition of India and at the time of division of India they
THE SIKLIGAR FOLK

1. Four generations.

From left to right:
Sardar Aroor Singh, his son, grandson & great grandson

2. The Sikligar Women folk.
The Sikligar Folk

3. The Sikligar women unwinding strings of waan.

4. The Sikligar children.
had to migrate to India. Baba Arur Singh, the oldest (98 years) Sikligar living in the colony of Bahadur Nagar, told me that most of the Sikligars, who hail from Sindh are those whose ancestors fled away from Multan at the time of the battle between the Sikhs and the English troops, which took place at Multan. It was the Sikh Sikligars who used to make and sharpen the arms of the Sikh soldiers and when the Sikhs were defeated and massacred rank and file by the Britishers, the Sikligars fled away in order to escape the wrath of the English Invaders. So in reality all the Sikligars now living at Delhi are originally the natives of Punjab.

(IV) Colony-wise Distribution of Sikligar Sub-castes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Sub-castes</th>
<th>Total No. of families</th>
<th>Names of Colonies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaide</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaund</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jioni</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piyale</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonk</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangri</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilpithea</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patwa</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauri</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patelihire</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matlane</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheechi</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghattare</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(V) Family-wise Occupation.

The Sikligars are almost hide-bound in their economic life and mostly confine themselves to their hereditary profession of making iron articles. Although they are very much opposed to service yet
same of them have joined them. The reasons of their avoiding regular services seem to be the following:—

(i) Their nomadic life does not allow them to remain at the same place for a long time and so they cannot join a regular service.

(ii) The wandering spirit in them does not allow them to lose their freedom which they think is the greatest wealth in their possessions.

(iii) Their utter illiteracy and unenlightenment also hamper their free choice of occupation. From the children who can lend a helping hand to the work, to the adults, all contribute their labour to the earnings of the family.

The following are given the family-wise occupations of the Sikligars of different colonies:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Occupation</th>
<th>Name of Colonies.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(No of families following a certain occupation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making house-hold, iron utensils and mending them.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting and turning iron bars (Kandlas) in the building construction.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests (Sikh Granthis).</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop-keepers</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installers of hand-water pumps.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(VI) Income

The income of all the members of a family was totalled up to calculate the monthly income of that family. In this way the enquiries were made from all the 663 families. Then the incomes of all the families were summed up and the income of each colony was found out. The income of the Sikligars of Delhi is given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colonies</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Total no. of members</th>
<th>Total annual income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>1,25461·00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>90,882·00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>1,576,663·00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>1,14,212·00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>1,73,650·00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>663</strong></td>
<td><strong>3358</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,61,868·00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual per capita average income $= \frac{661868}{3358} = 197·10$

Hence monthly average per capita income $= \frac{197·10}{12} = 16·43$ approx.

It may be mentioned that per capita annual average national income of India is 330.00, whereas that of the Sikligar is only 197.10.

(VII) Modern Amenities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Cycles</th>
<th>Watches</th>
<th>Time Pieces</th>
<th>Electric fans</th>
<th>Harmonium</th>
<th>Baby tricycles</th>
<th>Gramophones</th>
<th>Radio Sets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>206</strong></td>
<td><strong>79</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nil</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above data show that the professions of the Sikligars regarding the modern moveable amenities are deplorably insignificant in face of their total population of 3358 persons. However, they have begun to use them in the urban areas. It may be noted that the most of the Sikligars as their data of occupations show daily go to work to distant colonies where they do the work of iron bars (kandlas). Hence they need conveyance and punctuality. But still all of them cannot afford to purchase cycles and watches, and those who can, have bought them. As a matter of fact, on the whole this community is not yet used to use most of the modern amenities because of their being nomadic, leading an unsettled life away from the modern cities.

(VIII) **Widowers and Widows**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>No. of Widowers</th>
<th>No. of Widows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(IX) **Betrothed more than Once**

The dissolution of betrothal is a very great social evil of the Sikligar society. The following table manifests this trend of the Sikligars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Males betrothed more than once</th>
<th>Females betrothed more than once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(X) Religion.

All the Sikligars whom I have studied are Sikhs.

(XI) Marriages by Exchange

The social evil of vatta or marriage by exchange is very much prevalent in the Sikligar society, and the number of such cases found in each colony is given below:

1. Bachittar Singh Nagar 30
2. Bahadur Singh Nagar 23
3. Bagh Kare Khan 19
4. Bharat Nagar 27
5. Prem Nagar 43

Total 142

(XII) Mother-tongue

Their mother-tongue is Punjabi although they have their own slang called Parsi or Bheranwi. They can also easily speak Marwari, which they sometime do.

(XIII) Marriages with Non-Sikligars

The sikligar society is strictly endogamous and among all the families studied only one was found to be the daughter of a Non-Sikligar, and was married to a Sikligar man. She brought 3 children along with her belonging to her former non-sikligar husband, who are called ghulams (slaves). Truly speaking a Sikligar who marries a non-Sikligar woman or gives his daughter to a non-Sikligar is ostracised by the community.

(XIV) Literacy

In literacy the Sikligars are one of the most backward people of India. It is believed that in the past the main cause of their being nonliterate was their nomadic life, because being wanderers they could not put their children in school where they had to
stay and study for long times. This may be said now also about the gypsy Sikligars, but the Sikligar population of Delhi which I have studied has been leading a settled life for 18 years and some families have put their children in schools. Some of them know how to read and write Punjabi and a few of them know a little Urdu. The main causes of their illiteracy are their outlook of life and poverty. As it has already been pointed out all the members of the family who can do something to earn their bare livelihood and the children of school-going age either work the wheel of blowers (pakha) of the furnace or keep the babies while their parents and other elders make the iron articles or go out to sell them. At Delhi there is not even a single middle-pass or matriculate in the total population of 3358 persons. The data about the literacy of the Sikligars of Delhi are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>No. of Male literates</th>
<th>No. of Female literates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of literacy $= \frac{13500}{3358} = 4\%$ Approx.

(XV) Birth Rate

The Sikligars do not engage the services of trained midwives, and nurses. Their hard working and hardy women are not alarmed at the child-birth, like the women of the sophisticated people. It was found during investigation that there is not even a single Sikligar whose birth took place in a hospital or in a nursing-home. It is noteworthy that even after their settlement at Delhi, they have not approached any hospital for medical aid to help the mothers at the time of child's birth. Some old and experienced women of the tribe act as midwives. They do not bother themselves about getting the birth of their children registered. They think it rather ill-omened to the flourishing of
their community. Hence the accurately recorded dates of the birth of Sikligars is not possible to obtain. At any rate I could collect information depending entirely on the memory of the parents of the children born within the calendar year of 1961. The colony-wise data are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Male births</th>
<th>Female births</th>
<th>Births of both sexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>138</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total population of all the 5 colonies is 3358. So the per-thousand birth rate of Sikligars is \( \frac{138 \times 1000}{3358} = 41 \) per thousand approx.

Male birth rate = 22 per thousand
Female birth rate = 19 per thousand

(XVI) Death Rate

The number of the deaths which took place in each colony in 1961 is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Colony</th>
<th>No. of deaths of infants</th>
<th>No. of deaths of others</th>
<th>Total deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>109</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109 deaths in the population of 3358 come to the death rate of 33 per thousand. But one thing is especially salient that out of the total deaths 46 are the deaths of infants; which shows the poor nutrition and lack of hygienic and medical care of the infants.
(XVII) Twins and Super-Twins

In the calendar year 1961 no super-twins were born to the Sikligars of Delhi. But the data on the birth of twins are given below:

1. Bachittar Singh Nagar ......Nil
2. Bahadur Singh Nagar ......One (Both males)
3. Bagh Kare Khan ......One (One male & one female)
4. Bharat Nagar ......Nil
5. Prem Nagar ......Two (One twins of males and the other of females)

4 (Four)

(XVIII) Infirmities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>Crippled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of both sexes = 19

(XIX) Married Once or More

Many Sikligars marry by exchange (vatta or vatto-satta). So much so that those who do not have daughters face a great handicap to marry their sons because it is their daughters who will bring wives for their brothers, being exchanged for the sisters of their husbands or for any other females of the side of their in-laws. The blackest stigma on the society of Sikligars is their apathy to the stability of the marriages performed by vata.
Sometimes even at the slightest resentment the husband turns out and sends away his wife to her parents and takes back his own sister, whom he treats just as an exchangeable commodity, which could be bargained as long as it is physically valid to do so. Hence such a husband again gives his sister to somebody else and gets a girl for him as a wife. Again he may repeat the process of deserting his wife and bringing his sister back for giving her to somebody else who could give him a wife in exchange. During my investigation, I learnt that a sikligar married 9 times by means of the exchange of his same sister. Some of the men go to such an extent that they may marry themselves by giving their own daughter in exchange, in case they are widowers.

It does not mean that all the Sikligars, marry by vatta or even those who marry by exchange desert their wives. Some of such persons remain loyal to each other as husband and wife throughout their life. Those who do not have their sisters to do vatto satta, purchase their wives by the payment of the bride price.

At any rate the marriages of Sikligars do lack stability and 15% of them desert their wives to marry again, as is shown by the following data of the Sikligars of Delhi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Total No. of families</th>
<th>Total No. of families which married more than once by exchange</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>663</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore out of 663 couples, 565 have stable and lasting marriages as they have married only once.
(XX) Still Births

The data of the still births of Sikligars are given below:

(1) Bachittar Singh Nagar ... 1
(2) Bahadur Singh Nagar ... 1
(3) Bagh Kare Khan ... 3
(4) Bharat Nagar ... 1
(5) Prem Nagar ... 3
Total 9

(XXI) Sterility of Women

In the population of 3358, seven women were found to be sterile. Four had primary sterility and three had secondary sterility. All of the seven had passed the child bearing age.

(XXII) Adoption

A Sikligar is allowed to adopt a boy as a son and a girl as a daughter, if he is issueless. But his society definitely desires that he should adopt a child of the caste and preferably of his own subcaste. However, any Sikligar child can become a legitimate adoptee of any other Sikligar. Some instances of the Sikligars are found of their adopting the children of other castes, but such an adoptee and his descendants are considered low and usually the Sikligars hate to give their daughters to them in marriage as they are treated as ghulams (slaves). The following is the condition of adoption among the Sikligars who have settled at Delhi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>No. of adoptees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 3
(XXIII) Victims of Small Pox

The statistics of the morbidity of the Indian population are neither adequate nor reliable. A considerable part of Indian population is killed by the diseases like cholera, small pox, fevers, mostly malaria, dysentery, diarrhoea, injuries, and many other causes, but it is not possible, to get the complete and accurate information of the sufferers of these diseases and it is especially difficult to get this information from the Sikligars who hardly go to a doctor. Now the Sikligars settled at Delhi have begun to consult a doctor or a physician and have the advantage of the modern medicines, but they began it just a decade ago. Anyhow they cannot give reliable information of a person who suffered from or who died of certain diseases. Small pox is such a disease that its scars and pitted marks on the body of a person can speak for themselves. Secondly one may get the attacks of some other diseases, several times in life, and fevers being so repeated and often, one cannot remember their frequency of attack, but small pox as a rule attacks a person once in life and usually leaves its marks on the body of the victim. Hence being more easy and reliable than other diseases, I could have the following information of the victims of small pox in 1961:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>No. of Sufferers</th>
<th>No. of Deaths</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur SinghNagar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhag Kare Khan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>3358</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was also informed that out of 9 deaths, 6 were infants (below 1 Year), 2 were children of 3 and 4 years respectively and one was a girl of 9 years.

\[
\text{No. of deaths due to Small Pox per thousand persons} = \frac{9 \times 1000}{3358} = 2.7
\]
(XXIV) Charms and Amulets

The Sikligars are great believers in sorcery and witchcraft. Many of them wear amulets, charms and enchanted threads against various ailments—chronic headache, intermittent fever, fear in sleep, abortion and miscarriages, death of children in infancy, evil eye and against the attack of evil spirit, ghosts, and witches. It was found that 2 per cent men, 7 per cent women and 5 per cent children wear magical and enchanted emulets and threads.

(XXV) Use of Contraceptives

Out of 663 families of Sikligars, only 9 told that they had used some modern contraceptives, but all others reported to have a hate against these things, and truly speaking most of them do not know these birth-controlling devices. The 9 men who have made the use of French Leathers just a few times also informed to have left their use and they had the contagion of their use from their colleagues of other castes with whom they are in services.

(XXVI) Chharas

As it has already been stated the Sikligars usually give their females in marriages on the payment of bride price or in exchange. So some of the very poor persons who do not have daughters or sisters to give in marriage as vatta have got to remain unmarried or chharas, because neither they can have a wife by exchange nor they can pay the bride-price. A chhara is a man who cannot marry in life in spite of his best efforts to do it. In all 7 chharas were told to be living in the Sikligar population under study.

(XXVII) Furniture.

Not to speak of other types of furniture, the Ladaniyas (nomadic Sikligars) do not have even cots to sleep upon, because they sleep on the ground wherever they temporarily encamp, but all the Sikligars of Delhi have cots in their houses, but only 2% of the
families have an ordinary type of chairs, a stool or a small table used as a modern furniture.

(XXVIII) **House-Lights.**

No colony of the Sikligars is electrified. Twenty-three per cent of the families (153 families) use lanterns lighted with kerosine oil whereas 77% (510 families) use deevas or earthen or tin open lamps with a resel from which the burning wick protrudes out.

(XXIX) **Animals kept by Sikligars.**

At Delhi 55% of the Sikligars have hounds and occasionally go for hunting to kill hare, porcupine and boar. Some of them have fowls (hens and cocks). A few of them rear pigs. Out of 663 families only one family living in Prem Nagar has a buffalo as a milch-animal. Some of them have also goats for milk, but each family has only one goat.

(XXX) **Ghar-Jawai.**

The marriage by service is also common among the Sikligars. This manner of marriage is called kaul-parose (ghar-jawai). A ghar-jawai is a son-in-law living with his wife in the house of her parents. Sometimes such a son-in-law may be adopted like a son, if his father-in-law is sonless. The number of ghar-jawai of the Sikligars in the five colonies at Delhi is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>No. of Ghar-Jawai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachittar Singh Nagar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahadur Singh Nagar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagh Kare Khan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat Nagar</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Nagar</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[33\]
Married Sex-Life of Sikligars.

The Sikligars are very particular about their moral character, which like the other Indians they interpret as the sexual behaviour of a person in society. Both the males and females are strictly restricted in their sexual activities before marriage. But as it has already been mentioned in the system of their marriage by vatta, after marriage some females become quite lax in their sexual life. However, under this heading we are to discuss the frequency of coitus as committed by the Sikligars with their own spouses. The frequency of coitus is very important from sociological, psychological and demographic points of view because it does affect the total children born and the fertility rate of a society.

It is not possible to get correct rather any accurate information from the conservative and shy types of Indian families regarding their sex habits, and it is especially difficult in case of the primitive people like the Sikligars, who are illiterate and do not understand the errand and importance of such a query. Anyhow, I could get the answers to the following questions from 205 Sikligars, and that also with a promise to never disclose their names, because in case of the rest of the families I could not dare put these questions to them on account of their old ages and position in society, because I knew that if I put these questions to them my position would become very awkward and I would not get response from any family at all:

(1) When did you marry?

(2) Did you postpone your first cohabitations with your wife for some time and if so for how much time?

(3) Did you go out of your home to celebrate honey-moon?

(4) What is the frequency of your coitus, daily, weekly, or monthly?

(5) Have you ever had multiple coitus in the same day?

(6) Does your separation from your wife affect your sexual attitude?

(7) What is the total number of your children (including both living and dead)?
8. What was your age at marriage and what was the age of your wife at that time?

The information thus collected from two hundred and five families is given below:

(XXXI) Duration of Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration in years</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 1 year</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1—4</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5—9</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10—14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15—19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20—24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>205</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(XXXII) Initiation of Married Sex-Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Time after which married sex life was started</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Started on the very day of marriage</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four days after</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One week after</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After one month</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three months after</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six months after</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year after</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three years after</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four years after</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five years after</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six years after</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven years after</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>205</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was revealed by the respondents that the cases in which coitus took place more than one year after the marriage day was due to the immaturity of the bride and so much so that in 3 cases the brides attained puberty seven years after their marriage.

(XXXIII) Honey-Moon

Honey-moon is not a custom of Indian origin and culture. However, some of the Indians have adopted it from the English and the English literature and they go on a honey-moon trip. In Northern India it is called "suhag-ki-raat" (the first night of the cohabitation of the bride and the bride-groom). Neither any Sikligar knows the custom of going on an outing to celebrate it nor any one of them has ever done it.

(XXXIV) Frequency of Coitus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Every alternate day</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a week</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a month</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 3 months</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 4 months</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 6 months</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 8 months</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 10 months</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 12 months</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 15 months</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 20 months</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

205

(XXXV) Multiple-Coitus

Out of 205 respondents 22 told that they did not remember anything definite about multiple coitus or we may say they shirked to reply to this question, but 183 stated that they had
multiple-coitus (more than one copulations with due ejaculation) within the same day in the early days of conjugal life. All could not exactly say the period of their multiple coitus. However, 29 of them said that they had three copulations every night during the first six months after their marriage, 21, said that they had 3 coitus every night for six months after the marriage, 13 stated that they had 2 coitus every night, during the first year after their marriage. But four out of the 5 men the duration of whose marriages was below one year, stated that in the first month after marriage, each of them had 4 coitus every day. One stated that in the first week after marriage he had seven copulations every day, but this statement was unbelievable to me.

Their general attitude of married sex life revealed that the frequency of multiple-coitus was more in the initial days of conjugal life but with the passage of time and advancement of age it went on decreasing. They also told that on certain days when they had guests in their houses, they themselves fell sick or their wives were ill, or under menstrual period (usually a week in a month) they did not have any coitus. They also said that the copulations were more frequent in winter than in summer because due to perspiration and difficulty of sleeping together and the fact of sleeping out of the hut in the open, due to heat, the chances and tendencies are much fewer in summer than those of winter when one enjoys more the warmth of the embrace.

(XXXVI) Effect of Separation

All the men told that their attraction and desire to co-habit with their respective wives increased much during their separation from them and on re-union they had more frequent and multiple coitus with them.
(XXXVII) Total Number of Children Born.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of children born to a couple</th>
<th>No. of couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average number of children born per couple = 4.2.

(XXXVIII) Ages at Marriage

Besides their own respective ages at marriage, the 205 husbands also told the respective ages of their wives at the time of marriage.

(A) Age of husbands at marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age—group</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9—15 yrs.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16—20 „ „</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21—25 „ „</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26—30 „ „</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31—35 „ „</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36—40 „ „</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 205

Average age at marriage = 22 yrs. approx.
(B) Ages of wives at marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age—group</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5—11 yrs.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12—15</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16—18</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19—20</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20—24</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25—28</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average age at marriage = 16.3 yrs.

REFERENCE

*SHER SINGH "SHER"—Demography of Sikligars, published in the 'VANYAJATI' Vol. XI No. 2, April, 1963, DELHI.*
THE SIKLIGAR DIALECT

The Sikligars have their own slang, like the other gypsy tribes of India, but it is not very much developed and has a very small vocabulary and for most of the things they do not have any other terms than the ones used in the general languages of Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi, of Northern India. Another fact of the Sikligar dialect is that most of its terms are identical with those of the other gypsy tribes of Northern India, which gives a clear-cut clue to their ethnic affinity to these gypsy people. They have a tendency of adding nh to the beginning of words of commonly spoken languages, for which they do not have separate words in their own slang, for instance, they call nhulse to the word pulice (police), nhandook is used for sandooq (box) and nhumajh for samajh (understanding). Besides, the affixes of nh they also use the affixes of kh, dh and chh in case of many words.

On the whole the Sikligar dialect is a mixture of Punjabi and Marwari Hindi, but some of the terms can be called their own slang. Now they are gradually decreasing the use of their own dialect, and if they are properly settled and acculturated in the Indian society, it will not be a surprising statement to make that some day their future generation will forget their tribal slang. In collecting the slang terms of Sikligars, I had to face a great deal of difficulty and had to undergo a very prolonged patience, because just like the people of other gypsy tribes no Sikligar is prepared to disclose his tribal slang to any outsider and if one does it he is looked down upon by
his other members of the tribe. Anyhow, I could win their confidence and create a sort of friendship with some Sikligars,—Arur Singh of Bahadur Singh Nagar, Chetan Singh, Munshi Singh and Narain Singh of Bachittar Singh Nagar, from whom I gathered the following information about their dialect:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Sikligar</strong></th>
<th><strong>Punjabi</strong></th>
<th><strong>Hindi</strong></th>
<th><strong>English</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>Boli</td>
<td>Boli</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tundhka</td>
<td>Soor</td>
<td>Soor</td>
<td>Pig, Boar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurnohn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudro</td>
<td>Ghora</td>
<td>Ghora</td>
<td>Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudri</td>
<td>Ghori</td>
<td>Ghori</td>
<td>Mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napera</td>
<td>Gadha</td>
<td>Gadha</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khota</td>
<td>Khota</td>
<td>Ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naperi</td>
<td>Gadhi</td>
<td>Gadhi</td>
<td>She-donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khoti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bheranwan</td>
<td>Sikligar</td>
<td>Sikligar</td>
<td>A Sikligar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bheranwin</td>
<td>Sikligarni</td>
<td>Sikligarni</td>
<td>A Sikligar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharaloo</td>
<td>Aurat</td>
<td>Stri</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zanani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teemin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharandi</td>
<td>Randi</td>
<td>Rand</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippi</td>
<td>Roti</td>
<td>Roti</td>
<td>Bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaeen</td>
<td>Pani</td>
<td>Pani</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudne</td>
<td>Daney</td>
<td>Daney</td>
<td>Grain</td>
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<tr>
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**Sentences**

Sikligar, Punjabi, Hindi and English are represented by S, P, H and E respectively.

(1)

S. Make ruas taunh hith.
P. Mere kole aa ke baith jaa.
H. Mere pass aa kar beth jaa.
E. Come and sit near me.

(2)

S. Main aaj khaul hitoon ga.
P. Main aj ghar jawan ga.
H. Main aaj ghar jaanu gaa.
E. I will go home today.

(3)

S. Kuchh uleena hai to uleech.
P. Kujh kahna hi tan kahe lai.
H. Agar kuchh kahna hai to kahe lo.
E. Say, if you want to say something.

(4)

S. Makhe khaul ke nhare nujhak hitte hain.
P. Sadde ghar de saare saun gai nen.
H. Hamare ghar wale sab so gai hain.
E. All the members of our family have slept.
(5)
S. Jagorate rauhko, koi gaim nan barkhe.
P. Jagde raho mate koi chor aa jai.
H. Jagte raho, kahin koi chor naan aa jai.
E. Do not sleep lest some thief should come.

(6)
S. Napahra barkhia, hit ja.
P. Sipahi aa gai hai daur ja.
H. Sipahi aa gaya hai, daur ja.
E. The constable has come, run away.

(7)
S. Preeto ke chhiah mahan larkhai hobri.
P. Preeto de viha vich larai hoi.
H. Preeto ke bhâ men larai hui.
E. A fight took place in the marriage of Preeto.

(8)
S. Iha ruach gelche bare nhararti hobran.
P. Ih punj munde bare shirarti han.
H. Yeh paanch larke bare shirarti hain.
E. These five boys are very mischievous.

(9)
S. Tanhen bherawan ko tang koolen
P. Dooje lok Sikligaran noon tang karde han.
H. Doosre lok Sikligaron ko tang karte hain.
E. The other people tease the Sikligars.

(10)
S. Nup kool.
P. Chup kar.
H. Chup kar.
E. Be quiet.

(11)
S. Oh hite jaan.
P. Oh jaa rahe nen.
H. Woh jaa rahe hain.
E. They are going.
THE SIKLIGAR DIALECT

S. Oh hitenge.
P. Oh jange.
H. Woh jain ge.
E. They will go.

(13)
S. Oh hite thay.
P. Oh gae san.
H. Woh gae thay.
E. They went.

(14)
S. Rawajni nhut de.
P. Bandooq sut de.
H. Bandooq phaink de.
E. Throw away the gun.

STORIES

I asked my Sikligar informants to relate some incidents of their life in the form of stories, in the Sikligar dialect, which they did and I noted them verbatim as they went on speaking. The sentence-wise translation of the stories in the Sikligar dialect is given also in Punjabi, Hindi and English languages:

(1)

Sikligar :


Punjabi :

(1) Sade Sikligar shiκar khedan gai. (2) Sade Sikligar Panipaton Faridabad gai. (3) Uthe ja ke Sikligaran ne shiκar
Hindi :


English :

(1) Once our Sikligars went out for hunting. (2) They went from Panipat to Faridabad. (3) They hunted there. (4) A Jat caught them. (5) He detained them there. (6) He snatched their snare from them. (7) He released them with a great difficulty. (8) Then they returned home. (9) Being afraid of this incident, we do not go out for hunting.

Sikligar :


Punjabi :


Hindi :

Sikligaron ko mar diya.

**English:**

(1) Once the Sikligars reached the Ganges. (2) They hunted there. (3) During hunting they killed boars. (4) They wandered in the jungle for several days. (5) They spread the snare also. (6) They retreated and did not go ahead. (7) From one side a lion emerged. (8) He killed several Sikligars.

**Sikligar:**


**Punjabi.**


**Hindi.**


**English.**

(1) Our one Sikligar works. (2) He cannot make both ends meet. (3) He kept wandering all the day long with his goods. (4) The goods were not sold. (5) He brought the goods back, to his house. (6) He remained treading all the day long. (7) He sat in the sun. (8) He suffered from heat. (9) He felt thirsty, and took water. (10) He went to take iron. (11) The iron was not available. (12) The luck became very bad (13) He could not make even clothes for his small boys. (14) On Sankrant. and Poornmashi, the subscriptions were raised, but he could not pay even four annas, he had nothing. (15) Several Sikligars did not have any money.

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**Sikligar.** (This story was related to me by Sardar Arur Singh who is 98 years old and lives at Bahadur Singh Nagar, Bhogal, New Delhi)


Punjabi.


Hindi.


English

(1) Clitfaur Garh was the native home of our Sikligars. (2) Once the Khilji king came there. (3) He killed many people. (4) After fleeing from there, our ancestors kept wandering in India for several centuries. (5) Some died, some survived and settled at Multan. (6) Then a battle took place between the Sikhs and the English at Multan. (7) Many people were killed. (8) Jaimal Singh was the leader of those who survived. (9) He was my grand-father. (10) I have not seen him. (11) Then the English ordered that any Sikh who is seen anywhere should be beheaded. (12) Then our ancestors ran away to Punch and Rajauri for the sake of their lives. (13) Then they kept roaming for many years, and made swords and double-edged swords for the Dogra Rajputs of Poonch, Rajauri, Jammu and Kashmir. (14) Then they came back to Punjab. (15) A flood came on their way, and they were besieged in a ship along with some people of the Kehal tribe. (16) They learnt the art of making baskets from those people. (17) Then they followed the same profession. (18) On the restoration of peace they came back to Punjab and everybody went to whatever direction he liked and again they began to make swords, guns, and double-edged swords (khandas).

Sikligar (This story was related to me by Sardar Kamal Singh, the panchayat head-man of the Sikhgar colony of Prem Nagar, New Delhi.)

Punjabi.


Hindi.

(1) Do aadmi ikathe ja rahe they. (2) Raste men ek sundar si stri mil gai. (3) Ek nen kaha, bhai sunn, stri to bauhat sundar hai. (4) Bare bhai ne chhote se kaha, bhai, tu le le. (5) Chhote nen bare se kaha keh tun hi biyah le. (6) Woh use apne ghar le chale. (7) Raste men stri nen kaha, pani peena hai, piyas lagi hai. (8) Bare bhai nen chhote bhai se kaha, bhai tun pani la. (9) Chhote nen kaha, tun la, main bhabi ke pass khara hun. (10) Bara bhai pani lene chala giya. (11) Jab woh door chala giya to stri ne chhote bhai se kaha, tun mere sath aisa-waisa kam kar. (12) Devar nen kaha main tere sath yeh kam nehin karoong ga, kyonke tun mere bare bhai ki stri hai. (13) Phir woh kahne lagi keh main tujhe tere bare bhai ko kahe kar marwa doongi. (14) Jab bara bhai aiya, to stri ne apne sare kapre phar diya. (15) Apne sare baal khol kar baith gai. (16) Bare bhai nen stri se poocha, keh kiya hua? (17) Stri nen kaha ke tere-chhote bhai nain mere sath aisa-waisa kam jor se kiya hai. (18) Bhai nen sunte hi talwar utha li. (19) Dono bhai talwaron se lare. (20) Bauhat larai hui aur larte larte dono bhai mare gai. (21) Stri jis ki thi uske pass chali gai. (22) Aesa hai striyon ka kam, dono bhai lara kar marwa diya.

English.

(1) Two men were going together. (2) They came across a beautiful woman on their way. (3) One said to the other, "What a beautiful woman she is!" (4) The elder brother said to the younger brother that he should have her. (5) The younger said to the elder that he might marry her. (6) They took her home along with them. (7) On the way she said, "I have to
take water, I am thirsty.” (8) The elder brother said to the younger that he should fetch water. (9) The younger said to the elder that he should fetch water, because he was standing by his sister-in-law. (10) The elder brother went to fetch water. (11) When he went away, the woman said to her brother-in-law that he should co-habit with her. (12) The brother-in-law said that he would not do it because she was the wife of his elder brother. (13) Then she said that she would incite his brother and get him killed. (14) When the elder brother came, she tore out her clothes. (15) She unruffled her hair and sat down. (16) The elder brother asked the woman what had happened. (17) The woman said that her brother-in-law had raped her. (18) The brother took up a sword just hearing it. (19) Both the brothers fought with swords. (20) They fought desperately and both of them were killed while fighting. (21) The woman went to the one to whom she belonged. (22) These are the exploits of the women, both the brothers were incited to fight by her and were killed.

Sikligar (This story was also related to me by Sardar Kamal Singh, the head-men of the Sikligar panchayat, Prem Nagar, N. Delhi)
nain khooliyo, “tain nein pahle bhi to khasam lar kitno roo piyar kolo par phir mare ko kadhor ke apne gothan se dahar-ki nhuti te looge ko phansi par charha diyo, tun mekhe lar bhi waise kolen gi.” (50) Khasam neiu gusse main talwar lothi te bayyar ka nheese katore dinho.”

Punjabi.


Hindi.

(1) Ek Pati tha aur ek patni. (2) Un dono ka bahaut piyar tha (3) Jab pati bahar jata, tab patni ro ro kar mar jati, aur jab aurat bahar jati to pati ro ro ka mar jata. (4) Donon nein soch kar baat ki. (5) Patni nein kaha hamara bahaut piyar tha. (6) Ab aese karo, keh agar pahele mein mar jaon to aap bhi mere sath mar jana. (7) Aggar—aap pahele maro to mein aap ke sath mar jaon gi. (8) Kudrat Bhagwan ki pati pahele mar giya. (9) Sare bhai band ikathe ho gai. (10) Unhon nein kaha, tu ise apne hathon se nahlaa, par woh
(1) Once there were a husband and a wife. (2) They loved each other very much. (3) When the husband went out the wife used to weep bitterly, and when the wife was away, the husband used to weep. (4) Once both of them thought over this matter. (5) The wife said, "We have great love with each other". (6) Now you should do like this that if I die before, you should die along with me. (7) If you die before, I will die along with you. (8) As God willed it, the husband died before. (9) All the kith and kin gathered. (10) They said to the woman that she should bathe her husband with her own hands, but she said to them, "I will also die along with my husband". (11) When they lifted the dead body of the man, she also accompanied them. (12) When she became ready to go with them, the relatives said to her why she was going with them? (13) The woman said, "I will also die along with my husband". (14) They advised her much, but she did not agree with them, and accompanied them. (15) All the people came home after burying him, but she did not come. (16) She put on all the clothes of her Coffin and sat there putting dust in her hair. (17) She did not come home even by asking and all others returned home. (18) Then she began to weep and wept much. (19) The king had hanged a man on that day in that village. (20) The king ordered the servant to keep a watch on the dead body of the man, who was hanged, all the night long so that his guardian might not take away the dead body. (21) The king said, "I will hang you if they take away the body". (22) When the watchman heard the voice of weeping in the grave-yard, he thought who was
weeping. (23) Then what did the chaukidar do? (24) He went there leaving the dead body alone. (25) The guardians took away the dead body in his absence. (26) When he reached there, he saw that the woman was very beautiful. (27) The watchman said to her how beautiful she was and why was she weeping? (28) Tell me what has happened to you? (29) She said, "Go away, do not stay here". (30) The watchman advised her to go home. (31) He said to her that she was very beautiful and many people would take her and she would have another husband. (32) She said to him, "Then you should take me with yourself". (33) He said, "Let us go". (34) She became ready to go. (35) When they reached there they saw that somebody had taken away the dead body. (36) The man said to the woman, "The king asked me to keep a watch over the dead body all the night long, so that some body may not take the dead body, and if some body takes it away, I will hang you". (37) The woman said, "Was the man young or old who had been hanged"? (38) He said that the man was young without beard. (39) The woman said that the people had buried her husband just the other day. (40) Both of us should go and take out his dead body, then I will uproot his hair of the beard from one side and you will do it from the other side, and thus making him beardless we will hang him. (41) He said, "Let us go". (42) Both of them went to the grave and began to dig it up. (43) They took out the dead body after digging the grave and the woman lifted it by the head and the man lifted it by the legs. (44) They brought it uprooting the beard and hanged the dead body, (45) The king saw the dead body intact. (46) Then again the wife had a great love with her husband and did not allow him to go out. (47) He said that she should allow him to go somewhere and earn something. (48) But the woman told that she would die without seeing him. (49) At last the husband told her that she had loved her late husband in the very manner, but then she pulled out the beard from his dead body with her very hands, and hanged his dead body, and would do the same to him. (50) The husband struck the sword in anger and cut off the head of the woman.
A GLANCE AT THE INDIAN GYPSIES AND DENOTIFIED TRIBES AND THEIR ETHNIC COUNTER PARTS OUTSIDE INDIA

Although many Castes and the Tribes have been understood to a good extent yet the denotified and nomadic people of India are an enigma to the State as well as to the society. Excepting some communities which are aboriginal, most of these people are not tribes in any sense but are castes like the other Indian people. The problem of these people is most acute in the Northern India as they are mostly found in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi. They are the descendants of the Rajputs of medieval India, who were expelled from their homelands by the Muslim invaders. Their original homelands are Punjab and Rajasthan. Being dispossessed of their homelands they kept wandering in different parts of India for centuries together. Destitution and poverty are great causes and curses to lower the status and dignity of an individual or a community and so being destitute these wandering people lost their original socio-political position along with economic degradation and especially after their being put under the Criminal Tribes Act in 1871 by the British Rulers. Their movements were restricted and both the state and the society ignored them. Nobody endeavoured to understand or sympathise with them and naturally when the society disowned them they also had little regard for the society in turn. Some of the English writers, policemen and other administrators wrote stray notes on these people but merely with the detective purpose of the police,
just giving their those traits of life which were helpful to the police, paying no attention to their ethnology and history as it is found in the books of Mullaly\(^1\), Lemarchand\(^2\), Kennedy\(^3\), Gunthorpe\(^4\), Hollins\(^5\), Daly\(^6\), Naidu\(^7\), Hari Kishan Kaul\(^8\) and Tomkns and Bhargava\(^9\). Seeing this indifferent attitude of the State, society and writers, Sir George Mackmunn correctly said, "They really present a most interesting ethnological problem and are deserving of much study before an improving and humane Government develops them into the general mass of low caste men\(^10\)."

In spite of his important suggestion nobody cared to take a serious notice of this interesting subject till the late Dr. D. N. Majumdar, made a little study of some denotified and Gypsy tribes on scientific lines studying their anthropometric measurements and blood groups. Almost all the English writers erroneously described the denotified and gypsy tribes as aborigines but Dr. Majumdar tried to correct them by his scientific conclusions saying, "The majority of the Criminal Tribes in Northern India belong to the general Indo-Aryan\(^11\) type."

The Bhotus or the Sansis are believed to be the original ethnic stock of most of the denotified tribes of Northern India and Dr. Majumdar says, "The Karwals and the Bhotus resemble the Khasas of cis-Himalaya and the Jats and the Khatri of Kashmir and Punjab\(^12\)." I have been studying and doing research on the denotified tribes for a decade and my findings strongly corroborate the opinion of Majumdar. The history, traditions, ethnic traits, customs and manners all prove the fact of their being Indo-Aryans. The Criminal Tribes Act was the greatest cause to turn lakhs of Indians into wanderers, gypsies or nomads generally called denotified tribes.

We refer back to the Criminal Tribes Act which was so brutal in its working that the denotified and gypsy tribes themselves, all the selfrespecting Indians including jurists and the national leaders condemned it and demanded its repeal from the British Rulers but all the appeals and agitations fell flat on the ears of foreign rulers. So much so that in 1938 Sir M.V. Subba Rao, Ex-Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court described the Criminal Tribes Act saying, "There are laws which offend the conscience of progressive India.
Take for instance the Criminal Tribes Act which disgraces our statute book." Shri B. Pattabhai Sitaramaya said, about this Act, "To class therefore a whole tribe, indeed a sixtieth of the population of whole India as criminal, is itself an Act of Criminality of which Governments are guilty. It is really an unchallengable example of the exercise of brute force, of which all the Governments are incarnation on earth. The state of suffering of families and tribes classed as criminals, not because of misconduct or of evil deeds done, but because of their birth, is a tale of woe and wickedness." Even Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru condemned this Act at Nellore (Andhra Pradesh) on 18.10.1936 and said, "I am aware of the monstrous provision of the Criminal Tribes Act which constitute a negation of civil liberty. Wide publicity should be given to its working and attempt made to have the Act removed from the statute book."

During my sojourns for the study and collection of the data of the gypsy and denotified tribes of India, I have come across a very interesting but knotty problem of the description of the heroes and adventurous men belonging to them. I heard various narrations of the brave persons belonging to different gypsy tribes but one thing was often noticed that the Meenas, the Sikligars and the Sansis, all the three tribes, contended to claim Sultana as the member of their respective groups. It also proved that Sultana is the most popular and renowned gypsy hero of India of the twentieth century. He was the product of the persecution, the tortures and the curbs of the Criminal Tribes Act. Sultana is one of the bravest and most romantic figures of the Indian outlaws of the present century. Although he was declared an outlaw by the British Government of India yet he had a unique character adorned with all the lofty principles of a generous, great and kind man.

As it has already been mentioned, Sardar Bachittar Singh was a Sikligar and his brave act of combating with and repulsing an intoxicated elephant, prompted to attack him, is a peerless chivalry in the History of India. But the claim of the Sikligars and the Meenas to own Sultana as a member of their respective ethnijc groups, has no ground. Sultana was neither a
Sikligar nor a Meena but was a Sansi or Bhatu or Bhantu, the code term of the Sansi dialect, for a Sansi man.

Some people believe that Sultana was a Mohammedan. This also is a false notion. For the last thirty years, the authentic account of the life of Sultana has been a desideratum in Indian History in General and in Indian gypsyology in particular. So the biographical sketch of Sultana is given in the next chapter which will not only be interesting for the readers but will also be an addition to the chivalrous exploits of the Indian gypsy and denotified tribes. It will also decide the socio-historical dispute regarding the parentage of Sultana. It will also expose the obnoxious, oppressive, cruel and coercive effect of the Criminal Tribes Act, describing the ways in which it forced the gentle, generous, great, guileless and law-abiding citizens to become a terror to the Imperial state and the feudal society.

About two hundred communities suffered from this Act for 81 years till it was repealed by the National Government of India on 31st August, 1952. The National Government of India made very ambitious schemes for the welfare of these people but including them in the general mass of Backward Classes. Some of them including the Sikligars were treated as Scheduled Castes to which they objected and even submitted memoranda to the President of India that they should not be called Scheduled Castes and be treated as a separate category. After the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, generally the gypsies were called “Ex-criminal Tribes.” It may be noted that Sikligars were not included in the denotified tribes but the tribes themselves. Some national leaders and reformers considered this term to be another stigma on their self-respect as free citizens of India. At present these people are called denotified tribes and the Government has earmarked separate budget for their welfare schemes in the Second and Third Five Year Plans. In addition to the reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the opinion of sociologists and social reformers, even the latest report of the Planning Commission
of India expresses its inability to understand and solve the problems of the denotified and gypsy tribes, "the repeal in 1952 of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, embodies a fundamental change in the approach towards Ex-criminal Tribes for surveillance and punishment to correction, rehabilitation and assimilation into the wider community. In view of the small results achieved thus far in rehabilitating denotified tribes, it is considered that their needs should be studied in each one at close range and suitable programmes should be formulated, keeping in view the long term and complex nature of the problems involved. Investigations among denotified tribes have been undertaken hitherto in an ad hoc manner, and in fact enough is not known about them and of the effects on them of cultural, social and economic developments." On the one hand the Govt. of India is proud of their achievements of the welfare schemes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but on the other hand they confess that even 15 years after Independence keeping aside their solution, they have not been able to understand the problems of the denotified and gypsy tribes. Even their classification is haphazard and erroneous. It is sad to say that yet the Govt. has not been able to know the exact population of the denotified and nomadic tribes of India. Very recently it was said about them by the government, "It is a general feeling that the denotified tribes have not received the attention they deserve and the programmes undertaken in recent years for rehabilitation and welfare have had very limited effect. This is attributed to the fact that the programmes did not take into consideration the character and aptitude of the members of denotified communities. No serious attempt seems to have been made to collect detailed information about them nor to tackle their problems on a scientific basis and on an extensive scale. The small results achieved so far in the rehabilitation of the denotified tribes have made it imperative that special efforts should be made to study their problems at close range and that the existing welfare programmes are modified to touch the very core of the problem." 

The above quoted latest remarks of the government need no further explanation of our apathy and ignorance about the denot-
fied and wandering tribes and unless we know them well neither we can improve their condition nor we can assimilate them in the general set up of the Indian society because their problems are different from those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the light of the needs and present situation and for their all-round development, I suggest the execution of following essentials so that we may achieve the desired goal:

(1) The government should collect the population figures of denotified and gypsy tribes because unless the magnitude of their problem is known it is unwise to plan or I would say it is nothing else but preparing a prescription without diagnosing the disease of a person.

(2) The classification of these people should be done anew because it has been done in a wrong way. They should neither be included in the list of Scheduled Castes nor in that of Scheduled Tribes. The term, denotified or nomadic tribes should be dropped and be replaced by, "displaced Rajputs" because the bulk of them are not tribes but are full-fledged Hindu castes. The only difference is that the displaced persons coming from Pakistan were displaced 19 years ago whereas these people were uprooted from their home-lands about 700 years ago but no Government ever tried to rehabilitate them, and they lost their original status.

(3) Not only in services but also in political representations in the State Assemblies and Parliament, they should be given reservations like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to be filled up by nomination because they cannot contest elections due to their scattered and nomadic mode of life and being unable to make any concentrated population to have its voice in any constituency. Their nomination should be made on the basis of their statewise population. In democracy no minority-group can raise its voice to realise its rights and privileges without its spokesman in the Assemblies and Parliament. The condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has improved because of their political representatives who can fight for the rights of their people.
(4) The present research officers working for the welfare of the depressed classes have only some knowledge of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and are ignorant of the ways of life of the denotified Tribes. So some specialists should be appointed by the Central and the State Governments to study all the important aspects of their life. This study, on the one hand will give proper understanding to tackle their problems scientifically and on the other hand will yield many interesting and new findings to Indian History, Anthropology and Sociology.

(5) They must be settled on agricultural lands but present way of rehabilitating them on land in separate settlements is absolutely opposed to the principle of National Integration because in this way these people will be dubbed with another stigma of segregation from the rest of the Society. So they must be settled in the villages where other communities also live with them so that real socio-cultural assimilation may be effected otherwise their social segregation will be perpetuated.

(6) At present no special officer is working anywhere for these people. Not to speak of the States even in the Centre where 13 Assistant Commissioners are working for the welfare of the backward classes, none is separately entrusted with the study and work of the denotified Tribes and the result is that every year the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes reports the same tale and sad story that no countable work has been done for the denotified Tribes as they need a special study. The Central Government should pay an immediate attention to utilize the services of the persons who have made special study of the problems of these people.

(7) The Denotified Tribes come under two categories (a) Settled and (b) Gypsy or nomadic. Both of them should be tackled with separate approaches and treatment according to their level of development and attitude.

(8) A few of the Denotified Tribes have their old, ostensible professions, like the Sikligars, Gadi Lohars, Banjaras and the Tribes following the profession of animal husbandry. They are one of the best pastoralists of the world. They must be encouraged
and re-orientated in their time-honoured professions to touch them with modern methods and techniques.

(9) Being under the urge of wandering, some of them could be given monetary grants to earn their livelihood as hawkers, selling various edibles and other articles.

(10) Some of the binding rules of their Caste Panchayat are detrimental to their advancement and consequently to National Integration. So their Caste-Panchayat should be renovated or replaced by the general Panchayat System now functioning in India.

(11) The problems of the rehabilitation of the Gypsies (the ethnic allies of the Indian Gypsies) have been studied by some European Governments in recent times. Hence some Indian Scholars should be sent by the Government of India to study the European Gypsies and the methods which were applied to settle them. This addition to our knowledge will prove very useful. If the Government sends hundreds of students abroad to study the physical sciences, it will not be an abortive act to send some persons for this study of social science because this addition to our knowledge will be much helpful to solve the problems of 60 lakh of persons of Denotified Tribes which comprise a population double the present population of Delhi.

(12) They should be trained in Cottage Industries and other technical professions whose produce should be purchased and disposed of by the State.

(13) A very extensive work should be undertaken to impart moral instructions to the adults, coupled with general adult education.

(14) They are known to be very brave people being the descendants of martial race of Rajputs and have not lost their instinctive martial spirit. So they must be especially attracted and encouraged for military recruitment to utilise their bravery in a patriotic way, as sentinels of the defence of our motherland.

(15) Their royal origin and history should be included in the curricula of the School children so that our growing generation may
own them as their own brothers and not shun them just as criminals as we have been doing to these innocent people. If we can teach and make our School children mug up long annals of the history of England and other countries, we can profitably teach them something about the primitive people of our country in order to eradicate prejudice from minds of our growing generation. This inclusion of some description of the primitive tribes, in the school curricula, has proved very useful in America, as already put in use according to the recommendation made by the famous American Anthropologists named Beatty, Kennard, Young, Sterner and Macgragor.

Now comes up another important and interesting question, “Are the Sikligars and other allied tribes of Northern India found in any country other than India?” History answers it in the affirmative because of the presence of gypsies in almost all the countries of Europe. Therefore, it is essential to know the history and origin of the European gypsies, and then to find out whether the gypsies allied to them are also found among them or not.

For several centuries, the origin, history, and the customs of gypsies did not receive any serious and systematic attention from the historians, the sociologists and the anthropologists. So for a long time the questions “Who are the gypsies? Whence did they come?”, remained wanting in correct answers. Formerly the following hypotheses were held by the European and other scholars.

1. They were thought to be the Egyptians or the people who came into Europe by way of Egypt.

2. They are the natives of India who were expelled by Tamerlane.

3. They are the Jats, Doms, Sansis, Changars, Sikligars and Bazigars of Punjab.

4. They are the people who were scattered by the Muslim invader Allaudin Khilji when he attacked Rajputana.

5. They are the heretic sect of Athingani.

6. They are the Signes of Herodotus, Signes of Strabo and Sansines of Ptolemaeus.
7. They are the Sintians of Homer; and some scholars suggested that Homer himself was a Gypsy.

8. They are a pre-historic race, who have been living in Europe for three thousand years.

After a great deal of research—but of trial and error, it was in 1763 that by chance Mr. Stefan Valayi, a Hungarian theological student made acquaintance with three Indian students in Leydon and in conversation with them he found out that their language had much in common with that of the gypsies of his own part of Hungary. He drew up a list of one thousand words from the Indian students, which he put up before the gypsies of Raab and he was extremely glad to see when the major part of the vocabulary was correctly translated by the gypsies. It was an extremely important anthropological discovery based on language. It showed that the language of gypsies was an Indian language connected with the original Sanskrit. This discovery shattered the long-held theory that the gypsies are Egyptians. After some time Rudigari, Grellman and Bryant made the discovery more widely acceptable. This discovery was put on more scientific and sound footing by Mr. Pott when he published in 1844-45, his glorious two-volume work, "Die Zigeuner in Europa and Asien". Pot was followed by Miller, Alexander Paspati, Miklosich, Weishocki, Von Sowa, Ko Punicki and many others. The first English writer in this field was Johe Beames who published "A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India" in three volumes. He regarded the language of the European gypsies as one of the Aryan languages of India. M.de Goeje, a Dutch scholar asserted that the Jats, and Zottes are related to them. After Beams, Pischel, Woolner, Macfie, Fink, Kuhn, Littmann, Sampson, Macalister, Ackerley and Gilliat-Smith have done very suggestive work in this field. All of these philologists agree that much of the gypsy language is of Indian origin but it has changed beyond any clear identification with any of the modern Indian languages.

When did the gypsies migrate from India? Miklosich writes that the gypsies might have left India in the Middle-Indian period when the modern dialects were taking their proper shape. Some of the accounts suggest that the gypsies were found outside India.
even before 1000 A.D. The Persian poet Firdausi writes in his Shah Nama that the King Bahram imported about the year 420 A.D., 10,000 persons of both the sexes, from India. This event is also described by the Arabian historian, Hamza of Isphan, who wrote fifty years before Firdausi. Both of them called these people gypsies. The Persian poet Firdausi used the Persian word "Zott", which is the regular Arabic pronunciation of Jatt or Jat of the modern Syrian word for the gypsies. From a detailed of the gypsies it is clear that they passed much time in Persia and Greece before they spread in different parts of Europe. This is proved by their language as Greek words are found in all the European gypsy dialects, including English. It is also heard from Tabari that after Byzantine was conquered in 855 A.D. the Zott (Jat) inhabitants with their women, children and cattle were taken as prisoners to Greek Empire. There are many accounts which show that the gypsies were in Europe in the 14th century. The gypsies were in Corfu in the early fourteenth century. The Empress Catherine de Courtenary-Valois (1301-46) granted to the Suzerains of Corfu, authority to receive as vassals certain homines vaginiti coming from the Greek mainland and using the Greek rite and by the end of the 14th century all these homines vaginiti were subjected to one Baron, Gllanuli de Abitabulo. If the gypsies were present in Corfu, then the Italians must have come in contact with them earlier because the island belonged to Venice from 1401-1497. This contact is proved by the mention of the gypsies made by a Venetian Viceroy, Othavianao Buono in about 1395. Hop has invited the attention of many people to the number of ruins in the peninsular bearing the name Gyphto Kastron "Gypsy Fortress". At about the same time we have the proof of the gypsies being in Rumania. In 1387, Mircent I, Prince of Wallachia renewed a grant to forty Salashi-that is "tents" of the gypsy families by a Charter which was preserved in the State Archives at Bucharest. The gypsies were serfs in Rumania in 1370 and they remained so until 1856. Bataillard has tried to prove that the foreigners called Bemische, who were established sometime before 1400 in bishopric of Wrikburg, were gypsies. Mr Winstedt's records clearly prove that the gypsies were present in Central Europe in the fifteenth century prior to 1417. He has asserted that there were
gypsy settlement at Hildesheim in 1407, at Basle in 1414 and at Meissen in 1416 which takes us to 1417, which is the most widely accepted date for the history of the gypsies. In 1417 they were seen in Moldavia, Hungary, Germany and Switzerland and from that year onward there is no dearth of historical records about the European gypsies. From 1417, the authentic records of the presence and movements of Indian gypsies in different parts of Europe are abundant. The records are found from the official and municipal reports. It is profusely found in the European accounts of gypsies that they were not usually treated by them in a tolerable and sympathetic way. They were looked down upon and were seen with doubtful eyes. In order to save themselves, they presented gifts to Bishops, Barons and Emperors and thus they got recommendation letters from them to move from one country to the other. It is found in record that they presented themselves as penitents and pilgrims exiled from their homes to which effect they carried recommendation letters from the Emperor Sigismund and a letter from the Pope also.

The history of Indian gypsies of Europe shows that they had acquired favour from the people, by their docile and lawful behaviour and from 1438 onward the gypsies spread rapidly in all the countries of Europe. The first record of their exploring bands, is found from Lunenburg, thence they journeyed to Hamburg, Lubeck, Wimer, Rostock, Stralsund and Griefswald. At that time two chroniclers of Lubeck, reported that the band consisted of 300 persons who called themselves "Secani" or "Tsigans". They were headed by a duke or a count on a horseback, richly dressed with belts of the silver, and having hunting dogs with them. The rest of the retinue was a motley of ill-dressed men, women and children, on foot. They had letters of safe conduct from various princes and from the Emperor Sigismund. They told the people that they were on seven years penitential pilgrimage imposed by their own Bishop as a penance for infidelity to Christian faith. These letters helped them to be well received in the cities and towns. But one surprisingly reads that the Germans behaved with the gypsies in a very cruel way and many of them were slain. The Swiss chronicler "Justinger" also described the gypsies and their mode of movement.
The gypsies wandered from one country to the other eking out their livelihood by every possible means. During that period they were seen at Bolgona and then at Forti, on the road to Rome. On the 17th of August, 1427, 120 gypsies were seen at Paris who were lodged by authority at La Chapple Sanit Denis, and perhaps they were not allowed to enter the city. They were described, "And it is true that the children, boys and girls were as clever as could be. And most and nearly all had both ears pierced and in each ear a silver ring or two and they said it was a sign of nobility in their country". By 1438 A. D. thousands of them were seen in Europe travelling through Germany, Italy and France. They reached Spain by 1447, Poland and Russia by 1501 and Sweden in 1512.

It is notable that the Europeans never made any regular and organised attempt to rehabilitate them and almost all the countries banished those ill-starred people, at sometime or the other. Within a few years of their arrival harsh steps were taken by different countries for their suppression and removal. Deportation of gypsies was the most common step for their removal. In 1765 an order was passed at Edinburgh, exiling the gypsies to Jamaica and Barbos. In the year 1715, the Scottish gypsies-Lindsay, Ross, Stirling Faa, Yorstoun and Finnick, were deposed to Virginia. They were the first gypsies sent to America, followed by the deportation of some other gypsies by France, Portugal and Spain deported them to Africa and South America. England deported them to Australia. Germany did it in 1497, Spain in 1499, France in 1504, England in 1531, Denmark in 1536, Moravia in 1538, Scotland in 1541, Poland in 1557, Venice in 1549, 1558 and 1588.

The measures against the gypsies did not confine only to deportation but they also assumed the form of genocide and we read, "The brutal practices of the Middle Ages were carried out without mercy whenever they fared. Several hundred gypsies were burnt at the stake." Some of the examples of those brutal measures can be mentioned as quoted by Dr. Numelin. The Speier Diet (1498) decreed that the gypsies being betrayers of Christendom should be expelled from the country. The national assembly in Orleans (1565) decreed that the gypsies should be destroyed with fire and sword. The Italian princes dealt with the
poor gypsies in the same merciless way. Emperor Leopold II passed a still harsher resolution against the gypsies.

This discussion clearly proves that no patient and systematic attempt has been made in Europe to assimilate them in society or to rehabilitate them to make them good and responsible citizens. It is strange that in spite of these difficulties, harsh and fatal treatment, the Indian gypsies have been able to survive in many countries of Europe and in Asia Minor also. Formerly their racial affinity was determined on the philological basis but today the science of Anthropology has devised different somatometric, somatoscopic, serological and physiological methods to determine race. ABO Blood group study is considered to be the most reliable for determining human race. We read today, "It has been known for some time that gypsies of Hindu origin who have lived in Hungary for several hundred years, have the modern Hindu distribution of ABO group." This fact is clear from the following blood group data quoted by Hootani.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community and country</th>
<th>Investigator</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus of Northern India.</td>
<td>Malone, Lahiri.</td>
<td>2357</td>
<td>30 2%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies of Hungary.</td>
<td>Gartner</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native white race of Hungary.</td>
<td>Weitzner.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today the Indian gypsies are found in almost all the parts of the globe, designated by different names. Although the opinions about the causes and the date their exodus from India differ, yet all the scholars are concurrent that they are of Indian and Hindu origin from Punjab and Rajputana. "Ethnological as well as Etymological and Anthropological Research tends to prove that India, more definitely the Punjab and Rajputana in north-west India is the original home of gypsies."
To this day tribes are to be found there which have a striking likeness to the gypsies. In the beginning of this century it was estimated that there were 10,00,000 gypsies in Europe, half of the number being in Hungary and Rumania alone. Outside India Persia is the earliest country to which the Indian gypsies migrated. In Persia they separated into two groups—The Ben gypsies and Phen gypsies. The Ben gypsies went southward to Syria and became the ancestors of the present Nawar tribe of Palestine, of the present Rurbat tribe of Syria and of the present Karaci tribe of Persia and Transcaucasia. The Phen gypsies after staying for sometime in Armenia, journeyed onward through Kurdistan, the Byzantine Empire and Greece and reached Europe.

According to Winick the present total population of the gypsies in different parts of the world is 20,00000, and besides the above mentioned writers, Hamilton, Hutchison, Gregory and Lydekker, Haldane, Kroeber, Sherring, Crooke, Williams, Cunningham, Woolener and several other authors say that the gypsies of Europe are originally the natives of Northern India.

After discussing the origin and history of gypsies, now it is proper to find out the presence of Sansis outside India. Latif, Russell, and Archer use the word Sansi and gypsy synonymously.

The presence of the Sansi gypsies is known in Syria in connection with a love affair of Hazrat or Sheikh Sannan, which is widely read and remembered in the Muslim literature and is briefly described below giving the background of the love affair of Sheikh Sannan, in which he indulged under the curse of Hazrat Dastgir:

"A few saints foresaw the event and predicted it. Two instances are given below:—(i) Hazrat Abubakar b. Hawara once said to one of his disciples that in the near future a great saint would be born in Ajam who would be God fearing and would be highly respected by the public. His name will be Abdal Qadir and he would reside in Baghdad. He would publicly declare, "My foot is on the neck of all walis", "and the
Walis of the time would testify the statement, (ii) About 468 A.H., Hazrat Ahmad Abdullah b. Ahmad stated that the child would be born in Ajam whose miracles and whose rank would be very high among the walis. He would say “My foot is on the neck of all the walis.”

The time rolled on and the prophecy became true. Hazrat Ummul Khair Fatima gave birth to a son on the first day of the holy month of Ramzan, 470 Hijra (1077–78 A.D.). The child was named Abu Mohammed Qadir. The name of his father was Hazrat Abu-Saleh-Jangi-dost, a descendant of Hazrat Imam Hasan in the direct line. Hazrat Ahmul Qadir was born at a place near the town of Jilan in Persia. He had a great power of clairvoyance and miracles and so was respected by the Muslims as the greatest wali of his time. He migrated to Baghdad from his native place at the age of 18 years, but ever after he was known as Abdul Qadir Jilani, also addressed sometimes as Dastgir. He lived for 90 years. He revealed to the people the truth of Islam through his noble deeds, miracles and scholarship. Hazrat Jilani was 14th in descent from the prophet Mohammed.

The prediction further proved true and, “About 1519 A.H. (1127 A.D.) one evening the Hazrat was delivering a sermon in his ribat or monastery at Babal Halbah. Most of the Sheikhs of Iran were among the audience. In the course of his sermon Saiydena Ghaus-ul-Azam, under divine command declared, “My foot is on the neck of all walis.” Upon this Sheikh Alib Hiti proceeded near the platform put the Hazrat’s foot on his (Alab Hiti’s) neck. Next all persons present stepped forward and bent down their necks. When Saiydena Ghaus-ul-Azam made the declaration, the walis all over the world heard the declaration spiritually and they bent down their necks spiritually and acknowledged his superiority and leadership. Three hundred walis and seven hundred Raja-ul-Ghaib (hidden persons) some of whom used to dwell on the earth and would fly in the air, bent down their necks.”

Among the Hazrats, the Sheikhs and the Walis who were contemporary of Abdul Qadir Jilani or Dastgir, there lived a
very spiritual and pious saint Sheikh Sannan. He defied his declaration saying, "You cannot drive all the small and the great with the same stick and my neck can never bend under your foot." Thus with this challenge, a difference arose between Sheikh Sannan and Hazrat Abdal Qadir Jilani. In a resentment Hazrat Abdal Qadir Jilani cursed Sheikh Sannan and said "Well, if you hate my foot, the feet of pigs will rest on your neck."

This was the time when the bands of different communities of Northern India had reached the Muslim countries and some were yet making and some had made their way to Europe as Gypsies. A band of Sansis was moving in the vicinity of Baghdad, who had herds of pigs which they used to rear as they were Hindus and had no compunction against rearing and eating pigs, whereas even the sight of a pig is a taboo to a Muslim.

As God willed Sheikh Sannan fell in love with a beautiful young girl of Sansis who used to graze the herds of pigs. He used to wander after her and graze the pigs under the spell of her love. The female pregnant pigs, sometimes gave birth to their young ones, and Sheikh Sannan used to carry them home from pasture lifting them on his neck and shoulders. By grazing pigs in the zeal of his love, he violated the rules of the Shariyat of Islam and was degraded in the eyes of the Muslims. As a result he was ex-communicated by the Muslim society. He had many disciples who also deserted him one by one. Some of the orthodox Muslims tried to assassinate him but two of his disciples remained loyal to him and saved his life. At last one of the disciples approached Abdal Qadir Jilani and brought him round. Jilani spiritually revived the staunch principles of Islam in the mind of Sheikh Sannan by miraculously throwing a splash of water at his face when he was sleeping at night in the pen of the pigs of Sansis. He startled up and awoke with a changed mind, renouncing the love affair and grazing of pigs. At last he was forgiven, retaken, respected again and accepted in Islam as a Great Saint and Sheikh.
However the story and qissa of his love affair with a Sansi girl has established its roots in Islamic literature and he is remembered in different languages. Even in the Punjabi language Sayed Varis Shah, the greatest romantic Punjabi poet ever born in the land of five rivers, has written in his Heer:

"Hazrat Sheikh Sannan ne ishaq pichhe, Sansian de sooran noo chariya ee."

(Hazrat Sheikh Sannan grazed the pigs of Sansis for the sake of love).

He again says "Ishaq Sheikh Sannan bedeen keeta, Oohnoon Rabb Rahim rakha jave."

(Sheikh Sannan was ex-communicated for the sake of love; may Merciful God forgive him).

Similarly we hear in Kashmiri songs:

"Vuchh tu Sheikh Sannan sooran rakhin, tullan, dastiae."

(See Sheikh Sannan keeps pigs and lifts them with his own hands.)

Baines Athelstane, a distinguished ethnologist writes that there is a great resemblance between the character and temperament of the Sansi women of the Punjab and the gypsy women of Europe.

......the Sansiya women are said to be chaste in their relation with outsiders like the European gypsies, and stanuch in their defence of their male relatives when in trouble."

It has come to the notice very recently that the Sansi gypsies are present today also in France because in the first half of 1960 a young Christian missionary named Francis Dopley, who has done a great reformatory work among the gypsies, observed hunger strike before a jail in Paris, in order to get a young and beautiful gypsy girl of Sansi community, named Rita, released from imprisonment, so that he may reform her and emancipate her from a life of unsocial activities and make her his life-long companion as a wife.

This news was published along with her photograph.

In 1954 a series of talks was broadcast by various well known learned persons from All India Radio, New Delhi, on the cultures of different provinces and parts of India. In a talk entitled "The Culture of the Punjab" Diwan Chaman Lal, who himself remained in Europe and got his education there, said, "It is said that when
ancient king of Babylon needed labour to build vast monuments, he imported thousands of Punjabis in waves over many decades, and with the changes wrought by history these tribes were left to wander through the Middle East, Russia and Europe, the ancestors of the present gypsies. But the fact to remember is that they survived the vicissitudes of Punjabi culture”. He further said in his talk in a very decisive way, “A British colonel about to retire from Indian Army called on me one day and brought with him a small book written in France, published in Leyden in the later sixties of the last century. The more I read in this small thesis, the more astonished I became. Here was my own language spoken by a mysterious race, whose origins were in doubt, but whose existence was felt almost in every country of the world. But in the Punjab the only extant comparable race affinitive seemed to be the race known as the Sains”.

Whatever be the time of the egress of gypsies from India, which ever be the routes of their journey, the fact remains that they were the natives of India and even today their striking likeness with the present Jats and ex-criminal tribes of Northern India, is acknowledged by all the gypsiologists. Now the ideas and times are changed and it is expected that as their brothers are being uplifted and rehabilitated in India, similarly they will be well treated and uplifted in Europe and other parts of the world, because now the humanistic and sympathetic methods of approach and welfare of the neglected people have tided over the impatient, unplanned, banishing and destructive measures of the past.

It seems to be essential and fruitful to describe different aspects of the life of the Gypsies of Europe, after putting their Indian origin on sound footing as it has been done above. The Indian origin of their language has always been discussed and now we may describe their social, cultural and economic ways of life, which will not be beyond the area of interest and some of them still resemble those of their brethren of Northern India.

They went to Europe passing through several Asian countries. They would have gone in different groups and at different times, certainly passing many years in the countries on their way. Hence they must have adopted some of the customs,
manners, beliefs and practices of the peoples among whom they happened to live as in the formation of the cultures of all the societies, borrowing is the greatest component. In spite of borrowing there are several original and native customs of every society which survive historical, cultural, political and social intrusions, attacks and alterations and this is what has happened in the case of the European Gypsies. Although they have borrowed a lot from other countries and cultures yet they have clung to the Indian culture of their fore-fathers and are distinct from all the other peoples and races of Europe. As a Gypsyologist, whatever little I know about their various aspects of life, is briefly described below:

**TABOOS**

According to some anthropologists a race without taboos cannot have virility and the races which have taboos are more pure in blood. Like the ex-Criminal Tribes of Northern India, most of the taboos of the Gypsies of Europe are connected with food, death and woman.

An unclean object is called "mochardi" by the Gypsies. Cats and dogs are mochardi because they lick all over their body even their genital and excretory organs. The horse does not do it and so is not mochardi.

Mochardi is applied to woman in a ceremonial sense but not in a general sense. A Gypsy would not eat or drink anything if a woman steps over it and this taboo is found to be strictly observed by the Sansis, the Sikligars, the Rajputs, the Bazigars and several other tribes of Northern India. In such cases the food is thrown away or given to dogs and the utensils are destroyed if earthen and changed if they are made of metal. Some instances have come to the notice that the midland Gypsies of Britain do not take water from a tap because they say that the pipes run underground and the women naturally step over them. This is an excellent resemblance of the taboos as practised by the Sansis and especially in the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur where they do not allow women to draw water from and bathe under a tap or a water pump. Another taboo regarding woman is that she cannot comb or let her hair down in the presence of any man. She can do it within her
tent or where she is certain that no man is present. This practice is found almost in all the societies of the Hindus and Sikhs of India. Among the Gypsies of Britain and Denmark, a girl can break this taboo if she is already betrothed and somebody else wants to court her. In this case she lets her hair down and she becomes a taboo for the person who wants to woo her.

The Gypsies observe taboos regarding the deportment of sitting of a woman in the house. A woman should never pass in front of a man while he is sitting. She must pass behind him even if he is her husband. The taboo is very widespread and is observed scrupulously by the Gypsies of England, France, Hungary, Germany, Austria and Denmark.

Like the Sansis of Punjab and many other Hindu and Sikh communities of India, a woman is considered unclean and capable of transmitting contamination after childbirth. Usually this period of quarantine lasts from 30 to 40 days. Sometimes the woman is segregated in a separate tent during this period. If a woman is not got out of waggon and the child is born when she is lying within the waggon, all the articles lying in the waggon, are considered to be polluted and are thrown away. A woman is considered particularly mochardi during her menstruation period. The infants and very young babies are mochardi and some of the Gypsy men do not ever kiss them. Their napkins are also considered unclean and are kept isolated from the clothes of men. The German and midland Gypsies of England are very particular to observe this taboo. During menstruation a woman is not allowed to cook or touch food to be eaten by men. The woman should not tell her infirmity of menstruation to men and they know it only when they see her not cooking or touching food. This taboo is strictly observed by the Sikligars of Punjab too.

Some Gypsies believe that if during menstruation a woman touches raw meat to be kept in pickle it will rot. It is also observed by the Sansis and many other people of Northern India in another form. They believe that with the touch or even the shadow of a menstrual woman, the young and fruitful plants wilt away and die. That is why some gardeners and the growers of vegetables, musk melons and water melons resent the entry of woman into
their fields. A century or so ago punishments were enforced by the Gypsy society on the persons who deliberately violated these taboos. These punishments are still in vogue among the German Gypsies though they are losing their hold in some other countries of Europe.

**MARRIAGE**

For centuries the European Gypsies had been an endogamous society like their oriental Hindu and Sikh brethren who practised caste system. But now the endogamy of Gypsies seems to be weakening and marriages have taken place even between the Gypsies and the Gorgios (non-Gypsies). They used to avoid their marriage within their respective clans and the genealogies were traced and verified before the marriages of the proposed couple could actually take place. But at present this consideration is being dropped under the influence of the Muslim and Christian cultures, customs and manners of marriage resulting in inbreeding. Previously a definite consideration was given to the ascendant and descendant relations but now some of the Gypsies have married their nieces, and aunts. The first cousins are particularly preferred and this all is due to influence of Western culture. This may happen to the Sansis of the West Punjab under the socio-religious and political influence of the Muslim rule in Pakistan. The very people who used to ex-communicate each other for the offence of marrying within their own clan may marry their cousins after being completely influenced by the customs and manners of Muslim religion. In some of the Gypsy clans of Europe polygamy is practised but the co-wives live in separate tents and possess separate property.

The Gypsies are very frank and unreserved in verbal expression and jokes among themselves and even with others, but still their high moral values cannot be undermined. Referring to their outward behaviour and actual moral life, Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald says, “It is difficult to reconcile much of this with the very high standard set by Gypsies for their women so far as the modesty and chastity is concerned. It is quite beyond dispute that among pure blood English Gypsy families there is still a very strong insistence on prenuptial chastity. At one time Scottish Gypsies
demanded definite proof of a bride’s virginity at the time of her marriage. The proof of virginity is customarily demanded by the Spanish, French and the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and United States. There are hundreds of instances where the Sansis of Punjab and some other ex-Criminal Tribes have ex-communicated or have heavily punished their females for their moral offences. It is well-known that a man who wants to do wrong to a Sansi woman can do only by jeopardising his life. Fitzgerald again says, “There seems to be some evidence, or some suggestion of a tradition that in the dimmer past a Gypsy girl found guilty of prostitution was buried alive. Certainly up to quite recently a girl found guilty of the prostitution was invariably disowned by her family. Further more, in Scotland, at any rate, and within perhaps the last hundred years, the men who wronged an unmarried Gypsy girl did so at the risk of his life. In the past, even 30 or 40 years ago, there had been some cases in the Sansi society of the Punjab in which the immoral women were punished with cutting or mutilating their noses, ears or burning their cheeks with red hot iron and this used to be done with the sanction of the Tribal Panchayat. Such punishments are not only the heritage of the ancient Sansi society but they were also found in all the self-respecting communities of India. The Gypsies in the past used to punish their lax women like this and seem to have abided by their customs traditionally as their oriental ancestors used to do.

In the past, early age marriage was not considered to be one of the social evils of Indian society and it is still found in some sections of the Indian population. This custom was most deep rooted among the Rajputs who used to kill the girls at birth and those who escaped infanticide, used to be married in childhood or at any rate, before maturity. Although some writers believe that this was more due to the Muslim invaders who used to carry away the young girls, yet I think this used to be done also for keeping their prenuptial chastity pure. The Gypsies practised early marriage and we read, “Undoubtedly the early age at which English Gypsy girls, in common with other oriental races, have married in the past help in maintaining the high level of prenuptial chastity”. Now the Gypsies are giving up the practice of early age marriage like their oriental brethren under the power, pressure
and persuasion of legal measures and social awakening.

The following marriage ceremonies are observed by the Gypsies:

In one case the Gypsy spouses are said to marry by jumping over a flowering broom stick. The Sikligars of the Punjab also observe this custom. The flowering broom stick may be a cult of fertility. Another marital ceremony is performed by jumping over the budget, by budget they mean the box in which the Gypsy tinkers keep their tools. In observance of another ceremony the bride and the bridegroom join hands in the presence of their parents and other relatives.

In another ceremony of marriage the bride goes to a well or a stream and fetches water to give to the bridegroom for drinking and is also taken by the other members of the community present. This ceremony, though changed a little due its exile of centuries to far off lands, still has a striking resemblance to its original ceremony called "gharoli" which even at present is observed by all the communities of Punjab and is described in detail in the marriage rites of the Sansis.

In 1878 another ceremony was noticed at the marriage of David Burton, a Gypsy of England. In this case a loaf of bread was broken into two. On one piece a few drops of blood of bridegroom were poured and on the other those of the bride. The blood was taken through the prick of a thorn. Then each of them ate a little bit of the mixed bread containing the blood of the other. This custom is not found among the Sikligars but still it may be a custom observed by some other Indian communities. Regarding this custom Fitzgerald says, "And it is worth pointing out that in certain Indian tribes it is the custom for the bride and the bridegroom to eat food in which their blood has been mixed." I do not doubt this statement at all because the Gypsies do not come of a single community or tribe but they belong to different tribes and communities of Northern India and the ex-Criminal Tribes make the bulk of their original racial stock. Hence in order to compare and contrast all the customs and manners of Gypsies with those of the people of Northern India, the ex-Criminal Tribes of Northern
India need special and exhaustive anthropological study.

Now the European Gypsies have begun to ceremonise their marriage rites in the Churches according to the formal Christian rites as their counter parts in India have begun to practise and observe the formal ceremonies of the Hindus and the Sikhs and of the Muslims in Pakistan. After a century or so a time may come when their tribal customs and beliefs may disappear or change beyond recognition and their similarity with their original and ancestral customs and manners will vanish.

**Social Organisation**

Truly speaking, yet the investigators have not been able to say much about the social organisation of the Gypsies. Both the matrilineal and patrilineal families are found among them. Following their ancestral triual organization, they are divided into different clans, and every clan is headed or rather ruled by a headman and that is why George Borrow over mentions his character, Jasper Petilengro, who was a headman. In the Gypsy society hundreds of matri-local families are found but both the matrilineal and matri-local families are loosely knit. For instance, the well-known clans of the Gypsies of Britain are Methews, Small Bones, Pages, Laces, Toogoods, Whites, Sternbys, Bustons, Coopers, Smiths, Lees, Loverlts, Ayres, Boswells, Grays, Herons, Woods, Bosses, Locks and hundreds of more clans.

Their laws of inheritance are very complicated and need a special study but usually the property in house is divided equally among all the children without any discrimination of the sex. It is observed that the matrilineal clans are more influential than the patrilineal ones. The main supporter of the family is the mother and it is the woman who does greater amount of work for maintaining the family. On the whole, the women have more importance than men but the studies of George Borrow changed the focus of all the investigators and even after him much more attention has been paid to the description of Gypsy men, Kings and Chiefs than Gypsy Queens. The Chief is merely a title and after the death of a Chief much
care is not taken about his succession or successor but a Queen's succession entails a great deal of caution regarding her succession which shows her higher position than that of the Chief. But still the Gypsyologists have always paid much more attention to the Chiefs than to the Queens. The title "Gypsy Chief", bestowed on a Gypsy by the Gypsies, does not have any importance, but this is not the case of a Queen. In selecting Queens the two things are strictly kept in view—(1) property including money possessed by the family or by the individual, (2) she must be a descendant of the family of pure Gypsy blood, absolutely unmixed with Gorgio or with any other impure taint.

The Gypsy Queen Urania, the Queen of Gypsies of England wife of the Gypsy Chief Levy Boswell died on 24th April, 1933. She was succeeded by Morjiana Lee who possessed the requisite qualities. Most of the Gypsyologists are of the opinion that Queen is the highest authority of the Gypsies as is the mother in a matriarchal family. That is why the matrilineal, matrilocal and matriarchal families were very common among the Gypsies in the past. But now the patriarchal, patrilocal and even patrilineal system is replacing the old system.

Regarding their mutual disputes, the Gypsies do not usually approach the legal Courts of the State and they settle them in their Tribal Councils within their community.

**Gypsy Caravan**

The term Caravan is used in two senses (1) a company of travellers journeying together and (2) a covered waggon used by the Gypsies as a domicile. In England the word Caravan has attained so much atachment that to an ordinary country-Englishman the words Caravan and Gypsy are synonymous, though it is also called van or waggon. The term for it in the Gypsy dialect is "Vardo" and a vardo is the most valuable property of a Gypsy. It means a home for him in which he keeps all of his belongings along with the members of his family.

The Gypsy waggon appeared in European countries at different times; it appeared in England much later than in Hungary and Bohemia. Charles Dickens was the first writer to
mention a waggon in England, in his "The Old Curiosity Shop" and he did it in 1840 which he called Caravan but the modern waggon differs very little from the old one. The typical vardo is a single roomed house set on high wheels having windows at back and sides and an entrance and a detachable ladder at the front. It has also a rack known as a crotch at the back for keeping domestic articles of various types. Underneath the waggon at the back is a cupboard for the culinary articles. Inside the waggon on the back side area is the coal-stove with chimney rising up through the roofs, a cupboard and a locker-seat. On the opposite side there is a crockery cupboard and drawers for keeping the family clothes. The back part is fitted with two berthed sleeping seats. Although there may be slight variations from waggon to waggon yet a typical vardo is fitted with the above mentioned things.

In regard to the external design of the vardo, Mr. Ferdinand Gerard Huth is the greatest authority as he has exhaustively studied this aspect of the Gypsy lore of the Gypsies of Britain. According to his researches these are the following four types of Gypsy Caravans:

1. **Leeds waggon**—It is called Leeds waggon because its original builder named Bill Wright used to live near Leeds. Due to its shape it is also called Bow or Barrel-shaped waggon. Its average length is 9' 6" and is 6' 6" in width at the widest part. This waggon is most popular among the Gypsies of north country. It is also called Yorkshire waggon because they say that the best waggons of this type are made in Yorkshire. It is considered to be the most durable waggon.

2. **Reading waggon**—It is named so because one of the best builders of this type of waggon used to live in town of Berkshire. It has straight sides with wheels fitted outside the body. Once reading was great winter resort of Gypsies and a family of Burton clan used to make beautiful waggons for them. The Reading waggon is usually 10' and 6" in length. In Sussex 14' long waggons were also seen by some investigators. Its width is 6'. They vary slightly from waggon to waggon in their
fittings. The more costly vans are fitted with sky-lights. Excellent waggons were also built in Derbyshire.

(3) Burton waggon:—It is also known as Show-man's waggon. It is a straight sided waggon like the reading waggon, but its wheels are fitted underneath the body instead of outside. Its usual length is 10'-6" and usual width is 6'. All the Burton waggons are made with a panelled or sometimes with a rib and a match board body. About 4" panel runs round the centre of the body. Its roof is flatter than that of the Reading waggon. The Burton waggon is ornamented with carved pieces of wood which are sometimes screwed on different parts of its body.

(4) Ledge waggon:—It is also called cottage waggon. It is not manufactured at any particular place and is built by the recognised builders. This waggon is most commonly seen on the roads. In shape they are midway between the Leeds and the Reading Caravans. They are straight sided and their wheels are not fitted outside. They are not barrel-shaped and have their roofs like those of Reading waggons. Its usual length is 9'-6" and width is 6'. It is the lightest and cheapest Gypsy Caravan.

(5) Another type of waggon is Brush or Fen waggon. The name Fen indicates that once these waggons used to be made in the Fen country and the name brush indicates nothing but the article which their owners used to sell.

Besides covered waggons two types of open carts are also used by the Gypsies. The cart having 4 wheels is called a Pot-cart, and the one having only two wheels does not have a special name. These open carts are 9' long and 4' wide. Like the Leeds waggon, they are fitted with all the necessary equipments. There are many more types of carts but they are only known as carts. The sleeping arrangements in a vardo are much better than those in a cart. The sleeping berths of living waggons are 6' long and 3' to 4' wide.

Here I recall an interesting incident of the Sikh history. In the 18th century the Sikhs were under very trying and troublesome circumstances when the Punjab was a prey to the Muslim invaders,
the Sikhs were particularly their target of torture and they had to give up their villages and towns and used to live in the jungles, deserts and mountains. They used to appear suddenly like a whirlwind to attack the invaders. Once the Muslim invader, Nadar Shah enquired about the Sikhs and their homeland, when his troops were attacked by the Sikhs and their booty was snatched from them. He was told, "The saddle of their horse is their homeland and the arms and the clothes on their person is their property". Similarly the homeland of Gypsies is their caravan, craft and the road.

As already mentioned a Gypsy vardo is a mobile home. The Gadi Lohars and Sikligars are seen at present also moving in an absolute Gypsy manner in the Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh etc. They claim a Rajput origin and account for their present nomadic condition due to their expulsion from Rajasthan on account of the Muslim invasions and the famines. Therefore, it seems to be certain that the present Gypsies of Europe and some other parts of the globe, are closely related to these people of Northern India.

All the Gypsies cannot afford to possess caravans and carts. Therefore, thousands of them take to the road on foot or travel riding on the horses, ponies and donkeys accompanied by their hounds and other paraphernalias. Such Gypsies, trudging the roads are also seen in almost all the parts of India excepting the Southern parts of the country.

**Disposal of the Dead**

At present the Gypsies bury the dead but still in Europe, there is hardly any specific and separate grave yard of the Gypsies. Their Indian brethren cremate their dead but the Gypsies seem to have adopted burial as a method of disposing their dead, under the force of circumstances. After their egress from India they never settled permanently anywhere and have been nomads since centuries. Hence they had to bury their dead during their sojourn and whenever somebody died, they might have encamped for a while, buried the dead person and proceeded on. Firstly, this might have been due to saving themselves from the cost of wood needed
for burning the dead and secondly this might be due to the cultural influence of the Muslims and the Christians in whose countries they have been living since centuries.

As it has already been mentioned in other taboos, if a childbirth takes place in a waggon, all the articles in it are polluted and are rejected. It happens too in the case of the death of a person. If it takes place in a vardo, Fitzgerald tells that Mrs. Caroline Ponfold died on 17th April 1926 at Crediton, Devon and after her burial the waggon along with all its belongings, was reduced to ashes. The crockery was broken and her ornaments excepting a very precious golden ring were buried along with her. In the past the Gypsy society was averse to bury their dead along with the Christians in their sanctified grave-yards. Like their oriental brethren they keep the face of the dead body uncovered till it is carried to the grave, so that the relatives and friends may see it. They observe fasts till the dead body is interned. Fasting ends just when the mourners return from the graveyard and sometimes a special meal is served to the persons present in the funeral. Like the Sansis and several other tribes of Northern India, the Gypsies keep a constant vigil over the dead body from the time of the death to the time of its burial as they also believe like their Indian counter-parts that if the dead body is left unwatched, the spirit may return to it as a ghost and may give a lot of trouble to the people. According to the observation of Fitzgerald the vigils with this belief and superstition took place over the dead body of Vasthi who was buried in 1939. This vigils also took place in England over the dead bodies of Mary Buckland in 1903 and over the dead body of Abraham Buckland near Oxford in 1923. This practice is entirely an oriental heritage of the Gypsies.

Although the custom has changed to some extent yet like the ‘deeva-vatti’ all the Sansis and many other Hindu and Sikh communities of Northern India, the Gypsies do the same by burning candles.

In the case of coffin the best possible new clothes are used but in some cases they use best clothes but only out of the clothes
which have already been worn by the dead person when he was alive. Sometimes the clothes of the dead body are turned inside out and this indicates the belief of the Gypsies in reverse act according to which the deceased person goes back to the world from where he came at birth.

In some cases a coin is kept in the coffin or put in the mouth of the dead person before the grave is filled in. This custom is found among the Sansis and many other people of the Punjab. The custom is observed with the belief that the soul of the dead, if needed, may spend the money on its way to the next world. Sometimes the food is also buried along with the dead body with the belief that its soul may not starve in sojourn from this world to the next. According to another belief of the Gypsies the ghosts are afraid of bread and grain. Sometimes a hammer is also buried with the dead body along with the money. The European Christian investigators have interpreted these practices that the Gypsies belief is that the soul of the dead will knock at the door of the heaven with hammer and with money it will pay to Saint Peter for entry into heaven. I do not agree to this interpretation as the money is put in the coffin or in the mouth of the dead among the oriental races who have nothing to do with the belief in Saint Peter. Hence this custom is a remnant of the oriental practice. The Gypsies usually shirk to touch, handle or lift the dead body as they have a great fear of the ghosts and evil spirits.

Regarding the funeral processions some English Gypsies have taken to the custom of English folks and like them the men wear black clothes and the women wear white clothes on such occasions.

Some Gypsies are observed to pay annual visits to worship the graves of their important dead persons, and tie red ribbons to the plants planted on the graves. This is nothing else but a practice of ancestor-worship, like their Indian counter parts. Almost in all the Hindu and Sikh communities the ancestor-worship is practised in one form or the other. The death anniversaries of all kinds are the relics of ancestor-worship in much modified forms. The red-yellow thread (mauli) of the people of Northern India seems to have been replaced with the red ribbon in the case
of Gypsies. Sansis along with their several allied ethnic groups of Northern India had been leading nomadic life for many centuries but still according to Naidu they used to assemble in Ajmer and Marwar for "Chhatri Pooja." Chhatri Pooja is the annual worship of the cremated spots (marhis) or the samadhs or tombs erected over the cremation grounds of one's ancestors and this is at present also a common practice among the Rajputs of Rajasthan. Regarding Gypsies we read, "The return of relatives to the grave on the anniversary of the death, as formerly, at some special time of the year...............is an established Gypsy custom." Hence the Gypsy ceremony of annual worship at the graves resembles cent per cent those of the Sansis. The Sansis drink, eat and enjoy and spill liquor and ghee on the graves at the occasion of this annual worship. Some Gypsies also do the same. So much so that in James, Cribbs and Thompson's investigations quoted by Fitzgerald, we read that a Gypsy named Josian Scamp was buried at Odstock in Wiltshire in 1801 and the annual visit was made by his relatives who drank, ate, enjoyed and spilt liquor on the grave. The drunk brawlers made a great deal of fuss and the Church authorities were annoyed with their intemperance and they prohibited the Gypsies to gather for annual visits. This prohibition utterly hurt the feelings of the daughters of the deceased and they invoked God and the spirit of the dead and prayed against the Church authorities in the words, "May the person never be understood when preaches, may the Church warden be a bankrupt, may the clerk die before the year is out." It is said that the curse was fulfilled in toto.

This habit of intemperance, brawling and fights of Sansis is mentioned by Captain Ellis who was working as an Assistant to the Resident at Gwalior in 1842 that some hundreds years ago a great fight took place among the Sansis at the time of Chhatri Pooja whose root cause was a Sansi woman named Booti. This fight proved very ruinous to those Sansis and it is quoted by Paupa Rao Naidu in his "Criminal Tribes of India" Volume III, page 23, published in Madras in 1907. This event is also mentioned by W. H. Sleeman in his report on Badhuks published in 1849, in which he has described the Sansis from page 237 to page 307.
GYPSY FORTUNE-TELLERS

Among the English folks a Gypsy woman and a fortune-teller are synonymous words. Whenever some Gypsies come to a city or a town the English people say, "And the every Gypsy woman old, A maiden's fortune will be told."

The civilized or the savage, the educated or the illiterate, the simpleton or the sophisticated, all are very anxious to know their future, this is an innate instinct of curiosity in man. Making shrewd use of this curiosity of man, the Gypsies make lucrative trade of their astrological knowledge. From a detailed history of the Gypsies of Europe it appears that first they adopted the calling of fortune telling and truly speaking, no race has done more than Gypsies to spread on the globe the belief in sorcery, astrology, magical practices and sympathetic cures. The Gypsy women have always been known to possess occult power. The Gypsy women fortune-tellers go from door to door and approaching the members of the house, preferably women folk, say after uttering something appealing to them, "Cross my hand with silver, pretty lady." By this they mean that she would tell her some important events of her future life and to do it the donation of a silver coin is essential. In this way they collect money. This very practice is prevalent among the fortune tellers of India and especially among the Bhatra fortune tellers about whom Kennedy says, ".........the cheat or the swindler tells him that the only way to be saved is to make a donation either in gold, silver or clothes." There are not many adept Gypsy fortune tellers but some of them are very dexterous in reading characters and they tell more on the basis of physiognomy than on the knowledge of palmistry, because they have been living on their wits for generations and have acquired a skill to read the characters of other persons. Mr. Ley Land, the first President of the Gypsy Lore Society had described the rules applied by the Gypsy fortune tellers.

The "hakano-baro" is practised by the Gypsies in all the parts of the world. It is a confidence-trick in which the client is persuaded to hand over his valuables to the sorcerer so that
he or she may turn them into gold or increase them manifold. The client is sworn not to reveal this undertaking to any body else. The sorcerer wraps all the valuables in a package and pretends to apply his sorcery to them in a secluded place. After winning the confidence of the house holders he makes off with the valuables leaving a similar package behind. The client who had taken an oath keeps quiet for some days and is utterly disappointed on seeing the contents of the package missing but then it is too late to regain them.

This trick is played by some Bhatras, Bairagis and Faiquins in India. The swindling method of “hakano-baro” is especially practised by the Jadu Brahmans, an ex-Criminal tribe of India.

Some European Gypsy women actually possess the spiritual power of predicting future and this was recorded by some investigators in the past. Among such Gypsy women of the recent times a few names need a special mention. Urania Bosweel who died on 24th April, 1933 had a special power of foretelling death and danger and her prophecies proved true. She predicted in 1897, “Queen Victoria would see the leaves fall four times before she went to her long rest.” She also presaged, “........the King who comes after her will die long before my turn comes.” She also predicted, “After that the world will change—not at all at once, but we will live to see strange things, you and I. Men will fly like birds, and swim under the water in the boats shaped like fishes. They will sit by their own fireside and listen to voices and music a thousand miles away, same as if it was in the room.”

The famous prophecy of Mother Shipton is remembered in England in the following words,

“Carriages without horses shall go,
And accidents fill the world with woe;
Iron on the water shall float
As easily as a wooden boat.”

Rani also deserved a high rank like Mother Shipton in her faculty of prediction. She warned Mr. Vanderbilt at Henley Regatta that he must not sail in the maiden voyage of the Titanic which was being built at that time. The prophecy
came so true that in April of the following year the Titanic struck an Iceberg and Vanderbilt and 1502 other persons were drowned.

Rev. D.M.M. Bartlett gave three predictions about her own family. In April she presaged that his son Levy would not survive beyond February of the next year. He died and was buried on February 2nd at Bromley, Kent. She correctly predicted the deaths of her other two relatives including her brother’s wife’s brother. She predicted her own death correct to the date and the year.

At present the Gypsies also follow the calling of fortune telling in different parts of the world. If one wants to see the modern Indian fortune tellers outside India, one can see plenty of them in Britain. They are the Sikh Bhatras of Punjab whose methods and practices of fortune telling fully resemble those of the Gypsies of Europe. It seems to be certain that the ancestors of the Bhatras of the Punjab and those of the Gypsy fortune tellers of Europe would have descended from the same ethnic stock of Northern India because even at present the crystal of alum is used by the Gypsies and the Bhatras of the Punjab. The use of the crystal by the Gypsy fortune tellers, is mentioned by Fitzgerald, whereas its use by the Bhatra fortune tellers is mentioned by Kennedy. My latest study of the Bhatra fortune tellers, follows, and it will be very interesting to the readers. I think that as a gypsy people of Punjab they deserve a special ethnographic description.

**The Bhatras**

**Origin:** The Bhatras are one of the most interesting ethnic groups of Northern India. In the West Punjab, they had concentrated population in the district of Sialkot from where they migrated to India after the partition of the Province. They are also called Madhwas - the descendants of Madho. As recorded in the Mahabharata and Sanghasan Batisi, he was a Brahman Rishi who was well-versed in reciting poetry and fell in love with and married a dancing girl named Kam Kandla. The word Bhatra is a variation of the word ‘Bhat’ a panegyrist or a poet. He
was the progenitor of the Bhatras. They say that Madho was a native of Ceylon where he lived and died. There is no definite indication of the time and date of the immigration of his descendants into India before the time of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. In the reign of Babar, Guru Nanak visited Ceylon where a Madho or Bhatra named Changa became his disciple. Large numbers of Bhatras were converted to Sikhism and accompanied Guru Nanak when he returned to India. A Gurdwara was erected at Dera Baba in Ceylon, which is the original home of the Bhatras, now domiciled in India.

**Tribal Divisions**: They are divided into 23 clans of which Bhatiwal, Lande, Digwa, Gamee, Kag, Lohi, Bhatti, Gijra, Rathaur, Kasha, Rod, Bains and Lar are more important. This tribe first settled in the Bijnore district of Uttar Pradesh, along the bank of the Ganges and in Hoshiarpur and Sialkot districts of the Punjab, but they have since dispersed in all directions of India and now are found almost in all the large cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In the West Pakistan, besides the district of Sialkot, some families of Bhatras were found in Shikarpur, Hyderabad (Sind), Karachi, Quetta, Rohri, Bhakar, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Multan and Talagang, but all of them have come to India after partition. In the East Punjab they are found in Tarn Taran, Tebar (Gurdaspur district), Rahon (Jullundur district), Gangroli (Ludhiana district), and in the villages of Pachnangli, Baba Kalu, Bassi Bhai Mallo, Bassi Wazir, Dhagaon and Kot. In the district of Sialkot they were found in the villages of Kot Daska, Daska Kalan, Bhedewal, Nika Kala, Korpur, Galotian Kalan, Dhariwal, Saraj, Gota, Sarajpur and Dadian. It is related that there were about 40 villages of Bhatras along the banks of Ganges where they are called Banjaras. The district of Bijnor is called Dadra Des also. In Dadra Des they sell petty ornamental articles for women and the so-called Vedic medicines. Their best known villages in Bijnor district are, Padli, Aldaur, Bassera, Lipkee, Nangoli and Nurpur.

**Religion**: The Bhatras are Hindus as well as Sikhs. Some of the Sikh Bhatras are staunch in their religion and pose
themselves to be the Akaliś and the Nihangs. Some of them are jata-dharis (wear long matted hair). The name of a Sikh Bhatra ends with Singh but that of a Hindu Bhatra with Daś. They do not use false names when on tour. The Hindu Bhatras wear langoties and are known as Udasi faquirs or Bairagi Sadhus.

In the past a peculiar form of deception was used by some Bhatras of Daska. They used to make an indelible mark round the neck and called themselves Husaini Brahmans. They used to recite genealogy and martyrdom of Husain and collect alms from the Muslims. The belief of the Muslims in this custom originated from the legend that a Brahman recovered the head of Husain from his enemies by substituting it with the head of his own son. The Bhatras go on tour after the festival of Diwali. They observe all the customs and the rights of the Hindu and Sikh festivals and social functions according to their belief. They are excessively fond of drinking, eating meat and gambling for which they are notorious to squander away their earnings of months and years, within a few days. Another social evil extant in their society is the heavy bride price.

Economic Life: The Bhatras don’t possess land and there are very few members of this tribe who are inclined to agriculture but now a few Bhatra families have purchased land in Uttar Pradesh and have settled on their farms. They never send their females out for begging, or in any other way to earn something. So their females are strictly confined to home. They begin their trade during boyhood. The earning members usually remain away from home for about 8 months of the year, from Diwali to the rainy season. The main occupation of Bhatras is fortune-telling and they are mostly known as fortune-tellers in which they are not very adept. They visit all types of residents-Indians and foreigners, in villages, towns and cities and pose as faquirs, Pandits and fortune-tellers. Generally, they play a trick with their clients, with a two-fold sheet of paper on which they draw a figure of a cow or a witch, with a piece of alum, which cannot be noticed unless placed in water. If the figure of the witch appears, then the person to be cheated is told that the witch was about to kill him or her and he has saved the situation in time and through
incantation the witch is removed otherwise the death was certain. If the figure of cow appears then the person is told that he or she tortured some cow which is cursing and the curse can be averted if gold or silver is donated which is often done if, the simpleton can afford to do it otherwise money, grain, ghee or clothes are accepted.

Their young boys visit the houses on Saturdays or Tuesdays and collect grain, small coins, ghee or clothes as the Hindus believe Saturday as Shanidevta and Tuesday as Mangal Devta. The begging boys generally have some sarson oil in a vessel in which they receive donation of small coins on Saturday. Sometimes even the Sikh Bhatras are seen in the garb of Pandits having tilak in the forehead. A Bhatra is expert in talking in a humble and sweet way and if he once gets into a house then he knows well how to gather the members of the family around him by uttering something about the family which usually has an immediate effect on them and about which he has already gathered information from somebody of the neighbourhood. The Bhatras are easily noticed from the way in which they speak the local language which they are known to be expert to learn.

Bhatras Outside India: Now they are not confined to India only but are also found in different countries of Europe, mainly in England. They go there in the pretext of doing business as itinerary cloth vendors but reaching there they earn a lot by their profession of fortune-telling and remit money to their families in India. They are expert in entrapping the foreigners and that is why they are mostly seen at sea ports which are the meeting places of people of different countries.

During the British rule they were put under the Criminal Tribes Act, (now repealed) being suspected for being absent from their homes and that is why that W. A. Gayer, A.I.G. police, Hyderabad Deccan and A. C. Stewart, Superintendent Police of Sialkot, described them as a Criminal Tribe in 1904 and 1907 respectively. It was recorded that in a single Branch Post Office of the village of Gota, 190 money orders were received by the Bhatra families of the villages of Gota, Saraj, Sarajpur and Dadian from 1st October 1903 to 30th September, 1904, from their respective
earning members who were away from their villages. But from
a close study of the Bhatras, it appears certain that they are not
criminals and mostly earn a lot from their hereditary profession
of fortune-telling. They are not nomadic people and have settled
in towns and cities. They are not educated in the modern sense
but they invariably know Gurmukhi and Hindi as every Bhatra
fortune-teller has a book (Jantri) wrapped in a satchel from
which he makes his astrological calculations. After partition
most of them have settled at Amritsar, Patiala, Ambala, Jullundur,
Ludhiana, and Delhi.

Generally they have wheatish complexion, sharp features and
medium body. They are fond of fast colours and their women
are excessively fond of wearing golden ornaments. There are
many Sikh Bhatras who are working as Granthis (Sikh priests).
Although some reliable study has been made on some Indian tribes
yet the Bhatras are one of the least studied communities and
they need an exhaustive study of their different aspects of life
before the State makes some concrete schemes for their uplift
as the Bhatras are one of the Backward communities of India.

**Medicinal Vision of Gypsies**

In the past the Gypsies seldom sent for a doctor as they are
wonderfully adept in herbal medicines. In India the herbal
medicines are known as Vedic medicines. Now the Gypsies have
legally got to have the services of a doctor as the death of a
person cannot be registered without the certificate of a doctor.
The Gypsies all over the world have a great renown as healers.
The Gypsy knowledge of herbs and medicinal plants is even today
as vast as the Aryans had in the Vedic age and the Benedictine
monks had in Europe in the medieval age.

It is not possible to have the complete herbal knowledge of the
Gypsies and their medicines which they use. Fitzgerald kept
making list of the gypsy medicinal plants for 20 years during his
investigations of the gypsy Lore but could not learn as much as
he wanted to do because this is a great secret of the Gypsies
which they do not disclose to strangers and is only meant for
handing over to their own descendants from generation to genera-
tion and this is how they have been able to keep this valuable knowledge intact for thousands of years. Thompson studied the herbal knowledge of the Gypsies before Fitzgerald did but he also could not make a complete catalogue of their medicinal plants. However, on this aspect of gypsy lore, Fitzgerald has done good work and he gives a list of 79 medicinal plants.

Besides human ailments the Gypsies are known to be very successful doctors of animals and especially of the horses. They have special skill in curing the horse diseases like colic, broken-wind, bog spavin, coughs, cracked heels, quittor, mange, sprains and sores, worms, thrush, thrombi and staggers. They apply their own and indigenous remedies to all of these ailments.

Millions of the people in the world believe in the efficacy of the symbolic magic in curing certain diseases. The people of Punjab call these symbolic measures toonas, jharas etc. The Gypsies too have a very deep belief in symbolic, suggestive or sympathetic magic. The symbolic magic of Gypsies is in itself a vast subject but only a few instances are given below:

1. The warts could be cured if a big slug of a black colour is caught alive and is impaled on a thorn of a bush. As the slug would die the warts would shrivel and on its being wilted the warts will fall off.

2. They believe that if a spider is caught and is kept in a bag which a person carries with him, the trouble of auge will disappear on the death of the spider.

3. Tansy in boots and a spring of gorse in one's pocket is a proof against feavers.

4. The skin of a frog or eel carried on one's person keeps away rheumatism.

It is believed that some Gypsy women cured diseases without any treatment or toona. They do it just by wishing the disease to disappear but they can do it only to others and not to themselves. This may be due to their occult power.

The Gypsies do not know only the useful medicinal herbs and
plants but they are also fully conversent with the poisonous plants. Sometimes they used these poisonous substances for killing animals to get their flesh for eating. They put these poisonous things in the food of goats, sheep and pigs etc., know the planned death and remain in the neighbourhood of the incident. After the death of the animal which has been poisoned, they innocently approach the owner and get the animal with the condition of returning the skin to the owner and getting the flesh themselves. About a half century ago, this practice was in vogue among some Sansis and their allied people but now due to their education, enlightenment and improvement in economic condition, this practice has been absolutely renounced. Now it has also disappeared from the Gypsy society. The Sansis call poison 'theema' in their own dialect which they used to apply in the form of different substances. The Gypsies use barium as their main poisoning substance. So much so that even George Borrow, the father of Gypsiology was poisoned by Mrs. Hearne's-cake. It is believed that Gypsy woman was annoyed with him and poisoned him. After eating the cake he guessed her mischief and described his condition in which all the symptoms of barium poison are clear. He was poisoned on Saturday, 11th June, 1825 and died.

**GYPSY TRICKS FOR KILLING ANIMALS FOR FLESH**

In the past some Gypsies were specialists in killing sheep by a simple trick by which they used to break the neck of the sheep but could dupe its owner. This trick of theirs is described in the words, "And other method was to break the neck of the lamb and then place its head through the bars of the gate or in the slats of the fence in such a way that death was accidental." This trick of killing sheep had been used by a section of the Sansis or Bhatus, called Bhedkuts till very recently. The word 'Bhedkut' literally means a sheep killer. I have verified this fact from hundreds of Bhedkuts and they have described the trick just as it has been mentioned above. Regarding their trick Bhargwa also writes." It has been admitted by the Bhedkuts of the Punjab that originally they were Bhatus and they still make matrimonial alliances with them. Those Bhatus who migrated into the Punjab began to be known as the Bhedkuts due to their notorious habit
of stealing sheep and breaking their necks so that they might not be able to bleat. In fact the word Bhatu and Bhedkut are used for one and the same tribe."

It is noteworthy that the Gypsies and Bhedkuts used the same trick in killing sheep though it is their strict secret and they live thousands of miles apart. It shows that this trick was carried by the ancestors of the Gypsies from India to other countries and the trick might have been invented to quench their hunger during the period of their destitution and wanderings in India.

It is known that in the past some Gypsies used to put stealthily poison in the food of cattle; sometimes for killing them for the purpose of getting their flesh to eat and sometimes to cause them sickness so that the owners of the cattle may approach the Gypsies for removing their ailments and in this way the Gypsies could earn something.

It is reported that some of the Gypsies used to kill cattle by blocking their throat with wool or hair due to which they are killed by suffocation. This method was also in vogue among the Gypsies of Northern India but now it has disappeared. Some old persons (above 80 years in age) of the wandering tribes of Northern India have told me that in the past their ancestors used to kill cattle by applying poison to the end of a sharp substance, and giving its thrust into the mouth of an animal, thus making a wound from which the poison could spread throughout its body and the animal was killed.

One thing has struck me very convincingly and that is the way of their hunting, killing the wild animals and preparing and cleaning them before putting them into the cooking vessel. I have seen at present the wild animals being killed by some communities of Northern India in the very way as they are being done by the Gypsies. The special instance is in case of the hedge-hog which is called jhaoo or kandida by the people of Punjab but it is called witches by the Gypsies. According to the description of Gypsies found in the book of Webb published in 1960 the Gypsies put the end of a stick into the mouth of a Witchi or a hedge-hog
and hold it over the flames of fire till its spines are completely burnt off. After that its belly is ripped open and is cleaned for cooking. At present the very method is being used by several communities of Northern India who relish the eating of a jhao.

PROFESSIONS AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF GYPSIES

It is believed that a real Gypsy can earn his livelihood out of anything or nothing but still some professions of Gypsies are more common in all the parts of the world. It is not easy to make a perfect list of their callings. There is a list of 135 different Gypsy profession in the index to the old series of the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, which should have been doubled or trebled by now.

Music is an inseparable part of the life of the Gypsies, though it has never become the main profession of their life as a community anywhere. Usually the Gypsy musicians are harpers and fiddlers. Some of them are good dancers. In Hungary most of the orchestras are composed of the Gypsies. Some Gypsies are gold-smiths, silver-smiths and copper-smiths.

Briefly speaking, some more important occupations of the Gypsies are given below:

Fortune-tellers, tinkers, black-smiths, gold-smiths, copper-smiths, silver-smiths, rat-catchers, mole-catchers, horse dealers, farmers, basket makers, poachers, beggars, herb-gatherers, herbalists, masons, fruit vendors, carpenters, singers, cattle breeders and shepherds, china menders, knife grinders, clothpeg makers, book-sellers, umbrella menders, wild brids' egg-collectors, acrobats, bare-back riders in circus, rabbit catchers, fishermen, professional wrestlers, pawn brokers and professional boxers etc.

The general condition of the Gypsies is poor and as a matter of fact they do not have a strong attachment with the urge of possession and property. This detached view towards property suits more to their ever-wandering life and they have been moving from place to place and land to land, single-handed or with their caravans which can house the necessaries which can enable them to earn their livelihood for subsistence.
It does not mean that some of them have not taken to the settled life. In Hungary, their most favourite resort, they have their separate villages. In Russia some families have risen to such a good socio-economic status that some of them are married to Russians—Gypsy men as well as women. It is an historical fact that one of the most attractive, accomplished and cultured countesses of the families related to Tolstoy, was a Gypsy by birth. A Gypsy is called 'Zingana' in Russian. In Moscow some Gypsies are the owners of beautiful buildings.

Here a word may be said about the Gypsy boxers of England who earned, good name. In the old bare-knuckle days of boxing-ring. The following Gypsies were champions of England under the Prize Ring Rules:

Hooper, the Tinman whose real name was William Cooper was a middle weight champion in 1790. Tom Smith was a champion of 1844. Posh Price whose real name was Amos Price, was a middle weight champion of early 19th century Tom Sayers was a heavy weight champion of England in 1857. Joe Goss distinguished himself in his battle with Heenan Mace and he was an unchallenged champion of the world. Even after the coming of Gloves, Diggers, Stenley won the world championship and Gypsy Daniels won the English championship.

In short the Gypsies are following all the possible callings which could fetch them their livelihood and which are within their possible reach.

This is what could briefly be said about the Gypsies as the space does not allow to give them some long description but in order to know more about Gypsies an inquisitive scholar may read the works of Grell-Mann, Borrow, Ley-Land, Smith, Groome, Grierson, Serbornu, Starkie, Forest, Yates, Smart, Pott, Ascoli, Simson, Qindale, Miklosich, Puchmagre, Wlislocki, Esina, Sowa, Joseph, Ousley, Everst, Finok, Sykes, Sampson, Sinclair, Turner, Coleman, Ainsworth, Brown, Crabb, Hall, Holy Land, Jenkins, Kester, Knapp, Lyster, Macalister, M. Cornick, Meeyoy, Macritehe, Malleson, Morwood, Pennell.
Will Gypsies Survive Posterity?

A virile race can never be decimated and so is the case with the Gypsies who are found in their native country, India, West Asia, Europe, Seberia, Egypt, North-Africa, Australia, and America. All the biologists are unanimous in their opinion that man is the most widely distributed living being on the face of the earth and in this respect of all the races of Homo Sapines, the greatest credit goes to the Gypsies. Although the European scholars have written much on the Gypsies yet they stand a challenge to the Science of man—Anthropology. Since many centuries the Gypsies have been passing through appalling and trying times and have been annoying and adapting several cultures, have been condemned, coerced and even crucified by many peoples and their Governments, have been speaking many languages, have been following multitudes of occupations, have been living on the roads, in the waggons and in the woods, have been participating in and contributing to various cultures of the world; but still they are Indians in their own speech, manners, beliefs, practices, customs and costumes which clearly resemble those of their oriental counter-parts. Practically speaking, their physical features have not changed at all and they represent even now the natives of Northern India living in all the parts of the world. Although the scientific inventions have revolutionised the old crafts and industries yet the Gypsy clothes-peg maker has the same tools and techniques as his fore-fathers had, centuries ago. If the Gypsies all over the world have survived utterly disintegrating and destructive vicissitude of the past, it is certain that they shall survive posterity with all their typical outward toughness and roughness of body and tender elixirs of their roaming, romantic, carefree and colourful life.
GYPSIES A CHALLENGE TO RESEARCH

The Gypsies do not belong to any one community. They belong to different communities of Northern India, particularly of Punjab. But still on the whole they belong to the same racial stock.

Although hundreds of investigators have studied various aspects of their life yet they stand in an enquiry and astonishment regarding many problems and questions of Gypsies. The most important of them are as I have already said in one of my books, 'The Sansis of Punjab.' "If the Gypsies are mostly the natives of the Punjab, to which different castes, communities and tribes do they actually belong?" This could be determined by answering the following questions. What is the historical alliance of different groups of Gypsies with different castes of India? What are their mutual cultural similarities? What are their ethnic affinities?

The answers to these questions entail the study of history, anthropology, ethnology, philology and the folk Lore of these people.

So far the Gypsies are only cosidered to be descendants of their ancestors who migrated to other countries in the past whose history in some aspects is dim and doubtful. More reliable and authentic results could be achieved if an all-round study of different groups of Gypsies and those of people of the Northern India is made and these investigations should be made on exclusive tribes as well as on the whole. Under the age-long and day-to-day process of acculturation, all the communities are undergoing a change but still preserving some cultural and social traits of their long departed ancestors. It is not possible that all the groups should undergo an absolutely similar cultural change and ethnic miscegenation—they may be of the similar trends but always differing in degrees in case of different groups.

Although some Anthropologists and serologists have done some work on the Gypsies and their counter-parts in India, yet the work is insignificant in face of puzzling problems involved
in the methodological and scientific study of the Gypsies. The blood tests and anthropometric measurements of all their allied groups within India and outside India deserve the foremost attention. I believe that even among Gypsies there are different groups which have slight ethnic and cultural differences, though originally they belong to different castes of Northern India descended from the Indo-Aryan stock. Mr. Webb writes, “Consequently although they are all members of Roman race, nevertheless they have their own subtle differences, just as Yorkshire man and a Devon man, for instance, can both be thoroughly English and yet be different.”

Not only the local differences but also there are found different tribes among the Gypsies, and each tribe has a certain area more attached to it for its wanderings.” It would appear that they were divided into clans or tribes, each bearing a particular name and to which a particular district more especially belonged, though occasionally they changed districts for a period, and incited by their characteristic love of wandering, would travel far and wide.

The different aspects of the life of the European Gypsies up to the first quarter of the twentieth century have already been discussed in this chapter. It will be beneficial and interesting from study and research point of view to describe here some peculiar practices of the Gypsies of Europe recorded by the latest observers and investigators. So the up-to-date observations about the life of the European Gypsies are given below:

Curious Customs and Beliefs of European Gypsies—Today

1. Sterility, fertility and pregenancy of women:—Sterility is dreaded by the gypsy society and a sterile woman is abhorred without any reserves. They believe that sterility is the greatest misfortune for a woman. The gypsies of Central Europe ascribe it to malevolent magic, “A childless woman is pitied and despised, and, her situation with her husband becomes untenable, for in the mind of the gypsies, she has had carnal commerce with a vampire, which causes her sterility.”

So in order to avoid sterility, they should have some remedial measures, if they are so much particular about it. Some of their
peculiar practices and superstitions are given below:

(i) A sterile woman must eat the grass grown on the grave of a mother who died of puerperal fever in order to become pregnant.

(ii) Sterility is removed if she drinks water in which her husband has spit or thrown burning charcoal embers.

(iii) She should also collect gossamer (woven by spiders) and eat them in company with her husband, invoking the beautiful fairies or keshalayi, in order to be benefitted with the birth of a child.

(iv) In another belief the husband takes an egg, makes holes on its either end and blows the contents into the mouth of his wife. She immediately swallows them, as they believe that this performance dispels sterility. The above beliefs definitely associate them with their Indian counterparts as spit is likened to semen in some Indian legends and in Indian Mythology some of the famous men were born out of the spit of the gods.

(v) The ancient Indian custom of tree-marriage is still practised by the Transylvanian gypsies, to know whether the offspring will be born to a woman or not? We read, "There is lastly a custom common in India, that is also known among the Transylvanian gypsies:—the marriage of trees. Childless married couple, husband and wife, each plants a different tree on the bank of a river and the two trees are bound together. If one of them should wither away, there will be no offspring." The marriage of trees is also described by W.H. Sleeman as observed by him in India.

The occurrence of abortion among the Gypsy women is very rare or practically nil as like their other Indian sisters, they are very fond of children and feel more blessed with the birth of more children. They have some curious omens which foretell the truth or untruth of pregnancy or the sex of the child to be born. One of their customs about the prognostication of pregnancy or the sex of the unborn child is, "In order to know whether the woman is pregnant, the gypsies of Hungry practise divination by means
of grains of maize cast into a basin or on to the divinatory drum. The way the grains settle enables them for telling of the sex of the child. This method was known long ago in Vedic India except that the operative agent was grains of flax. In both instance, the omen was inferred from the fact that either grains were touching one another, or they were not.”

(i) If a cricket alights on a gypsy woman, she must be pregnant.

(ii) There is no doubt in her being pregnant if an ox licks her.

(iii) If she is pregnant and sees the wild geese or ducks go past, one evening, she must give birth to a child next morning.

In order to know the sex of an unborn child, the gypsy woman try the following omen with an egg.—A Siebengebirge gypsy woman of the Rhineland breaks an egg in plate without separating yolk from the white fluid and then sprays it with water blown from her mouth. If the egg is found floating on the surface of water next morning, the woman is definitely pregnant. The omen fore-tells that a son will be born if the white remains separate from the yolk, and a daughter if the white and yolk are found mixed together.

On being sure of her pregnancy, she declares the truth not only to her husband but to all the persons of the tribe and from that time onward she is looked with an added respect.

**Customs About Child Birth**

During her pregnancy the woman of the fold of her friendship display pictures of noble character, bewitching beauty, robust health and sacred significance. These pictures are not disclosed to any outsider. The images of the chief of the tribe are also shown to her but very secretly. The Gypsy women are exceptionally hardy and endurant. They continue working in a normal way till the birth of a child. Sometimes the cases have come to notice that at parturition, the mother was at work and it is not unusual for a gypsy woman to give birth to a child while standing upright with her legs apart. The European doctors are astonished at such cases taking place in inclement climates but without any adverse effect on the mother. Just like some Indian tribes the
rites of sympathetic magic are performed at the time of the birth of a child. The hair, clothes or any other tied or knotted article is untied or loosened so that the umbilical cord may not be knotted and an easy child birth may take place. No body is allowed to be present at the child birth except the mother of the woman who is confined and a tribal matron who functions as a mid-wife. The matron acts both ways — gynecologically as well as magically. On the one hand she uncoils the umbilical cord and on the other hand she prepares the charm with incantation and magical formulas. She lights fire in front of the house to scare away the demons and even spirits, in case of the child birth in the family of the Hungarian Gypsies.

(i) The egg has a special importance in the gypsy ritualism concerned with the child birth. Among the German Gypsies of Venische tribe, the water in which three eggs have been boiled is drunk by the woman who is experiencing a great difficulty in giving birth to a child. Afterwards, the eggs are eaten by her husband:

(ii) An egg is dropped between the legs of a woman who is in difficulty in giving birth to the child and the tribal matron utters, "The egg, the little egg is round. All is round; O, tiny babe, come, come, God is calling you."

(iii) An egg is put under the woman who dies in child birth so that vampires may not suck her breasts in the grave. They believe that the milk dries up when the eggs have rotten.

I have already described mochardi in this chapter and even today the woman is considered unclean during her child birth. A woman cannot give a birth to a child in her own caravan or waggon but must get away from it or under it. She remains unclean till the new born is baptised and the father can see, lift, kiss or caress his child after its baptismal ceremony is performed.

**Baptism of Gypsy Children**

A child is baptised in the presence of god-father and god-mother who are considered to be the truer parents of the baby than its natural parents. They are the members of great importance and in case of the Zanku gypsy tribe, it is the god-
father and god-mother who first teach the child to make a man out of it. Gypsy baptism has different magical rituals. Some gypsies tattoo the child close to the eyes in order to drive away the evil eye.

The gypsy baptism commences with the bath of the child in running water and then the secret name is given to it. The gypsies have three names:— One is secret, the second is used only by the tribe and the third is used by the non-gypsies and civil records and the state. The secret name is whispered by the mother in the ear of the child, at child birth for the first and last time. It is done to deceive the demons and evil spirits so that they may not do any harm to the child due to ignorance of his or her identity. Some opine that the secret name is spoken in the ear of the child at puberty but this opinion is doubtful. So far the investigators of Europe are in compromise over the fact that the toys and playthings are absolutely absent in the life of the gypsy children. The gypsy children enjoy complete freedom in the camps though there are some limitations on them and sometimes they are slapped for their amorous pranks, but this does not decrease the indulgence and affection of the people of the tribe for the springing up progeny. No rite is performed at puberty. Early biological development or adolescence of their oriental ethnic allies, functions among them even in the coldest climates of Europe. Usually a gypsy girl attains puberty at the age of thirteen whereas the European girls of white race do it at the age of sixteen.

Respect for Virginity

Some gypsiologists differ in their opinions about the chastity of the gypsy maidens but we read, "One expert says that this is the sovereign good, but another asserts that the gypsy girls offer themselves to the first man who comes along. But let us be clear on one point; there is no prostitution among gypsy women. The girls who sold themselves will automatically be excluded from the tribe. It is obviously possible in the Balkans and Spain or at Bigalle in France, to meet prostitutes got up and masquerading as gypsies (Gitanes). I do not believe that they are authentic gypsies. At all if there are black sheep in this respect, among the gypsies, they are the exceptions which form the rule."
The gypsies attach considerable importance to virginity and its violation presents a great hinderance in the marriages of the gypsy girls. The gypsies are so much strict in their morals regarding virginity of the girl that nobody accepts a maiden who has sinned, though not pregnant. Such a girl must wear a traditional head scarf like the married women. She must knot the scarf under the chin whereas a regularly married woman wears it on the nape of her neck. In this way the young unmarried girl who has sinned against the observance of virginity, is publically noticed in the gypsy society.

**Choice of Partners**

The Gypsies are romantic by nature and there are sufficient amorous affairs among these people. The gypsy young boys and girls seldom choose their matches themselves. Just like the traditional families of Northern India, it is the parents who decide the matches. The father of the boy visits the parents of the desired girl and sounds them his suggestion in a subtle and indirect way and if he finds his proposal well responded to, he frankly talks to them and settles the matter afterwards. Then the betrothal takes place. The betrothed couple can see each other but only in the presence of their elders.

**Ways to Win the Beloved**

Sorcery is the greatest resort of gypsy youth to win the beloved. The following magical means are applied to do it.

(a) A girl of the gypsies of central Europe makes a paste in which she mixes blood, saliva, hair and nails of her beloved. Then she makes an effigy of this paste. She buries this figurine at the crossing of a road when the moon is at her first quarter. Then she urinates on the spot of its burial and suppose, if she loves Nirmal she says, "Nirmal, I love you. When your figurine shall have perished, you will run after me as a dog follows a bitch."

(b) The young man who is enamoured of a young girl also applies his magical tricks or rites. He approaches the herb woman (drabarni) to procure some magical potions. One of the potions is called farmitchi. Etymologically farmitchi is a doubtful term
being from ferice, meaning "happy" or "Lucky", pharimata means pricks. In preparing the magical rite of farmitchi the boy goes to a river and picks a leaf from a tree. Then he pricks his wrist with his knife and smears the leaf with his blood, uttering his own name. Then he turns the leaf and smears it with his blood uttering the name of his beloved. Then he throws the leaf into the river and wends his way. The gypsies believe that the desired girl must madly fall in love with the boy who performs this magical rite.

(c) The gypsy girl performs another magical rite too, to capture the heart of her lover. A girl prepares the paste as described above in para (a). Some quince pips and few drops of blood from the little finger of her left hand are added to it. Then she cooks it and chews it, looking at the full moon, saying but mentally addressing the desired lover, "I chew your hair I chew my blood—from hair and blood love shall be born—a new life shall be born for us." Then she smears one of the garments of the boy, with the paste so that he may become mad in her love and cannot be at peace without loving her.

(d) A girl also tries another magical medium to win her beloved: She takes some earth from a grave with the back of her right hand. Then she wraps it in a paper and stealthily puts it under the pillow of the boy. The belief is that the boy will not be able to have peace of mind in sleep unless he accepts the love of that girl.

(e) The boy tries another magical method also. He takes three hairs of the girl and puts them into the chink of a tree so that they may grow with it. In order to be sure of the success he must get the three hairs at three different occasions, from the back of the neck of his beloved, while she is asleep. He must keep these hairs on his person for some days. On the successful performance of this rite, the girl is so much obsessed with the love of the boy that she frantically and restlessly runs after him.

(f) A gypsy girl of Siebengebirge practises another rite to incite the romantic feelings of her beloved. She mixes the burnt and powdered apple-pips with her menstrual blood and admini-
sters it to the boy, in food so that on eating it he may be enamoured of her.

**Forms of Gypsy Marriage**

All the major three forms of marriage—purchase, mutual consent and abduction are found among the gypsies. There are definite limitations or tribal restrictions on the marriage between certain groups of gypsies. But if a gypsy is married to a non-gypsy person, he or she is ostracised from the tribe. The runaway marriages do not occur among the traditionalist gypsies of Lativia and especially among the Sireti-gypsies. In case of eloped, runaway or abducted marriages, the couple absconds for some weeks and then comes back to the parents of the girl. Both of them and especially the girl is severely rebuked but at last the family and the tribal panchayat pardons them and they are socially accepted as regularly married, but are considered only betrothed unless the marriage ceremony is performed. The marriage through mutual consent takes place through the go-betweens. On ascertaining the views of both the parties, the marriage is settled. The boy is allowed to see his fiancee but in presence of her parents. This limitation undoubtedly proves that the gypsies are the socio-ethnic counterparts of the traditionalist families of Northern India and especially of Punjab.

The festivities go on for some days on the occasion of a marriage and all the gypsy members of the surrounding tribes are invited. One thing is especially notable that though the people of long-standing and cut-throat enemity gather on the function of a marriage, they are not allowed to pick up a quarrel or a fight during the festivities of the marriage, as there tribal council has enjoined on them. All the major ceremonies of the marriage are performed under the auspices of the tribal chief who functions as a priest. The marriage ceremony is simply performed with bread and salt. The tribal chief takes the bread and breaks it into two parts and puts a pinch of salt on each of them saying, "When you are fed up with this bread and this salt, you will be tired of each other." Then the bride and the bridegroom exchange their pieces of bread and eat it. This completes the marriage ceremony among the gypsies.
Although the cases of divorce are not often found among the Gypsies, yet the marriages are broken with the refund of the money spent on marriage. The money is paid by the answerable party as decided by the tribal council, after hearing the pros and cons of the case. This is done almost among all the gypsy tribes of the Punjab including Bazigars, Sikligars and Sansis etc.

The moral rules of the gypsies are harsher than any European people of white race. The reprimand, rebuke or other punishment for some moral laxity, is the severest set—back to a gypsy.

Sometimes they shave the hair of the woman found guilty in adultery. She may be excommunicated also. The chastisement of shaving of hair was also prevalent among the gypsies of Northern India till a decade or two ago. It is said about the European gypsies, "Mere severe corporal punishments still exist. Mutilations for example, of which ethnologists have recorded definite cases, an eye put out, a nose cut off, a tooth broken and an ear torn off. Old gypsy women mutilated in this way, who are met in some countries, have thus paid for their extra marital exploits." The mutilations for moral vagaries was a common punishment among the Sansis of Punjab, as enforced by their tribal panchyat or raas.

Like the binda of the Indian Gypsies of Punjab, the European Gypsies also have the magical means to find the truth of a disputed matter. They perform the following rite to find the innocence or guilt of a woman in her moral life.

The gypsy husband threads the skulls of three magpies on three stripped twigs of rosemary or boxwood. Then these three twigs are tied together and placed under the pillows of his wife. She gets usual and peaceful sleep if she is innocent. Otherwise she sees appalling and quaint things and relates the details of her romantic adventures while asleep. It is believed that this charm works with double effect and accuracy if it is buried in the grave of a child who has died unbaptised and then be smeared with the menstrual blood of a woman, other than the accused.

The European gypsies are known to be contemptibly dirty in habits. They used to avoid the liberal use of water excepting
its required use in culinary purposes. They never used soap. Their aversion of water was mostly ascribed to their peregrinating ways of life. But now they have taken to the use of water for washing clothes and regular bathing and it is especially found among the young people. Their aversion of water has a socio-economic and psychological background. Being the greatest wandering people of the earth, the oceans, the rivers, the lakes, etc. have been a great hinderance in the way of their free and unintercepted movements.

**Death Ceremonies**

A gypsy should not die in bed or on a cot. His or her death within the house is considered ill omened. The dying person is removed out of the house, just before death. Sometimes the dying person is dressed with new clothes and is served with due toilet so that he may see in a mirror that he is going to the next world with a new, tidy and possibly best dress. Nobody is allowed to weep, cry or yell near the dying person and all of his kith and kin silently observe the last movements of his life. The weeping, mourning, crying and yelling begin when his death is announced. His qualities are remembered and voiced in dirges. The shrouding of the dead body is done usually three days after the death. The body is put in a coffin, with the hands on the chest or along the body. The gypsies of Scotland and England decorate the dead body with jewellery and ornaments or other belongings of the deceased, like violin and other musical instruments. The forks, plate, spoon, etc. are also placed with him so that he may not feel their want on his journey to the next world.

The burial is mostly performed according to the Christian ceremonies but in some cases the Muslim influence is also observed. At any rate, their obsequial rites are basically of gypsy origin. The musicians play on their instruments when the dead body is lowered in the grave. The coins or currency notes are thrown in the grave instead of the handfuls of earth and sprinkling of water is substituted with beer. Some gypsies distribute money among all who are present when the dead body is taken to the graveyard. They think that the distribution of money among the
children is a specially benefactory. It is mentioned by some gypsyologists that the gypsies of Kalderash pierce the heart of the deceased to be sure of his death. This is done as a magical practice too, as it saves the soul of the dead person from the attack of demons. Some gypsies break the little finger of the dead person and attach to it a piece of silver tied with a red thread, before the body is actually interned in the grave. Almost all the personal belongings of the deceased are destroyed and are not inherited by anybody. Sometimes even his or her waggon or caravan is burnt. Most of the gypsies of the present day do not have a special attachment to the place of burial, though in the past they used to annually visit the tombs or graves of their dead relatives, just like the gypsies of Northern India. But now they bury the dead person, perform the necessary ceremony, and leave the place to be forgotten and to be dreaded ever after that time.

The basic trait of culture is its consistent as well as ever changing nature. If the gypsies have retained the cultural heritage of their Indian ancestors since many centuries, it has been undergoing a general but constant change, in dress, food, language and socio-economic ways of life. The gypsies themselves, are also aware of it. They are fully in the know of the interest of "gorgios" or non-gypsy gypsyologists in their life and recently a gypsy himself wrote, "For a time the gypsy race trod a primrose path of popularity. This was due largely to the literary activities of men like George Borrow who romanticised the gypsies for the British public and in the process romanticised George Borrow."

The Europeans are so much enamoured of the life of the gypsies that they pursued quaint literary interests about their language and made a romantic and new tongue out of the gypsy language. It is said, "Learned men found profitable intellectual exercise in studying the wind-on-the-heath philosophy. Our Romany tongue became the delight of the philologists. Next the scholars produced an artificial literature composed of Romany words and gave it a grammar. They even wrote letters to each other in this fabricated script-like members of an exclusive secret society. The only people who had no access to the knowledge of this unique and complex literature were the gypsies."
This Romany also answers to his own question "what has happened to us in 1963"? The horse fairs have all but died out, the crafts and occupations such as basket making, wood carving, china mending and umbrella making have no place in the world of mass production. Inspite of our faculties for survival, our activities became more curtailed and our wandering more restricted with every passing year. Recently I was present at a mass evications of so-called gypsies from a Kentish Camping site.\textsuperscript{143}

Vitality, virility and vigour are the natural harvest of freedom and rough and arduous life. They are the first requisites of the survival of the fittest. So the wandering and life of wear and tear are source of the strength of the gypsies. Therefore the real gypsies are not prepared to sacrifice their wandering spirit for any gain or temptations of the so-called modern and civilised world and the Romany says with full confidence, "For ourselves, we should be allowed the official use of intelligently determined sites throughout the country and pay for the privilege of camping on them." I should emphasise that we should be permitted to travel from site to site. We must not be compelled to remain in one place as this would only result in the creation of the fresh problems. We may be seen as an anachronism. But surely we have the right to perpetuate our harmless way of life in a free society. As my old friend Nat Lee said to me short before he died, "If we was meant to stay in one place, brother, why, we'd have roots for legs like a tree."\textsuperscript{144} By the way it also proves without doubt that some of the gypsies living since centuries outside India, still retain the exclusive clanish or tribal appellations of their Indian ancestors, as cited above, Lee is a "Nat" the name of an India Gypsy tribe whom I have described elsewhere.\textsuperscript{145}

The greatest charm to the anthropologists, sociologists, historians and philologists who have studied the gypsies, is that they are still misunderstood or misunderstood people. The only way to know them rightly is to live among them as one of them, otherwise they know well how to avoid, evade or avert the strangers who are laden with false ghosts of dignity and superiority complex. So it is correctly said,"It is easy enough to meet gypsies,
if one knows what to look for and where to find it, but to get to understand them never was easy. Gypsies have their own methods of defying (and defeating) the sociologist who confronts them with a questionnaire. But if one is willing to live among them a while, observing rather than interrogating them, so I have found, the nature of gypsy will unfold like a flower in the sun.”

This opinion of Mr. Peel is absolutely correct as I could never have been able to write this research work on the Sikligar Gypsies, without living among them, and without establishing a cordial and trustworthy relationship with these people.

The process of acculturation and settling the nomadic people is working with greatest speed than ever before throughout the world and along with their acculturation, rehabilitation and assimilation in the general society, although gradually, yet definitely, their colourful, own, ancestral and original ways of life will disappear. It is being realised everywhere and as we are apprehensive of this possibility, the European gypsyologists are equally mindful of these rapid changes about which it is said, “Meanwhile, the Gypsies grow fewer year by year, while those that survive confirm more and more closely with an average standard of living. Even so there is room for tuppenco-coloured in a penny plain world, and it will be many years before these hardy carefree nomads will disappear from the remote and mountainous regions of Britain.”

A Glimpse of Gypsy Language

I have already said in this chapter that the credit of ascertaining the origin and nativity of the gypsies goes to philology, the science of language. So the gypsy language should not be given only a cursory comment, but should also be given the proper share of its description which it deserves in this chapter.

The gypsies went on adding to their language the words of the languages of the people of different countries in which they happen to live and today the words of almost all the languages of civilised world are found in the gypsy vocabulary. But inspite of this the real Indian body of language remained the same though it put on different
apparels in different lands. This is absolutely in line with what happened to the dialects of their gypsy brothers who remained in India. The gypsies of India, have a marked influence of the language of the province in which they live. The Sikligars of Rajhastan, Madras (where they are called Lambadi or Sukali), Punjab, Sind, Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir etc though belong to the same tribe and have the same tribal dialect, yet have borrowed some words of the general language of their respective provinces of residence. This is the very case with all the gypsy tribes of India and the same is the position of the gypsies found outside India, in different countries. Such difference is not found only in vocabulary but also in the pronunciation. For instance a Sansi of Punjab pronounces the term for peasant, farmer, Jat or any other non Sansi etc as "Kajja" whereas a Sansi of Uttar Pradesh or of other Hindi speaking areas pronounces the same word as "Kaaja". The difference is not in vocabulary but in pronunciation in keeping with the pronouncing characteristics of the locality in which they happen to live. Even the words bhai (brother), ghar (house), bhan (sister), ghora (horse), bhag (run), jhat (atonce) etc. are pronounced differently by the people of Punjabi speaking and Hindi speaking areas, though exactly used in the same meanings, and these phonetic variations are found everywhere in the world. Referring back to the pronunciation of the word "Kajja" we may cite more instances as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>Hatth</td>
<td>Haath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>Atth</td>
<td>Aath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td>Ajj</td>
<td>Aaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>Latt</td>
<td>Laat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>Nakk</td>
<td>Naak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>Jatt</td>
<td>Jaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Kamm</td>
<td>Kaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Much more can be said about their differences but on the whole their language remained separate tongue confined to themselves and secretive to the other people. I give below a list of the words of European gypsies, with their Punjabi and
Hindi equivalents so that the readers may rightly know that the gypsy language is definitely a derivative of the language of North-West India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gypsy</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Here</td>
<td>Adjay</td>
<td>Aidhar</td>
<td>Idhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Into</td>
<td>Adrey</td>
<td>Andrey</td>
<td>Ander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>Agge</td>
<td>Aage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Apre</td>
<td>Opper</td>
<td>Ooper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at, far, inside</td>
<td>Ade</td>
<td>Ander</td>
<td>Ander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here</td>
<td>Ake</td>
<td>Aithe</td>
<td>Yahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>Ame</td>
<td>Asin</td>
<td>Hame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>Andaloe</td>
<td>Antle</td>
<td>Antle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>Andralo</td>
<td>Anderla</td>
<td>Anderka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>Aao</td>
<td>Aao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>Baal</td>
<td>Baal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>Bal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twisted</td>
<td>Bango</td>
<td>Winga</td>
<td>Binga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greatness</td>
<td>Baripe</td>
<td>Baripa</td>
<td>Barapan</td>
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<td>Powerful</td>
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<td>Balwala</td>
<td>Balwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Bers</td>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>Varsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To sit</td>
<td>Bes</td>
<td>Baith</td>
<td>Baith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinite</td>
<td>Biand</td>
<td>Beant</td>
<td>Beant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad luck</td>
<td>Bibax</td>
<td>Wakhat</td>
<td>Vipta</td>
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<td>Aunt</td>
<td>Bibi</td>
<td>Bibi</td>
<td>Bibi</td>
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<td>Bidar</td>
<td>Bedar</td>
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<td>Bifi</td>
<td>Barf</td>
<td>Barf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Innocent</td>
<td>Bidos</td>
<td>Bedos</td>
<td>Bedosh</td>
</tr>
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<td>To produce,</td>
<td>Bijan</td>
<td>Bijna</td>
<td>Bijna</td>
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<tr>
<td>To sell</td>
<td>Bikan</td>
<td>Bikna</td>
<td>Bechna</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Gypsy</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-sense</td>
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<td>Belor</td>
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<td>Bilondano</td>
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<td>Bis</td>
<td>Bis</td>
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<tr>
<td>To forget</td>
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<td>Bor (boro)</td>
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<td>Bucki</td>
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<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>But (bute)</td>
<td>Bahut</td>
<td>Bahut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Butylka</td>
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<td>Butty (butti)</td>
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<td>To graze</td>
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<td>Muddy</td>
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<tr>
<td>To move</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Gypsy</td>
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<td>Chor</td>
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<td>Chor</td>
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<td>Theft</td>
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<td>Chori</td>
<td>Chori</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drop</td>
<td>Chul</td>
<td>Choa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handful</td>
<td>Chulo</td>
<td>Chull</td>
<td>Chuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cut</td>
<td>Chsin</td>
<td>Chirna</td>
<td>Chirna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knife, stab</td>
<td>Chhuri</td>
<td>Chhuri</td>
<td>Chhuri</td>
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**D**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Gypsy</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pressure,</td>
<td>Dab</td>
<td>Dabab</td>
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<td>Dar</td>
<td>Dar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dreadful</td>
<td>Darano</td>
<td>Draona</td>
<td>Daraona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To frighten</td>
<td>Darvo</td>
<td>Darao</td>
<td>Darao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give</td>
<td>Dey</td>
<td>Dey</td>
<td>Dey</td>
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<td>Desto</td>
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<td>Dasta</td>
</tr>
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<td>Das</td>
<td>Das</td>
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<td>Devel</td>
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<td>Dyp</td>
<td>Deep (Deeva)</td>
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<td>Dylvno</td>
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<td>Daivy</td>
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<td>To kill</td>
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<td>Divvus</td>
<td>Din, Divvus</td>
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<td>Cloth</td>
<td>Diklo</td>
<td>Thigli</td>
<td>Dosh</td>
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<td>Fault</td>
<td>Dos</td>
<td>Dosh</td>
<td>Dosh</td>
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<td>To milk</td>
<td>Doh</td>
<td>Doh</td>
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<td>Durya</td>
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<td>Hindi</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Duj</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far off</td>
<td>Dur</td>
<td>Dur</td>
<td>Dur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorrow, Pain</td>
<td>Dukh</td>
<td>Dukh</td>
<td>Dukh</td>
</tr>
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<td>Heart</td>
<td>Dilo</td>
<td>Dil</td>
<td>Dil</td>
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<td>Dum</td>
<td>Dum</td>
<td>Dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
<td>Feter</td>
<td>Bihtar</td>
<td>Bihtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant, farmer</td>
<td>Gajja</td>
<td>Kajja (in Sansi dialect)</td>
<td>Gram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant women</td>
<td>Gajji</td>
<td>Kajji (in Sansi dialect)</td>
<td>Gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>Gaboro</td>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>Gau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To count</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>Kuri</td>
<td>Gau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Gueri</td>
<td>Giyohn</td>
<td>Gram (Gau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>Giv</td>
<td>Gau</td>
<td>Gram (Gau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>Gov</td>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>Gur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Gav</td>
<td>(Gau)</td>
<td>Gur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>Gudlo</td>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>Gur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| H         |        |          |        |
| Horse     | Hensto | Ghora    | Ghora  |
| Sigh      | Hauka  | Hauka    | Hauka  |
| Pride     | Hucan  | Hankar   | Hankar |
| High      | Hoco   | Ucha     | Ooncha |
| Uproar    | Huc    | Hook     | Hook   |
| Snow      | Hiv    | Him      | Him    |

<p>| J         |        |          |        |
| Skillful  | Jinlo  | Janoo    | Jananewala |
| Tongue    | Jib    | Jib      | Jeeb    |
| To awake  | Jangar | Jagana   | Jagana  |
| Oats      | Jobis  | Javi     | Javi    |</p>
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<th>Hindi</th>
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<td>Joon</td>
<td>Joon</td>
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<td>Lousy</td>
<td>Juvalo</td>
<td>Joonwala</td>
<td>Joonwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Jukal</td>
<td>Jhukal (in Sansi and Sikhighar dialects)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scissors</td>
<td>Kaca</td>
<td>Kainchi</td>
<td>Kainchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To roll</td>
<td>Kacine</td>
<td>Kunjna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To tuck up</td>
<td>Kad</td>
<td>Kad</td>
<td>Kab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When</td>
<td>Kah</td>
<td>Kitha</td>
<td>Kahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where</td>
<td>Kal</td>
<td>Kal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Kalo</td>
<td>Kala</td>
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| Shame (modesty) | Laz      | Lajj     | Laaj      |
| Lame           | Lango    | Langara (langa) | Langra   |
| World          | Lok      | Lok      | Lok       |
| Red            | Lolo     | Lal      | Lal       |
| Take           | Lay      | Ley      | Ley       |
| Salt           | Lond, Loon, Lubbeny | Loon (Lavan) | Loon (Lavan) |
| Harlot         |          | Lubhani  | Labhani   |

| To beg         | Mang     | Mang     | Mang      |
| Meat           | Maas     | Maas     | Maas      |
| Man            | Manus    | Manush   | Manush    |
| Mother         | Mam      | Maan     | Maan      |
| Fish           | Machhi   | Machhi   | Machhi    |
| Mouth          | Mui      | Moonh    | Moonh     |
| Face           | Mukh     | Mukh     | Mukh      |
| Fleshy         | Maslo    | Maswala  | Maswala   |
| Drunk (Intoxicated) | Mato | Matta   | Matta     |

<p>| Fly            | Makka    | Makhi    | Makhi     |
| Dirty          | Melala   | Maila    | Maila     |
| Filth          | Maila    | Mailwala | Mailwala  |
| Urine          | Mutra    | (Maila)  | (Maila)   |
| Die            | Mar      | Mutar    | Mutar     |
| Mine           | Mero     | Mar      | Mar       |
| Sweet          | Misto    | Mera     | Mera      |
| Price          | Mole     | Mitha    | Mitha     |
| Wax            | Mom      | Mull     | Mull      |
| Wax Candle     | Momely   | Mom      | Mom       |
|               |          | Momwali  | Momwali   |
|               |          | (Mombati)| (Mombati) |</p>
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(Pardada) | Parm?
(Pardada) |
| Leaf         | Pattin    | Patta         | Patta    |
| Ancestor     | Parpapu   | Parbapu       | Parbabu  |
| Accepted     | Privan    | Parvan        | Pravan   |
| Beloved      | Paereni   | Piari         | Piari    |
| Flea         | Pishu     | Pisu          | Pisu     |

**R**

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<td>(like a snake)</td>
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<td>(very uncommon construction of the word).</td>
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(literally it means one's wife's brother, the word is used in a taunting way for the police).
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(Tarnad dal of the Nigang Singhs is the younger division of the Sikh Dals.)

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<td>Voice</td>
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<td>That</td>
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<td>Hawk</td>
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<td>Day</td>
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<td>Massacre</td>
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<td>Free</td>
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<td>To escape</td>
<td>Vinas</td>
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<td>Fire</td>
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<td>Go</td>
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<td>Saddle</td>
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<td>To go</td>
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<td>Person</td>
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<td>Life</td>
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<td>Jiv</td>
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A close study and comparison of the words given in the above list shows that many words of the Punjabi and Hindi languages are preserved in original, in the language of the Gypsies who have been living outside India for the last so many centuries. The final 0 of the Gypsy word like Ghoro and scores of such words prove that they have retrained this pronunciation of Rajbustani and Gujarati languages also which change the final A of certain words into 0 for instance mota (fat) motto, ghora (horse) ghor, buhra (old) buhra, etc.

We should be grateful to the European and other foreign scholars due to whom the world has known much about the Gypsies. But at the same time, the research on the Gypsies, has been challenging the Indian anthropologists since centuries reminding them of their negligence to study the Gypsies and it may be hoped that some Indian scholar may make salient contributions to the study of Gypsies because he would be able to understand their customs and manners better than the foreigners as many of...
them are daily practised around him by his own kith and kin and he speaks a language which the Gypsies speak all over the world. This is why I have decided to study them and contribute my humble share to Gypsiology.

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The real name of Sultana was Sultan Singh, but he was affectionately called Sultana. He was born in 1890 A.D. at Pataudi, formerly a native State in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab. The name of his father was Jagta and that of his mother was Billi. She was called so because of her bluish eyes. He had the only and elder brother named Balmukand and five sisters whose respective names were Banno, Chauranjia, Kunjan, Piyari and Ghaskhudi.

The time of his birth was very critical for the then Criminal Tribes of India and his own tribe was one of the worst sufferers from the Criminal Tribes Act which is given in the appendix. Most of the members of his tribe were leading a nomadic way of life and even in case of their temporary and ephemeral encampments or in their pilgrimations, the Police constantly followed them from place to place and drove them from district to district, especially when they had to enter the native States from British territory and vice versa.

It has taken me several years to collect the information about the familial background of Sultana because its details were not accessible to me in the Police records or from any other source already recorded by the Government. Some years ago I was told that his close relatives are still alive who can give the exact and dependable information about him, and for—
Unfortunately I met them and gathered the required information. He belonged to the Khap clan of the moiety of Beedho, who was one of the two sons of Sansi or Sansmal, the progenitor of the Sansi or Bhatu tribe. In the end of the 18th century, the members of his clan moved from Pataudi, under the leadership of Jagta, the father of Sultana, to the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh). In 1900 A.D. this wandering group of the Sansis of Punjab was apprehended by the Police and their movements were restricted. Henceforward, this group, like the other wandering tribes of India, was kept under strict surveillance of the Police. By that time the British Government had decided to settle these people in the colonies, providing them agricultural land or some industrial avenues. But the settlements could not solve the economic problems of these people, and as a matter of fact their economic condition became unbearable and subhuman under the inhuman restrictions imposed on the people who were interned in such settlements.

It will not be out of place to mention here that, though the Sansis elsewhere in India, are publically known as “Sansis”, the Sansis of Uttar Pradesh are known as “Bhatus”. The Sansis call themselves Bhatus in their tribal and code dialect. However, in record and in the public, Sultana is known as Sultana Bhatu like the other Bhatus of Uttar Pradesh.

It will be interesting to tell that the term “Bhatu” is another form of “Batho”, which is a clan or section of the Bhatti Rajputs from which the Sansis have descended. H.A. Rose has also recorded the Batho clan of the Bhatti Rajputs.

In about 1914 this group of Sultana was put under the care and supervision of the Salvation Army, which was the harbinger as a missionary philanthropic agency to reform the then criminal tribes of India. The Salvation Army put whole of this group in the fortress at Najibabad. By that time the father and mother of Sultana had died and Sultana along
with his elder brother Balmukand, his wife named Koklan and his other kith and kin, was confined to the fortress of Nijababad. A son named Chanda Singh was also born to Koklan, the wife of Balmukand.

It is one thing to read something about an event from the printed papers but it is entirely another thing to hear face to face the facts related by the very persons with whom the event is directly concerned. As I have already mentioned in the present chapter, I have personally talked to several persons who were once the ill-starred inmates of the Nijababad fortress and with some persons who were in the gang of Sultana. To be more authentic and to be morally loyal to the informants I may mention here some of the names who are either related to Sultana or were one of those who themselves or whose nears and dears were victimised by the unearthly administration and adverse circumstances of that time. On the 7th of August, 1963 I met Ratti Ram, a displaced Sansi from Vihari, district Multan, West Punjab. At present he lives in the Sansi colony of Andha Mughal, Delhi. He advised me to see Gaja Ram, the husband of Leelawati. Leelawati is the daughter of Shanker, who was the real cousin brother of Sultana, as the father of Sultana and the father of Shanker were real brothers. My long conversation with this couple proved very useful to me because besides the information which they could give to me, they also advised me to see some other persons who are more closely and directly related to Sultana and who could give still more information. After this I met Nathwa, who is now 80 years old, and had been very active as a colleague of Balmukand, the elder brother of Sultana. Nathwa participated in several exploits of his gang and he had seen Sultana too, many times. He also gave me very useful information.

At last I learnt that Tulsi, the wife of Sultana is still alive, to whom he was married in 1918, when Sultana was at Nijababad and Tulsi’s father Hardev was at Muradabad. The father of Tulsi belonged to the Bhana clan of the moiety of Mahla. Hence I went to the settlement of denotified tribes at
Muddabad on the 7th June, 1964, where I could actually see Tulsi, the wife of Sultan Singh, Vikat Singh and Amar Singh, the sons of Chanda and the grandsons of Sultana’s brother, Balmukand. I also met Mr. Tilak Singh, an educated Bhatu of that settlement and he gave me very sound and interesting information. Besides them, I also conversed with many other old men and women of the settlement who had seen Sultana, Balmukand and other members of their gang and who had actually observed their activities. Then all of us including Tulsi, sat in the house of Tilak Singh and discussed and heard all about the life of Sultana. It may be mentioned here that Sultana left the fortress of Muddabad just a year after his marriage with Tulsi. Although the people say and even Jim Corbett has said in his story of Sultana that he had a son who was entrusted to Mr. Freddy Young, the Police Officer who arrested Sultana, yet the verification of facts has repudiated it and the truth is that Sultana had neither a son nor a daughter and some people might have mistaken Chanda Singh, the son of Balmukand, for the son of Sultana.

I cannot help appreciating Jim Corbett, who identified the character and renown of Sultana with that of Robin Hood, who is the most popular character amongst the common and the poor people of Great Britain. It appears from the story of Sultana, written by Jim Corbett who was personally a participant in the pursuit of Sultana in the group of Freddy Young and observed the activities of this renowned highwayman, that he had studied exhaustive literature on Robin Hood and so he is proudly justified to give the heading of the story, “Sultana: India’s Robin Hood.” Therefore, I have quoted some of the characters common between Robin Hood and Sultana. It is said about Robin Hood, “It was sweet, therefore, in hours of leisure, to hear songs about the bold outlaw, Robin Hood, who once had been as bound in city laws as they, but who had fled to the freedom of the forest, where, with cool daring and thrilling effrontery, he laughed to scorn the harsh forest laws of the king, and waged war upon all those rich lords and proud prelates who were the enemies of humble
folk." Robin Hood left his house and land and a farm of 160 acres near Locksley. He organised a gang of robbers all equipped with the weapons of his time and extended his plundering activities to a very vast area. If the law abiding Robin Hood turned a world-famed robber being fed up with the highhandedness of the abbots realising the pitiable plight of the poor people, the circumstances of Sultana could also be appreciated, how he would have felt rebelliously about his kinsmen and himself, "Sultana was a member of the Bhantu criminal tribe. With the rights and wrongs of classing a tribe as 'criminal' and confining it within the four walls of the Najibabad Fort, I am not concerned. It suffices to say that Sultana, with......some hundreds of other Bhantus was confined in the fort under the charge of Salvation Army. Chafing at his confinement he scaled the mud walls of the fort one night and escaped as any other young and high spirited man would have done. This escape had been effected a year previous to the opening of my story and during that year Sultana had collected a hundred kindred spirits all armed with guns, around him. This imposing gang whose declared object was dacoity, led a roving life in the jungles of Terai and Bhabar, their activities extending from Gonda in the East to Saharanpur in the West, a distance of several hundred miles, with occasional raids into the adjoining province of the Punjab."*

It is commonly read about Robin Hood that he was so much imposing, appalling and impressive to the landlords and other rich people that they could not afford to earn his wrath and some of them used to give him protection and help him in the supply of arms and ammunition. Similarly we read about Sultana, "The supply of arms and ammunition to Sultana was a very sore point with Freddy. Stringent orders on the subjects had been issued, but it was not surprising that every licensed dealer and every licensed gun-holder in the area in which Sultana was operating was willing to risk the Government's pleasure when the alternative was the certainty of having his house raided and the possibility of having his throat cut, if he refused Sultana's demands. So the offer of arms and ammu-
nition was no idle one and it was the most unkind cut the dacoit leader could have delivered to the Head of the Special Dacoity Police Force."

The gang of Sultana was a great terror as the Sansi dacoits were in the Bombay Presidency, a century before his time as described by Sleeman. Sultana escaped from the fort of Nijababad and became a lover of the free and jungle life without losing the spirit of joviality and the tender sense of the moral feelings for the honour of the women folk, which was the very character of Robin Hood. "He is the great sportsman, the incomparable archer, the lover of the greenwood and of a free life, brave, adventurous, jocular, open-handed, a protective of women." He always raided the haughty and rich people to snatch wealth from them which they had usurped from the hard labour of the starving masses. He always donated booty to the needy and the poor who were the prey to the cupidity of the rich people and resultanty the victims of poverty. He invariably used to wrest arms and ammunitions from the aristocrats. Out of his numerous raids on such people, one may be described here which he effected when he was once returning from the Punjab to Uttar Pradesh, "On hearing from his guides that a rich man's son was being married, he ordered them to take him to the village. The wedding party and some thousand guests were assembled on a wide open space in the centre of the village. As he entered the glare of the high-powered lamps, Sultana's appearance caused a stir, but he requested the assembly to remain seated and added that if they complied with his request they had nothing to fear. He then summoned the headman of the village and the father of the bridegroom and made it known that, as this was a propitious time for the giving and receiving of gifts, he would like the headman's recently purchased gun for himself, and ten thousand rupees in cash for his men. The gun and the money were produced in the shortest time possible, and having wished the assembly good night Sultana led his men out of the village."
In the above cited case another incident took place which gives actual proof of his respect towards the fair sex. He was entirely absorbed in his negotiations with the headman and the father of the bridegroom and remained absolutely unaware of a misdeed of Pailwan, a prominent member of his gang, who succeeded in kidnapping the bride. Regarding this incident Jim Corbett writes about Sultana, "Not till the following day did he learn that his lieutenant, Pailwan, had abducted the bride. Sultana did not approve of women being molested by his gang, so Pailwan was severely reprimanded and the girl was sent back with a suitable present to compensate her for the inconvenience to which she had been put." This moral trait of Sultana also tallied with that of Robin Hood about whom we read, "Then, too, he was religious and had especial reverence for the Virgin Mary and for her sake he treated all women with the greatest courtesy, and would not harm any who were in their company." This moral character and attitude of Sultana towards women was representatives of the moral motto of his Sansi tribe about which it is said as a whole, "Santis do not, as a rule outrage females."

It will be interesting and logical to enumerate the causes in a little detail which compelled Sultana to adopt the career of a dacoit. They are given below:

(a) No inmate of the settlement could go out of the fort for finding some means of earning livelihood in an honest way.

(b) Only those persons could absent themselves from the rote-call, who were in collusion with the Police and used to commit burglary and share the booty with the manager, his assistants and constables.

(c) The work on wages provided within the settlement was only an eye wash and too inadequate to feed the inmates. The daily wages of a person were only a few pies and even that work was given only to the favourites of the officials. The really law-abiding heads of
the families used to starve along with their dependents whereas the favourites of the officers used to enjoy; as they could go out for their predatory exploits and in addition the other members of their families could earn something extra as wages for the work provided within the settlement.

(d) The designation 'Criminal Tribe' and being the inmates of a settlement under the surveillance of the Police had degraded their position in the society.

(e) The basic mission of the Salvation Army was not a selfless service to these people, in fact it was their conversion to Christianity and their was a ruthless interference in the religion of these people. So much so that in some cases the young and beautiful girls were sent away on the pretext of giving them some better education in the Christian Missionary Schools, but they were converted to Christianity and were married to the non-Sansi and Christian boys without the knowledge of their parents or other relatives. Truly speaking, such enticed away girls could never return to their parents in their life time.

(f) The bulk of the budget of the settlement, to be spent on the inmates, was embezzled by the officers and only a petty amount was spent on them.

Although Sultana was already deeply touched by the pitiable life which the residents of the settlement had to lead, yet the following two incidents compelled him to escape from the 'fort of Najibabad' and wreak vengeance on the tyrant people:

(i) His nephew Chanda Singh was to be sent to Rura Settlement for conversion to Christianity which he opposed tooth and nail, and thus Sultana became an eye sore to the officers of the settlement.

(ii) Some boys, girls and women used to work in a weaving centre opened within the settlement. Every worker
was just paid a few pice of wages daily. The people were neither properly fed nor fully clothed. Two boys named Sham Lal and Chhatarpal were also working in the weaving centre. They are still alive and are now living in the settlement at Kanth, district Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh. Just like most of their kinsmen, they had no shirts on their persons. The poor fellows stole a few yards of cloth which they made with their own hands in the weaving centre. They got the shirts made out of that cloth and wearing them they went to the weaving centre. The Supervisor of the weaving centre recognized the cloth, gave them a sound beating and wanted to register the cases of theft against them. Two Police constables came with handcuffs to arrest Sham Lal and Chhatarpal. Sultana had known that all and brooded over the matter. He determined to resist the Police as he was utterly moved by the indigence and necessity in which those young boys stole the cloth – just to cover their naked bellies which were not getting also sufficient bread. So he manhandled the constables and being excited over this, the Sansis beat the constables too. After this Sultana abandoned the fort as a rebel because he considered it better to lie in the grave after death than to prostrate in it alive and thus he took flight like a hawk and adopted the adventurous life of a dacoit.

His two hundred kindred men rallied round him and they began to live in the densest jungles of the Teri area of the Northern Uttar Pradesh. They used to plunder the Government treasuries, banks, the rich and cruel officers, jagirdars and luxurious landlords and the moneylenders (sahukars) who sucked the blood of the poor people.

The space does not allow me to describe the individual cases of the dacoities committed by Sultana and his gang. They are charmingly depicted in the dramas, novels, stories and poems written about Sultana by writers whose direct appeal is towards the rural people. Even a movie 'Sultana Daku' has
been prepared and shown in the Cinema halls.

His dare was peerless and he surpassed even the boldness of his tribesmen about whose fearlessness in Deccan it was said, "As dacoits they have had no rivals, and though strangers to the locality and unable to speak its dialects, they have penetrated in the Deccan and carried on their daring exploits there with a boldness and certainty unknown to other classes of dacoits in India."11

Sultana used to inform before hand, even the Police and the persons to be raided, about the time and date of the raid. Inspite of the strict precautionary measures of the Police, he always carried out his attack unhurt, and undeterred.

The families of many members of the gang of Sultana were confined to the fort of Najibabad and so sometimes they sailed to the fort in the dead of the night to see their relatives and to give money to their dependents. Some times skirmishes took place between them and the nocturnal police guard posted at the fort, and once Bihari, a member of the gang was killed by the Police when he was escaping from the fort, after paying a visit to his family.

Sultana never squandered away money just like ordinary robbers but he always gave it away to the poor and needy, including the indigent widows and the poor parents who could not afford to marry their daughters. He was a very charitable man and whenever stretched his empty hands before him, always came back with his hands full of money and presents. He used to go down from the jungles, raid like a storm and safely repaired to his secure resorts in the dense jungles where it was terribly dangerous to attack him and many times the police and other chasers were badly repulsed by him.

Seeing the rising tide of the power of Sultana, the government, raised a Special Police Force to suppress dacoity, under the leadership of Fredy Young who was a C.I.E. of the Indian Police Service. He was selected for this job and as the best and boldest Police Officer, he was authorised to conscript any man
whom he liked to have in his force. So he raised a strong force of 350 men, selected out of the Police and the bravest military men who had returned home at the end of the First World War (1914–1918).

Mr. Young used all his resources of power and tricks but Sultana was too clever and intelligent to be ensnared by him and so he always duped and disappointed Mr. Young. Understanding his designs, Mr. Young made his first concrete effort to capture Sultana through a contractor of the forest, west of Ramnagar. The contractor was very friendly with Sultana and they often drank and ate together in the forest. Freddy Young officially influenced the contractor to invite Sultana and his gang to a feast, and when he and his gang would be making merrie and enjoying the pranks of a dancing girl, Mr. Young and his Police force lying in lurking would encircle, attack, and apprehend Sultana and his men.

Sultana accepted the invitation but being in the know of the trick of Mr. Young he made an alteration in the stipulated programme of the feast, ’Sultana and his merry men accepted the invitation, but just before the festivities began they prevailed on their host to make a slight alteration in the programme and have the feast first and the dance later. Sultana said his men would enjoy the dance more on full stomachs than on empty ones.”

Freddy Young’s false vanity and overconfidence were based on his official position, power, and other resources but we read, “Funds in plenty were available on both sides and, as money goes as far in the East towards buying information as it does in the West, one of the first moves of the two contestants in the game that was to be played was the organisation of efficient secret services. Here Sultana had the advantage, for whereas Freddy could only reward for services rendered, Sultana could not only reward but could also punish for information withheld, or for information about his movements to the Police, and when his method of dealing with offenders became known none were willing to court his displeasure.”
Why did the common people help Sultana? This we can learn from the following opinion about him, “Having known what it was to be poor, really poor during his long years of confinement in the Najibabad Fort, Sultana had a warm corner in his heart for all poor people. It was said of him that, throughout his career as a dacoit he never robbed a pice from a poor man, never refused an appeal for charity, and paid twice the price asked for all he purchased from the small shopkeepers. Little wonder then with his intelligent staff numbered hundreds and that he knew the invitation he had received to the dance and feast had been issued at Freddy's instigation.”

Mr. Young was exulting over headway of his plan as Sultana had accepted the feast but we read, “Sultana and his men ate and drank wisely and well, and when the feast was nearing its end the dacoit leader led his host aside, thanked him for the hospitality, and said that as he and his men had a long way to go he regretted they could not stay for the dance. Before leaving, however, he requested—and Sultana's requests were never disregarded—that the festivities should continue as had been arranged.

The principal instrument of music at the nautch is a drum, and the sound of the drums was to be Freddy's signal to leave the position he had taken up and deploy his forces to surround the camp. One section of this force was led by a forest guard, and the night being dark the forest guard lost his way. This section, which was to have blocked Sultana's line of retreat remained lost for the remainder of night. As a matter of fact the forest guard who had to live in the forest with Sultana and was a wise man, need not have given himself the trouble of getting lost, for by his request for a slight alteration in the programme, Sultana had given himself ample time for getting cleared of the net before the signal was given. So all that the attacking force found when they arrived at the camp after a long and difficult march through dense forest, was a troop of frightened girls, their even more frightened orchestra, and the mystified friends of the contractor.”
... In this way Young, his colleague officers and the force under him attempted to capture Sultana alive, but could not succeed. Several times Young missed him at the time of seizing him and due to Sultana's superior resources, the gang always deserted the camp before the arrival of the police force. It is better to have some idea of the way of his living in his camps in the jungle. Once Mr. Young and his force missed him at a very narrow range and his deserted camp is described in the words, "There was now no longer any necessity for silence and, in a voice that did not need the aid of a megaphone, Freddy gave order to charge. In a solid line we swept down on the camp, to find it deserted. The camp was at a knoll and consisted of three tents and a grass hut used as a kitchen. One of the tents was a store and was stocked with sacks of atta, rice, dal, sugar, tins of ghee, two pyramids of boxes containing some thousands of rounds of 12-bore ammunition and eleven guns in gun-cases. The other two tents were sleeping places and were strewn with blankets and a medley of articles of clothing. Hanging from branches near the kitchen were two shaggy goats."

Sultana never attacked a person unless he was provoked and offended first. Once Freddy Young, Anderson and Corbett, all the three were pursuing Sultana and they kept roaming in the jungle all the night. Their armed force of 350 men lost way and they were separated from them about half a mile away. Sultana along with his ten companions, was under the thick branches and leaves of a bunyan tree. By chance all the three European chasers reached that bunyan tree, watched and chatted about the capture of Sultana at any cost. They could not see Sultana but Sultana saw all the three of them and unmistakably recognised Mr. Young. Sultana was sitting along with his ten companions, with their loaded guns but did not kill them for the sake of his principle of never taking a man's life without being offended. After a few minutes, the pursuers of Sultana left the tree, rejoined their force and returned next day after a fruitless and dangerous search for Sultana.

Freddy Young could not help appreciating the character, courage and cleverness of Sultana. Although, he had heard
a lot about him yet he had never seen him with his own eyes. So he decided to meet him not as a foe but as a friend, just to have a look at and a talk with such a brave man. He sought permission from the Government that he wanted to see Sultan personally and persuade him to surrender himself to the Government. The Government gave him the permission, provided that he took the entire responsibility of the consequences of the proposed meeting, on himself. He accepted it and invited Sultan for a friendly meeting. Sultan’s gang was reduced from 200 to 40 men only and hardships and constant pursuit by the Government had weakened and disbanded the gang. The real purpose and plan of Mr. Young was to entrap Sultan as an approver without any written terms by the Government, but Sultan was not made of such a clay as to betray and get beheaded the persons who had been jeopardising their lives and limbs for his wishes and orders. Anyhow, he accepted the proposal of Young and Gorbett writes about their meeting, “With his hide-out gone, harried from end to end of the Terai and Bhabar, and with his gang reduced to forty—all well armed, for the dacoits had soon replaced the arms and ammunition taken from them—Freddy thought the time had now come for Sultan to surrender. So, after obtaining Government sanction—which was given on the understanding that he personally accepted full responsibility—he invited Sultan to a meeting, whenever and wherever convenient. Sultan accepted the invitation, named the time, date, and place, and stipulated that both should attend the meeting alone and unarmed. On the appointed day, as Freddy stepped out on one side of a wide open glade, in the centre of which a solitary tree was growing, Sultan stepped out on the other side. Their meeting was friendly, as all who have lived in the East would have expected it to be, and when they had seated themselves in the shade of the tree—one a mountain of energy and good humour with the authority of the Government behind him, and the other a dapper little man with a price on his head—Sultan produced a water-melon which he smilingly said Freddy could partake of without reservation. The meeting ended in a deadlock, however, for Sultan refused to accept Freddy’s terms of unconditional
surrender. It was at this meeting that Sultana begged Freddy not to take undue risks. On the day of the raid, he said, he with ten of his men, all fully armed, had taken cover under a banyan tree and had watched Freddy and two other sahibs coming down the nullah towards the tree. ‘Had the sahib who was trying to climb the bank succeeded in doing so,’ Sultana added, ‘it would have been necessary to shoot the three of you.’

Even under the hardest circumstances when he was chased by Mr. Young, day and night and his head had a high price offered by the Government to any person who would conduce to the capture of Sultana; he neither violated his promise to meet Mr. Young, steadily observed the decided terms, nor did he lose sight of generosity and hospitality for which he was famous. He was not after the life of Freddy Young, but on the other hand Mr. Young’s main mission of life at that time was to capture Sultana. But still unarmèd meeting of Young with Sultana is equally admirable being an outcome of really a brave heart. However, about Sultana’s hospitality in offering the watermelon to Young, we may aptly appreciate him in the words of Mrs. Kirkland, because if the rich and the rulers of that time were generous too, the gentlemen like Sultana would not have become dacoits. ‘Like many other virtues, hospitality is practised, in its perfection by the poor, if the rich did their share, how the woes of the world would be lightened.’

In a sense we can say that temperamentally Sultana had a limitless love for all the men, otherwise, he would have not behaved with his head-hunter strangers in this way and not only his bravery but the spirit of his humility also ranked him amongst the citizens of the world. ‘If a man be gracious to strangers, it shows that he is a citizen of the world and his heart is no island, cut off from other islands, but a continent that joins them.’

After this meeting and the fallacy of the mission of Mr. Young, he was surprised to see the grit and rigidity of Sultana as he did not stoop to the unconditional surrender just to save his own life and endanger the lives of his gang. He fearlessly spurned the suggestion of Young and rather warned him not to risk his
life for the sake of titles and rewards. It was the most critical and crucial time for Sultana. Although Sultana lost a lot of his strength, having only a few men in his gang, the rest of them being disbanded, yet he did not lose heart of a brave man. It is truly said about such chivalrous people, “A true knight is fuller of bravery in the midst, than in the beginning of danger.”

Studying this all, Freddy Young arrived at the conclusion that neither Sultana could be baited by the unconditional surrender nor it was easy to arrest him in an encounter. Therefore, he thought of securing some members of his gang who could give the intelligence of his hide-outs, movements, names of his sympathisers and friends with whom he stayed.

By that time two members of the gang of Sultana, named Prabhni and Kharaiti had been arrested at the Najibabad Fort, when they had gone at night to pay a visit to the members of their families. After this another two members of Sultana’s gang, named Jangli and Bulaki were also arrested by Mr. Young, in the bazaar of Hardwar where they had gone to purchase some articles. It did not seem so easy to elicit information from them by torture as under the intoxication of liquor because the Sansis have the excessive fondness for it, and the Police had already studied about the Sansis, “No form of torture will break their secrecy as a rule when captured, whereas they are easily ‘opened’ by an informer of their tribe, aided by a little country liquor.”

Mr. Young tried all the possible means and at last these four persons turned approvers against Sultana and the rest of the unapprehended men of his gang. They divulged all the secrets to Mr. Young as required by him.

I think it is proper to tell that the narration of the relatives of other contemporaries of Sultana and the record of the Police differ regarding the methods of the arrest of Sultana. I am giving here the information gathered from the members of the Sansi Tribe, some unrelated and some related to him by blood. I also think it appropriate to say that I do not claim an absolute accuracy of the information contained herein because I cannot give,
only those facts which I have been able to collect as a research worker, with the best possible impartiality and analysis, often cross-examining my informants. I should also make allowance for them because poor fellows were very kind and co-operative with me but gave information only to the best of their knowledge and memories.

Balmukand always remained with his younger brother Sultana, till the former died of a gun shot. The incident of his death is described below:—

The remnant of the gang of Sultana was passing time in the Jungles several miles away from Najibabad. As it is related to me by the kins of Sultana, at that time Maulooob Khan was the Chairman of the Municipal Committee of Najibabad and was a great favourite of the Police and other officers. One day he took his younger brother, Bhooray Khan and three servants with him and went to jungle for hunting. He travelled by his richly made bullockcart. Maulooob Khan and his companions had equipped themselves well with necessary arms and ammunition. It so happened that Balmukand and Megha, who was his nephew, were roving in the jungle, just a mile or so away from the hide-out of their gang. By chance Megha saw the cart of Maulooob Khan going in the jungle and told Balmukand about the same. They stealthily ran towards the cart and Balmukand abruptly caught the bullocks by their nose-strings in order to rob the rich hunters of their arms and ammunition and their valuables. As the destiny was to darken the light of the life of Balmukand, he could not yet load the gun but Maulooob Khan who was already sitting alert in the cart, with his loaded gun in order to be ready to defend himself from the probable attack of some wild animals or of the robbers who infested that jungle, fired his gun and the chest of Balmukand was perforated like seive. They say that the fire of Maulooob Khan ignited the cartridges of the belt of Balmukand also and he fell on the ground almost roasted. Megha took to his heels to inform Sultana about the death of Balmukand. Maulooob Khan and his companions left the cart and the bullocks and fled away and were lucky to escape from the wrath of Sultana
and returned to Najibabad safe and sound. Sultana and his men saw the dead body of Balmukand lying in a pool of blood. They set the cart on fire and along with it they cremated the body of Balmukand. After sometime the ashes of Balmukand were buried before the gate of the fort of Najibabad over which a Chautra or chabutra (a small raised platform) was built. It is still intact and is situated on your left hand as you enter the gate of the fort. It is repaired every year and at the time of annual repair a pig is decapitated which is propitiated as a sacrifice. Another chautra is also built side by side with it over the ashes of Matadhan, another brave man of Bhatu tribe. He was a comrade of Balmukand and died some years before him. Balmukand died in 1923.

Balmukand was in no way less brave a man than his younger brother Sultana. Sultana was of a medium size but Balmukand was a very tall and more hefty person. Therefore, the death of Balmukand caused another unfillable lacuna in the strength of Sultana, as Balmukand was the second strongest string to the bow of Sultana’s gang and consequently his death weakened the gang all the more.

On the other side Sultana determined to take revenge of his brother’s murder from Mauloob Khan and pledged to kill him as soon as possible. That was not a simple job because Mauloob Khan’s accidental success to kill Balmukand raised his prestige in the eyes of officers and still more in the eyes of Mr. Young. So every possible Police security was provided to Mauloob Khan for his protection. To add to the safety still more he happened to live at Najibabad proper, the District Headquarters where the police and military help was always at hand. Therefore, it became very difficult for Sultana to attack Mauloob Khan at Najibabad, with the little force that he had at his disposal.

Those four persons who were under the thumb impression of Mr. Young, were giving all possible information about the plans and programmes of Sultana. Sultana and his gang sometimes used to stay with Pandit Mathura Dass, a chaukidar of Gainda
Khadi, a small hamlet surrounded with and hidden in the dense jungle of Terai. Sultana always liberally helped Mathura Dass with money and other necessaries of life, and he in turn prepared food for the gang in his secure and remote village. The hero used to help all the needy and so all the people of the village and those of Terai as a whole morally wished that no harm should be done to their benefactor, may it be by the Government or anybody else.

Young was now on sounder footing because the approvers had told him all the resorts, hide-outs and refuges of Sultana. All were worried and cautious as they expected Sultana's attack on Maulooob Khan at any time and so the Police was very much impatient to arrest Sultana as soon as possible.

Sultana went to his trustee, Pt. Mathura Dass at Gainda Khati. He told him as usual that he along with his men would stay with him on such and such day and he should keep their food ready. After this he went to the State of Jaipur to fetch some of his dacoit friends and sufficient arms and ammunition so that they might attack Maulooob Khan with the fullest might they could mobilise.

Mr. Young's Special Police Force was more active than ever before and they were in search of Sultana at his various refuges. In this way and on the basis of the information given by the approvers, Mr. Young reached Gainda Khati and threatened Mathura Dass and other people of the village that they would have to face dire consequences if they did not disclose the whereabouts of Sultana and the date of his next visit to their village. Being terrified the villagers told that Sultana always stayed with Pt. Mathura Dass who prepared food for his gang during his stay in the village. Then Mathura Dass was coercively interrogated and the poor fellow revealed to Mr. Young all about the next visit of Sultana.

Liquor was indispensable in the meals of Sultana and his men. It was secretly decided between Mr. Young and Mathura Dass that on the day of his visit he (Mathura Dass) had got to mix 'datura' in the liquor to be served to the gang.
Just when the poison of 'dhatura' administered thus, would have had its effect, and the victims would have become giddy and delirious, the signal must be given. Then Mr. Young and his force already lying in lurch, would rush at them and seize them, unaware. The manoeuvre was carried out by Mathura Dass and Mr. Young with all possible precautions and perfection.

Sultana used to take the following precautions while encamping along with his gang:

(i) Two armed men of the gang used to be deputed as sentries of the camp. Their duties were changed after every four hours. Thus the camp was guarded all the 24 hours. In case of some approaching danger, the sentries used to give stipulated signals and the whole of the gang became alert for an encounter or escape as the situation demanded.

(ii) Besides the sentries at the camp, two armed men of the gang used to watch the enemies, climbing on the top of some high tree, fastening the fast and harnessed horses under the tree. On detecting the approaching enemies from the distance of a mile or so they suddenly came down from the tree, rode on their horses and reached the camp to give the necessary information to Sultana.

(iii) Besides his own men he used to get information from the shepherds, cowherds, the employees of the forest department and cattle farms and from many other people.

It was due to these precautions and sources of securing information that Sultana could dupe and defy the Government for three long years and shook almost the whole of Northern India.

Sultana and his men returned to Mathura Dass. He brought sufficient arms and ammunition with him for the proposed attack on Mauloob Khan, but alas all his strategy failed before the fangs of fate. The meals and liquor were served.
Sultana ordered every body to take his food and his share of liquor and go to the nearby wood so that all of them might not take their meals together and in case of some mishap all of them should not be overtaken at a time. Every one did as he asked them to do. Sultana along with his other six companions—(i) Pitamber, (ii) Nageshwar, (iii) Gujja, (iv) Nar Singh, (v) Surjoo and (vi) Bhoodia (the son of Sultana’s sister’s bhanja or bhanewan), took their meals in the hut of Mathura Dass. As usual two men of the gang, Banno and Balehri were on duty as sentries.

Soon after drinking liquor, the dhatura affected all of them and they became giddy and drowsy. Sultana reclined on a cot as if he were taking a nap. The other six men were also slumbering and felt almost exhausted. Mr. Young and his force, hidden in the jungle close by, sallied to the camp with all their speed and strength. The sentries fled loudly crying in a delirious manner. The fire was opened on them. Banno succeeded to escape but Balehri was wounded in the leg. He fell down, was seized, and after sometime was deported to the Andamans. Within a few seconds, Sultana who was sleeping in a white sheet of cloth was overpowered by Mr. Young who was one of the heaviest persons of his time. He sat on Sultana catching him by both the arms. Corbett says, “Pinned down by 20 stone 4 pounds, Sultana was unable to offer any resistance, nor was he able to carry out his resolve of not being taken alive.”

None of the men who ate their food in the jungle was arrested. About this Corbett, who had been an active companion of Mr. Young in several raids to arrest Sultana, writes, “Some months later Freddy, now promoted and the youngest man in the Indian Police Service ever to be honoured by His Majesty the King, with a C.I.E., was attending the annual Police Week at Moradabad.” Such a great importance was attached to the arrest of Sultana by the British Emperor of India.

What did happen after that? Within a few months most of the absconding members of the gang of Sultana were arrested
in different parts of India. Sultana along with his six companions, seized with him, due to the betrayal of Mathura Dass, was tried in the Civil Court of Haldwani. The old kinsmen of Sultana tell that cases of 99 dacoities and numerous murders were brought out against him but nobody from the public was prepared to give evidence against him. At last only one case of dacoity and murder, committed in the house of the head-man and landlord of Lamachaur could be proved in the court and all the seven culprits were sentenced to death. As I was informed by Tilak Singh, who had some written notes with him, Sultana, Nageshar and Nar Singh were hanged at Agra on the 7th July, 1924. Surjoo, Gujja and Bhoodia were hanged at Saharanpur on the 13th July, 1924 and Pitamber was hanged at Sitapur on the 11th July, 1924. Thus Sultana died in the prime of his youth, at the age of 35.

Poverty and the plague of the persecution of the Criminal Tribes Act drove Sultana to the career of a dacoit but still he was a great man with lofty principles. That is why the young men of all the communities of Uttar Pradesh stage his dramas respecting him as an ideal hero. Jim Corbett closes his story of Sultana with his unstinted and honest admiration, "Society demands protection against criminals, and Sultana was a criminal. He was tried under the law of the land, found guilty, and executed. Nevertheless, I cannot withhold a great measure of admiration for the little man who set at naught the might of the Government for three long years, and who by his brave demeanour won the respect of those who guarded him in the condemned cell.

I could have wished that justice had not demanded that Sultana be exhibited in manacles and leg-irons, and exposed to ridicule from those who trembled at the mere mention of his name while he was at liberty. I could also have wished that he had been given a more lenient sentence, for no other reasons than that he had been branded a criminal at birth, and had not had a fair chance; that when power was in his hands he had not oppressed the poor; that when I tracked him to the banyan tree he spared my life and the lives of my friends. And finally, that
he went to his meeting with Freddy, not armed with a knife or a revolver, but with a water melon in his hands."

His wife and other relatives who saw him have told me that he was a man of medium stature but of strong build of body. His complexion was wheatish. He had very attractive and sharp features. He used to shave his beard but had un-cut black and big moustaches. His eyes were big, sharp and shining. He generally wore a uniform of a Police Officer or that of a military man. He was very fond of meat and liquor. He was very intelligent, alert and agile. He was a man of word and never betrayed any body.

In 1926 most of his kinsmen and the men of his gang who were arrested in different parts of India were deported to the Andamans under the care and command of Mr. Sheard, an Adjutant of the Salvation Army. Mr Blunt has said about this, "During the last decade, the Bhantu, under the leadership of Sultana, developed into the fraternity of dangerous dacoits; and government was compelled to create a special dacoity force to deal with them. After prolonged gourilla warfare, this force under Freddy Young, C. I. E., succeeded in destroying or crushing the Bhantu gangs. Most of those who were not hanged have now been removed with their consent to the Andaman Islands."

Mr. Sheard proved to be a true missionary and won the hearts of Bhatus under his supervision, with his spirit of service and sincerity and instead of making them hardened criminals, he turned them into noble, hardworking and law abiding cultivators of the Andamans. the latest opinion about whom is, "The Bhantu on the other hand, with their habits of dacoity and the thefts of the criminal tribe of North and Central India have given way to the peaceful and settled agricultural life. This is one of the best examples offered by the settlers."

The Criminal Tribes Act was really one of the blackest stigmas on the face of India and the English rulers dealt with the then helpless criminal tribes of India, as if they themselves (the rulers) were angels. They should have understood that compelled by the circumstances or even otherwise, everywhere, the human race has
been plundering right from the individuals to the communities and the nations, and they themselves usurped India in the way of robbers. Therefore, the methods of reformation of men ought to be humane and corrective and not coercive.

Man changes himself along with the environments and by nature adopts himself to the ways best suited to him. I appreciate the true and candid self-opinion and self-criticism of Sir Alec Douglas Home, the former Prime Minister of England, who frankly said to the laughing audience in the Constituency of Kinross and West Perthshire, on the 26th October, 1963, that his family had spent 300 years raiding England. He further said, "The Homes, the most successful cattle thieves there ever were. I would not have given it up, if I had not thought, there was more profit in co-operating with England.""

Morally, legally and socially, I discard a career of a dacoit but the condemnation of man merely on the ground of birth and heredity, is absurd and rather criminal in itself. Man is more a product of environments than heredity and if Sultana were provided environments, full of respect, comforts, economic security and appropriate education, it will be proper to say with all the due regards for Mr. Freddy Young, that Sultana would have not been hanged as a dacoit, but might have lived long as a better and higher officer than Mr. Young, not only as a C. I. E. in the Indian Police Service but also winning many more honours and titles than Freddy Young could secure as a Police Officer.

References

4. Ibid p. 118.
8. Ibid.
13 Ibid. p. 100, 101.
15. Ibid. p. 101 and 102.
19 Bacon, ibid.
23. Ibid. p. 128.
PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF SIKLIGARS

Although some anthropologists have studied the physical traits of the Vanjaras, Lambadis and Lohars who have the closest ethnic affinity with the Sikligars, yet nobody has studied them (the Sikligars) in this respect, before this. It will be interesting and useful to give the physical characters of the above-named and some other allied tribes as studied by other anthropologists and then compare them with those of the Sikligars as I have studied them.

**Somatometric measurements of Sikligars**

I had to face a great difficulty in taking the anthropometric measurements of the Sikligars. They were in doubt regarding the purpose and they feared that the measurements might not be used against them by the Government or by anybody else. It became very difficult to take the measurements of the Sikligars settled at Delhi because the doubt and fear originating from a few persons spread to all of them and so I had to drop my effort to take their anthropometric measurements. At last I had to look for some wandering Sikligars groups or deras and after a very assiduous persuasion, I was able to take the required measurements of two hundred adult male Sikligars in different parts of Punjab. The measurements were recorded in centimetres and their weight was recorded
in pounds, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Mean value</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Height vertex (stature)</td>
<td>163.5</td>
<td>180.2</td>
<td>151.3</td>
<td>28.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Height acromion</td>
<td>134.31</td>
<td>149.9</td>
<td>114.8</td>
<td>35.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Height iliospinale</td>
<td>93.11</td>
<td>102.7</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sitting Height (vertex)</td>
<td>82.01</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sitting height (iliocristale)</td>
<td>18.07</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Biacromial diameter</td>
<td>34.19</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Chest Breadth</td>
<td>15.03</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chest depth</td>
<td>18.03</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Chest girth</td>
<td>80.43</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>70.3</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Maximum hip width</td>
<td>27.91</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>110.16</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Head length</td>
<td>18.19</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Head Breadth</td>
<td>13.70</td>
<td>15.0</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Min. frontal diameter</td>
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<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Bizygomatic breadth</td>
<td>12.92</td>
<td>14.7</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Nasal length</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
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<td>3.71</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Nasal depth</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Auricular height</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Physiognomic facial length</td>
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<td>19.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Morphological facial length</td>
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<td>9.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Morphological superior</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Physiognomic superior</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>200.23</td>
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<td>11.9</td>
<td>27.2</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>Profile angle</td>
<td>83.73</td>
<td>97°</td>
<td>72°</td>
<td>25°</td>
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</table>

All the anthropologists acknowledge that of all the physical traits and measurements, the cephalic index and the nasal index are the most dependable factors to determine the ethnic types.
of various peoples. So both of these indices are given below with their respective frequencies:

**Cephalic Index**

Average = 75.91, Maximum = 83.17, Minimum = 59.21, Range = 23.08.

(1) Dolichocephalic:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class of cephalic Index</th>
<th>Frequency observed</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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<td>57-57.9</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58-58.9</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59-59.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-60.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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|                    | 136                | 68.00    |

(2) Mesocephalic

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|                    | 51                 | 25.5     |
Physical Types of Sikligars
PHYSICAL TYPES OF SIKLIGARS

13
Front

14
Profile

15
Front

16
Front

17
Profile

18
A woman with her child (Front).

19
A couple near hearth (front).
(3) Brachycephalic

<table>
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**Nasal Index**

Average = 74.07, Maximum = 91.37, Minimum = 57.41, Range = 33.96.

(a) Leptorrhine

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<td><strong>97</strong></td>
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(b) Mesorrhinc

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(c) Platyrhinch

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So, 68 per cent of the Sikligars are dolichocephalic, 25.5 per cent are mesocephalic and 6.5 per cent are brachycephalic. The nasal index of the Sikligars shows that 48.5 per cent of them are leptorrhine, 43.5 per cent are mesorrhine and 8 per cent are platyrhine.
It will not be only interesting to compare the cephalic index, nasal index and stature of the Sikligars with those of the other Indo-Aryan settled, advanced, gypsy, nomadic and primitive tribes and castes of different parts of India, but will also be very useful to determine their mutual ethnic affinity on scientific grounds. Such comparable people have been studied by different anthropologists and their data are compared below. It may be noted that C.I. signifies cephalic index, N.I. signifies nasal index, St. signifies stature, Av. stands for average, Max. signifies maximum, Min. stands for minimum and Rg. signifies range. The number of the subjects is given within brackets.

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<th>St.</th>
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<td>74.07</td>
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<td>Max. 83.17</td>
<td>91.37</td>
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<td>57.41</td>
<td>151.3</td>
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## Physical Characters of Sikligars

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<td>77. 6</td>
<td>71. 9</td>
<td>165.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashatryas of Rangpur, Bengal (133)</td>
<td>74. 5</td>
<td>73.16</td>
<td>160.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans of Dacca, Bengal (97)</td>
<td>78.30</td>
<td>69.44</td>
<td>163.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans of Maharashtra (100)</td>
<td>72. 3</td>
<td>76. 6</td>
<td>165.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85. 0</td>
<td>93. 0</td>
<td>181.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70. 0</td>
<td>60. 0</td>
<td>151.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. 0</td>
<td>33. 0</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans of Bellary, Madras (25)</td>
<td>77. 0</td>
<td>75. 8</td>
<td>163.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83. 4</td>
<td>87. 2</td>
<td>175.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71. 0</td>
<td>66. 0</td>
<td>151.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. 4</td>
<td>21. 2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans of Malabar (25)</td>
<td>74. 5</td>
<td>76. 5</td>
<td>164.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81. 4</td>
<td>95. 3</td>
<td>164.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69. 1</td>
<td>64. 7</td>
<td>153.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. 3</td>
<td>30. 6</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. I.</td>
<td>N I.</td>
<td>St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 76.5</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>162.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. 84.0</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>174.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. 69.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>153.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rg. 15.0</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 74.9</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>166.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. 84.0</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>179.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. 69.0</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>154.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rg. 15.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 73.1</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>165.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. 84.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>187.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. 66.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>142.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rg. 18.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 77.6</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>164.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. 86.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>175.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. 69.0</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>146.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rg. 17.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 74.7</td>
<td>68.47</td>
<td>163.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haburas of Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>Av. 73.7</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>164.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doms of Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>Av. 73.7</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>166.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A close scrutiny and comparison of the above data show that the sikligars do fall within the category of the people of India which claim Aryan or Rajput descent and the Sikligars, the Wanjaras and the Lohars differ slightly, only as much as they do in comparison with their other allied ethnic groups. This slight difference is natural and is found in the people of the same caste or tribe living in different parts of the country. These differences can scientifically be ascribed to miscegenation, climate, nutrition and nature of profession. An absolute uniformity in the physical characters of even real brothers, is not possible in nature but the modern social sciences depend on averages as statistics is nothing else but a science of averages.
We may comment here on the Brahmans of Madras City and Malabar etc. It is commonly observed that many Brahmans of South are out and out Indo-Aryan and not Dravidian at all and they often relate that their ancestors migrated from Northern India to the far-flung areas of Southern India due to the persecution of the Muslim invaders and subsequent Mughal Rulers. So the inclusion of some Brahmans of South India in the Indo-Aryan ethnic stock should not surprise the readers.

We may also comment here on the effect of climate, nature of profession and nutrition on the Sikligars. They lead a very rough life. They usually do not keep milch animals, they cannot buy milk products, rich food and fruits etc. So they are medium or short statured and mostly under-weight people. They encamp in the open and one can see them sitting shirtless in the scorching sun, before the burning furnace, striking red-hot iron to make iron articles. So naturally their skin is darkened and large number of them are dark or dark brown in complexion.

**Somatoscopic observations of Sikligars**

In addition to 25 physical measurements of the 200 adult male Sikligars, their 14 somatoscopic observations were also recorded as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Skin colour (inside arm)</th>
<th>Dark brown</th>
<th>Light brown</th>
<th>Mild brown</th>
<th>Red brown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Cheek forehead colour</th>
<th>Dark brown</th>
<th>Light brown</th>
<th>Mild brown</th>
<th>Reddish brown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Hair form</th>
<th>Straight</th>
<th>Low waves</th>
<th>Deep waves</th>
<th>Curly Frizzy</th>
<th>Woolly Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Hair colour</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Dark brown</th>
<th>Red brown</th>
<th>Grey brown</th>
<th>Light brown Blond brown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Hair whorls</th>
<th>Clockwise</th>
<th>Anticlockwise</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>163</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Beard and Moustaches
   Normal   Medium   Thick   Scanty   Total
   97       53       19      31       200

7. Eye colour
   Black   Dark   Brown   Light   Grey   Blond   Grey   Total
   33      161     00      00      02      00       200

8. Eye Slits
   Straight Oblique Total
   197        3   200

9. Eye-fold (Epicanthus)
   Absent Trace Medium Marked Total
   200     00    00       00     200

10. Supra-orbital ridges
    Imperceptible Trace Moderate Pronounced Continuous Total
    99       89      9       3       00      200

11. Nasion-depression
    Shallow Medium Deep Total
    153      27      20     200

12. Nasal bridge
    Straight Concave Convex Concave-Convex Total
    163      23      9       05      200

13. Lips
    Thin Medium Thick Everted Total
    39       141     13       7       200

14. Prognathism is universally absent among the Sikligars.

It has already been stated that the Gypsies living in Europe and other parts of the world emigrated from India and their ancestors were the denizens of this sub-continent. In spite of their centuries' stay out of India, we read about their physical characters, even today, "The most notable physical trait of Gypsies, remarked everywhere from their first appearance to the present, is their dark pigmentation. In skin colour this is often so dark, as to exclude them in popular estimation, from membership in the white race. Out of 52 Hungarian Gypsies Weisbach found 38 or 73 per cent to have brown or brownish skin colour; the others light brown to yellowish. Gluck, in a group of 66 in Bosnia found 30 or 45 per cent dark brown; 6 or 9 per cent brown; 27 or 41 per cent light brown, and only three light in a European sense. Lebzelter, with observations on the skin colour of 36 from Serbia, finds 29 yellowish or yellowish white and one olive or brunet white."
Besides citing the observations made by other anthropologists, Coon records his own observations in the words, “Nomadic Gypsies noticed by the author in Albania seemed to be all or nearly all brown, nearer dark brown than light; the sedentary Gypsies of Triana are also, as a rule, brown-skinned, although light-skinned individuals occur among them.”

According to Coon who is one of the greatest living anthropologists of the world, in spite of the centuries' stay of Gypsies among the white races, their Indian Physical traits are almost intact. He writes, “The present nomadic Gypsy groups are all short statured with means of 161 Cm to 164 Cm, the Hungarian Gypsies are taller with a mean of 166.5 Cm; the black Bosnian Gypsies, living in a country of tall people; have mean of 168 Cm while the “white” palpably mixed Bosnians with a mean of 173 Cm. are nearly as tall as the Bosnians themselves. In France they attain a stature of 166 Cm. as high as that for Frenchmen, or higher, in England they are presumably nearly as tall as the English, as are the Stanleys and Coopers who live in America.”

According to the citation of Coon the Gypsies have the mean length of head from 18.8 to 19.0 Cm and breadth of 14.5 Cm or slightly over. Their cephalic index ranges from 76.0 among Black Bosnian Gypsies to 79.0 among the Hungarian Gypsies. Although the people in France are notably brachycephalic, the Gypsies of France have cephalic index of 79.0. The mean auricular height of Gypsies is 12.0 Cm., just equal to that of the Sansi Gypsies of Punjab and other Gypsies and settled people of Northern India. Similarly their bizygomatic breadth is 13.5 Cm. equal to the Sansis of Punjab and that of the Sikligars as recorded above in their anthropometric characters. Regarding their nasal index, the Gypsies living outside India are also usually leptorrhine and mesorrhine and rarely platyrhine like their Gypsy counterparts and non-Gypsy ethnic brethren of North-Western India. What to speak of the European Gypsies, we read even about the Gypsies of America, “we have also in our country, however, many families of Balakan Gypsies, who retain their complete Gypsy racial character and who still wear their
colourful clothing and jewelery, although they sleep in trailers rather than in caravans.”

I have given the foregoing description of the Indian Gypsies, some Indo-Aryan peoples and the Gypsies living outside India to prove their mutual ethnic affinity and to slash the records and impressions of some anthropologists, ethnologists and historians who claimed that the Gypsies and denotified tribes of Punjab are aborigines. Their this theory is absolutely baseless and biased, as proved by the scientific anthropological facts.

**Blood Groups of Sikligars**

We may also make below a comparative study of the blood groups of Sikligars with some other peoples, as it is done above in case of their somatometric traits:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Ethnic group</th>
<th>Blood Groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikligars of Pujnab</td>
<td>29·5</td>
<td>21·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanjaras of Hyderabad State.</td>
<td>39·5</td>
<td>20·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagdis</td>
<td>31·2</td>
<td>22·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jats</td>
<td>33·5</td>
<td>24·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputs</td>
<td>28·9</td>
<td>27·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatus or Sansis of Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>27·4</td>
<td>24·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwals of Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>25·8</td>
<td>22·6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Physical Characters of Sikligars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khatris of Punjab</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Kashmir per cent</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kashatryas of Uttar Pradesh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doms of Uttar Pradesh</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sansis of Punjab</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waghars of Gujrat</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baidyas of Bengal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khatris and Aroras of Punjab</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sainis of Punjab</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindu mixed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be interesting to examine the blood-group-data of some ethnic groups of the white races of Europe and the European Gypsies so that the ethnic affinity of the Gypsies of Europe with the Gypsies and other Indo-Aryan people of Northern India may be determined on scientific grounds. The following data are quoted from a book of E.A. Hoitton in order to prove our thesis:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Investigator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germans (Berlin)</td>
<td>39174</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Schiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians (Penza)</td>
<td>4802</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Zebezhinski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumanians (Jassy)</td>
<td>2470</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Jonescu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes (Stockholm)</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Hesser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards (Madrid)</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Hoyos Sainz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarians (Budapest)</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Weitzner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians (Milan)</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Cuboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavs (Stapar)</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Schimdtd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegianians (North of Oslo)</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians (Kiev)</td>
<td>4340</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>Chominski,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (Paris)</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Riviere,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch (Glasgow)</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Matta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies of Hungary</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Garther</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the blood groups of the Gypsies of Hungary and those of the native white people of different countries of Europe, in the above table, shows a great disparity and clearly splits the data into two separate groups — the Gypsies stand on the one hand and the native white people of Europe stand on the other hand.

Now we may compare the blood groups of the European Gypsies with those of the mixed Hindus of Northern India and the average blood group data of the eight Gypsy and denotified tribes of India—Sikligars, Wanjaras, Sansis of Punjab, Bhatus (Sansis of Uttar Pradesh) Karwals, Waghari and
Bagdis, as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of ethnic group</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Total of Subjects</th>
<th>%age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus mixed</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>=100</td>
<td>2357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of above-noted eight Gypsy and denotified tribes of India</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>=100</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies of Hungary</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>=100</td>
<td>925</td>
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The above comparison leaves no doubt in the fact that the Sikligars, their related Gypsy and denotified tribes, some other Indo-Aryan peoples of India and the Gypsies who have been living outside India for many centuries, all are the ethnic offshoots of the same Indo-Aryan racial stock.

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The period of pregnancy is not considered unclean by the Sikligars and the pregnant woman performs all the household duties till her health allows her to do so. They believe that the woman who keeps doing work during the pregnant period, gives easy birth to the child. The woman is provided with especially nutritive food which she begins to consume one month before the birth of the child. No help is acquired from the hospitals or state-mid-wiferies. The women of the tribe who know mid-wifery assist her at the time of the delivery. The woman is laid down on the rag-mattress (dori or godri) spread on the ground, because the birth must take place on the ground, as they say, "DHARTI MATA KI GODI MEIN" (In the lap of mother-earth). After parturition the placenta is buried underground where the birth takes place. A special care is taken in burying the placenta deep as they believe that the deeper it is interned the better will be the health of the mother and the child. The placenta is disposed of with great caution and without delay because according to their superstition if a barren woman happens to have it or steal it, it can give a lot of trouble to the baby and the barren woman can render the mother of the new-born child barren, and become fertile herself. After delivery both the child and the mother are bathed with hot water. The mother is fed with hot milk in which four or five spoons of ghee are put. This mixed food is called 'TARIORE.' The mother is not fed on solid food for two or three days after the delivery.
After bathing, the baby is given gurti. Gurti is the first edible that a baby tastes after birth. The word "gurti" seems to be derived from "gur" (molasses). Hence gurti is always sweet. The word "gurti" proves that before the sugar was manufactured the first edible for the new-born baby did contain gur. At present honey is preferred to all other edibles to be used as a gurti. If honey is not available, a very small piece of gur serves the purpose. The honey might be most ancient object used as gurti because even in prehistoric times when man used to live a wild life and when gur or anything else had not come into existence, honey was available to man, from beehives. The Sikligars make the gurti and give it to the child as follows:

Some ghee, sugar and water are boiled together. When a little of material is left and becomes thick like syrup or honey, it is taken down from the fire. This preparation is called chashni. Then a small piece of new cloth is twisted and a batti (wick) is made. It is dipped in the chashni and is put in the mouth of the baby which is sucked by it. A special care is taken about the selection of the person who administers gurti to the baby. The gurti is considered to have a life-long influence on the life and especially temperament and the habits of the baby and they believe that the baby takes after the character of the person who administers the gurti. Mostly the noblest, docile and good natured relative or any other person is selected to give the gurti to the new-born baby.

The mango-leaves are tied with the door of the house in which male child is born, but nothing like this is done to display the birth of a girl. The mango-leaves are never removed after being tied with the door and they fall away on being dried of their own accord. The removal of these leaves is believed to be a very bad omen. The leaves symbolise the following three things:

1. The birth of a boy.
2. A warning to the witches and other persons who carry some charms, detrimental to the child and the mother that they
should not enter the house during the period of the confinement of the mother and the new-born child.

3. The mango-tree is considered auspicious for bearing lucky fruits. Hence the mango-leaves symbolise fertility.

The clothes which are given to the new-born baby for the first time are made of the washed and cleaned old clothes of some living old person having very long age. This is done for the belief that in this way due to the lucky and favourable effect of these clothes, the baby will also enjoy a very long and healthy life.

In certain cases where a woman cannot afford to remain in confinement for long for the exigency of the house-hold work, she begins her normal life of a house-wife thirteen days after the delivery. A special superstition has a strong hold on the Sikligars upto the thirteenth day after the delivery due to which they prohibit the entry of all the pregnant women into the house so that their voice may not reach the ears of the mother. They believe that if a mother in confinement hears the voice of a pregnant woman, the milk of the confined woman dries up. The family in which the house-hold duties could be performed by some other women, the mother is confined for 40 days. It is a taboo for a Sikligar woman to touch or cook food during her confinement. I have gathered information from many Sikligar women about the baths of the confined mothers during their complete rest of forty days. The information is given below:—

1) The first bath is taken just after the birth of the child.
2) The second bath is taken five days after the birth of the child.
3) The third bath is taken eleven days after the delivery.
4) The fourth bath is taken thirteen days after the delivery.
5) The fifth bath is taken twentyone days after the birth of the child.
6) The sixth bath is taken 30 days after the delivery.
7) The seventh bath is taken 40 days after the delivery.
All the seven baths during the period of the confinement of forty days are taken with hot water as a bath with cold water may do a great harm to the health of the mother.

The chhila (confinement) is completed after forty days and the woman joins her family after bathing and wearing new clothes. From this time her pollution ends, and she begins to perform all her duties, including cooking and serving the food. On this day the house is plastered with cowdung (pocha), sumptuous food is prepared and the mother and the child are taken to Gurdwara (Sikh temple) to pay homage or thanks to God, and the Gurus for the health and long life of the mother and the child. They distribute some sacramental food (prasad) among the people at this occasion. Among the members of the Kheechi Sub-caste of Sikligars, the mother sleeps on the ground for forty days after the delivery. During this confinement of forty days one day is kept for jagrata (remaining awake all the night long). During this night all the members of the family do not sleep. They plaster some area by the side of the mother, with cowdung and burn a lamp made of kneaded flour in which ghee is put. They must take a special care of the continuity of burning of the lamp throughout the night, and if the ghee runs short or the burning wick goes off, they believe that the omen is bad and their ancestors are angry with them.

In case of still-birth and mis-carriage, the child is not shown to the mother. It is shown to the father and is buried without any obsequial ceremonies. A deformed child is considered a great curse as the Sikligars believe it to be the spirit of a ghost or pret. In the case of the birth of a deformed child, a great sensation is felt in the Sikligar Society. In case of premarital or other undesireable pregnancy, they secretly consult and get the help of midwives to cause abortion. Usually the abortion is caused due to the following causes:

1. When a woman has already many children and she does not want to have more of them.
2. When she is angry with her husband or with her in-laws and she wants to wreak vengeance on them.
3. In order to conceal her sin if she conceives before marriage.

4. In the case of a widow who has illegitimate sexual intercourse but avoids to give birth to any child. Sometimes the women purchase some country drugs from the hawkers (pheri-walla) or quacks on whose use the abortion is certain. Some of their prescriptions are given below:

1. The woman who wants to cause abortion to herself mixes three unboiled eggs of hens with some five or six years old gur (molasses) and the seed of black tili (Sesamum Indicum). If this mixture is taken on five or four consecutive days, the abortion is sure to take place.

2. If the seeds of kulthi (a kind of pulse) are boiled and kept for four or five days and eaten for some days the abortion is certain.

3. The seeds of kulthi are more effective if mixed with the dust bamboo, black pepper and three years old jaggery (shakar) The above mixture is especially efficacious if mixed with the fruits of Anjum (Terminalia aruna).

4. The boiled fruits of Mahua (Bassia-latifolia rab) are also effective.

5. The seed of Papaya (Carica Papaya) is also an effective medicine for causing abortion.

Some women cause abortion by eating excessively the fruits or other preparations which are excessively hot in effect. This is why that the women who do not want abortion take special care to avoid the use of such things and the elderly women of the family remain particularly cautious to guide the young married pregnant in the family. However, abortion and miscarriage are feared as an ill-omen by the Sikligars. Mostly, they are considered to have been caused due to the sorcery or witch-craft of some jealous woman and the shadow of the woman who had abortion or miscarriage is avoided by other women because according to their superstition this mishap is likely to be transmitted to others even through her shadow. The place of his batheing is especially
avoided. The repeated and excessive use of the abortive drugs and medicines causes a woman sterile, and so they are used only in serious situation, mostly to save the honour of the family in society because if a girl is known to have conceived or given birth to a child before her marriage, it is shameful for the parents and with such a moral and social slur she is not accepted by a good family for marriage. Although generally the women fear the use of the abortive medicines yet the widows use them frequently, because they do not care even if they become sterile on account of their repeated and excessive use.

The Sikligars have not yet set in the civilised society, and is a completely gypsy tribe. They do not know anything about the modern family planning instituted by the State or by some other private societies. I have intensively studied 663 Sikligar families and on enquiry I found that only a few families know something about contraceptives, but there is not even a single family which has ever visited or consulted a family planning centre. Therefore, they have not at all taken to the use of the modern contraceptives in case of both sexes. The use of the contraceptives is hated by them with a belief that these devices profane the natural outcome of the will of God.

If the head of a baby comes out first in parturation, the birth is called saukhi (easy), but if feet come out first then it is called aukhi (difficult). The Sikligars believe that the baby whose feet come out first at the time of birth is victimised by lightning in a thunderstorm. That is why they believe that a man who happens to be born like this should not have sexual intercourse with his wife during the thunderstorm, otherwise both of them are susceptible to be killed by lightning. They say that if the child lies cross-wise at the time of birth, it will die and death may also overtake the mother. Some mothers may get fever due to the dirtiness of the midwife being infected with their dirty hands. In some cases infection takes away the life of the mother, but some mid-wives know some indigenous medicines which cure fever and infection. The Sikligars also told me that in case the midwife cuts the umbilical cord in an improper and unhygienic way causing excessive bleeding the child dies just a few hours after the birth.
Another and rather main cause of infection is unhygienic environments of the mother and the new born child. The sirki or pakhi (thatched hut) of the Sikligars is so small and dirty that it is a breeding place of germs, bacilli. That is why the mortality rate of mother and new born baby is very high. The other cause is the poverty of the Sikligars due to which they cannot nourish the mother for a long time on rich and nutritive food.

Naming the Child

In naming the child, no particular system of nomenclature is followed by the Sikligars, but it is definitely borne in mind that the child should never be given the exact name of its father or the mother depending on its sex. The dead ancestors are also avoided as they believe that the child dies soon if he or she is given the name of some ancestor. Usually, bhooa (father's sister) or maama (mother's brother) is preferred to name the child. Although the Sikligars are Sikh yet they do not give name to the chied by the waak (Reading a hymn from the Gurn Granth Sahib, opening it at random) of the Guru Granth Sahib, but the Sikligars have perfect Sikh names in the case of a man followed by Singh and in case of a woman followed by Kaur. Literally a Singh means a lion and a Kaur means a kumari (a maiden).

Like the other communitie of Northern India, the Sikligars give a differential treatment to a boy and a girl in the case of their bringing up. A boy is cared for, loved or indulged in more than a girl due to the following reasons:—

1. The first reason is that a boy is considered to be the kuljit (one who perpetuates the lineage of the family) kuldip (the lamp of the family) after the death of parents, but a girl is treated as praya dhan (belonging of somebody else), because one day she has to leave her parental house to go with her husband after her marriage.

2. A girl is considered a liability to the family whereas a boy in considered an asset. The boy is always to live in his parental house and is expected to add to the honour, happiness, comfort and wealth of the family, whereas a girl on the other hand takes away lot of wealth as a donation or dowry at the time of
marriage. She keeps receiving gifts from parents, and other relatives of parental side for whole of her life.

(3) Morally she is also considered a liability. Her slightest sexual laxity becomes an indelible stain on the family. That is why the people of the punjab say, “Dena bhalla na bap da, beti bhali nan ikk” (one’s indebtedness is not good even to one’s father and the liability of even a single daughter is equally bad).

After forty days or after any period convenient to the mother and the child as the circumstances of the family allow, the mother is purified along with the child. Then she is allowed to cook food for the family and do other jobs of the house as her normal duties. This is called “chauke charna” (entering the cooking square after giving birth to the child). In the case of staunch Sikh Sikligars, the Amrit is administered to both the mother and the child on this day, but in case of the Hindu Sikligars nothing special is observed. The house is plastered with cow-dung and some doop (incense) is burnt in the house for the purpose of purification. Some of the Sikligars make vows to visit the shrines of some gods, goddesses or their sainted dead as a gratitude for the birth of a son. This is done mostly by those who get children after an unusually long period after marriage and fear lest they should remain issueless in their life. On the shrines different edibles are propitiated. Some of the Sikligars told that such people go as far as Jammu to fulfil their vows of visit and worship at the shrine of Vaishnu Devi and to Kangra to do it at the shrine of the goddess, Jawala Mukhi. Some of them pay their visit to the Sikh shrines of Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Anandpur Sahib, Patna, and Hazur Sahib etc. According to the tenets of Sikhism, the Sikh Sikligars do not cut the hair of the children after the birth. The child is entirely fed on the mother’s milk and there will be hardly any instance where the mother’s milk is supple-
mented with any other milk if the mother’s breasts have normal supply of milk. In case of the orphan babies any woman can suckle the baby on her breasts but the woman of the same subcaste is preferred to the woman of other subcastes. The woman who suckles the infant of a deceased mother earns a great regard and respect from the family to which the baby actually belongs. The baby nursed thus owes a great deal of respect to the woman who suckles him or her after the death of the real mother. Till recently all the Sikligars used to tie taragi (waist cord) round the waist of the male child but now this practice is falling off. But still taragi is seen round the waists of many children. On inquiring it was revealed to me by several old Sikligars that the taragi is tied for the following purposes:—

(1) The children usually try or tend to touch or manipulate the male organ, which hygienically is a dirty and morally a bad habit. In order to prevent this tendency a multi-coloured phuman (tassle) or some other article like kauris (shells) are tied with waist-cord so that the child may be attracted to touch them instead of the penis.

(2) They also say that the waist-cord is a very useful preventive measure against hernia and appendicitis which may develop in young or old age.

(3) Some say that sometimes amulets or enchanted threads are tied with the taragi which prevent the child from evil eye and witchcrafts. Whatever be the reasons and purposes of tying a taragi, it is tied only round the waist of the male children and the females have nothing to do with it.

Care of the Children

The Sikligar children are not looked after properly. It is due to two reasons:—

(1) Due to poverty and (2) due to untidy habits of parents. The economic Arthur Young truly said, “Sense of property turns sand into gold.” The Sikligars are a true gypsy tribe. They have been wanderers since centuries and none can guess
how long a Sikligar family or encampment will stay at a certain place. As they believe that a permanent settlement is the very cause of the downfall and degeneration of their community. Therefore they do not care much about their house, if at all it deserves to be called a house, which hardly lasts for a few days at the same spot. So the children have to live in very dirty and unfavourable environsments of the house.

The second cause of this plight is the nature of their profession. Their profession is blacksmithy which keeps one's body and clothes unclean and black. Availability of abundant and clean water is indispensable for a tidy living but it is not always available to these people in their nomadic life. As a rule if elders have untidy habits, the youngsters cannot be looked after in a tidy and hygienic way.

**Dress and General Life of the Children**

Thirty or forty years ago, the Sikligar babies used to remain naked, upto the age of 5 or 6 years. At present the children are provided clothes from very infancy, but it is not uncommon to see them only with a shirt on their person, without any under-clothing-pyjamas, under-wears or dhoti, upto 6 or 7 years. The hair of the children remain unkempt hanging loosely. The boys and girls play together in groups. They do not wear shoes in their early childhood, and this is due to the poor economic condition of their parents. Some Sikligars do have donkeys which carry their sirkis and other household effects from place to place in course of their wandering life, and some children graze them in the surroundings of their encampments. One seldom sees the Sikligar children in clean dress. The girls are recognised at the very first sight because they do wear silver ornaments round their necks wrists and ankless, which the boys do not do.

The Sikligar children know all about the sexual life at a very early age. It is due to the following reasons:—

(a) A Sikligar family does not have proper privacy of the life as the whole family has to sleep in the same small sirki. Therefore the children sometimes behold the sexual acts of their-
elders, which they never forget as a curiosity.

(b) Mostly the Sikligars are very loose, in their talks, about their sexual life. They use very filthy abuses which children learn and use against each other. The filthy abuses are also a source of the early sexual knowledge of the Sikligar children.

(c) I was told that in some cases the children of 5 or 6 years saw the birth of their younger brothers or sisters with their own eyes.

**Education and Sikligar Children**

Although many tribes have gone much ahead in education and especially so after Indian Independence, yet the Sikligars are one of the most backward and illiterate peoples of India. The causes of the illiteracy of the children is not very difficult to understand. Firstly how an unsettled and wandering people can admit their children to a school, which being a permanent place is against their very nature of nomadic life. Secondly the Sikligars are smiths and from the early childhood both the male and the female children begin to lend a helping hand to their elders in their profession of smithy. That is why the Sikligar children are seen mostly sitting within the smithy, holding iron being hammered by some elder, working at bellows or making or learning to make something himself or herself. It is a community having ancestral industry which they learn without any strain and stress and do not care much for education because they can earn their livelihood without becoming servant of anybody. Not to speak of B.A., and M.As., I have not been able to know even a single Sikligar, who is Matriculate, and if somebody gets regular and high education in future, it will be a great step towards the progress of this tribe.

Sometimes one sees the Sikligar children roaming and playing in groups when they get leisure. They are very docile and do not display any mischievous reaction to the visit of strangers. They do not undergo any particular ritual or sacrament during their childhood. No circumcision is performed among the Sikligars.
The relations between the elders and the children are natural and properly emotional. The parents and other elders do not treat the children in any cruel way and they enjoy all proper and possible indulgence. Inspite of knowing well, the language of the locality, district or province in which they live, though less than the past, a few of them speak their own dialect, and so all the children are not well-versed in their tribal language.

The boys and girls remain playmates up to the age of 8 or 9 years at the most. After this their separation takes place as the girls are near the initial stages of adolescence or puberty. After 12 years conspicuous biological change takes place in the boys, but the girls undergo a radical change in body and temperament. Their breasts begin to increase and the pubic hair also begin to grow on their pubes, and they feel a peculiar change in their temperament, in which modesty particularly increases. They begin to realise their womanhood as their body begins to take after that of their adult elders of the fair sex and peculiar inexpressible urges develop among all the females at this phase of life. At last a day comes on which a young girl is very much disturbed and uneasy. In some cases a whitish matter is discharged by the girl and that is the beginning of the first menstruation. The girls feel irritated, hot and cold. In some cases menstruation is painful. The day on which the first menstruation starts is very unpleasant for a girl. The first menstruation starts generally at the age of 13 or 14 years. The first menstruation is not so much appealing to the girl who has heard all about this from her elder women, elder sisters, or wives of brothers or her girl-friends who have already experienced menstruation. The first menses lasts for about a week and the girl is considered polluted. The contamination lasts till the bleeding stops and she becomes clean after taking her bath. This is called “sirnauhni.” During menses a female cannot touch utensils or any other articles which is used in preparing food, in serving it or as container for any edible. Even the utensils in which she is served food are segregated, during the period of menstruation. If the menstruation discharge is delayed or withheld due to internal physiological reasons, there is a great danger to woman because the dirty matter to be
20. The Sikligar girls playing bantas.

The Sikligars in Playful Mood

22. The Sikligar youngmen performing bhangra dance.

The Sikligar Folk

23. The Sikligars listening to radio.
discharged, causes perilous infection in the vagina, which may cause even death of the female, if it deteriorates. In order to prompt it the girl is given the edibles which are hot in effect so that due to heat the discharge may be quickened and easy. She is not allowed to bathe unless the discharge ceases, because anything which has a cooling effect on body is detrimental to the prompt and proper discharge of menses. During this period the girl who has the first menstruation, feels much ashamed of and remains confined to the apartment till it is over. However, after the experience of a few months she learns the inevitable reality of menstruation to be faced till menopause approaches, the woman. She also learns that this monthly course occurs after 28 days due to rupture of the inner lining of the vagina and the discharge of an ovum or female egg and it is due to the rupture and replacement of the membrane of vaginal canal that bleeding takes place. At last she understands that the normal menses are the very sign of the fecundity of a woman and its delay or untimely ceasure is dangerous for her, and for the increase of the human species.

Now something may be said about the hygiene of the menstruation. It was known after enquiries from some old Sikligar midwives that sometimes the Sikligar women suffer on account of their negligence of cleanliness because during bleeding they tie pieces of dirty rags on their vulva and infection spreads from these untidy pieces of rags to the vaginal canal. The mid-wives told that inspite of their instructions that new and clean clothes should be used for such plugs and bandages, the carelessness of some females leads them to trouble. Sometimes some girls suffer due to the medicines of midwives and quacks in order to stop excessive bleeding or due to the undesireable or irregular menses. At any rate, yet they need a great deal of enlightenment to persuade them to use modern bandages, pads and antiseptic appliances.

Plays and Games

Play in any form, random or organised, crude or refined, simple or complex, individual or collective, is found in all the sections of mankind. Every human being experiences an inner urge to energetic activity, when he or she is in fit physiological
and psychological condition. In children this urge surges out in some spontaneous and pleasure giving activity which is called "play." The condition fit for the outward expression of this inner urge develops according to the physical environsments of the child, the toys and other necessary material available, the approval or disapproval of the play and the physiological and psychological conditions. The plays and games differ in infancy, boyhood early childhood, later childhood and adolescence.

**Infancy**

Strictly speaking the first year of one's life is infancy, regarding plays and games. In the first year, the infant is hardly able to play anything. The activities of the infant do not exceed beyond the random movements of organs and exercise of the faculties of hearing, and seeing. He or she just learns to grasp something with hands and a multicoloured rattle is the first toy which activates its senses of hearing, seeing and touching. Besides rattle, (chhankana) a light guddi (doll) made of rubber, plastic or some other material or any other tiny toy like this is used.

**Boyhood**

From the age of one to five years the child tries to control over its different parts of body. He or she learns to walk, to run about, to catch, to throw and to speak. His imagination begins to develop and tries to learn something about everything around him or her. Inspite of this all the skills and the powers of the child remain under-developed. Although the baby plays a lot of new and outdoor plays and games, yet their rules and regulations have little meaning for him, because he cannot fix his attention on a particular object for a long time. The children of this age do not form groups but they play as individuals. Usually the attitude of one child is hostile towards the other as some children fight for the possession of the same toy or article. In short at this age the children do not know the proper meaning of the team co-operation. However, if the attitude of a child is studied at this stage, the child wants that other children should do according to his will
and they play the games of fox and dog, horse and rider, and bulls and thieves.

**Early Childhood**

Early childhood lasts from the age of six to nine years. During this period, the child acquires more skill over various parts of the body and learns to participate cooperatively in the games of his or her playmates. His or her endurance and neuromuscular skill develop. The competitive games in which an individual can show his worth attracts him more.

**Later Childhood**

Later childhood is the period from 9 to 12 years. During this period the child prefers to play team games which need cooperation and oneness of purpose. The rules of the game are understood, appreciated and adhered to. Sometimes disputes arise over the interpretation, application and transgression of rules.

**Adolescence**

The child grows into physical maturity between 12 and 18 years. The adolescent aspires for the life of adventure and thrill, excitement and novel experiences. That is why the male Sikh children indulge in hunting, fishing, kabaddi, races, jumps, mock-fights and several other games, needing energy and excitement, whereas the young Sikh girl performs gidha dance. Besides them the Sikh children, young boys and girls play:

1. Doll-dressing & doll marriages (layed by the girls).
2. Kattles.
3. Ghora-tonga,
4. Hunting.
5. Motors.
7. Ghar-banana.
8. Chhohan-Chhoai.
10. Pheengh Jhutna, or swing.

Besides the above, indigenous Indian games some of the settled Sikligars also know how to play Foot-ball, Hockey and Volleyball. But these modern games are not played by the nomadic members of this tribe.
MARRIAGE RITES OF SIKLIGARS

Betrothal

Betrothal or engagement is the universal preliminary of a marriage, and so is the case among the Sikligars. It is nothing else but a public commitment selecting a boy for one's girl and vice-versa. Among the Sikligars the hands of one's daughter is given to a boy in the following manner:

1. Punn or gratis:—The father of the daughter does not demand any bride price for his daughter from the parents of her proposed bridegroom. But still the parents of the boy approach the father of the girl paying him 5 or 10 rupees as a "Thaka" or "roksa" to request for the engagement of the girl with their son. It is notable that the father of the boy does not approach the father of the girl alone but he makes his request essentially in the presence of the panchayat and the money and other presents are offered to the panchayat. The money presented thus is spent on the spot on the purchase of something sweet, usually gur (molasses) which is distributed among all the persons who are present there. After this the parents of the boy return home and this distribution of gur in the presence of the panchayat is the sign of the consent of the father of the girl and the betrothal is completed.
2. Marriage by Service

It is called "kaul-parose" by the Sikligars because of remaining in the neighbourhood or together. Truly speaking kaul-parose is one of the main root causes of the social evils and instability of marital life of Sikligars. Whole of the family of the boy goes to the house of the parents of the girl for whose hand the request is to be made. They serve the family of the girl but do not utter anything about their purpose. The gentle parents of the girl say no or yes about the proposal in question, soon but some mean fellows keep mum for years together and even after getting their service for long period say "no" to them at the end. "Yes" means betrothal for which the father of the girl gives Rs. 2/- for the purchase of a "naryal" (cocoanut). This is done through the panchayat. If the father of the girl keeps quiet for an unusually long time then the father of the boy takes the initiative of making the request through the panchayat in the most humble way, as they say, "Gal wich palla paa ke."

During the service period the prospective bride-groom has got to strictly observe certain rules. He cannot speak to his mother-in-law, but he does so only if he must and the father-in-law permits him to do it. He can also speak to his saalis—married as well as unmarried. Even a little negligence of the boy to maintain this imposed discipline can mar the prospects of his purpose.

I was informed that sometimes though quite rarely, the boy and the girl elope during the period of kaul-parose, but it is considered a great ignominy for all the concerned persons, and for this slur the father of the boy is heavily fined by the panchayat of the tribe. Besides this the girl and the boy both are penalised by the tribe.

3. Marriage by exchange (Vatto-satta)

By this means of marriage they translate into action the old saying, "You take my sister and I will take yours." They call it also "pet-ki-beti" by which they mean marriage by
exchange. In the case of the betrothal by vatto-satta the "kurms" (the respective fathers of the boy and the girl) do not go to each other's house. They convey their intentions to the panchayat which approaches them on behalf of each of them and on getting their mutual consent, the members of the panchayat get some money from either party for the distribution of sweets as a celebration of the betrothal. This system of vatto-satta is the worse bane of the troubles of the married life of Sikligars.

**Fixation of the Date of Marriage**

In all the social activities the tribal panchayat of the Sikligars plays the most prominent and leading role. The panchayat goes to the house of the father of the girl and says, "Tuhanun yad hoega, tohadi dhee di kurmai hoi hoi hai." (You remember, your daughter has been engaged). From this remark the father of the girl welcomes them and seats them respectfully. Then after consultation with other members of his family he tells them the date of the marriage of his daughter. After this the members of the panchayat go to the house of the father of the boy and inform him of the date of the marriage for which he pays thanks to them. From this day onward the following ceremonies begin till the actual day of marriage comes.

**The day of gaana** :- On this day a wrist-cord is to be tied to the boy. He is seated on a, "chauki" (a small wooden bench used for batheing). A red salloo is held like a canopy over the boy which is kept in position by catching it by all the four corners. This is mostly done by the bharjais and the sisters of the boy. The body of the boy is rubbed with the "vatna", a mixture of the following things :-

(1) Kachoor  (2) Chhar Chharila  (3) Flour of barley  
(4) Sarson oil.

The women folk sing the following song while batheing and rubbing the boy with vatna :-

"Vatna maliyae daliyae mail jhar pave,  
Iss vatne andar lare noon roop chardhe."
(We rub the bride-groom with vatna so that the dirt may be dispelled and on its rubbing the beauty of the bride-groom may shine). On batheing the water runs beneath the chauki and the women folk sing:—

"Nahale dhole ladla,
Tere petre de heth ganga bahe."

(Bathe, bathe oh, dear one)

"Our dear take bath, the sacred Ganges is running beneath our patra or plank."

Two women rub the vatna and all of them sing in a chorus:—

"Wah wah malendian do janian,
Wah wah daranian jethanian."

(How wonderful it is: Two women are rubbing vatna. How nicely the darani and the jethani are doing it).

At the time of batheing the women folk wave coins round the head of the boy and invoke blessings for him. These coins are placed under his feet and are given afterward to the sisters of the boy. A similar ceremoney of gaana is performed for the bride and the songs suitting the occasion are sung. The myrtel (mehandi) is supplied to the hands of both the boys and the girl on this day. It may be noted that the members of Kheechei sub-caste of Sikligars use myrtel only once in life and that is at the occasion of their marriage. Otherwise in whole of their life even touching the mehandi is a taboo to them.

The marriage party:—Three days after the gaana ceremoney, the marriage party is to go to the house of the bride. The marriage party has usually not to go to distant place because mostly the marriage alliances of Sikligars are made within the same encampment, or dera. Both the sexes can go along with the baraat. They will go beating a dholki (drum) and singing the auspicious songs. The boy has sword or chhuri (stab) or anyother weapon made of iron in his hands. This is done to dispal the evil spirits. Such a weapon is constantly kept by the boy from the day of the gaana till the marriage ceremonies are completed.
A vedi is erected before the house of the bride. It is rectangular in shape and consists of four wooden thumis or posts at the four corners. It is roofed by means of the green leaves and green branches of some fruitful trees. A few yards beyond the vedi two thumis are fixed. This is the border-line where all the members of the marriage party stop, because they should not go ahead of these thumis. After the marriage party stops, the mother of the bride comes out with a thaal (salver) containing some saungi and a lighted lamp made of kneaded flour. This all is to perform arti. She waves it seven times round the head of the bride-groom and also waves it all around him from the feet to head and the ceremony of arti is thus completed. She also waves a small vessel full of water round the head of the bride-groom, which she drinks afterward. After this both the kurms wave water round each other and throw it away. Then they embrace each other in a joy. This custom of their embracing is called milni. After the performance of these ceremonies all the members of the marriage party return to their respective houses. The parents and other close relatives of the bride-groom also come back to their own house. The marriage party is not served with any food or drink at the time of "dhuka." The vedi of the Sikligars deserves a special mention. After the departure of the members of the marriage party, the boy is seated within the vedi. Formerly he used to be seated on the ground but now some of the Sikligars have begun to use cots for this purpose. The vedi contains the following articles:

A new pitcher full of water is covered with a new kujji. Another kujji contains some un-cooked rice and gur and is covered with a red saloo. Two more new kujjis are tied with one of the thumis. These kujjis contain water.

The ceremony of pherey (circumambulations) is performed on the very first day. In all the seven, pheras are performed. The bride-groom leads the bride in the first four pheras whereas the bride leads the bride-groom in the last three pheras. The bride-groom passes four days living in the vedi. The food and other necessaries are supplied to him by his in-laws. On the fifth day the marriage party again comes. The bride is dressed in the best.
new clothes which her parents could afford. She is taken to the
vedi and in the presence of all she is seated on a cloth spread
on the ground. The bride and the bride-groom are seated face to
face (ahmo-sahmne) and their gaanas are untied. Then a chhala
or a rupee is thrown in a praat (platter) full of water. Just on
throwing it both the bride and the bride-groom are asked to catch
it. It is thrown seven times and the one who catches it more
times wins the game. This competitive game creates a great fun
among all who are present there. In reality this is done to create
some familiarity between the bride and the bride-groom.

The muket (coronet) is worn by both the bride-groom and
the bride. But besides muket, the bride-groom wears a sehra
also. From the day of gaana onward, both the bride and bride-
groom keep an arrow with them. This they do as a proof against
the ghosts and evil spirit.

Feasts of Marriage

Birit: The birit is a word derived from “bir”. The magi-
cians and some religious people believe that there are 52 birs.
In the Hindu mythology, a bir is a spirit of some god who
possesses immense physical and spiritual power. The feast or
anything else given, propitiated or sacrificed in the name of the
bir is called “birit.” The father of the bride-groom kills a he-
goat (bakra) by jhatka. The blood of the animal thus sacri-
fied is propitiated invoking the birs. His flesh is cocked and is
distributed among all the persons who join the marriage party.

Rasad: Rasad means provisions supplied raw or in un-
cooked form. The father of the boy distributes 1/4 seer of rasad
per head in whole of the camp.

Thalauri: The thalauri is a special feast which the father
of the bride-groom gives to the members of the panchayat of the
dera. The father of bride can also contribute to thalauri, but
this depends on his own free will because it is compulsory only
for the father of the bride-groom. If he can afford and wishes to
do it, he can give all the feasts like the father of the bride-groom
but he cannot give the feast of birit as it is only enjoined on the
father of the bride-groom.
After the play of the bride and the bride-groom with a chhala or a rupee thrown in a platter full of water and after untying their gaanas the bride is given send-off by her parents. At the time of departure the women folk sing marriage songs which are the same as sung by the Punjabi women of other communities. The elder relatives give a piyar to her and the elderly women including her mother, sisters, and damsels hug her filling their eyes with tears. Throughout her marriage ceremonies the bride keeps a very long veil over her head and face which she does not raise at all in the presence of the elderly males of the side of her in-laws. The parents of girl give some clothes and utensils as a dowry. The Sikligars are one of the poorest communities of India and so their dowry is not very ostentatious or expensive. A few clothes and a few utensils form the dowry. At the time of departure the bride takes with her some badam, gari, chhorharas and mewas etc. She keeps these things with her. This is called barmala which is also carried similarly by the bride-groom.

On reaching home the bride is seated in the hut where only the women can see her. The bride-groom neither sees her nor talks to her. The first thing on reaching home is the cooking of rice. First the bride-groom puts a few morsels of cooked rice into the mouth of the bride and then she does the same to the bride-groom.

Gotaknala

Gotaknala is an indispensable rite observed by many communities in the Punjab and other parts of Northern India. Gotaknala is a ceremony in which the women of the same gote or sub-caste eat together from the same vessel. They may eat cooked rice or choori as a food served in gotaknala. Any woman who does not in reality belongs to the Sikligar blood cannot participate in this ceremony and any bride whose gotaknala ceremony is left un-observed is socially alien in the Sikligar society.

Chhitian Khedinian

Chhitian khedinian means playing with small sticks (tender
and long shoots of thornless trees, preferably those of mulberry trees). They are also called chhamaks or shooshaks. Their play is performed in the morning. The bride-groom leads whereas the bride follows him. They are accompanied by the sisters of the bride-groom or nanans or nanads of the bride and the bharjais of the bride-groom. Both the bride-groom and the bride have a handful of long chhitties in their hands. They start for a well, pond, or stream whatever is accessible and close-by. On the way the women sing folk songs. The bride-groom beats the bride and the bride beats him while going to a pond or stream. A great fun is made till they reach their destination. From the day of gaana upto this time they constantly keep their arrows with them. Here they throw their arrows in water with salutations to gods and goddesses. They call this ceremony, “Teer thande karna” (cooling the arrows).

Snatching the Barmala

This ceremony is called, “barmala lutni.” It has already been mentioned that both the bride-groom and the bride keep some dry fruits and sweets with them from the time they depart from their respective homes—the bride-groom at the time of the starting of marriage party for the house of the bride and the bride at the time of her departure for the house of the bride-groom. After the arrows are thrown in water, the bachelors rush at the bride-groom and virgins do the same with the bride and they snatch those fruits and sweets from them. They believe that those who will be able to snatch more and eat first will be married soon and have a very happy married life. After snatching the barmala the procession comes back to the house of the bride-groom. The nanans of the bride will take her to her parents where she will pass the day and in the evening her sisters again bring her back to their house. It is essential that she must return to her in-laws the same day. The bride-groom gives one thoothi (cocoanut) to each of his saalie at the time of their visit and two thoothis to his wife. Upto this time the bride is neither allowed to enter the cooking square or sit near the hearth, nor to cook anything. Entering the cooking square is called “chauke pair paana”.
The Sikligars at their traditional Profession


25. The Sikligar young men making guns.
26. A Sikligar sorcerer casting out a ghost.

27. The jaundice of a boy treated with enchanted calotropis pulp worn round his neck.
Gharoli

Now the custom of gharoli is fading away but 20 or 30 years ago it was observed by almost all the communities of Punjab. Gharoli means “ghare-wali” (a woman having a pitcher). This ceremony is celebrated on the first Sunday after the arrival of the bride at the house of her in-laws. It is always performed in the afternoon (laudhe-wela). The bride accompanied by the women folk goes to a well or preferably to a nearby stream. She carries an empty new pitcher or gharar on her head.

The mouth of the pitcher is covered with a garvi (small metalled vessel made in the shape of the ghara). No male is allowed to participate in the ceremony of gharoli. The women go in a procession singing and laughing and on reaching the stream or well, the bride fills her pitcher with water returns home in the manner in which she goes to the stream. On returning to the house, the bride-groom receives the bride and puts some fruits in the garvi. Then he very carefully takes down the pitcher full of water which she fetches from the stream. He is very cautious about taking down the pitcher and placing it intact on the ground because the omen is considered to be of terrible consequences in his married life if the pitcher is broken. Then the bride gives him some water to drink and the rest of the water of that pitcher is used in cooking food of the family. On this day the bride begins to cook and serve food in the house of her in-laws and on the day of gharoli she cooks the food of the family with her own hands. From this day onward she becomes a fullfledged house wife.

Labsi and Preetha

In the evening of the day of gharoli, labsi is prepared. This is a sweet dish just thin like kheer (rice milk). It is prepared with the baked flour of wheat and sharbat of gur. In the Punjab this is called seera. The father of the bride-groom distributes four chapatis or phulkas to each family in whole of the dera. Some labsi is also given with the phulkas. Desi ghee (pure prepared from butter) is put in the labsi. The bride-groom himself goes and gives 14 phulkas and some labsi to each—to his
father-in-law (sauhra) and mother-in-law (sass).

Some other Problems of Sikligar marriage

Widow-remarriage. In the past the widow-remarriage was a prohibition in the Sikligar society. But now the widow-remarriage is common among them. The suitability of the relation of the marrying persons is strictly adhered to. Widow remarriage is called, “chadar pana”. Sororate and levirate marriages are especially prevalent in case of widow remarriage. It may be remembered that mostly seven rupees or adhi chari is paid to the parents or the guardian of the widow. This payment may rise from half-chari (a chari consists of fourteen rupee) to nine charis—rupees 126/- . However, the realization of more money gives bad name to the family which charges it.

Exogamy & Endogamy

The Sikligar society is exogamous in the sense that one cannot marry within one's own clan or gote. A marriage within one's own clan or subcaste is considered incestuous and is prohibited and punished by ex-communication or with heavy fine. The Sikligars are endogamous people, because they do not approve of the marriage of a Sikligar outside their own tribe and if a woman of another community is married and brought to their fold, she remains a, “tanhi” (a non-Sikligar woman) throughout her life and her children are not considered pure Sikligars.

Although ethnically the Sikligars, the Lambadis, the Labanas, the Vanjaras and the Gaddi Lohars are one and the same people, yet they do not intermarry as by the passage of time their social separation has attained the status of separate castes or tribes. So much so that some of them do not admit even their ancestral relationship with one another but this can be ascribed to their ignorance of their origin.

Early Marriage

The early marriage was practised in plenty in the past but now this has decreased to a great extent.
Divorce

The divorce is practised among the Sikligars but neither the husband nor the wife can effect divorce without proper sanction of the tribal pachayat. A score of years ago the divorce or permanent separation of husband and wife were effected verbally in the presence of the panchayat before which the respective guardians or parents of the husband and wife including themselves had to appear and state the cause of their demand of divorce. But now I have seen some cases in which the divorce has been sought through the regular legal procedure of the court. This type of divorce is called, "kaghaz laina".

The divorced woman cannot take any property of the husband from whom she has been divorced, to her new husband or anywhere else. The children, if any, are the belongings of her first husband and they are retained by him. The infants are allowed to be kept with their divorced mother till they become somewhat independent to live without her and are taken back by their real father. In some cases the mother is allowed to retain her children from her first husband, but they retain the caste name of their real father, irrespective of the caste of the new husband of their mother.

Sikh Rites of Sikligar Marriage

Although in Punjab the Sikligars are Sikh yet most of them perform the marriage rites of their tribal beliefs, and practices which have been described above. They are very good Sikhs; have their own Gurdwaras in their encampments or deras; observe the Sikh functions, festivals, Gur-purbs and anniversaries, read and listen to the reading of the Guru Granth Sahib with great devotion and respect, but in their social customs and manners they do not care much to observe the Sikh ceremonies. Before partition there was hardly any case in which the marriage rites were performed according to the Sikh religion, but now some of them have begun to ignore the marriage rites of their tribe and have performed marriage according to the rules of Sikh religion. Hence it becomes necessary to describe the Sikh rites of marriage, which are observed alike by all the Sikhs all over the world.
Among the Sikhs no superfluous custom is observed. The marriage party goes as usual to the house of the parents of the bride. The relatives of the bride come forward to receive the marriage party singing the following hymn or Shabad:

"Friends have come to my house
The true one,
Has drawn us together
The union is according to will of God
In the union of hearts
Is the seed of tranquillity
What the heart aspired
Has been achieved
The mind is gratified
The house has been beautified
It resounds with music
And with soundless sound
The Friends have come to our house"

After this a general prayer is performed and blessings are invoked for the bride and the bride-groom and for all the relatives concerned. Then the father of the bride and the father of the bride-groom embrace each other and exchange presents. The next day the marriage ceremony is performed. The parkash of the Guru Granth Sahib is accomplished. All the relatives and neighbours come and pay their homage to the Guru Granth Sahib. It may be noted that any person can come and sit there in the presence of the holy Granth Sahib and can see the performance of marriage. Any person who knows the performance of marriage rites and can read the Guru Granth Sahib can perform the duties of a priest, because there is no ordained priesthood among the Sikhs. Karah Prashad is prepared and is brought and placed on a chauki near the Guru Granth Sahib. Then the bride and the bride-groom present themselves before the holy Granth and sit in front of it paying their due homage to it. The boy is always seated on the right side and the girl is seated to his left side. After this the Granthi asks the bride and the bride-groom and their respective fathers to stand up with folded hands. Then he offers
a prayer on their behalf and proposes the marriage. Then all of them take their seats and the ragis (musicians) sing the following hymn:

"Before doing anything
Seek the grace of God
By the kindness of Satgru (The True Teacher)
Who in the company of saints
Expounds the truth
Success is achieved
It is due to the grace of Satgru
That we taste the Amrit (Ambrosia)
O, You the destroyer of fear,
And embodiment of mercy,
Bestow thy benediction on your servant
Nanak says, by praising God
We comprehend the infinite."

Then the Granthi explains the duties of husband and wife to each other. He tells them, "Marriage amongst us is not only a social contract but it also aims at the fusion of souls into one, as the marriage hymns indicate. It is a union on the long way of life. The marriage hymns indicate the four stages on the path of attainment." He also expounds that the Guru says, "It is only by the faithful performance of duty to each other that a couple fulfil their vows." Then he further explains in the words of the Guru; the means of attaining the happiness of married life:

"The bride must know
No other man
Except her own husband,
So the Guru exhorts."
"She is only of the good family,
She shines with light,
Who is decorated
With the love of her husband."
"There is only one way
To the heart of one's beloved"
To be humble and true,
And to do according to his will
It is only in this way that the true union is obtained."

"Happy are they
Freed from egotism
Who by unstinted giving
Win the heart of the Lord."

"They who only sit together
Are not the husband and the wife,
But those whose souls,
Have fused into single flame are true husband and wife."

"Sweet of voice full of humility in behavior,
The only ornament,
Undoubted acceptance,
Such brides enjoy the company of their beloved.
Ask the happy ones in which ways
They have won their beloved
They reply; by a sweetness of speech
Beauty of contentment and love
By keeping away from falsehood."

"A crumb of dry bread
The earth for bed
In the company of beloved
Is full of joy true."

"They who worship the true Lord
Win His respect and are saved
They who serve the merely wordly people,
Says Narāk, The ignorant ones,
They suffer from death time and again."

"He who created you,
And in creating you made you beautiful
Remember Him day and night."

"Let humility be the word
Resignation the offerings
Tongue the mint of sweet speech
Assume these habits, O dear sister,
Then you will have your husband under your power."
"The property of another person,
The wife of another man,
Speaking ill of another
Poison the life."
"Like the touch
Of a venomous snake
Is the connection
With the wife of another man."

The Granthi then asks the bride and the bride-groom to signify their assent in the light of the above quoted instructions, to be acted upon in a married life of good Sikhs. Both of them bow before the Guru Granth Sahib and this is their assent. Then the father, the brother or any other relative of the guardian who is to give the bride away, ties the skirt of her scarf with that of the bride-groom, as a symbol of joining them together, as husband and wife. Then the musicians sing the following Shalok on behalf of the bride:—

"Praise and dispraise, Nanak ji
I give up all of them
I catch the skirt of his attire
Everything else I let pass
I found all other relations false,
I cling to Thee, my Lord."

After this the granthi reads the first Lavan or marriage hymn. When he finishes, the couple walk slowly round the HOLY BOOK. The bride-groom leads and the bride follows him. The musicians sing the hymn while the couple walk, and they finish it just when the couple step in front of the Holy Book. Then the granthi reads the second Lavan, the couple again take a circumambulation round the Holy Book, and the musicians again repeat the Lavan. Every time the couple bow before the Holy Book before taking their seats. In this manner, the four marriage hymns are read by the Granthi and four pheras (circumambulations) are taken by the couple. The four Lavan or marriage hymns are given below as rendered by Sir Jogendra Singh in his book 'Sikh Ceremonies.'
I

"In the first round
God ordains,
The performance of duty.
The voices of the Brahma and the Vedas,
declare the path of duty,
And the way to avoid sin.
Disciplined in the performance of Duty,
Repeating the Name of God,
As prescribed in the books of religion,
Devote Thyself to God
By following the True Teacher,
All afflictions and sins depart.
By great good fortune,
The name of God becomes sweet,
Endowing the soul with bliss.
The disciple of Nanak says,
In the first round,
Initial preparations are made."

II

"In the second round,
The Teacher speaks of the immanence of God,
And reveals to the disciple,
The knowledge of divine presence.
The fear of the fearless enters the mind,
And the dirt of egoism departs,
The mind becomes limpid
By the fire of the fear of the stainless.
It fills the heart with a song of praise,
And the Lord of Bliss is seen;
In Atman, God Himself pervades.
The Lord Himself pervades everything,
Within and without is one God.
And His devotees, joining together,
Sing the song of rejoicing,
The disciple of Nanak says,
In the second round,
"The song of the soul is heard."
III

"In the third round,
With a feeling of exultation,
Mind is disenchanted with Vairag (detachment).
In the company of saints,
By great good fortune,
God Himself is found,
The pure, the omnipresent God is found.
A song of praise arises in the heart,
And lips murmur the word of God.
By great good fortune,
The saints find the Omnipresent.
In the heart, the sound of the Divine Name echoes.
This indescribable story is beyond telling,
They who have inscribed
On their foreheads the letters of good fortune,
Repeat God's name.

IV

"In the fourth round,
Mind becomes peaceful;
Self is realised.
The all-pervading God is found;
The True Teacher is met
And gives his sweet message.
Its sweetness pervades
The mind and the body,
God in his goodness has made His Love,
The sweet breath of life;
Mind all the time
Is fixed on Him.
The heart's desire is fulfilled;
The long-desired fruit has been obtained.
The song of gratulation breaks forth,
Ringing with His Name.
The Lord God is united with his bride;
The bride is full of bliss,
With her heart filled with His name.
The disciple of Nanak says,
In the fourth round is found
The omnipresent, the Immortal God.

The reading of the fourth hymn completes the marriage ceremony. After this the following hymn is recited by the musicians:—

"All my desires have been fulfilled
I do not have any virtues
But thou art Goodness itself
How can I admire thee?
Thou art
The Lord
You did not consider my good and bad deeds
You have forgotten them in an instant

Then six hymns of Anand Sahib and a Shalok which concludes Jap Ji Sahib, the most well-known composition of Guru Nanak are recited. The recitation of these hymns of Anand Sahib and this Shalok are performed concluding all the religious programmes of the Sikhs. The English rendering of the hymns of Anand Sahib and Shalok are given below:—

**Anand Sahib**
(The Song of Joy)

(1)

I have found my True Guru,
O my mother, I have found the source of joy,
The True Guru has been found easily
My mind is full of the song of rejoicing
The fairies have come to perform the Divine music
And they sing the hymns of the praise of Lord
Who lives in my heart
You also sing the songs of praise
Nanak says, I am blessed
I have found the True Guru.
O my mind, always live with God
If you remain with Him,
The sorrows of the world will not haunt you
If He likes you
All of your wishes will be fulfilled
He who is omnipotent, the Supreme Lord,
Why should you forget God?
Nanak says, O my mind
Always remain with God.

True God
What is there which is not in your house?
There are all the treasures in your house
He only receives them on whom You kindly bestow
May we sing the song of Your glory for ever
And may Your name reside in my heart
In whose hearts your name abides
Their hearts are filled with Heavenly music
Nanak says, O, True Guru, what is not in your house?

My only sustenance is my devotion to Your Name
The True Name is my only sustenance
It has satiated all the hungers
It has extinguished all the fires
Tranquillity has entered the mind
The sources of desire have dried up
I sacrifice myself for the sake of Guru
Whose great gifts are these things
Nanak says, listen O Saints
Learn how to love the word of Lord
The true name of God is my only sustenance.

That house is blessed
Which resounds with the five-fold music
This music is played in that lucky house
In which spiritual power lives
In which five evil passions are belaboured
And the dread of death is dispelled
They love You whose destiny is high
And they repeat Your Name
Nanak says, they attain happiness
And the divine music resounds in their hearts.

(6)

Listen to this song of benediction
O, lucky ones
It will fulfil all of your wishes
When the Supreme Omnipresent Lord is realised
All the troubles are ended
Suffering, ailment and agonies, all disappear
When Your True word is heard
Your devotees and the holy persons
Are all filled with satisfaction
When they hear from the True Teacher
The exposition of truth
The speaker are sanctified
The listeners are purified
By the word of the True Teacher
It pervades their life
Nanak prays and declares in all humility
He who falls at the feet of the True Teacher,
His life is filled with soundless music.

Shalok

"Air is the teacher
Water is the father
Earth is the vast Mother
Day and night work as two nurses
And whole the world plays in their laps
Noble and ignoble deeds
All the acts are recorded in His presence
And accurate record of every action is maintained
Some attain nearness and some go away from God
Those who meditate on the Name of God
Have successfully accomplished their task
They go with effulgent faces
And numerous are emancipated and saved
By their help."

Then all the congregations stand up and offer a general prayer
and the karah parshad is distributed among all the congregations.
The dowry is allowed in the Sikh religion but bride-price is religiously hated. After this the bride is given send-off by her parents.
The marriage of a widow is also performed in this manner, but with less pomp and show.
DEATH CEREMONIES OF SIKLIGARS

The Sikligars take the death of a person as a very natural and usual phenomenon of life. In the past most of the deaths were ascribed to witchcraft and sorcery applied by the enemies of the dead. The infant deaths are mostly consierdered to be caused by witchcraft, parchhawan or athrah which will be described in detail in the chapter, "Sorcery and Superstitions of Sikligars." In cases of most of the sick babies, I noted that proper hygienic, nutritive and medical care was not taken for them. Although now they have begun to consult the modern doctors yet most of them depend on sorcery and its spells, mantras or jharas as curative measures. They do not have regular and specified burial or cremation grounds because of their nomadic life. Their death ceremonies are described as follows:

Death of Infants

The infant who is suckled on the breasts of the mother is buried. It does not matter whether coffin is old or new. At the time of death, the infant is embraced by the mother and she says, "I forgive you all that you ate or drank from me." They do it in the belief that the soul of the dead may not remain indebted in the next world. Usually, they bathe the dead infant before wrapping it in the coffin, but if water is not available on the spot and the dera is on the move, the dead baby is buried without bathing. No other ceremony is performed at the time of the disposal of the dead body of the infant. The infant is buried
and the group resumes its journey onward, but if the infant dies when the wandering group has already encamped somewhere, the following ceremonies are performed:—

The dead body of the infant is carried to the grave by the father, guardian or any other close relative. After burying, the men return to the encampment. The women do not accompany the dead body to the grave. Reaching near the encampment, the person who lifts and carries the dead infant goes ahead of the other persons of the funeral procession and draws a line crossing the path, which they call, "kaar." By this they represent the symbolic banishment of the soul of the dead. All the persons stop for a while after crossing the line and say," O, the soul of the dead one, do not cross this line and never come to our encampment and family as now our connection with you has been broken for ever." They also throw water backward from above their heads and shoulders (puthe hath da paani sutna). Then they bathe somewhere and return to the encampment. The father or mother or any guardian of the dead draws a line by sprinkling water with a green branch of some tree. All the persons who have joined the funeral procession cross over this line and enter the house of the deceased. Then the owner of the house gives one pinch of dry falour to each of them, which they put into their mouths and go to their respective houses. The father or the mother of the deceased infant, goes to the grave on three consecutive days after the burial and places a "kauii" or cup full of milk at the grave and returns home. This milk is consumed by some birds or some other animals. One thing is particularly kept in mind that milk and the cup should never be taken back to anybody's house as it contains the ghost of the dead which does a great harm to its toucher or its possessor. The funeral ceremonies of the infant finish with this offering of milk on three consecutive days

**Death of the adult** :—They believe that if one is born in the lap of mother earth, "dharti mata", one should die or resign from life in her lap too. A dying person is laid down on the ground when he or she breathes his or her last. The grief of one's death is expressed by the mourners in loud wailing, weeping, beating cheeks, breasts, thighs and by uprooting the hair of head. The
dead body is very much dreaded by the Sikligars. The dead body is never left alone, neither an only person dares guard it. So several persons remain awake to watch it so that the ghost of the dead body may not kill or harm a single person who happens to watch it. The ghosts of the persons who die of dreaded diseases like smallpox are feared much and several magical measures are adopted to control them. Similarly it is believed that the soul of the person who dies of an accident, becomes a ghost and is harmful for the tribe as well as for the family concerned, if it is not controlled by means of incantations. All the adults are cremated. If a person dies after the sunset his body is not burnt in the night as the cremation always takes place in the day time, because the Sikligars believe that in the dark of the night the ghost of the dead may come to the house and may do some harm to somebody.

The dead body of the adult must be bathed and be wrapped in a new coffin. Then some butter and a coin are put into the mouth of the dead, believing that the soul of the dead may not face difficulty on way to heaven. He may eat butter in his sojourn to the next world and pay money to the guard at the door of the heaven in order to enter it. This is also believed and practised by the gypsies of Europe.

The bier is prepared in a very simple way and the dead body is carried by four close relatives of the deceased to the cremation spot, "marhi". Only men can accompany the dead body to the cremation place and no female is allowed to do it. On the way the bier is placed on the ground and some small pots "kujjis" are broken by the close relatives of the deceased near the head of the dead. Again the bier is lifted by the closest relatives of the dead to carry it to the cremation spot. The dead body is placed on the pyre. The pyre is set on fire by these relatives. All the persons keep standing around the burning pyre and when it is fully ablaze the eldest son or any other close relative of the dead gives "choke" (breaking the skull) with the thrust of a long stick. After this all the people depart from the pyre, as a funeral procession. In the past the Sikligars did not have a permanent and particular place of burning their dead because those who keep wandering, dispose
of a dead body where one happens to die. But in case of the settled gypsies of Delhi, they burn their dead in the common shamshans of the city. However, in case of the nomadic Sikligars, they encamp for three of four days near the pyre because after three days the bone-picking "phul chugne" ceremony is performed. Three days after the cremation of the dead body, the close relatives of the dead go to the marhi, taking a new empty pot and a vessel containing kachi lassi (a mixture of milk and water). The kachi lassi is sprinkled on the ashes of the dead body. Sprinkling the ashes with kachi lassi serves the following purposes:

1. They believe that by propitiating the kachi lassi in this manner, the thirst of the soul of the dead is quenched.

2. In this way the alive cinders are extinguished.

Then the ashes are thoroughly searched with hands and all the pieces of burnt bones are put into the empty new pot. Those who could afford, go to Hardwar to throw these ashes into the sacred Ganges like other Hindus whereas the poor ones throw them in any stream or river or even in a canal full of running water. Some old Sikligars told that this ceremony of throwing the ashes developed more in the recent times, as in the past most of the gypsy Sikligars used to burn the dead, leave the pyre, and the caravan used to be on the move, without caring for picking up the bones. The death ceremonies of old persons do not differ in any way from those of other adults, excepting the expression of rather a sort of joy on the "kath" ceremony, like the other Punjabis.

After returning from the pyre the family of the deceased performs all the ceremonies as they are described above in the case of the death of an infant. But in case of the adults the family of the deceased serves food to whole of the encampment. The food can be served in cooked or raw form. The community pays "neondra" to the host. Neondra means the monetary contribution paid to the host at some social feasts. Six months after the death of a person, the family of the deceased again gives a feast to the community. This feast is called "nan-neki" (celebration of the name and virtuosity of the dead). This ceremony is performed
by the Sikligars after the death of the young and the old ones only. The ceremony of nan-neki deserves a special description which is given below:—

The celebration of nan-neki proves very expensive to the family of the deceased. Whole of the community is fed in the morning. In the evening thirteen new earthen pots (kujjis) and 13 cubits long new white cloth are brought by the bereaved family. In the evening all the young and the old of both the sexes gather behind the sirki of the bereaved family. A straight line is drawn with the slight cuts of a spade. All the thirteen kujjis are placed in a row on this line. All the people silently and respectfully stand around these kujjis and wait for the glance of the evening-star. Just on its appearance, the male who is the head of the family dissolves a pinch of saffron, “kesar” in each kujji which contains water. Now he spreads 13 cubits of new white cloth on the thirteen kujjis and sprinkles some solution of saffron water on it. Now all the people reverently look at the star, touch the kujjis one by one and say, “Hai Bhagwan, jaunsa jee marewa, janke gati hos, jaga tikana mila” (O God, bless the soul of the dead with salvation and give him place with you).

Then all the people return to their respective houses. The cloth which is spread on the kujjis is given to the “dhyanis” (the married daughters) which they can wear or use in any manner they like. This ceremonies of kujjis and cloth puts an end to the obsequial rites of the Sikligars.

Death of a Woman in Child-birth

Like all the other communities of Punjab, the Sikligars especially fear the ghost of a woman who dies in child-birth. They perform various practices which they believe can save them from the attack of the spirit of such a woman, but their main preventative measure is to fix iron nails all round the marhi so that the ghost of the dead may be imprisoned within it and is disabled to follow the members of the family to attack them. The Sikligars are great believers in the evil spirit and ghost of the dead which will be described in detail in the chapter, “Sorcery and Superstitions of Sikligars.”
Death Ceremonies of Sikligars According to Sikh Religion

Although most of the Sikligars observe their tribal ceremonies as described above, yet some of them have given up their observance and perform their death ceremonies according to the Sikh Religion. So they are described below:—

The attention of the dying person should be distracted from the worldly affairs and is drawn towards God so that his soul may depart peacefully. Crying and weeping are discouraged according to the doctrine of the Sikh religion. The dead body is bathed and wrapped in new clothes. The infants below one year are buried. After bathing the dead body, it is carried to the cremation place in any convenient manner which is available. As the funeral procession moves towards the pyre the following hymns recorded in the Holy Granth Sahib, are recited:—

"The dawn of a new day
Is the manifesto of a sunset
Earth is not thy permanent residence,
Life is just temporary like a shadow on the wall
All your friends have departed
Thou too must leave
You believe as if life
Were perpetual and endless
The journey may be long,
Death is always hovering over us
Why are you sleeping?
Get up O simpleton."

"He who gave you the life
Gives sustenance also to you
He is the soul of all creation,
He is the feeder of all,
Relinquish me and mine and worship Him,
Within your heart in the morning
Repeat the name of God
The night has fallen on you
With its clothes of darkness,
The life is terminating"
Your feet have not found the path
Ravidas says, the senseless stupid
Why don't you see,
This world is just a home of a mortal beings?"

"Know this O, my dear friend,
Clearly in your mind
The world is engrossed
In pursuits of pleasure
Nobody cares for anybody else,
Many people wait in attendance,
They surround you from all sides
But only when your fortune smiles.
When misfortune darkens the door
They suddenly vanish and desert you alone.
Even a wife who is loved and is loving
As soon as the soul takes its flight,
Cries out, you are dead.
This is the way of all of them,
Says, Nanak, at the end
Only God can befriend you."

"Mother, father brother and son,
And your wife,
All of them cling to the living.
As soon as the breath leaves the body,
They leave it as dead,
Beware of the glamour of mirage
Be careful and repent,
Says Nanak, always remember God
Salvation is His gift".

"Wake up, my mind, wake up,
From the deep and dead sleep
Even the body that came along with you
Will part with you soon.
The world is only a dream,
As soon as the life leaves the body,
Mother, father and other relatives,
Will throw it into the fire
They are only concerned with the self,
Says, Nanak, sing the songs of the praise of God."

"I have found all the earthly attachments untrue,
Everybody is attached for the sake of his own pleasure,
Whether it is a wife or a friend,
Mine, mine they all say, and deceive the heart
With expression of love,
At the last moment not even a single person comes near,
This is the strange way of the world,
The stupid mind does not listen
To sagacious advice and understand,
Nanak says, only he can cross the ocean of being
Who sings the songs of God."

The above noted hymns or any other shabads suiting the occasion of death are sung by the funeral procession while taking the dead body to the cremation ground. Reaching the cremation ground, the bier is placed on the ground and all the people squat silently and respectfully putting off their shoes and folding their hands as if they are sitting in a religious gathering in a Gurdwara. Then the kirtan, Sohila is recited. Sohila is a composition of five hymns whose first three hymns are composed by Guru Nanak, the fourth hymn is composed by Guru Ram Das and fifth one is composed by Guru Arjan Dev. Sohila is the last daily prayer of the Sikhs which they recite at the time of sleeping at night, after finishing their routine work of the day. Recitation of Sohila signifies the termination or completion of something and so it is the last religious recitation of the Sikhs performed on one's death or the completion of the journey of one's life in this world.

Sohila’s English translation is given below:

(1)

"The house in which,
God is remembered
And hymns of the praise of God are sung,
That house is blessed
In which God is praised."
Glorify my fearless God
He will bestow bliss at the house
May I sacrifice myself for His glory
Day after day: the blissful one
Bestows his numberless gifts
He takes care of his creation
Who can measure the benedictions
Of the Immeasurable Lord?
Come together, O, friends
And pour the oil of welcome
The auspicious day has come
Sing the song of joy
On my union with God.
The same call comes to every house,
Everyone is summoned without fail,
Who can summon, if we remember God?
The fear of the day of call disappears.

(2)

There are six houses and six Gurus
Six systems of teaching are there
There is only one True Teacher
He appears in different garbs,
Friends, that house is splendid with glory
In which His praises are sung.
We count in time
Moments and minutes
Days and months
The seasons keep changing
But the sun remains without change
The Creator has countless appearances.

(3)

In the thaal (salvar) of the sky
Son and moon are the lamps
The luminous stars are the pearls
The warm wind from Malaya mountains
Waft the incense
The god of air moves the chanwar
The forests of the world offer their wealth of flowers
And the spheres their music play
Thus Your evening service is performed
O, Thou the destroyer of suffering.
Thousand Thy eyes
No, no, Thou hast no eyes
You have thousand forms
No, no, You have no form
Thousand are Your holy feet
No, no, You have no feet
Thousand Thy scents which pervade the Universe
No, no, You are without any scent
Your light dwells in everything
Oh You, the Charmer
It is Your light
Which illumines everything
It is by the grace of Guru
That the secret of light is known
What is pleasing to You
Is best for the evening service
May my heart be thirsty every day
To touch the dust of your Lotus feet!
And may my heart like the Chatrik!
Thirsty Nanak drink the ambrosia
Of Your grace
And dedicate his every breath to You O, Lord.

(4)

This body is charged to the brim
With anger and lust
Only in the company of saints
These passions can be discharged
As a need of noble previous deeds
The True Teacher has been found
He reveals the magic of the love of God
To decorate the mind
Be a beggar at the gate of those people
Who have achieved the Truth
Humble yourself before them
This is the best of the deeds
This is the only way to secure merit
Those who bow at the gates of the worldly-powerful people
Know not the joy of the worship of God
They carry within them the barb of egotism
The barb also moves along with them as they move
And inflicts pain and suffering upon them
When the noose of time tightening on them
The angel of death appears
With his relentless baton.
The devotees of God
Steadfast in their devotion to Him
Repeating the name of Lord
Destroy for good
The pangs of birth and death
And agony of life
They become one
With Immortal, All pervading Almighty
And secure a high position
Which they adorn
We, poor and helpless mortals
O, God are Yours
You O, Protect us the Great Lord.
Nanak is your slaye
He only depends on the strength of Your Name
In repeating Your Name,
Is His only hope to obtain tranquility.

( 5 )

Hark, O my friend, I request you
It is the high time to serve the saints
Secure here the merit of saintliness
To dwell in happiness everafter
Every day is a gone-away day
Out of your life
Search out the knower of Lord
And improve your life
This world is being drowned
In the ocean of doubt
Only the knower of Lord
Walks safely across it
Whomsoever He awakens
And gives a taste of this nectar
He only knows
That which cannot be told.
Know the real errand
Of Your being in this world and gather up the treasure
Under the guidance of the True Teacher
Make your mind the residence of God.
If you abide within yourself
Quietly calm and undisturbed
You will not come back again to suffer the pang of birth and death.
O You, the knower of my inmost self
O You, dispenser of destinies
May You in Your mercy
Fulfil this wish of my heart.
Nanak, your slave, ask for nothing else
But this boon
Make Him the dust
Of the feet of Your devotees.

After this Anand Sahib and Shalok which have already been given in marriage rites, are recited. Then a general prayer (Ardas) is offered for the peace and permanent abode of the soul of the departed with God and the pyre is set on fire after placing the dead body on it. Then the persons of funeral procession wash their hands and faces and return to the house of the family of the deceased, where karha parshad is prepared and is distributed among all the congregations. After this the reading of the Guru
Granth Sahib is started by the heirs of the deceased as soon as it is convenient to them. The reading of the Holy Book is completed on the 10th day when the funeral ceremonies come to an end, with the final prayers for the soul of the departed person. If the family of the deceased can afford, food, clothes, money and other gifts are given to the granthi who completes the reading of the granth and to the poor and needy as a charity.
Smithy is the main profession of Sikligars. The smith and the tinker gypsies of Europe and the Sikligars of Punjab have very much similar mode of economic life. The main profession of the Sikligars, till a century or so ago, was making swords, stabs, shields, arrow-heads, knives, spears and guns. Besides their actual making, they were famous for furbishing them and as a matter of fact it is the work of furbishing the iron arms from which their caste—designation, (Sikligar) is derived. They also sharpen the weapons on hone (saan) for which they used to get 12 paisas for a knife, scissors, or a stab and 50 paisas for sharpening a sword. In the hilly areas of the Punjab, some people call them “Badhi” as the edge of an arm is called “badh” (dhaar). At any rate these Sikligar Badhis should not be taken for the carpenters who are called Badhais or Barhais in the Hariana tract of the Punjab and in Uttar Pradesh.

The Sikligars are a typical gypsy tribe and so they always keep wandering from place to place selling their iron wares which they make themselves. Excepting some families which were in services in the native states or in the military departments of the British Government in India, rest of the tribe was completely nomadic. Their trade had the best time during Rajput and Mughal periods in medieval India, during the Sikh Rule and during the first two or three decades of the British Rule in the Punjab. The Shastars (the weapons which are used with hand) here outmoded and gradually were replaced with the new inven-
tions of the fire-arms or astars (the weapons which are thrown at enemy from a distance). Therefore the profession of sword-making dwindled and they took to the making of other household articles. Besides iron-wares they used to make hones (saans) for their own use as well as for sale. They make the hones in the following way:

There is hardly anything pertaining to life among the Sikligars which is not believed to be affected directly or indirectly by sorcery, superstitions and omens. A Sikligar never makes a hone within his house, or within the premises of his dera (encampment). He goes out at a certain distance from his encampment and makes a hearth there. Then he takes coarse sand (baloo) and lac in equal quantities. They are heated in a pan (karahi) and are mixed in a uniform way. After preparing this mixture it is uniformly spread on a round tawa (a bread-baking iron sheet) or a round piece of wood cut into a circle. A square hole is kept in the centre for fixing axil into it. On drying this circular piece of mixture its margin is rubbed off and smoothed. In this way the hone is made.

The hone is not made in any habitation because the Sikligars believe that if a woman happens to see it in making, the sand and the lac do not mix together. Their mixing is also prevented by the shadow of a woman.

I have tried my best to know from them and see them making guns but due to their fear from the law, they did not do it in their houses. So much so that they tried to evade all information about the guns. Secondly excepting a few young men who are employed in armouries, the rest of the younger generation does not know how to make a gun, and the old Sikligars who used to make guns in the past have stopped making them because of the legal restrictions. I tried to know from them about the composition of the indigenous ammunition which was used in the country-made "tore-dar" bandooqs or guns. Even in disclosing this secret most of them were reticent and doubted that it may not be legally used against them. There was only one person named Aroor Singh, 98 years, who gave me the following information which is reproduced below in his own words:
My father and grandfather were great "karigars." They were experts in making toredar bandooqs. They used to sell them to the people and mostly in the native states. Thus they earned good income as well as honour among the Rajas and Jagirdars. My father used to tell me that his best gun used to be sold for rupees one hundred at that time, which amount is now equal to Rs. 1,000.00. We used to make the ammunition (barood) to be used in the guns in the following way:—

(i) Nitre (shora) = 5 tolas (one chhitank)
(ii) Sulphur (gandhak) = 1 tola (1/5 chhitank)
(iii) The coal of calotropis (ak) = 1 tola (1/5 chhitank)  
or the coal of cotton

All of the three components are powdered in a chattoo (mortar) separately. They are pounded as fine as possible. All the three powders are kept separately. Then they are mixed in a platter (parrat) in dry condition. Then the water is sprinkled on them and their mixture assumes a granular form just like the seeds of mustard. These grains are strained through a sieve (chhanani). The coarser pieces which do not pass through the holes of the sieve are rejected. The strained grains are again powdered in the wooden mortar and the process of sprinkling the powder with water and sieving the grains is repeated till all the grains pass through the sieve. These grains act as very explosive and powerful ammunition. In the toredar bandooq, the bullet of lead is loaded and this ammunition is filled up on its back. On explosion the ammunition pushes the bullet out of the barrel with a tremendous force."

At present the toredar bandooq is replaced with modern arms like guns, rifles, pistols, revolvers, grenades and bombs. So the profession of the Sikligars has absolutely died away, and they have taken to the making of some house-hold utensils. They seldom purchase new iron to make the articles which they sell. They purchase old and broken articles of iron from the people or from a kabari (ragman). A sikligar can make his smithy anywhere he likes. He just digs a small pit in the ground, fixes his anvil and instals his bellows. Thus his dukan (shop) is ready.
Mostly a Sikligar repairs the old buckets, iron baskets for keeping utensils, iron ladle (karchhi), iron sieves, knives, stabs, latches, sickles and spades. He also repairs and makes locks. The articles the making of which does not need the use of heavy hammers, are made by the women. Anyhow, a woman does help the man in making the iron articles by holding the hot iron to be beaten with a heavy hammer or by working at the bellows in order to blow and light the fire of the furnace. The Sikligars divide the making of their iron wares into two types, (1) The thanda (unheated) work. In this type the iron of old and broken articles is beaten without heating it, and the desired shape of the articles is given to it by simply flattening, thinning and lengthening by hammering. The thanda work is mostly done by the women. (2) Garam kam (heated-iron work). In this type of work one has to beat the red hot iron at the anvil, with a heavy hammer. This is done by the men. This type of work is done in making spades, latches (kundis) swords and spears etc. whereas the thanda work is done in case of the repair of the thin utensils like buckets and sieves. One man can make six sieves in a day. One sieve is sold for 50 paisas. He can make 24 ponis (small sieves) used for straining tea etc. of wire and one poni is sold for 12 paisas. In this way he can earn three or four rupees a day. After making the iron wares, there arises the question of sale for which somebody has got to go to some city or village. In the past they did not allow their women-folk to go out of their encampments. So the women could not go to the villages and towns and the men themselves had to sell their articles, which means that if a man could make certain number of articles one day, he had to go next day to sell them somewhere. But now their old restrictions on the movements of their women have relaxed and the children and women go and sell their iron articles. The main market of their articles is in the rural areas. Besides money they accept gladly the price of their iron wares in kind.

Although the nomadic Sikligars are rigidly sticking to their old and hereditary profession yet many of them at Delhi have taken to the work of iron materials used in the construction of buildings. Delhi being the capital of India is enormously increasing in size and
population. Hence the construction work of buildings is going on a very large scale. The Sikligars go and work on contract for turning, bending, binding, cutting and joining the kandlas or sarias (iron bars) and iron plates and sheets. Their fixed rate of wages is rupees 1·50 per maund and averagely an individual earns Rs. 6.00 a day. The Sikligars are born in nomadic and free life. So they utterly hate service. Even while working they do not want to lose their freedom and free will. On asking, some of the Sikligar young men told me that they could put up with anything else but dictations by others which is the very decorum of service. On contract work, they are free to work, how much to work and where and when to work. Even at Delhi some of the women and children are seen hawking in the colonies to sell their iron wares, but excepting this hawking, a Sikligar woman never works or labours outside her house. By nature a Sikligar is an exceptionally honest and docile person. The work entrusted to him is done in a very satisfactory way. If you approach a Sikligar dera in the day time you will find that even in the hottest days of summer, all are working with hammers and pincers in their houses. The men hammer and the children and women work at the bellows. All of them are seen completely drenched with sweat, but working in a very calm, contented and careful manner. Seeing this scene, every honest observer may spontaneously say, "O God you commanded man after creating him to earn his bread by laboriously shedding his sweat. So, come here, and see the mankind of your own ideal."

Food

The Sikligars are very poor people and accordingly their food is also very poor. On studying 663 families, I did not see a single family which uses ghee or milk as a regular diet. They cook all the vegetables and pulses in simple water though some of them put in them good amount of spices, salt and chillies. The Sikligars are especially fond of consuming meat; salted khichri is a favourite food for them. They prepare the dishes like karah (pudding), kheer (rice-milk) and labsi on auspicious occasions. Sewian (vermicelli) are the most favourite with them during the rainy seasons and especially at the celebration of Gugga festival which
is the most important festival for this community. Anyhow, the
diet of the Sikligars is very poor on the whole and that is why they
are mostly under-weight people. One hardly finds a vegetarian
Sikligar. In respect of food the Sikligars belonging to subcaste of
Tonk Mundranwale, do not eat anything prepared by a halwai
(confectioner) because it is a taboo to them. Beef is a taboo to
the Sikligars, just like the other Hindus.

Hunting

Although at present, hunting is not the economic means of
these people, yet they are very fond of it. Whenever they can
spare some time they go out for hunting. They always hunt in big
parties. The wild boar is their most favourite game to be killed
by them as hunters. They kill it in the following three ways:

1. They kill it by firing letha arms at it.

2. They kill it by means of ensnaring. In this way of killing
the men make noise and beat the bushes.
The boar is scared up from behind by the hounds and the
hunters.
The place to which they want to drive the beast has a baur
(snare).
The boar falls into it and just within a wink of an eye the
hunters kill the boar with spears.

3. The wild boar is also killed by them coming into grips
with him like the wrestlers. This is the most exciting,
appalling and extra-ordinary way of killing a boar. Hence
it is very interesting to describe it.

A boar is besieged while sitting and the dogs are close at him.
A great noise is made in a challenging way till the noise and the
attack and barking of hounds compel the boar to leave his lair.
The man who wants to grapple with the beast, stands at a distance
of seven or eight yards from him. He has a large sheet or chaadar
(scarf) in his hands. He takes his pose facing the boar. Then he
claps his hands and calls the boar loudly uttering “Aa aa, aa.” It
is the natural temperament of a wild boar to rush at the person
who challenges him. So the boar immediately rushes at the man.
He deftly throws the scarf at the eyes and snout of the boar and being blinded he startles for a moment to shake down the cloth but with an admirable agility the man turns to the flank of the animal, strikes him with his chest applying all his strength, just near the base of the foreleg and knocks him down strongly gripping his other foreleg and catches his hind-legs in his own legs. But he should grapple the animal in such an adept way that he should not be able to turn his mouth towards the man to injur him. What then? Within a wink of any eye, the dogs and the hunters attack the beast and kill him. It does not mean that all the Sikligars who wrestle with the wild boar, in the above manner, go unmolested or uninjured. The slightest mistake in throwing the cloth at the eyes of the boar, turning immediately to its one side or delay of the other hunters to attack the animal, cost the life of the man who comes into grips with the beast and there is hardly any Sikligar hunter who does not bear appalling scars on his body, left by the ghastly wounds of the bites of the boars, and there are many cases in which some Sikligars are killed by these wild beasts.

Besides the wild boar, the Sikligars are very fond of hunting deer, wild hare and porcupine.

**Animals**

The Sikligars are not pastoral people. In olden days all of them used to keep donkeys as pack animals, for carrying their luggage from one place to other. But now most of them do not have them as they usually hire trucks and carry their luggage from place to place. A truck or trucks are hired by the dera and the freight charges are paid by each family according to the weight of its luggage. Very few families keep milch animals, but most of them keep hounds and watch-dogs. I think the main cause of their poor health is the absence of milch cattle, because without them they cannot have milk and ghee easily due to their economic condition. They earn hardly to keep their body and soul together on the bare necessaries of life.
Housing and Agricultural Land

It is not correct to call the living place of Sikligars a house in the modern sense. A house is one of the most valuable properties of a modern man. The house is the greatest binding force for a man to make his living permanent at a particular place. As a matter of fact land by itself does not have any latent attraction to hold man for a long time at a particular locality. That is why in the beginning man was a nomad. Land becomes your own when you add something to it, by your own labour but without doing it, it just remains a free gift of God, on which man has been roaming as a wanderer in search of food. The people who adopt agriculture as a profession cannot afford to be wanderers. The Sikligars are not agriculturists. They do not have any attachment with land. They do not make a permanent house. They have portable reed huts, a few tools for making iron articles to be sold, a few utensils and the clothes on their persons. They are the only belongings of a nomad. No Sikligar family is seen living alone. They live in deras or groups which reminds one of the ancient tribal and nomadic life of man. The anthropologists had better to write about their life 2 or 3 decades ago, because now great acculturation and consequent changes have taken place in their life which never took place in the history of India, speedier than the present time because in the past the State never interfered much in the ways of their life, but now the State Welfare Departments, their schemes and several other socio-economic and political organisations are trying to bring about some modern changes in the life of the nomadic people. However, yet they possess several of their old tribal ways of life which will disappear soon and after half a century their very existence as nomads will be remembered like a myth. Their natural instinct of wandering is still at work the proof of which is self-evident from the study of 663 Sikligar families of Delhi, that they have not made any permanent houses and are still living in portable reed huts. Many of them go to the adjoining provinces of Delhi for some months in the year and again return to Delhi. In their sojourn outside Delhi they join their nomad brethren and enjoy a change of their instinctive way of life. Some of them have been given agricultural land in the territory of Alwar (Rajasthan) and they are trying to adapt to the life of agriculturists.
Now the Delhi Administration has passed a law according to which the jhugis (huts) will be absolutely cleared of existence and instead, brick-made quarters will be provided to the poor inmates. The work has already made some headway in some colonies. So after sometime some Sikligars will settle on land, some may take to permanent residence and jobs. They will be changed beyond recognition. By and by their belongings are increasing. Not to speak of other things, they used to hate to have a cot and used to sleep on the ground, but now all the families living at Delhi have cots to sleep upon and even radios and gramophones are possessed by some families. All of these things are the signs of the changes in their nomadic life and as they will own permanent houses, so their nomadic life will go on disappearing.

**Dress**

The original dress of the Sikligars was Marwari. But at present they are found in the dress of the people of the province in which they happen to live. The men wear a dhoti and tie a turban on their head, but the turban is not tied in the twisted manner as it is done by the Marwaris. The turban is tied purely in the Punjabi way. As Sikhs, all of them wear uncut keshas (hair) of whole of the body. All of the men and women wear shoes, but if some body does not have them it is not due to the custom of dress, it is due to poverty. The men do not wear any ornaments excepting finger-rings which are the universal ornaments of man. Some of the men are seen in pants and coats, but they are only those, who are in services.

The typicality of dress is more considerable in case of women than men. About a century ago the Sikligar women used to wear full-fledged Marwari dress, whose essential traits are a ghagra, anangi, and profusion of silver ornaments worn round legs, wrists and neck. The colour of the clothes used to be very brilliant. But now they wear the modern dress and the use of too many silver ornaments and ghagra is decreasing. The silver and the golden ornaments are preferred. The golden ornaments depend upon the economic condition of the family, but the use of silver has become less prevalent and this they think is on account of economy and decency. Now some Sikligar children are found in nickers and
The young girls and the young boys go bare-footed up to the age of 9 or 10 years, but after that the boys and girls begin to wear shoes. The girls go bare-headed up to the age of 9 or 10 but after that they begin to use chuni (head-scarf). The Sikligar boys begin to wear turbans after the age of 15 or 16 years. Excepting a few persons, the Sikligars do not have any other clothes than those which are on their persons. I enquired from 309 persons but out of them only 50 told that they had spare clothes. The information is given below:

- 10 men had 2 spare suits of clothes, each.
- 25 men had 1 spare suit of clothes, each.
- 9 women had 3 spare suits of clothes, each.
- 5 women had 2 spare suits of clothes, each.
- 1 woman had 1 spare suit of clothes.

Generally the Sikligars have one or two half broken old tin boxes or a can (peepa) in which some worn out clothes or rags are stuffed. In the past they did not use quilts but now the settled Sikligars have begun to use them.

It will be interesting to describe some of their peculiar customs of costumes which have their social approval or disapproval. An unmarried girl is not allowed to wear ghagra and the angi. She is also not allowed to wear the ornaments like laung, nath and buloak. But the married one never parts with them. The unmarried girls can wear the glass-bangles, but not the silver and the golden ornaments. The unmarried girl can make only one, "gutt" of her hair whereas the 'choonda' (braiding the hair) is allowed only in the case of a married woman. The unmarried girls are expected to sit with a ghund (veil), covering their hands and feet when sitting in the presence of strangers as it is considered saoopuna (nobility). The unmarried girls are not allowed to use surma (collyrium) and looking glass, nor they are encouraged to go to the cities and villages. In the end it may be mentioned that the members of the Patwa sub-caste do not use red and green clothes because these colours are taboo to them.
Social Organisation and Ancestor Worship of Sikligars

Socially the Sikligars are divided into the following 13 Sub-castes:

1. Patwa
2. Bhaund
3. Tilpithia
4. Dangi
5. Tonk: The Tonks are divided into 3 sub-groups (a) Mundranwale Tonk (b) Ghasi Tonk and (c) simply Tonk.
6. Jioni
7. Piala
8. Bhade
9. Bauri: The Bauris are divided into three sub-groups (a) Simply Bauris (b) Andhrele Bauris and (c) Chhuria Bauris. The Andhrele and the Chhuria Bauris deserve a special account of the names of their sub-castes. The Andhrele Bauris relate that once a young Sikligar of the Bauri sub-caste was married to a very beautiful bride. She came to the house of her husband. One day they brought a fish. On seeing the fish she praised the beauty of its eyes. The elderly men of the family took it very ill and said, “If our daughter-in-law is fascinated just by the beauty of the eyes of the fish, she is apt to fall in love with a young man having beautiful eyes. So her very eyes should be removed so that her...
of temptation may be ended for ever." They actually removed the eye-balls of their dauther-in-law. She became andhi (blind) and they began to be called "Andhrele Bauris" as their descendants are called to this day. The Andhrele Bauris are considered to be the most self-respecting moralists among the Sikligars and they themselves are very proud of that act of their ancestors.

**Chhuria Bauris.** The Chhuria Bauris have also a story behind their name. But in social estimation and honour, they are just opposite to the Andhrele Bauris. If the Andhrele Bauris have some pridable tradition behind the name of their group, the Chhuria Bauris have a detestable tradition behind their appellation. They say that there used to live two Sikligar brothers, named Sheehan and Bagga. They belonged to the Bauri sub-caste. Sheehan had a son-in-law. The son-in-law named his two hounds as Sheehan and Bagga. So he used to call and address his dogs by the names of his father-in-law and his brother. On knowing this they became very angry and they asked their son-in-law to change the names of his hounds as this was an insult to them to lower their position in the eyes of others. But he did not care for their request. At last, they asked him through their daughter to change the names of hounds, but he did not care a fig for them. So both the brothers resolved to wreak vengeance on him without showing the resentment outwardly. One day they invited him to go out for hunting, with them. In search of game they saw a porcupine (seh) sitting in its hole. A porcupine's hole is large enough even for the entry of a man. They asked their son-in-law to enter the hole and haul the porcupine out of it. He entered the hole, but when he was in, they cut his testicles with a chhuri (stab). The poor fellow writhed like a fish and died in that hole. Their cruel mis-deed became known to their tribes-men who hatefully named them "Chhuria
Bauris."
10. Patlehr
11. Matlane
12. Kheechi
13. Ghatare

Besides the system of sub-castes they also specify themselves on the basis of their territorial or geographical distribution. In this way they form separate groups but the marital relationships are governed by the sub-castes only. The Sikligars of Sind used to be called "Lamochars". The people of Punjab called the Western Provinces like Sind, Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province "Lamma Des." Hence the Sikligars of those territories are called Lamochars. The Sikligars of proper Punjab are called Punjabis and those of Gujrat and Kuchh are known as Kachhis.

Another dichotomous division of the Sikligars is based on the mode of living-nomadic or settled life. The bulk of the population of the Sikligars is still nomadic. The nomads are called "Ladnias" and the settled are called "Baithnias." Ladna in Punjabi means to load and the Sikligars who keep wandering from place to place loading their belongings on pack animals or any other type of conveyance are called Ladnias. Baithna means to sit or settle, and those Sikligars who more or less have settled are called "Baithnias". The Ladnias abhor the Baithnias saying that the latter are disintegrating the tribal unity and socio-cultural life of the Sikligars by settling permanently among the "Tanhas" (Non-Sikligars). They also believe that a Sikligar should not remain at the same place for a long time otherwise he is imprecated and his transgression of tribal belief in nomadism, is detrimental to the whole community.

**Panchayat System of Sikligars**

Like other tribes Panchayat system is the most powerful controlling agency of the Sikligar society. As a rule all the sub-castes should have a panch to represent his group. Suppose in an encampment 3 or 4 sub-castes live then each of the sub-castes should have a member on the panchayats. At least, they have 5 members of panchayat and the sarpanch is elected by the members, as one of
them. In the past the position of panchas and surpanches used to be hereditary but now it depends upon the influence of these members in their respective sub-castes. All the matters are decided by the panchayat. Not to speak of small bickerings, even the cases of murders are settled by the panchayat. In the past the Sikligars never approached the legal courts for any disputed matter of tribe.

No complication and ceremony are involved in initiating a case in the panchayat. Simply the lagoo (petitioner) relates his complaint against his rival. He gives Rs. 5.00 as a “dho” to the panchayat for settling his case. The panchas gather all the adult males of the dera and call the accused as well. No person can sit in the session of the panchayat without having a turban, tied on the head. This practice seems to be in vogue due to two reasons. (1) To be bare-headed is not considered proper and respectable in the Indian society and especially among the Rajputs and the Sikhs. So they do not allow a person to participate in the session of the panchayat if some person is bare-headed. (2) Secondly one does not tie turban while a minor. So only the adults are allowed to sit in a panchayat session. Besides this the following rules are also observed in holding a panchayat session:

(1) No woman can participate in the sitting of a panchayat.

(2) No “Tanha” (non-Sikligar) person is allowed to listen to or join the session of the panchayat. Only the adult “Bherwan” (Sikligar man) can do it.

(3) All have got to sit without shoes.

(4) No body is allowed to use filthy and harsh language against any body else.

(5) No body is allowed to participate in a panchayat session having a stick or any other type of weapon with him.

(6) No woman can become the member of a panchayat.

The panchayat consists of 5 panchas, one of whom is a surpanch. All the people sit in a circle. The “lagoo” (complainant) relates his grievances against the accused. All of them listen to
him carefully and gather important facts of the case. Then the "bhagoo" (accused) is given chance to defend himself. After having listened to him the statements of both the parties are carefully considered and the judgement is passed. The person who is proved guilty is fined. The fine is always counted in "charis" (In units of fourteen rupees). He may be fined one chari, two charis or any number of charis, according to the guilt and the decision of the panchayat. It is expected that he should pay the penalty to the lagoo then and there, in the panchayat, but he can pay it in instalments if he cannot afford to pay it readily. The payee can realise the penalty in money or in kind of service or any other sort of property to which the panchayat and the lagoo agree to accept. A person can put up his case before the panchayat of any other dera of Sikligars by the payment of "parakh" (The amount of money which a person has got to pay to the panchayat if he wants to revoke the decision already made by a panchayat), if he feels that justice has not been done to him. But he can only put up his case before a Sikligar panchayat and is not allowed to seek decision from any non-Sikligar agency.

Now some persons have begun to approach the police and the legal courts but they are hated by the other members of their tribe as they do not want them to approach any other person than the tribal panchayat to settle their disputes. There is hardly any matter of the Sikligars which cannot be settled by the panchayat but more important cases settled by it pertain to the following social problems:

1. In the cases of incest the guilty persons are heavily penalised or usually ex-communicated.

2. The case of elopement and kidnapping are also put up before the panchayats.

3. The marriages of unequal relationship and of prohibited castes are also decided by the panchayats.

4. If a person is doubted to have stolen the property of another person, the panchayat settles the case on receiving the complaint. If the thief is not found, or the guilty person wants to avoid the wrath of the panchayat and the stigma of defame, by
confession, another method is adopted by the panchayat by which the stolen property like ornaments money or any thing else of handy size could be restored to the owner without exposing the thief. A heap of sand is gathered near the hut of the complainant. All the persons, males and females including children are asked to throw a lapful (jholi) of sand on that heap. All the persons throw sand as directed by the panchayat. The thief also does it. He conceals the article in sand and throws it on the heap. This all is done on a dark night and the members of the house concerned are not allowed to see the persons who throw the sand on that heap. In the morning the heap of the sand is thoroughly searched and the lost article is found out in this way.

(5) If a Sikligar marries a Non-Sikligar woman or gives his daughter or sister in marriage to some non-Sikligar, he is looked down upon and is punished or turned out of the community as decided by the panchayat.

(6) If a Sikligar is proved to be an informer of police or any other agency which is harmful to the tribe and is against the interests of the community, the person concerned is excommunicated or is forgiven only on the payment of a heavy fine.

(7) Anybody who squeals or sabotages the purpose of his caste-fellows by inciting or misguiding the non-Sikligars from whom the purpose is to be served, the sneak is fined by the panchayat.

(8) If some man or woman does some harm to somebody else, by means of witchcraft or sorcery, the guilty person is punished by the panchayat.

(9) If a physical harm is done to a person in a fight or even if one is killed the panchayat is empowered to dispose of the case as its sense of justice considers proper.

(10) The arrangement of betrothal and marriage is also made by the panchayat, just as a middle-man acts in the case of other communities.

(11) If the younger sister-in-law (bhabi) or daughter-in-law (nohon) sits on a cot before her jeth (husband’s elder brother) or her sauhra (father-in-law), she is fined.
(12) If a woman abuses her father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband or any other person whom she is required to respect, she is punished with the imposition of a fine.

(13) If a young man stares in the face of a young girl, the young man is fined by the panchayat.

**Hospitality and Unity**

“Baithak” is a long established convention of the Sikligars. Baithak literally means sitting. Any happy or sorrowful event of the Sikligar society causes baithak. The work is suspended and all the men remain at home in order to attend to and participate in the function, may it be a marriage, a death or a session of the panchayat to settle some tribal matter. Although they are giving up the custom of baithak now, yet in the past the baithak was observed in the hospitality of an important guest. All used to stay at home and used to go to the guest for paying homage. So much so that even the food served to the guest was contributed by all the families of the dera.

**Malba Karna**

The guest is served with labsi whose preparation is called malba-karna. The flour of the wheat is put in the solution of gur and water (sharbat) and is boiled and cooked properly. The sweet dish thus prepared is called labsi and is hospitably served to the guest, after putting desi ghee in it. I was informed by some Sikligars that they respect a guest like a god.

**Ancestor Worship**

All the thirteen sub-castes of the Sikligars have their respective ancestors whom they worship. Hence every ancestor who is worshipped acts as a great medium for the unification of the members of his sub-caste. The ancestor-worship of the Sikligars does not take place on a certain day or in a certain season. They offer prayers and vows to their ancestors in order to have their wishes fulfilled and their difficulties, diseases and danger averted. On the fulfilment of their wishes, they worship them. The respective worships of all the thirteen ancestors of the 13 sub-castes of
Sikligars are described below:—

1) **Worship of Mohar Singh**: He is the ancestor of the Kheechi sub-caste of the Sikligars. They say that he was a resident of Lahore, and died about 300 years ago. He used to eat opium and his wife was very fond of the garlands of jasmine flowers which she used to wear. The Kheechis believe that he possessed great spiritual power and had a special control over the ghosts and evil spirits. The Kheechis offer all sorts of prayers to him and make vows for the fulfillment of their wishes. On the realization of their wishes, they worship him in the following way:—

A place in the house is cleaned and plastered with the cow dung. Then a garland of the flowers of jasmine (chambeli) is placed near it. A piece of opium is also placed by the side of the garland. Then a prayer is offered to Mohar Singh invoking his name and a piece of opium is taken out of the bit of paper in which it is wrapped. This invocation completes their vow. After that the garland is put round the neck of a small girl and the opium is respectfully preserved for future use because it is believed to be an antidote against all sorts of ailments and a bit of it is given to the one who suffers from some ailment.

2) **Worship of Dhan Singh Ladnia**: He was the ancestor of the Jionis. He died about fifteen generations ago. He is their greatest protective ancestor. He is especially invoked when somebody is attacked by small pox. On the fulfillment of wish sweet rice are cooked. Then ghee is put in them, and a fire is lighted with a thick block of wood. The rice are poured on the living cinders and Dhan Singh is invoked.

3) **Worship of Chetan Bali**: He is worshipped by the Tilpithias. He is their protective god, and especially against the attack of evil spirits. He can be worshipped in any way one likes and with any kind of offerings that one can afford. They say that Chetan Bali controlled a ghost and made him draw the belt of hone (saan) for 12 years. The story goes as follows:

Chetan Bali was a great spiritualist. Once he was returning home along with other four or five Sikligar companions. Their way was blocked by some ghosts when they were passing through a jungle.
Chetan Bali asked them to give them way, but they resisted. At last, all of them got aside, but one of them showed stubbornness and did not budge an inch. Chetan Bali was enraged against his mischief and got hold of him. He cut his "bodi" (scalp-lock). It is believed that if one cuts the scalp-lock of a ghost, he becomes a slave of the one who succeeds in cutting it. So that ghost followed Chetan Bali just like a slave. The ghost was a small boy. Chetan Bali had one daughter, but he had no son. Hence he brought up that ghost just like an adopted son. The ghost lived in the house of Chetan Bali for 12 years like a son and served him like-wise, mostly, pulling the belt of the hone on which Chetan Bali used to sharpen the weapons. The ghost became young and likewise the daughter of Chetan Bali also became marriageable. One day the young ghost said to Chetan Bali, "After all one day you are to marry your daughter to some young boy. Why don't you marry her to me?" Hearing this Chetan Bali was cut to the quick as he could not expect that a brother would have such ignoble desire for his sister. He gave back to him his scalp-lock and expelled him from his house saying, "I kept you as an adopted son for 12 years, but you remained just a ghost. Immediately leave my house, go and live with ghosts." Thus he expelled the ghost from his house.

(4) **Worship of Dada Desh Singh**: Dada means grandfather. Dada Desh Singh was the ancestor of the Tonks and is worshipped by them. He is offered choori at the time of worship. The small balls of choori are poured over the burning cinders and his name is invoked. He is believed to be a protective god of the Tonks.

(5) **Worship of Gurdas Bali**: He is the ancestor of the Dangis. He is worshipped by them and is offered the balls of rice which are put in the fire when his name is invoked.

(6) **Worship of Roroo Singh**: Roroo Singh is the ancestor of the Patlehras, and is worshipped by them. They make vows to him and promise to worship him on the realisation of their wishes. He is offered a he-goat (bakra) killed by "jhatka" (killed with one stroke). If one cannot afford to sacrifice a bakra then he can be worshipped by propitiating cooked rice.
(7) **Worship of Halin Singh**: Halin Singh was the ancestor of the Patwas. He was exceptionally a great spiritualist and had great control over ghosts and evil spirits for which he is worshipped in any convenient way.

(8) **Worship of Madari Singh**: He was the ancestor of the Bhaunds. He is invoked in difficulty and can be worshipped in any way and can be offered anything which the worshipper can afford.

(9) **Worship of Moti Singh**: He was the ancestor of the Bauris and is worshipped by them in any convenient way and can be offered anything at the disposal of the worshipper.

(10) **Worship of Nanu Singh**: He was the ancestor of the Ghatares. They invoked his help in all sorts of difficulties and wishes. At the time of worship he is offered labsi patli (thin) and a thin phulka (chapati).

(11) **Worship of Chetu Singh**: He was the ancestor of Matlanas. He is offered choori at the time of worship.

(12) **Worship of Harnam Singh**: He is the ancestor of the Bhades and is worshipped by them with the offer of choori.

(13) **Worship of Karak Singh**: He was the ancestor of Piales. They say that he possessed spiritual power and had great control over the evil spirits. He could perform many miracles. He was fond of eating yakhni (rice and meat together). So he is offered a he-goat as a sacrifice, killed by jhatka and its meat is cooked in rice. The yakhni prepared in this way is poured over the burning cinders. A few handfuls are put in fire, invoking his name whereas rest of the food is distributed among all the persons who are present.

**Status of Adopted and Real Children**

Adoption is very common practice among the Sikligars. Since the time of their becoming Sikh, the widow remarriage has been in practice on a large scale. So the children of the widow, if she has any, may also come along with her to her new husband. All of them are treated as adopted ones but are called “Palak” and are not given the same position in the family as is enjoyed by the real
children of the man. Suppose a widow named ‘X’ has a son named ‘Y’. He marries a person named ‘L’. The social position of ‘Y’ will be that of ‘palak’ in the house of ‘L’. Suppose after some time ‘X’ gives birth to another son named ‘A’ whose legetimate father is ‘L’, ‘A’ will be known “saoo” (noble man) or “gau da dudh” (milk of cow) or “had da sucha” (pure in bone). Suppose a person is married having his wife alive or is a widower but has no child. He adopts an orphan child. This orphan adopted child will also be called “palak”. If a palak happens to be the only child in the house of his or her adopted parents, he or she is entitled to inherit their property, but if some real children are also there in that house, the poor fellow has a setback in all aspects of life. It may be noted that an adopted child is called palak only if he or she is a real son of some Sikligar father.

Sometimes a Sikligar may adopt a child whose parents are not known or who happens to be an off-spring of a Non-Sikligar. Such an adoptee is neither given the status of a palak nor that of saoo, but is called “ghulam” (slave). A ghulam remains hard-hit throughout his life, in his social status. Neither he can inherit property of his adopted parents nor anybody gives him his daughter in marriage because as a tribe the Sikligars are an endogamous people, and they do not give their women in marriage to anybody else but Sikligars.

**Inheritance of Property**

The Sikligar society is patrilineal and only the male members can inherit the property of parents. A daughter is carefully looked after by her brothers, parents, or other guardians, but she does not have a right to inherit property. All the boys get equal shares in the property of their parents, but in the past the eldest (jetha) son used to get some extra share over and above his equal share with his other brothers, as a right of being first-born. If a father becomes angry with his son, due to his disobedience or misconduct, he can turn him out of the house, but cannot deprive him of his share of property. If at all the father wants to do it, the turned out son approaches the panchayat and can get his due share of the property as the panchayat decides to do. The son can return
home after the death of his father and appeal to the panchayat to get his due share of the property, left by his father.

Any married son can demand the partition of the property of his father, if he cannot pull on with him, his brothers or his wife cannot get on with wives of his other brothers, or even if she cannot see eye to eye with her mother-in-law or father-in-law. If the property is divided during the life-time of his father, the father retains for himself a share equal to that of his each son. If father lives with one of his sons, and he clothes, feeds, and takes all necessary care of his father and after his death performs his funeral ceremonies bearing the expenses then that son alone inherits the belongings of his father. Similarly the mother can give her share to a son with whom she lives and who takes her responsibility upto her funeral ceremonies.

If a father marries for the second time and lives till his death with his second wife and her sons, then his belongings become the share of the sons of the second wife. If a son is ex-communicated for transgressing some rule of the Sikligar society, he cannot be declared legitimate to inherit property unless he is readmitted into the community by the panchayat after penalising him for his offence.

If a father leaves behind him no son or sons but he leaves behind the sons of his predeceased sons, his grandsons will get the share of his property, what their respective fathers would have got if they were alive.

If a man dies leaving behind no male descendant, but leaves an adopted son, he inherits the property, if the adopted son really belongs to the clan of the deceased; he can inherit property only if at least he belongs to the real Sikligar blood. But if the adopted son is a ghulam, he cannot inherit the property of his adopted father.

If a man dies leaving behind only a son-in-law (jawain or damad) who has been living with his father-in-law as a “ghar-jawain”, he can inherit the property of his father-in-law.
If a man dies leaving behind neither a son nor a daughter, then his property is divided among his agnates as follows:

1. The father of the deceased, inherits property, if he is alive.
2. If father is not alive, then the mother of the deceased inherits the property.
3. The brothers of the deceased inherit property if his mother and father are not alive.
4. If even the brothers of the deceased are not alive, the sons of the deceased brother of the deceased inherit the belongings.
5. If he dies without leaving behind him neither father, nor his brothers and their sons, then the brothers of the father of the deceased inherit the property.
6. If all of the closest relatives of the deceased as mentioned above are not alive, then the property is equally divided among his other closest agnates, but one thing may be noted that all the agnates receive only that share which their respective fathers would have received, if alive.
7. If the deceased leaves behind only an unmarried daughter, then the other relatives cannot inherit property till she is married and the expenses of her marriage are incurred from the property of her deceased father and if the panchayat agrees, then her husband can inherit the property.

Wills

On inquiries the Sikligars told that there are some cases of wills in their society. Some of them enjoin on their relatives who are present just before his death, that such and such belongings should be given to such and such persons. Although such wills have never assumed the legal and written forms, yet the wishes and wills of the deceased are always fulfilled by his relatives after his death, otherwise it is believed that the spirit of the dead person will remain restless and may do some harm to the family and to the person who puts a hindrance in the fulfilment of his will.
Although the Sikligars understudy, profess the Sikh Religion a very unsuperstitious religion of the modern world, yet they are one of those people of India, whose life's most activities are believed to be governed by sorcery, magic and witchcraft. They ascribe the mishaps of life to sorcery, resentment of ancestors, indignation of gods and wrath of ghosts and various types of evil spirits. Hence the sorcerers or the chelas command a great influence and respect in their society. Even in the civilised countries of Europe and America, there are secret societies of magic and sorcery, met within the names of occult societies, secret societies or secret lore societies. If this is the condition in those advanced countries, it is still more so in India and especially among the primitive people of this sub-continent. The magical formulae, the incantations of sorcery, the charms (taweez), magical squares, figures and diagrams are kept with great secret by the sorcerers. Either the people gain it after years of service to them, serving as disciples or this type of secret knowledge remains hereditary for centuries. Not to speak of strangers, even the members of a tribe cannot easily learn and know the magic and sorcery from the chelas.

I had first heard it, but then I actually experienced this difficulty when I wanted to collect data on the sorcery of the Sikligars. I gathered many facts about various aspects of their life but knowing their sorcery was to accomplish the major task of the study of Sikligars, because the aversion, reticence and indifference of the chelas discouraged me many times and sometimes I almost decided
to give up the efforts of collecting information on their sorcery. But at any rate I clung to my determination to do it. I could find two very influential and well-known chelas named Chetan Singh of Kheechehi sub-caste, son of Mitha Singh, at present a resident of Bachittar Singh Nagar, a Sikligar dera at Bhogal, New Delhi and Bahadur Singh son of Dayal Singh of Bhaund sub-caste, who has founded the Sikligar encampment named Bahadur Singh Nagar near Ashram, Bhogal, New Delhi. It took me full seven months to complete the collection of data of this chapter. I used to go to these chelas, they used to tell me all which they knew about the customs and manners of their tribe, but they were adament to disclose anything about sorcery, and their mantras and magical formulae. After months of repeated visits and very stubborn and patient labour, I could win their confidence and they gave me the information found in this chapter. I will never forget in my life how I used to pass the whole day of every Sunday from 8-00 A. M. to 6-00 P.M. in the sirkis of Sikligars because I used to participate in their daily chats and sometimes in their social functions, how I used to cycle 12 miles to and fro and how sometimes I used to be drenched in the rain in the rainy season of 1960, while going to and returning from the colonies of these two chelas. But I have yet to meet a community so docile and sincere as the Sikligars are. During my 3 years field work among the Sikligars, I did not meet even a single individual who behaved with me in a rude manner. Even the chelas who were indifferent and reticent before, proved to be appreciably decent and liberal persons on knowing me and my purpose of getting information from them about their sorcery.

The chela named Chetan Singh is now about 58 years old. He has only daughters, but no son. The cause of the want of a son is ascribed to his practice and knowledge of magic and sorcery as it is generally believed by the people of India that such a person though married dies as a "nirvansh" (leaving no male issue behind him). He told me that he was born in about 1911 in the village of Ahmadpur Sikia, in the Bahawalpur State (West Pakistan). The first incantation or mantar which he learnt from his teacher was about the kacha masan. Masan is the spirit of a dead person. Kacha masan means the spirit of a child or any immature person,
and pucca masan means the spirit of an adult person. He told that learning mantras from others is not an ordinary thing. One has got to undergo very hard labour and long patience, to do it. According to his version, his father’s father and son, were also chelas and their “chelgi” began from his ancestor Mohar Singh who died about 300 years ago. He further related, ‘My father was a great chela and had a great respect in the tribe. I was young, but my elder brother Swara Singh had learned some mantras from father. The father died and I thought that my father was very highly respected in the community due to his “chelgi”. But what about me? So I began to learn incantations from my elder brother Swara Singh. The people began to approach me as a chela and I became very famous and popular. With my increasing popularity I intended to know as much about sorcery as possible, and in order to do it one after the other I became the disciple of the following chelas:—

(1) Swara Singh ...... My own elder brother.

(2) Samloo Singh ...... My uncle.

(3) Nabi Baksh ...... A Muslim of village Khairpur Dhaiya, Tehsil Ahmadpur, Bahawalpur State.

(4) Khuda Baksh ...... A Muslim of village Ghaloowal, Tehsil Ahmadpur, Bahawalpur State.

(5) Hem Singh ...... A Dogra Rajput.

(6) Ranjah Singh ...... A Sikligar of Tilpithia Sub-caste.

I began to learn sorcery and witchcraft at the age of 18 years and I continued this pursuit for 12 years and at the age of 30 my fame was great among the Chelas of the tribe. Not to speak of the Sikligars, even the non Sikligars used to approach me to cast out the evil spirits and I used to do it as a Sikligar chela can do it for any person of any caste and community. The first mantra which I learnt was to cast out kacha masan. I had to learn all the mantras by heart.
My murshid used to set the spirit of the masan on me and I unvoluntarily began khedna (moving one’s head in a circle) as the greatest need of a chela is his perfection in speedily moving his head in a circular movement for hours together. This is a very tedious and troublesome practice. After acquiring a great deal of perfection then the turn of undergoing a chhila comes and after successfully passing through chhila the mantra becomes a powerful instrument under the control of chela. My murshid used to take me out of the encampment and used to emphasise on me the secrecy of sorcery so that I might not disclose these mantras to anybody else. As a matter of fact he used to take pledge from me. I have been a very active chela for 20 years, but gradually my faith went on decreasing in sorcery and instead went on increasing in the well-founded religion and at present I am working as a Granthi in the Gurdwara of my dera, Bachittar Singh Nagar. Truly speaking now I have shaken my conviction in the practice of sorcery and that is why I am prepared to disclose some of the mantras to you, along with their chhilas”.

Chetan Singh knows many mantras, but I noted a few more important of them which are given below:—

**Mantra**

(1)

“Mathe base karam Raja,
Sir base kukh raja,
Chand pai Chand base,
Matheki mathesri
Jan kahoon Wahan khare (This mantar is used to cast
Meri bhagat kacha masaan).
Mere Guru ki sakat
Phure mantar
Issar Mahan Déo
Tera wacha chale.”

**Chhila**

The man who wants to master it goes out of his house, encampment or village for 7 Sundays in the night. He carries
with him an earthen lamp to burn it there. He sits somewhat in seclusion and draws a kaar (circle round him). Then he lights the lamp within that circle and drives a stab in the ground near him. He repeats this mantar squatting within the circle on seven consecutive Sundays and in the night of every Sunday he recites this mantra fortyone or one hundred and one times within that circle keeping the lamp constantly burning in it. Nothing appears before the chela during the chhila, but during this period of predicament he is not allowed to eat the pulses of masar, garlic and onion. After the completion of the chhila the chela is empowered to cast out kacha masan which he does as described below:—

A diagram called chauk is drawn on the ground which is first plastered with cow dung. The lines of the diagram are drawn with wheat flour and "tikkas" or marks are made with sandhur in all the triangles of the diagram. One can make as many marks of sandhur as possible in the triangles, putting pinches of sandhur on the ground. It may be remembered that this chauk and the other procedure are followed in case of all the mantras applied for casting out the evil spirits.

Then the incense of guggal is burnt. The patient is seated near the chauk. The chela can seat the patient to his left or right side as he thinks convenient. If the patient is unconscious, water is sprinkled on him or her in order to wash the patient, and then the patient is laid down near the chauk. But if the patient is able to move about then he or she washes hands, feet and mouth. Then the chela also washes his hands, feet and mouth. Then the chela drives a stab in the ground within the diagram. Then he reads his above cited incantation several times and comes into afflatus and begins to shake his head in a circular movement. The patient also comes into afflatus and moves his head likewise. If the patient moves the head then the ghost is expected to be captured, because it is believed that it is the ghost which urges the patient from within to act like this. Then the chela exhorts the ghost to tell its whereabouts. If the ghost is actually captured then it replies as desired, through the patient. But if it is stubborn then a struggle
begins between the ghost and the chela. Sometimes they come into grips with each other by the hair and exchange hot words, between them. After some tussle the ghost agrees to quit the patient, but asks for some sacrifice to be given to which the chela agrees. After this agreement the chela leaves the hair of the patient, as the ghost and all other such spirits act through the bodies of their respective victims. Then usually karah or the sacrifice of a goat is given to the ghost. A small portion of meat or sweet dish is propitiated in the name of the ghost while the rest of it is eaten by the family. Although this seems to be a superstition yet in many cases the patients whom no medicines are able to cure, are cured by the chelas, by the application of mantras. The ghost which tells its whereabouts and breaks into conversation is called "BOLAN WALA BHOOT."

There is khamosh (silent) ghost also. In this case the patient does not come into afflatus and the chela recites his mantar several times placing a burning deeva made of kneaded flour, on his head. Then this deeva along with ghee and wick is eaten up by the chela. It is believed that in this way the ghost is captivated in the deeva. Then the sacrifice is given as described above. If the deeva is not eaten up, then the chela gives a cut in some fleshy part of his body, usually leg or arm and gathers a small quantity of blood in a cup (kauli). This cup containing blood is placed on the head of the patient, and then the chela recites his mantra for several times and after that drinks his own blood. In this way he casts out the evil spirit.

(2)

**Mantra**

"Kankar ko mari kanchli
Parbat cheer chale
Parbat cheer ke kiya karoge
Chanan wadhanwange
Chanan wadha ke kiya karoge
Kole banawanga
Kole banake kiya karoge
Beeja sar ki chhuri banawange
Chhuri bana ke kiya karoge
Bhoot ko, pret ko, deo ko

(This matter is also used to cast out evil spirits).
Danon ko, pari ko fareste ko
Kat ke khare sumander men dalenge
Meri bhagat mere guru ki sakat
Isar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha phure."

Chhila

The chilla of this mantar is performed just like that of the first mantar. But the chelas believe out of superstition, because they are instructed by their gurus, that on the last and the night of seventh Sunday of the duration of chhila, the stones will be thrown by some invisible power all around the person who is undergoing chhila, but he should not look above and must only concentrate on the burning deeva. After the chhila is successfully completed, five seers of karah is propitiated in the name of Bir Nar Singh.

( 3 )

Mantra

"Mathe base karam raja
Sir base kukh raja
Kukh pai kukh base
Chand pai chand base
Wa des wa base
Sava man sandhoor
Bhar maroon beri ka poore
Jal men haran thal men haran
Mere guru ne kehea hankar nan bolna
Sattar sau nara
Bahattar sau haddi
Sone ka kote
Roope ka jharoo
Jhar jhoor ke
Karoon zer
Naun weehan narsan
Sat weehan khetarpal
Kehre, kehre beer aiyе
Bhairon jati beer aiyе
Wand jand, kareer, stende aiyе
Rakh, rakh guru Gorakh Nath ki rakh  
Kalja rakhe kalka  
Dhar rakhe paighambar  
Sir rakhe Miyan Nar Singh Jati  
Meri bhagat  
Mere guru ki sakat  
Phure mantar  
Isar Mahan Deo  
Tera wacha chale.

Chhila

This mantar is believed to be very dangerous to be mastered by the chicken-hearted persons as it needs a great deal of fearlessness. Its Chhila is completed in 7 days. The chela has got to go to the cremation ground (shamshan bhoomi) or to qabarastan (grave-yard) for seven days in the night with a sword and a deeva as described above. The kaar is drawn in the same manner. Every night this mantar is to be recited 101 times. On the seventh night he is to carry a bakra (he-goat) with him. This is the most dangerous and crucial night for the chela because in this night Bir Nar Singh is to come riding on a horse with a spear in his hand. He is described to be of a very dreadful appearance, with ganj, toan or tind (clean-shaven head), very long teeth protruding out of his mouth and a very long face. The chela is instructed not to see above or out of his kaar as the tramp-tramp of the hoofs of the horse is heard. At this time the bakra should immediately be decapitated with one stroke of the sword and it should be thrown out of the kaar, but without looking at the Bir, strictly keeping quiet and concentrating on the deeva, muttering the mantra. The chelas tell that Bir Nar Singh says to the person undergoing the chhila, “What do you want?” The chela should respectfully reply to him, “I want your help whenever and wherever I need it.” Then again Nar Singh says, “Yes, I will always help you when you remember me.” Then the Bir will disappear and the mantra is mastered successfully. The chelas who are not bold sometimes die on the 7th day being frightened by the appalling looks of the demon. But Chetan Singh, my informant was very
frank and truthful to me for telling me that when he himself underwent the chhila of this mantra, he did not see Bir Nar Singh nor anybody else on the 7th night, of the Chhila, nor he had ever seen anything during the chhilas of all the other mantras which he has masterfully learnt. I think that this appearance of Nar Singh or any other demon or spirit is a hallucination due to the psychological state of the mind of the person during the chhila, but the truth is known to God alone or to those persons who practise this type of sorcery.

After the successful completion of the chhila, the mantra becomes effective and it is applied to the patient in the following way:

The mantra is recited 7 times and after every recitation the jhara is performed with a stab from the head of the patient to his feet. Jhara means touching mildly the body of the patient with something and then the touching substance is hit on the ground. Jharna means to shed down or knock down. So jhara is a suggestive type of measure through which the ailment or malady is cured.

(4)

Mantra

“Ik lakh assi hazar bhoot man andar wasda hove
Ohde wal paun banhan
Surat man chit loha
Banhan Hakni, Dakni
Gur sabad wichar
Nanak banhen daswen duwar (This mantar is used to cure
Jeti mushkal teti aasan the disease of “mirgi”
De aagman ke roop (epilepsy).
Udni mata
Betalia Beer
Batka Beer
Barnaua Beer
Nar Singh Beer
Bhairon Beer
Kawan Vanta Beer  
Ijjiya, Bijjia, Basodhri  
Kagni, Kundwi  
Alaspuri, Kalaspuri,  
Pasoo chankare  
Gal lohe ke sangal dare  
Jadoo kare  
Jist kare, mist kare  
Ult waho sir pare  
Meri bhagat  
Mere Guru ki sakat  
Isar Mahan Deo  
Mantar Babe Nanak ji ka sampoorn hove.”

This incantation is certainly a mutilation of some other mantra in order to attach it with the name of Guru Nanak, though no such superstitions and writings or teachings are found in the life of Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus.

**Chhila**

Its chhila lasts for fortyone days. The chela makes a hut in the jungle and goes there for 41 nights. Every night he recites mantra 101 times. On the last night När Singh Bir appears as already stated in the chhila of mantra No. 3. But my informant told that he did not see him. The chela is prohibited to eat the food prepared by anybody else during the chhila and he has got to prepare his food with his own hands.

After the mastery of this mantra, the patient is seated before the chela if the patient is able to do it, otherwise he is laid down before the chela. The chela recites the mantar seven times and performs jhara with a chhuri or a sickle. He does jhara for 7 consecutive days. After 7 days karha parshad is prepared and distributed among all the persons who are present there.

(5)

**Mantra**

“Daddoo karak banhoon
Qabar gustan banhoon
Marhi masan banhoon (This mantra is used to have issues
Jin banhoon bhoot banhoon for the issueless persons).
Bara koh agari banhoon
Bara koh pichhari banhoon
Bandh boondh ke
Karon zer
Hamare mushad ka
Sub rakhwala Shankar Pher
Meri Bhagat
"Mere Guru ki sakat
Isar Mahan Deo
Tera vacha chale."

Chhila

The Chhila of this mantar lasts for 7 Sundays and the chela has to go to the jungle where he draws a kaar around him and in the night of every Sunday he recites it 101 times, sitting within the kaar having a burning lamp within it. Nothing appears before the chela during the chhila. This mantra is effective against small pox if it deteriorates, and against the bite of a mad dog. The patient is seated just as described in other incantations. The chela draws a separate kaar for himself and a separate one for the patient. This is done outside the house. The mantra is recited seven times and a jhara is given in case of the bite of mad dog, but in case of small pox, the chela waves a cup of water round the head of the patient with every recitation of the mantra and then drinks it. He does this 7 times and drinks 7 cups of water. On the seventh recitation of the mantra, he places the cup of water first at the head and then for 4 or 5 seconds at the feet of the patient and drinks it up. After this a parshad of karah is distributed among all the persons who are present there.

(6)

Mantra

"Mantar athrahe ka
Gaurja kethi ka
Bair kar laiyae
Sir bandhe kantha
Tham tham hanvanta
Dharti dharan pare ton janda
Janda dharti par pare
Ek ras biraje giyan
Duhai Khudha ki
Duhai Rasool ki
Duhai Suleman Paighambar ki
Duhai Jaitli ki
Naun Nath Chaurasi Sidh
Dhanantar sau Jognin
Bawanja sau Bir
Bhasam karan Dhanvant Bir
Hamare Kam ko tum chale
Tumhare kam ko subhan Alah
Marhi masani Rup Desh sain pakar ke
Phure paleeta Hanvart ka
Jabhi Nar Singh chale
Meri Bhagat
Mere Guru Ki sakat
Phure mantar
Isar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha chale.

This mantar is meant for the disease of Athrah. In case of this disease the children of a woman do not survive and they usually die in infancy. But according to the belief of some people they are susceptible even to die at the age of 18 years. It is number 18 from which the disease Athrah derives its name. If no successful remedy is applied to such a woman she dies childless inspite of giving birth to many children. Hence this is a very dreadful disease. This mantra is applied to the woman inflicted with this disease in the following way:—

A new pitcher is taken. Then 4 sketches are drawn on paper. Two sketches of man and two of woman. One sketch of man and one of woman are put in the pitcher. Twelve kinds of fruits or
grains are also put in it, in which camphor (kapür), mehandi (myrtle), mauli (read-yellow thread) are essentially included. Then a pit is dug and over and across it a small chauki or wooden-plank is placed. A lighted lamp of kneaded flour is also placed in the pitcher. One sketch of man is placed under one foot of the woman and one sketch of woman under her other foot. The mouth of the sketches are blackened with kalakh (soot of tawa). The tikkas of sandhur are also made in the foreheads of these sketches. Then a nail is driven in the ground passing through the space between the first finger and the big toe of each foot. After this the woman takes a bath and whole of the water with which she bathes falls into the pit below. The pitcher along with its all contents is buried in the ground. The plank and the cloth which the woman uses at the time of bathing are also buried along with the pitcher. Then the chela recites the above recorded mantra seven times and at the end of every recitation he gives a knot to a piece of unused yarn (kachi taud). Thus he gives 7 knots to the yarn. This yarn is put in an amulet made of tamba (copper) and the woman wears it round her waist. She is prohibited to go to any house of sutak (a house in which a new baby is born or a death has taken place). If she violates this prohibition the child, the mother, the wearer of the amulet and the other members of the family are apt to suffer and the occult power of the amulet is nullified. The chhila of this mantra is just like that of the fifth mantra

(7)

Mantra

“Jaag Bhairon jaag
Loha banhoon paiRon sath
Apne jee ka dukh wandaroon
Rakh, rakh, rakh
Dharti Mata, Chand, Suraj Din, Rakh
Kaal kantak sab door
Haton harni
Danton harni
Raj duare rachhiyä karni
Judh Jang men rachhiyä karni
Mitar ko rakhni
Dushman ko bhakni
Gugga Gug Chauhan
Khare khunt ka Rao
Lakh bagar ka dhani
Lohe ka kote tarame ki khai
Sat Gur pura bhetia jin chint mitai
Meri bhagat
Mere Guru ki sakat
Issar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha phure."

This mantar is effective to dispel the attack of all sorts of evil spirits and ghosts including fairies. Its chhila lasts for 41 days. The chela goes to the jungle in the night and recites it 101 times every night. He must carry a sword with him and draw a kaar round him. He is required to go there after taking bath and wearing clean clothes. It is read 7 times when applied to the patient, and rest of the procedure and chhila are the same as described in the proceeding mantra.

(8)

Mantra

"Ades Dharti Mata ko ades
Paun Pani ko ades
Mere mata pita ko ades
Chand suraj ko ades
Mere Guru ko ades
Chausath jognin ko ades
Meri bhagat
Mere Guru ki sakat
Phure mantar
Isar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha chale."

This mantar is meant for self-protection. The knower of this charm recites it 7 times and blows his own body with his own mouth. He gives one blow at the end of first recitation, 2 blows
at the end of second recitation, so on and so fore, and thus gives 7 phooks (blows) at the end of the 7th recitation. This mantar does not involve any chhila

(9)

Mantra

“Garar, kukkar, machhi, harti al
Aak ki lakri, neem ka baat
Uopar baithe Dadoop
Nan hille nan julle
Meri bhagat
Mere Guru ki sakat
Issar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha chale.”

This mantar is used to cast out all sorts of evil spirits. The chhila is completed in 7 successive Sundays. One may repeat its recitation 01, 51 or 21 times every Sunday in the night, squatting within the kaar having a burning deewa within it. He also drives a sword or chhuri in the ground near him. Its application to the patient is described below:

The patient is squatted on a chauki. Then a new pitcher is taken and is broken on one side of its mouth. So it is made “bora.” Then 7 sorts of sweets prepared by a confectioner are put in it. Besides them all the articles used as Shagans in a marriage are also put in the pitcher. Mauh and myrtel are also included in them. Then a chaumukhia deewa (a lamp having four nozels) is put in it. The deewa should contain sarson oil. Then this pitcher is waved round the patient seven times with a simultaneous recitation of the mantra. After every round of the pitcher it is held before the patient to show him the burning lamp in it. He must see it very carefully. After this the patient gets up and goes away. Then a pit is dug out on the spot where the patient was seated. The pitcher should be placed in this pit and the patient bathes over it so that the water may fall in the pitcher placed below. Then the pitcher is buried in the pit and the ground is levelled up. After levelling up this spot, 6 iron nails are driven over it in a circle and
the 7th nail is driven in their centre. This completes the whole procedure. It is believed that in this way the evil spirit is interned underground, and the patient permanently gets rid of the trouble.

( 10 )

Mantra

"Hazrat Mohammad Shah Bir Ka
Aung, saung, seet ka, ghora seet ka plaan
Tis par charhe Sundhar Tilkani ka jam
Amada Bir, Kala Bir, Bhairon Bir
Kawan wanta Bir
Ijjiya Bir, Bijiya Bir,
Kagmi Kundmi
Alas Puri, Kalas Puri, Passu chankare
Gal lohe ke sangal dare
Sir sar ki mungli mare
jadoo kare, jist kare, mist kare,
Ulat waho sir pare
Pakarne ko kaun kaun chale
Peeche Mamdiya Bir chale
Bhairon Bir chale,
Nar Singh Bir chale,
Kawan wanta Bir chale
Hathon men hathkari
Pairon men pair kari
Bandh joor ke
Doli ko hazar karo
Nan karoge to Bibi Fatma ke rakat men nahawoge
Meri bhagat
Mere Guru ki sakat
Phure mantar
Issar Mahan Deo
Tera wacha chale."

The word "Hazrat" is also used by the chelas in the sense of "Hazarha" (plural of hazar or a thousand). By this implication the chelas mean that this mantar can arrest and take the ghost to
the desired place even if it has ran away thousands of miles after attacking the victim. Its chhila is passed in the jungle where a hut (kutia) is made. The chela may do any routine work of his household duties in the day time, but he must pass the night in that hut. He must also have a sword with him and the deeva should also be lighted in that kutia round which a kaar is drawn every night before sitting in it and beginning the recitation of the mantra. This mantar is recited 101 times every night and the chhila continues for 41 nights, without any break in between. On the last night the chela carries a bakra with him. Paighambar Suleman comes to that hut, but in the form of wind and not bodily. The chela hears a voice asking him, "You have been invoking me for 41 nights. What do you want?" The chela says, "O kind Paighambar, help me to arrest the ghosts and evil spirits wherever they go after attacking their victims." He replies, "All right. I will do it whenever you call me." Then the chela immediately decapitates the bakra with one stroke of the sword and throws it out of the hut as a sacrifice to the Paighambar. Then the chela returns home and the mantra is mastered by him.

The application of this mantar to the patient is done by placing a burning deeva made of kneaded flour on the head of the patient. The mantar is recited 7 times. The ghost is arrested and interned in the deeva and the deeva is eaten up by the chela. After this the sacrifice of a bakra is given to Suleman Paighambar, and in this way the patient gets rid of the attack of evil spirits.

The above recorded ten incantations were procured from Sardar Chetan Singh, whose own statement has already been recorded above. Now I give 9 more mantras and some magical diagrams which I obtained from another Sikligar chela, named Bahadur Singh of Bhaund sub-caste, son of Sardar Diyal Singh Bhaund. He is the founder of the Bahadur Singh Nagar, Sikligar encampment, which has already been mentioned several times. At present his age is 67 years and has 4 sons and 4 daughters. He was much more obstinate than Chetan Singh to disclose his secret lore and sorcery. However, after a great deal of cajoling and company, I could win his confidence, and could get the following nine mantras and 33 magical
diagrams from him.

( 11 )

**Mantra**

"Uche khere tib tabale
Jan bichhoo de ghane tale
Sind khajoori boori
Gal moti da haar
Utren tan uttar
Charehan tan maran
Nan utren
Gur gur Khaki Nath di aan
Khawaj Mal Deen ki aan."

This incantation is effective for dispelling the pain of scorpion-sting (bichhoo da dang). It is recited 7 times and with every recitation a phook is given to the spot where the scorpion has stung. Jhara is done with a green branch of a plant. Its chhila is completed in 7 Sundays, reciting it standing in water and every day it is recited 7 times.

( 12 )

**Mantra**

"Oh Naam
Hanuman Bali Jangi hatheela
Mata Injani ka jaya
Aukhe wele simriea
Daurta aiya
Phure mantar
Issar Maha Deo
Tera wacha chale."

This mantar is used to remove all sorts of pains and troubles. Its chhila is completed in 40 days and is recited 40 times twice a day, forty times in the morning and 40 times in the evening sitting within a kaar. During the chhila the chela must refrain from sexual act and must eat the food prepared by himself. The mantar is recited 7 times when applied to the patient, and the jhara is given as already described.
(13)

Mantra

“Hansan Bir Bansan Bir
Biran men base Nahar Singh Bir,
Hamchale Bir ke sath
De sain ghar chhore dar chhore
Chhore, chhore,
Sir ka saeen
Khari sukh nan baithi sukh
Nit aa dekhe hamra mukh
Hamko chhore hore pae jawe
Guru Gorakh Nath ki duhai chale.”

All the 12 Mantras which have been recorded before it belong to the white magic (chitta ilam) or benevolent sorcery. Benevolent sorcery or magic is that which does not do any harm to any body but rather benefits the people. The malevolent sorcery (black magic) “kala ilam” is harmful to the people. It is believed that by this means the people damage their enemies or get benefits of having children depriving others of theirs.

This mantra belongs to malevolent magic and is effective for captivating a woman. Not to speak of virgins, or unmarried females, even the very text of the incantation states that the woman enchanted by this mantra will desert even her own husband (chhore, chhore, sir da saeen). It is also clear from the least 2 lines of the mantra that Guru Gorakh Nath is invoked to prevent the woman from betraying her paramour, after deserting her own husband.

The chhila of this mantra lasts for 14 days. The chela has to remain absolutely clean during this period and has got to wear clean clothes and bathe every day in the morning, committing no sexual act at all. One has to drink only bhang (hemp) during this fortnight and has to keep muttering this mantra at all the times, when not asleep. In this way the chela attains the power of its desired effect.

The application of this mantra is made in the following way:—
Nine laungs are taken. The bhang is prepared and distributed among nine persons, who drink it. Then this mantar is read 7 times over each laung. Thus over the 9 laungs used, this mantar is recited 63 times. After this these laungs are given to the person who wants to enchant a woman, which he does by throwing these laungs on her, and she is captivated in love for that man.

(14)

Mantra

"Gaurjan kathiar
Tham tham hanvanta
Dharti Dharm par nta
De ande dharte paren
Akash baraje ki aan
Duhai dharti ki
Duhai Paighambar ki
Duhai Jainkli ki
Duhai Amar Nath ki
Duhai chaurasi sidhon ki
Duhai Biwanja sau Bir ki
Kaun kaun pakarne chale
Bawanja sau Bir chale
Hanvant chale
Bhairon chale
Launkria Bir chale
Kaun jati
Hanvant jati
Khetarpal mal ka poot
Kaun jati Kanwar jati
Bal jati
Hanvant jati
Khetarpal mai ka poot
Jinani ko, bhootni ko
Hakni ko, Dakni ko
Marhi ko masan ko
Rup des son pakar liyal
Phure mantar
Issar Mahan deo
Tera wacha chale."

This mantar is meant for curing miscarriage and abortion, and it is termed by the chelas as "Athwahan da mantar." Its chhila lasts for 7 days. The best place to complete its chhila is the cremation ground (masan). The chela must go there at midnight, and draw a kaar around him. He must have a sword with him. Every night it is recited 101 times. But if one does not do it in masan then one can perform it standing in water, or drawing a kaar around him in the jungle.

In application of this mantar, 7 silken threads of 7 different colours are taken. The woman to whom the mantra is to be applied is asked to stand erect, and all the 7 threads are measured from her vertex to her big toe. Then all the 7 threads are twisted together into one thread. The mantar is recited for 63 times and one knot is given to the thread after every 7 recitations of the mantra. In this way 9 knots are given to the thread, called "satwania dhaga." This thread is put and sealed in a copper amulet and tied round the waist of the woman. She carries it with her at all the times till the 9 months of pregnancy are completed. Then it is taken away and kept carefully in the house, just at the time of parturition. It is believed that if this thread is not put off by the woman the parturition does not take place at all. However, excepting the time of parturition the woman has got to wear it at all the times saving it from sutak They say that it cures miscarriage and abortion.

( 15 )

Mantra

"Hanvant sab se kiya niara
Jin bhoot sab birchh ki chhaya
Sava ser ka rot langot
Bawa Bidri Nath chararhia
Sacha Macha mat de Anand
Surt sambhali Nar Singh
Sab Bir bandh liaya
Hanvant jati sab jagat da wali
Jinani ko, bhootni ko,
Marhi ko, masan ko
Bank bank karta
Tarbank karta
Ishat Bhairon
Chhapan rehta
Kaun masiya
Ek masiya
Do masiya
Tin masiya
Char masiya
Panj masiya
Chhe Masiya
Sat masiya
Ath masiya
Naun masiya
Kaun pari?
Hoor pari
Noor pari
Shah pari
Safaid pari
Tinke nam ko subhan Allah
Takhat Ali Shah
Tere Nam ko Subhan Allah
Phure mantar
Issar Mahan Deo ka wacha."

This incantation is effective for both Athwahan and Athrah. Seven threads of 7 different colours are measured equal to the height of the woman who is suffering from these diseases. Then these seven threads are twisted into one thread. This mantar is recited 63 times over this thread and 9 knots are given to it, as done in the preceding mantra. The additional thing in this mantar is to tie three chhalas of iron with this thread. Then this thread is tied round the waist of the woman. Those women who are suffering from miscarriage and abortion tie it for 9 months, but those who
suffer from Athrah tie it round the neck of the child after its birth.

Its chhila starts and ends on Tuesday. During these 8 days the chela eats paan, supari and pingal-pann. On the last day a rote (a big sweet bread) is distributed among the people.

(16)

Mantra

“Bismillah Irehman-e-Rahim
Jal chhoran jalia chhoran
Arash chhoran kurs chhoran
Kute di bandh chhoran
Gajri da gaj chhoran
Bandooqan jan muhn chhoran
Ehri chhor chhorian
Jehro bhalo Rasool pan chhore vich
Ghore pair khore
Wat kute bandooq jan chhore.”

This mantar is in a corrupt Sindhi language. It has got on chhila. The Sikligars are great hunters and so they believe that such magical formulae are very effective. This mantar is recited 7 times before the hunting party starts from their encampment. The hunters believe that this mantar increases the power and surety of the arms and hounds, nets and men who go for hunting.

(17)

Mantra

“Kache karve masan base
Maans khae her hase
Chaubate ki dhoor
Masan ki chhai
Baran sarsi
Tervin raai
Parh parh maran Mangalwar
Randi phir ave hamare dwar.”
This mantar pertains to black magic, of harmful sorcery. It is used for captivating a woman for sensual purpose. Its chhila is completed in the masan. A newly burnt pyre is seen by the chela. He secretly goes to it at night taking an unbaked earthen jug or lota (karva) with him. Usually the people leave the burning pyre to itself and the funeral procession returns home. It is at this time that the chela who wants to master this mantar stealthily goes to the pyre when it is burning and the cinders are ablaze. The chela puts some grains of sarson and rye in it and buries it in the fire of the pyre. The karva is kept in it for 7 days. Every day the chela goes and recites this mantra for 101 times at the pyre. The karva is removed after 7 days and it is believed that it attains miraculous power and anybody who drinks water from it is cured of various sorts of ailments. They believe that the woman at whom the grains of sarson which were put in the karva when it was buried under the fire of the pyre, are thrown is enslaved for her amorous offers to the man who throws these grains at her.

(18)

Mantra

“Bismila Irrehman-e-Rahim
Loh sanda lohar chhutiya
Kundak sudhi bandooq chhuti
Chore sandhi mamah chhuti
Badhi so chhuti
Mor muri
Huda Hazrat Peer da.”

This mantar does not involve any chhila. It is recited 7 times over the arms and weapons used by the hunters in order to make them more effective. It is also read over fire if it does not burn.

(19)

Mantra

“Bismila Irrehman-e-Rahim
Huda Hazrat Peer da
Huda chhite kute kā
Chhite gidar kā
Nag te vichhu kā
Mali ka mohare kā
Warchare kā
Huda Hazrat Peer kā
Phure mantar tera wacha chale."

This incantation does not involve any chhila. It cures the bites of mad dog, snake, and the pains of the sting of scorpion, bite of mad jackal or any other mad animal. It also cures the tooth-and-mouth diseases of cattle. It is also effective for curing the troubles of boils and ulcers. It is recited 7 times and smoke of the incense of harmal is given to the patient. The patient is laid down straight on the ground. The sorcerer recites this incantation and jumps over him 7 times. Then he recites it 7 times and ties tightly the organ which is bitten in order to stop the circulation of blood, so that poison may not spread in whole of the body. The sorcerer again recites this mantra 101 times over water which is put in a new pot. The pot containing enchanted water is hung over the head of the patient. For the first three or four days some strong purgative is given to the patient in order to cause motions. If worms or hair are extracted in excreta, the patient is sure to be cured. The patient daily drinks a little water from the enchanted pot. He does it for 40 days and it is believed that after 40 days he is completely cured. The text of the above 19 recorded mantras is given in Hindi script in Appendix No. 2.

Magical Diagrams

Besides the above noted 9 mantras I could also obtain some magical diagrams and figures from Sardar Bahadur Singh. I could not understand their significance as my informant was himself ignorant of it, being not a well lettered person, and he simply had roughly and awkwardly recorded, them in a note book. He learnt them from a Hindu ascetic named Baba Mirtab Mandir. He was known for his magical and miraculous powers. Some diagrams were filled in with the numerals and letters of Gurmuhi and some of them were filled in with those of Persian, Arabic and
Urdu. However, I have replaced them with their equivalent Roman numerals, and letters in order to make them uniform.

The learning of magical diagrams or charms (taweez or taweeet), does not involve any chhila, confinement or ordeal. They can be used by any person. Some of the diagrams were copied by Bahadur Singh in a very vague way. So some of the magical diagrams were neither clear to him nor he could make anybody else understand, and due to ambiguity they have not been reproduced here, but those diagrams which could be read and reproduced correctly, are given below:

This magical square is meant for getting profit from business. It is drawn on a piece of paper, written in solution of soffron (kesar) and water. The paper is put in an amulet of copper and is sealed with lac in order to make it water-proof. Its wearer keeps it always with him as according to the superstition the business proves profitable to its possessor. In case of some diagrams 4 names are written, one on its each side, north, west, south and east. According to the Muslim religion, these are the four names of 4 angels which perform the following duties of man as deputed by God:

1. **Izraile**: This angel comes at the time of the death of a man and takes life from him.

2. **Jabraile**: The angel who works as a messenger of God.

3. **Izraile**: The Muslims believe that on the day of Qiyamat (Roze-Meshar), this angel will blow his trumpet made of horn and all the dead will rise from their graves to account for their deeds.
(4) **Mekaila**: This angel is responsible for providing food to all. Sometimes these four angels change their positions in different diagrams which are meant for different purposes.

2. This magical square is believed to be effective for selling goods at profit. The first square is helpful in any type of business or purchasing or any other sort of activity for earning one's livelihood but the second one is only meant for selling goods. Its use and preparation is entirely similar to that of the first one.

3. This enchantment is written on the piece of paper in any sort of ink. It is used to mitigate one's anger. They believe that if this taweet is washed in water or anything else to be drunk by the person to whom it is to be applied, his anger is assuaged.

4. It is written in the ink of garochan. If it is kept constantly on one one's person, it cures head-reeling. It is kept sealed in a metallic amulet.
5. This also is written in the ink of garochan. It cures constant fever and is constantly kept by the patient in an amulet of copper tied round the neck.

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No. 5

6. It is written in the ink of saffron on a piece of paper, at the night of Diwali, Holi or on the day of solar eclipse. It is believed to be effective to win Lachhmi or the goddess of wealth. The seeker of wealth keeps it with him in a metallic amulet.

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No. 6

7. The preparation, use and utility of this tawee't are the same as those of the sixth amulet.

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No. 7
8. This is also meant for winning the goddess of wealth and its use, process and methods of preparation are the same as those of the squares Nos. 6 and 7.

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No. 8

9. This diagram is written with saffron ink and is enclosed in an amulet of copper. Then it is tied round the neck of a handi (earthen cooking pot). Four such diagrams are prepared on separate pieces of paper and their four separate amulets are tied round the neck of four separate handis. Then 4 poles are fixed on the four corners of a field in which some crop is growing and one handi having an amulet is hung on each pole. The diagram is used for the protection of crops standing in the fields.

No. 9
10. This diagram is also meant for the protection of crops and it is prepared and used just like diagram No 9.

11. This diagram is also written on a piece of paper, in saffron and sandhur, but instead of kani (reed-pen) the spine (takla) of a porcupine (seh) is used to write it. It is enclosed in a copper amulet and is tied round the arm. If a person wants to enchant a woman for amorous purposes, this amulet is believed to be a powerful device to attract her.

12. This enchantment is meant for winning the goddess of wealth and it is written in kesar on the day of a solar eclipse or at the night of Diwali or Holi. It is kept in an amulet in one's pocket.
13. This enchantment pertains to black magic. It is written in the blood of a bakra and is buried in hearth (chulha) of the rivals. They believe that doing so a great disunity and disputes arise in the family of the enemies and in this way ruins are brought to them.

14. This is written in the ink of garochan. It is used as a protection against still-birth and is enclosed in an amulet of copper. Then it is tied round the neck of the mother who gives still-birth to children.

15. This magical formula is written in the saffron, on a piece of paper. Then it is washed in water and that water is drunk by the person who is attacked or haunted by a ghost or any other evil spirit. By drinking this water the ghost is believed to be cast out.
16. This magical diagram is written in the ink of garochan and is kept in a copper amulet. It should be tied round the neck and thus constant fever is cured.

17. It is written in the ink of saffron. Then a cocanut should be propitiated to it. Then it is enclosed in a metallic amulet and is tied round the neck of a person. The amulet is believed to impart immunity from small pox.

18. This is also written in saffron and is used just like the preceding one. It is believed that this charm helps to cause easy birth of a child.
19. It is written in the ink of garochan and is tied round the head in order to cure head-reeling.

20. This charm is also used to cure head-reeling and is prepared like the preceding one.

21. This jantar is written on a piece of paper in the blood of

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the kalghi (crown) of a living white cock. A white cock is caught and a small prick is given in its crown and thus some blood is collected from it. Then both of the above diagrams (a square and the sketch of a man) are enclosed together in a water-proof amulet made of copper. This amulet is tied round the neck of a drowned person and it is believed to cure "dubhka" (state of a man after being drowned).

22. This must be written in kath in a bronze salver (kansi di thali). Then this thali is washed with some water and this water is drunk by the mother if parturition is being experienced difficult. The drinking water causes immediate and easy child birth.

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No. 22

23. This diagram is written in saffron and is used and prepared just like the diagram No. 21, to cure a person who has been drowned.

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No. 23

24. This diagram is written in camphor. Then it is enclosed in a metalled amulet and is tied round the arm of a man who wants to captivate some woman. He passes by her side in such a way that his shadow falls on her. Then she is enchanted to fall in love with him.

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No. 24
25. This diagram is written in saffron ink. Then it is sealed up in a metalled amulet and is tied at the spot where a mad dog has bitten a man. It is used to cure the bites of mad dogs and other mad animals.

26. It is written in any type of ink and is tied round the head of a woman who suffers from abortion or miscarriage, because it is believed to be a remedy against these diseases.

27. The preparation, use and purpose of this diagram are also the same as those of number 26.
28. This diagram is used for getting children and is believed to be effective against sterility and impotency. Its preparation is just like that of diagram No. 27.

No. 28

29. This diagram can be written in any type of ink and can be sealed in any metallic amulet. It is used to cure lakwa (paralysis) and is tied round the neck of a person.

No. 29
30. This diagram is meant for winning a woman. It should be written in camphor. The names of the respective mothers and fathers of the man and the woman concerned are also written along with the diagram. The names of the lover and the beloved are also written there. It is constantly kept by the person who wants to enchant the opposite sex and is kept in any type of metalled amulet.

31. This diagram is meant to cast out ghosts or to protect a person from them. It is written on a bhoppattar on the first Sunday of the fortnight in which the moon begins to wax. This Sunday is called “Nauchanda Aitwar.” It is kept in a metalled amulet.

32. This diagram belongs to black or malevolent magic. It
is meant to kill an enemy with a great torture. It is to be written in the ink of garochan on a fresh piece of the hide of a donkey. Then this piece is put in a kuppi. As this piece of skin decays and dries or contracts, the enemy undergoes similar changes simultaneously till he dies. A sketch of the enemy is also drawn and is put in the kuppi along with the diagram.

33. This diagram is written on a piece of the skin of the chamgadar (bat). That piece of skin is put in a small pot (kujja) in which 1/4 seer of common salt is put. As the skin decays or putrefies so the enemy dies in a great agony. In this case the sketch of the enemy is also put in the kujji along with the diagram.

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No. 33
Although the Sikligars of the Punjab profess Sikh religion, yet their old tribal and Hindu customs, beliefs and manners are still in common use among them. In their past nomadic life, they never settled at a particular place for any considerable time. So they could not make regular Gurdwaras (Sikh temples). So the regular and formal way of life regarding strict observance of religious rules did not develop in them. Another factor was that due to their inability to carry the Adi Granth (The Bible of the Sikhs) with them in their wandering life, they could not keep it with them in a proper way. The Adi Granth is one of the most voluminous religious scriptures and the special respect with which the Sikhs keep and maintain it can only be maintained in a well which settled life. The Adi Granth is not treated by the Sikhs only as a sacred book, but it is also treated as a living Guru, because Guru Gobind Singh exhorted his followers, just before his death.

“Agya Bhai Akal ki, tabhi chalaio Panth
Sab Sikhon ko hukam hai Guru maniyo Granth.”

(“I founded the Sikh Religion, under the Decree of God I enjoin on all the Sikhs to treat the Adi Granth as a Guru after me”).

That is why that a true believer of the Guru believes that on reading the Guru Granth Sahib he actually talks with the Guru and receives day-to-day instructions from it. This is the reason that the word “Guru” precedes the Bible of the Sikhs and
it is called "Guru Granth Sahib." It is opened and read on a small cot (peehra or palang). So much so that even pillows and best type of cover-sheets (romalas) are provided for the comfort of the Guru Granth Sahib. The Sikhs address their Guru as "Sacha Patshah" (True King). When the Guru Granth Sahib is opened and is being read, a chanani, chandoa (canopy) is also held over it. When the Adi Granth is opened it is called to be in "prakash." When it is being read all the audience must sit very quietly and respectfully to listen to its recitation. Every morning it should be opened and read and in the evening it should be closed, wrapped in romalas and kept respectfully at night as if it should have a peaceful sleep in the night. A Sikh never carries the Guru Granth Sahib bare or in the manner as an ordinary book is carried by him. He places it on a palang or peehra closing and wrapping it in romalas. Then he lifts it on his head, and carries it being bare-footed himself. Several persons follow him singing hymns. A prayer is offered before lifting it and again a prayer is offered at its destination, in which it is solicited that their faults in handling it may kindly be forgiven.

So the gypsy tribe of Sikligars could not perform these duties and services to the Guru Granth Sahib and could not carry it along with them. Doubtless, those who know how to read it carry small gutkas (small booklets in which certain portions of Guru Granth Sahib are contained). They also contain the hymns to be recited at the time of birth, betrothal, marriage, death and other social and religious ceremony. Hence those who wanted to ceremonise their social events according to the Sikh belief, could do with the recitation of the hymns from the gutkas. But it is true that despite of being very good Sikhs in their practical life and beliefs, the Sikligars mostly observe their tribal and ancestral customs and rites, laying not much stress on the formal observance of the Sikh and Hindu Religions.

After the partition of India some Sikligars have settled in the Punjab, Delhi and in Rajasthan and they have constructed pucca gurdwaras in their encampments, as they are found in their encampments of Bachittar Singh Nagar,
Bahadur Singh Nagar, Bharat Nagar and Prem Nagar, at Delhi. In each Gurdwara a regular Granthi is employed by the community. In all the gurdwaras the granthis come of the Sikligar tribe. Truly speaking it is mostly after their permanent settlement at certain places that some of them have begun to ceremonise the Sikh rites at their marriages and deaths. Like the other people of Northern India, they observe and celebrate the following festivals, but last described, "Gugga" towers above all and is considered most important to be celebrated by the Sikligars:—

1. Holi or Phag

The festival of Holi comes off on the 15th day of Phagunsudi (February-March) and lasts up to the first day of Chet. The historical or legendary back-ground of this festival is described below:—

In olden days there used to live a Raja named Harnakash in the city of Multan (West Pakistan). His peerless kingly power inflated him so much that he ordered his subjects to worship and remember him instead of God. He declared that the defaulters would be tortured to death. Hence all the people worshipped him like God, for saving their lives. So much so that the system of the worship of Harnakash was duly introduced in the education of children and they say that the teachers of Multan used to teach the children in the schools:—

"Jal Harnakash, Thal Harnakash
Patal Harnakash, Akash Harnakash."
(Harnakash is on land, Harnaksh is in water
Harnakash is in the world, Harnaksh is in the sky).

The ways of God are very strange. The young son of Harnakash, named Preblad was a born bhagat and he defied the orders of his father. He refused to acknowledge his father as Almighty and said, "There is only one God and how an ordinary mortal like my father could challenge Him." He was thoroughly remonstrated but he fearlessly stuck to his belief in true God. The callous father decided to do away with his son. He threw him down from a high hill, but the boy was not injured at all. Then he
threw him in the river, but he could not be drowned. Then he asked his sister named "Holka" or "Hori" to kill him somehow or the other. She was a very famous witch and she told her brother Harnakash that she wanted a huge heap of cotton in which she would sit taking Prehlad in her lap. The heap of cotton should be set on fire. She would not be burnt due to the power of her sorcery, but Prehlad will be reduced to ashes. Her design was prepared but to the will of Almighty, Holka herself was burnt to death, but Prehlad came out unhurt. They say that Holka could save herself from fire, for 7 days but on the eighth day her sorcery failed to help her and she was burnt to death.

After this Prehlad was forced to clasp a red hot pillar (thum) of iron but at this height of tyranny Prehlad was saved and Harnakash was killed by God himself, who manifested Himself in the form of Nar Singh. From this event Holka was disrespected just like Ravana whose effigy is burnt at the time of Dussehra. Similarly Holi is burnt every year by the Hindus as a revenge to Holka Hori or Holi, who tried to burn Prehlad. In some parts of Northern India this festival continues for whole of the month of Phagun, but the Sikligars observed it only on the actual day of its occurrence. It is called Phag due to its celebration in Phagun. On this day (gulal) 'Red oxide' is dissolved in water and the young men, children and women all make a great deal of fun by throwing this colour on one another. The special merriment is made between the dewars and bhabis. The younger jeeja and the saalis also cut jokes, throw colour at each other. The old men and women do not take any part in it and mostly pass the day as spectators, of all the fun. Sometimes the young men are beaten by the young women with sticks. The father-in-law and the daughter-in-law are taboo to play with each other. In the evening a common bonfire is lighted in the centre of the encampment where all the women-folk go singing and making merries. This bonfire signifies the burning of Holka.

Holi is a festival in which sometimes serious disputes arise due to indecent jokes and teasing. In order to avoid it Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs founded the celebration of Holahalla, at Siri Anandpur Sahib, in the District of Hoshiarpur,
Punjab. On this occasion a mammoth assembly of the Sikhs from all the parts of the country takes place, and religious sermons, katha, kirtan, lectures and competitions of sword-play, races, wrestling bouts etc. are held. Some of the Sikligars who do not play Holi by throwing dyes at each other or by joking and teasing each other go to Hola-Mahalla at Siri Anandpur Sahib.

2. **Massia or Amawas**

Massia is the darkest night of the month. This is considered to be an auspicious day if it comes off on Monday. Like the Hindus the Sikhs also go to their sacred places for pilgrimage on Massia. The fairs of Massia are held at various sacred places of Sikhs - They take bath (ishnan) in the sarowars (tanks) to fulfil their vows which they make for their wishes. However, the diwan of Massia is held in every Gurdwara wherever it is, in a village, in a town or in a military cantonement. The Sikligars also hold diwans, read the Adi Granth, offer prayers and distribute parshad in the Gurdwaras of their encampment, on the day of Massia. Although Massia pertains to the night yet the people gather and perform their prayers in the morning, preceding the night.

3. **Sangrand or Sankrant**

The first day of every Indian month is considered not only the month's day of special importance, but it is also considered so of whole of the year. Although every day comes after a year, yet the first date of month is given special importance and is called Sankrant. This day is not celebrated in any extra-ordinary way and like the other Sikhs the Sikligars gather and perform the religious services as they do on the day of Massia. But in addition to other prayers the Bara Mah (12 months) composed by Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Guru of Sikhs, as recorded in the Holy Granth in Raag Majh, on page 133, are recited. The Bara Maha begins with Chet and ends with Phagun. Every month is a hymn giving certain instructions to man for his efforts to attain union with God and to lead a noble, and honest life. In the morning Karah Parshad is prepared. All gather in the gurdwara in the encampment, hear the recitation of Bara Maha, offer prayers, receive parshad and go
to their routine work. If the gurdwara and the Guru Granth Sahib are not available then somebody recites the Bara Maha from a gutka. Every Sikh wants to listen to the recitation of Bara Maha before doing anything else, and so is the belief of the Sikligars.

4. Baisakhi

Baisakhi is a typical festival for the Sikhs. Firstly it is the Sangrand of the month of Baisakh and secondly it is the birthday of the Khalsa, as Guru Gobind Singh founded the Sikh Panth on the Baisakhi (1st Baisakhi, 13th April of 1699 A.D.) at Siri Anandpur Sahib, and gave his followers the form in which the present staunch (Amritdhari) Sikhs are found. He transformed the Sikhs to Singhis. This was really a miracle and such a brave community was made out of the degenerating Indian people, which uprooted the cruel Mughal Empire of Aurangzeb from the soil of India. Thirdly the crops of wheat, the staple food of the Punjab, ripens in this month and the harvest begins. Hence all the Punjabis eagerly wait for the day of Baisakhi which replenishes their empty granaries, but the Sikhs welcome it as a Sangrand and the birthday of the Khalsa also. Huge Dewans and conferences are held at important places and besides some religious and political programmes, the competitions of gatka, kabaddi, wrestling, horse-races and jumps etc. take place.

At Baisakhi the special feature of the celebration in the Punjab is the bhangra dance performed by men. The drummer stands in the centre and the dancers stand in a circle round him. They make different rhythmic movements of body up to eye-gestures, strike their feet on the ground and clap their hands above their heads, in accompanyment with the beats of the drum. The speed of their dance increases as the drummer does so. One person recites a boli or a tappa (a copulet of folk songs) loudly. The bolis are always humorous and romantic. The last line is specially emphasised and repeated. On repeating this line the one, who initiates the boli begins to dance more vigorously and then all the dancers do it together, face to face walking round the drummer. Thus last line is repeated by all the dancers several times in chorus, accompanied by a very energetic dance. Sometimes two or three dancers get aside
from the circle, near the dholi and make a great deal of fun dis-
playing the agile and interesting performance of bhangra. The
bhangra-dancers wear new clothes on Baisakhi. The clothes have
fast colour and a beautiful handker-chief is never missing tied over
the turban, round the neck or simply held in the hand to make
gestures. I saw 2 different parties of Sikligar bhangra-dancers on
Baisakhi and heard their bolis, but the two bolis which I liked
most are given below :

1. "Naiyan di kuri te ghaire do do chukdi
   Utte the garwa chandi da
   Lak dole majajen jandi da"
   (The barber's daughter lifts two pitchers
   On which there is a vessel of silver
   Her tender waist bends while she walks).

2. "Dhainyan, dhainyan dhainyan
   Bholean maapiti ne
   Dheen paran sakoole paiyan
   Athin dini lein chhutiyan
   Leera dho ke nehar ton aiyan
   Kam onhan ki karna
   Jinhan chitian kameezan paiyan".

The first line is rather meaningless and is used only for the
purpose of initiating rhyme. This is a satirical boli to the modern
educated girls who do not know how to do any domestic work
because they only know how to wear beautiful dress. The trans-
lation of the boli is given below :—

(Dhainyan, dhainyan, dhainyan,
The simple parents have put their daughters in the school;
They come home on a holiday, after a week;
They have come after washing their clothes on the canal;
What work can they do?
Who only know how to wear beautiful dress).

5. Maghi

The Maghi also comes off on the Sangrand of the month of
Maagh. Maagh is considered the most important Sangrand by
both the Hindus and the Sikhs. They go to different holy places (teeraths) to pay homage to them and to have ablution there, may it be a tank, a lake or a river. The people try to give charity whatever they can afford to the needy and the poor. The Sikligars like other people observe this festival with great religiosity. Like the Baisakhi the historical importance of Maghi as observed by the Sikhs is described below:—

Guru Gobind Singh along with some Sikhs, was besieged at Anandpur Sahib by the myriads of the royal troops despatched by Aurangzeb. The Sikhs were hardly a pinch of salt in a platter full of flour. The enemy cut off all the means of communication of provisions which ran short in the small fortress called Anand Garh (The fort of joy) but Guru Gobind Singh and his followers did not lose heart. However, forty of his followers lead by Bhai Mahan Singh of the Amritsar district lost patience due to starvation and delay in killing or being killed. They pressed the Guru to leave the fort, but Guru knew the deceitful character of the enemy and did not want to do it. At last 40 persons under the guidance of Mahan Singh gave a disclaimer or written boycott (bedawa) to the Guru saying, “Naan toon sada Guru, te nan asin tere Sikhs” (Neither you are our Guru nor we are your Sikhs). Thus they deserted him and went back to their villages in Majha, while the battle at Anandpur Sahib was being fought between the Sikhs and the Muslim armies. Reaching homes they were condemned by the people for betraying the Guru and so much so that their women-folk taunted them to wear “wangan” (glass-bangles) like the fair-sex and remain at home so that the women might put their hands on the hilts of the swords to join the forces of Guru Gobind Singh, who were fighting the dharam-yudh against the tyrant and highhanded Muslim Rulers. This taunt reached to such an extent that one of the brave women named “Mata Bhago” actually organised a troop of women and started toward the district of Ferozepur where Guru Gobind Singh was preparing to give a rejoinder of bitter fight to the Mughals, after his exodus from Anandpur Sahib, and after the death of many Sikhs, his four sons and his mother.
The name of Mata Bhago has been exceptionally venerated in the Sikh history and she has become an inspiration for the Sikhs in general and for the Sikh women-folk in particular. Seeing the doors of their houses shut at them and disapproval by the society, the 40 Sikhs who deserted the Guru at Anandpur Sahib, again assembled and joined battle which the Guru was fighting against the Mughals at Khidrana Dhab (the pool of Khidrana) in the district of Ferozepur. This was the last battle fought by the Guru. In this battle the Muslim army was utterly routed. Many Sikhs were killed and wounded. The Guru was attending to the wounded Sikhs when he saw Mahan Singh, the leader of the forty (chali) who deserted him at Anandpur Sahib. He was glad to see his reinspired loyalty for the Sikh Panth. He quickly approached him, but he was just dying. Guru asked him what he could do for him. He told that he himself and his 39 comrades, all had rejoined the Sikh army at Khidrana Dhab and had sacrificed their lives. So he wanted nothing else but forgiveness for their desertion and salvation in life. On this sincere and faithful sacrifice the Guru immediately took out their disclaimer from his pocket and tore it into pieces, blessing him and his 39 martyrs praying for their salvation. On hearing the blessings and seeing the torn-out disclaimer, Mahan Singh peacefully breathed his last. Since that day the Khidrana Dhab has been known as Mukatsar (tank of salvation). This event took place on the first day of Magh and so every year a huge fair is held at Mukatsar to commemorate the sacrifice of “Chali Muktas.” All the Sikhs consider it holy to visit Mukatsar on this day and bathe in the tank which is now brick-made and marbled beautifully. The names of the Chali Muktas are given below:


It may be noted that the Chali Muktas of Maghi should not be mistaken for the Chali Muktas who sacrificed their lives in the battle of Chamkaur Sahib. At present the town of Mukatsar is very prosperous and many Sikligars repair to this holy place every year at the time of Maghi, from all the parts of Punjab. The people who cannot go to Mukatsar read the Granth as usual, sing hymns, perform Kirtans, offer prayers and distribute karah prashad among all the congregations. It is believed that a Sikh must take bath on this day to observe the Maghi ishnan.

6. Pooranmashi or Punniya

Pooranmashi is absolutely reverse to Massia. On Massia the moon is totally absent from our vision but on Pooranmashi it is seen in its fullness. Massia is accompanied by dead darkness of night but Pooranmashi means fullness of light. Each of them recurs after a month. Nobody want dark nights except thieves, but all are cheered up to see the sight of a moonlight. The G. psy tribes like the Sikligars need and appreciate the moonlight more than the settled and the civilised people, who walk on modern roads and live in modern houses, provided with electric lights. But those who live in jungle away, from habitations know the real utility of Pooranmashi. As a matter of fact moonlight is a thrilling joy for the mankind and even some animals and birds enjoy just as the men do.

Among the Sikhs the most important Pooranmashi is that of Kartak, the night at which Guru Nanak was born in 1469 A.D. The greatest fair of this Pooranmashi used to be held at Nankana Sahib and Sacha Sauda, in the district of Sheikupura, West Pakistan, but after Partition of Punjab in 1947 and the egress of
the Hindus and the Sikhs from West Punjab, its original charm and vigour have disappeared but even then the celebration of the birthday of Guru Nanak is very widely observed. On this day the Sikligars collect some settled amount of money, flour, gur or sugar from each family, with which karah prashad is prepared. An Akhandpath of Guru Granth Sahib is accomplished and in the evening kirtan is performed in which Gurbani and life of Guru Nanak are recited.

Some Sikligar women (like other Hindu and Sikh women) observe fast on this day. Besides religious observance, the young boys play kabaddi, perform bhangra dance and make marriages. The young girls also enjoy a gidha dance in the moonlight. There is no doubt that the Pooranmashi of Kartik is celebrated most particularly, but the fact remains that all the 12 pooran-mashis like the 12 Massias are observed.

7. Gurpurabas or Anniversaries of the Gurus

The Sikligars are not rich people. So they cannot celebrate the anniversaries of the Sikh Gurus with a great pomp and show but their belief in them is not less than any other followers of Sikhism. Although the birth and death days of all the Gurus are noticed among the Sikhs, yet the anniversaries of Guru Nanak, Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh are most well-known and are celebrated more conspicuously. Guru Nanak's anniversary and that of Guru Gobind Singh are mostly celebrated on their respective birthdays, but in case of the anniversaries of Guru Arjun Dev and Guru Teg Bahadur, they are celebrated on their respective death days, because they are the supreme martyrs of the Sikhs and they really changed the trend of Indian History from slavery to freedom. The Sikligars observe these anniversaries in as best way as they can.

8. Anniversaries of Sikh Martyres

Although there are numerous well-known Sikh martyrs, yet more importance is given to the celebration of the respective martyrdom days of the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh, named Ajit
Singh, Jhojhar Singh, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh. The first two gave their lives fighting heroically at Chamkaur Sahib and the younger two sacrificed their lives at Sarhand, where they were walled in alive by the Muslim Governor Wazid Khan, because they did not embrace Islam under any temptation and torture. Some of the Sikhs celebrate the anniversary of Maharaja Ranjit Sing also.

9. Lohri

Lohri is also called Lohi. This is a very popular festival and its origin is ascribed to the following sources:

1. Like Holi, Lohri is also concerned with Prehlad Bhagat. According to Hindu mythology Harnakash had two sisters, Holka or Hori, who was the elder and Lauhri was the younger one. Both of them were witches. First Lauhri tried to burn Prehlad, but only within one night she herself was burnt to death and Prehlad remained undamaged. That is why Lohri is celebrated only for one night and people burn it at night.

2. The second background of this festival is ascribed to the belief of Agni-pooja which is the most ancient practice of the Indo-Aryan people. At the night of Lohri, a bonfire is lighted in which gur, parched grains of sesameum and maize etc. are thrown as a sacrifice.

3. The third source of this festival is believed to be the Kaniya-pooja. On Lohri all the married girls are invited to the house of their parents and parents give them gifts as they can afford. All parents, all sisters and daughters yearn to meet on this day.

4. The fourth origin of Lohri is stated to be still older. Some people say that in the ancient times when man used to live in the jungle he had a great utility of fire. He did not possess houses and had to live in caves, hollows of trees or under or on them. In winter, he had to face a great trouble being bare-bodied and shelterless. So he used to pass winter sitting round the bonfire, singing, dancing and warming himself. Such bonfires were the first hearths round which the youngsters used to listen to the stories, legends, and traditions, which were transmitted, verbally and were carried by
memory from one generation to the other, before any sort of writing was invented by man. In these days the main protector of man from cold was fire. So in the first half of January when the season is coldest, Lohri is celebrated as a fire-worship. Various edibles are thrown in it as sacrifices to Agni.

Whatever be the origin of Lohri, it is a very popular festival in the Punjab. It has most colourful celebration in the villages, though less so in the cities and still less so among the poor wandering peoples like the Sikligars. The Sikligars light a bonfire in the centre of their encampment and worship it as described above. The lohri observed in the villages deserve a special account, but it is not of much concern in case of the Sikligars. The main celebrators of Lohri are those families in which male children are born within that year and on the day of Lohri the young children and especially the groups of the young girls go to such families, singing songs for which they are given parched grains of maize, go and money as gifts.

10. Diwali

This festival comes off in the month of October. This is an India-wide festival. It is celebrated in the memory of Ram Chandra, his wife, Sita and his younger brother, Lackshman, who returned to Ayodhiya after passing their fourteen years' exile after winning victory over Ravan, the then ruler of Ceylon, who kidnapped Sita. The people clean and plaster their houses and light deevas and candle in their houses. The Sikhs ascribe it also to the release of Guru Har Gobind, the sixth Guru of the Sikhs, from the imprisonment at Gwalior where he was interned by the King Jahangir. He also got released 52 more rajas and chieftains from the fort of Gwalior and so he is known as Bandi-chhor Guru.

11. Bhayya Dooj

This festival takes place 2 days after the Diwali, and is observed by the sisters for the sake of their brothers. That is why it is called Bhayya Dooj. The sisters must reach the house of the parents or the brothers, taking some sweets and
saffron with them. Then every sister puts some sweets in the mouth of every brother, with her own hands, and makes a mark of saffron (tikka) on the forehead of every brother. Every brother gives some gifts to his sister. Hence this function is observed to mark the love of sisters for their brothers and vice versa.

12. Silono

The festival of Silono comes off on the full moonlight of Bhadon, 11 days after the Teeyan or Teej. On the day of Silono, all the married girls go to the house of their parents along with their children. The husbands of the married girls also accompany them. On this day both the married and unmarried girls of the house place green shoots of barley on the heads and ears of their brothers. According to Indian culture a brother should not receive anything free from his sister. So the brothers give money to their sisters. In the past the gifts given by brothers to the sisters were subsequently given to the Brahmans, but now they are retained by the sisters themselves.

13. Raakhi or Rakhi Bandi

Originally the ceremony of Rakhi Bandi was performed by the Brahmans. It is believed that the festival originated from Paras Ram, a Brahman who is well-known in Hindu mythology. He was the cut-throat enemy of Kashtriyas and he pledged to exterminate them but was set right by Ram Chandra, a Kashtriya or Rajput of Solar Dynasty (Sooraj Bansi). The legend goes like this:—Once some rajas solicited the help of Paras Ram against the rakshas who interfered in their yajnas. He defeated the demons after fighting 21 battles with them. Then he tied a paunchi or kangni to the wrist of each raja advising them to remain united and strong to fight against sin and cruelty. Ever since the Brahmans had been tying a rakhi (protective card) to the people.

According to some people of the Punjab, Paras Ram did this to those tillers of land who did not pay their land tax and he did it to fasten a pledge on them so that they might not ignore the duty of paying their land tax.
Another tradition ascribes its origin to Abhmanyu, a great warrior of Mahabharata. It is believed that the grand-mother of Abhmanyu tied a rakhi on his wrist with a blessing that he would remain invulnerable till his Rakhi remained unbroken. So he was not injured or hit by anybody in the war of Mahabharata till his rakhi was broken. So the rakhi is believed to be a protective charm against any evil.

Tying the rakhi is taken up by the sisters themselves, instead of the Brahmans. The sisters tie the rakhi to the wrists of their brothers and receive gifts from them. At present the rakhi has attained a very pious position. Even if a stranger ties a rakhi to a person he is pledged to treat her like a real sister in all respects and he has all rights and responsibilities towards her as a real sister. Now the rakhi signifies that the sister ties this protective charm to her brother and it is reciprocally pledged (pran) for the brother to protect her honour.

14. Teeyan or Teej

Teeyan is one of the most popular festivals of Punjab. It takes place in the month of Sawan (July-August). This is the most attractive season in the Punjab. It rains and drizzles in Sawan. There is verdure all around. The peacocks sing and dance. The cool-breeze inspires and thrills. The people make puras, pakauras and sweet dishes. The Sikligars also enjoy the season in the best way they can afford to do. This is a festival of swing (jhoolas or peenghs). Not to speak of actual peenghs even the seven coloured rain-bow is called peengh by the Punjabis. On this day the swings of rope are put on the trunks of trees. In the forenoon the children enjoy the swings. In the afternoon the young girls go singing to their respective swings and enjoy jhoolas. The girls wear new and best clothes. They sing and perform gidha dance. Sometimes the young boys also amuse themselves with the swings. On this occasion the father-in-law sends a new suit of clothes to each of his daughter-in-law, if it is the first Teej of the concerned bride. If father-in-law is well-to-do, he sends clothes to his brothers, sisters and children. A sweet dish is prepared and eaten on this day.
15 Karwa Chauth

Karwa means a spouted jug made of earth and Chauth means fourth. So this festival is concerned with Karwa and fourth day of the month. It comes off on the fourth day of Kartik. The festival is observed by the sohagans (married women whose husbands are alive). At about 4 in the morning the sohagan takes bath, wears new clothes and ornaments, if she possesses them. Then she eats some sweet dish, curd or fruits, and begins her fast for the rest of the day. She takes new pitcher (karwa) fills it with water and places it near the hearth. In the afternoon, at about 4 some women gather in a house, and sit in a circle. An elderly woman relates to them the story of Karwa Chauth as narrated below:—

"Once there lived a king. He had 7 sons and only one daughter. All the brothers loved their sister very much. She was married to a very rich and handsome husband. Once she had come to the house of her father. She observed a fast there. One of the brothers brought water, another cooked food and the third set up a tent. At the end all of them asked her to take meals to break the fast. She found a hair in the first morsel of food. In the second she found a fly and on breaking the third morsel she heard the news of the death of her husband. She was shocked to learn this and left the food then and there. She started for the house of her husband. She was very humble by nature and bowed to everybody whom she met on the way. Perchance she met Parbati, the consort of Shiva to whom she also bowed. Being highly pleased with her politeness, she blessed her and advised her that her husband would be re-surrected if she took some blood from her little fingure and applied it to the dead body of her husband. She reached her husband and applied the blood to his dead body as she was advised by the goddess Parbati and actually her husband was revived.

Another story is also related in this connection. They say that once there lived a young girl, named Veeran. She had seven brothers. Once she observed a fast, but kept doing the needle work all the day long, which is absolutely opposed to the rules of observing a fast. It happened so that all the stiches which she
made with the needle became the pricks on the body of her husband and in the wounds of pricks the broken pieces of needles were stuck up. As a result her husband became unconscious. Afterwards she realised her mistake and she was advised by some elderly woman who was very saintly, that if she wanted to save her husband, she should attend to him and extract one piece of needle from each prick every day. She immediately followed the advice and began to take out a piece of broken needle from a wound every day. It is said that she assiduously kept doing it for whole of the year, till the day of the fast of Karva Chauth came next year, but as the nature willed one piece of needle was yet to be extracted from a prick on the body of her husband. On that day she was again to observe the fast of Karva Chauth and so she went to bring the necessary articles for the fast and asked her maid servant to attend to her husband and to extract the last piece of the needle stuck up in the wound. The maid servant did it and just on taking out the last piece of needle, the unconscious man came into senses, who was lying under convulsion for a year and took that woman as her wife and loved her very much with numerous thanks for her loyalty and service. When the real wife returned after taking the necessary articles for observing the fast, she was just taken as a maid-servant and ever since after that time the maid-servant was kept by the man as a wife whereas the real wife was treated and kept in the house as a mere maid-servant. It is stated by the story tellers that the fictitious wife (formerly maid-servant) could not completely conceal the real fact and used to taunt her mistress often with the following words:

"Suno loko ajar kahani
.Rani bangai goli te goli bangai rani.
(O people, listen a strange story
Once queen became maid-servant and the maid-servant became a queen).

Once the husband overheard this remark and he called both of the women and asked them for the explanation of this couplet. However, the truth was exposed, the man repented much, he appreciated the patience and faithfullness of his real wife and again restored
her the real position and expelled the trecherous maid-servant from his house.

Another similar version says that there was a sister of 7 brothers. She observed the fast, but did not take complete rest and kept knitting all the day long. As a result the body of her husband became full of needles and in the evening she heard the news of his death at the time of breaking fast. She immediately left for her-in-laws. She did not dispose of the dead body, but kept taking the needles out of his body for full one year, till the next Karva Chauth came and she observed the fast like a sohagan. God was pleased with her faithfulness to her husband and her service rendered to him and again bestowed life on him

The fast of Karva Chauth is always observed by the sohagans. Usually a Brahaman woman is invited to relate the story of Karva Chauth. The story is repeated 7 times and at the end of every narration the women pass on their thalis containing some dry fruits, a few coins and a burning lamp to each other sitting in a circle, singing the following song:

"Warat wich kujh khain naan
Karwara watai nan
Sutte nun jagai naan
Kusse nun manain naan
Wahan pair pai naan
Atin naan aterin naan
Ghum charakhra pherin naan
Bhain piyari weeran
Chan chare taan pani peewan."
(Do not eat anything during the fast
Do not exchange your karva with anybody else
Do not awaken anybody who is asleep
Do not bring round a person who is angry
Do not enter any ploughed up field
Do not do any needle work
Do not work at the spinning wheel
The sister is very dear to her brothers
Drink water on the appearance of the moon).
So these are the directions to be observed by a sohagan on the day of Karva Chauth which she should not violate during the fast. All the women go back to their respective houses after the narration of story and singing of the song are over. They must take their own thalis to their houses. Then they see the moon in the sky and throw some water towards it from the karva which was kept since early in the morning. Some of the water is drunk by the sas “mother-in-law” of the sohagan and if the sohagan can afford she gives some presents of money, clothes, sweets and fruits to her mother-in-law. This is how the Karva Chauth is observed.

16. Basant Panchmi

Basant means yellow and Panchmi means fifth. This festival occurs on the fifth day of the spring season (February). February and March are the most beautiful and bewitching months of the landscape of the Punjab. All around, one sees greenness and miles continual, like the daffodils of Wordsworth, one sees yellow flowers of mustard. As a matter of fact this marks the end of cold winter and the beginning of summer, but for two months, February and March, the season of the Punjab is neither cold nor hot, and is the best for health and enjoyment. During these months, the people are at leisure and have got little to do in the rural areas. Some people attribute this festival to the martyrdom day of Haqiqat Rai, a young Hindu school-boy of Sialkot, who sacrificed his life for his Hindu faith, but did not embrace Islam, even under the edge of the sword, of the orthodox Muslim rulers of India. The people wear yellow clothes on this day and fairs of Basant Panchmi are held at various places in the Punjab, but the fair held at Chheharta Sahib, Amritsar, is well-known, where people of all parts of the country gather. The Sikligars have a very deep and special attachment to this fair and go to Chheharta Sahib to see the fair of Basant Panchmi, and they say that their ancestors, first met Siri Guru Har Gobind Sahib at Chheharta Sahib (Wadali Guru) before they became the followers of Sikhism. They also wear yellow clothes, on this day like the other people of the Punjab.
17. Hoi

Hoi takes place 8 days before Diwali. Different versions are given about its origin and background. Karva Chauth is observed for the honour of husbands, but Hoi is observed for the affection of children. The following stories are related about Hoi:

1. Hoi was a maid-servant. She was exceptionally beautiful and belonged to the Brahman caste. Once some Muslims saw her and they were so much enamoured of her beauty that they tried to capture her for converting her to Islam. They ran after her, but she fled away to save her honour and religion. She hid herself in the cottage of a Jhiwarni, Maihri or Bhatiari. But the Muslims pursued her there. Seeing no other alternative open to her eluding them she prayed to the Mother Earth to take her into her lap. The Mother Earth agreed to it and she disappeared and went underground. Since that time she is venerated as a goddess and the women observe fast of Hoi. She is believed to live in Patal (in the under-world).

2. The second version says that there were 7 brothers who had only one sister. All of the brothers were married. Once their wives had to bring mud from a pond for making something at home. All the 7 wives went to the pond along with their sister-in-law (ninan or nanad). Reaching the pond they dispersed here and there with one excuse or the other, but asked their nanad to take out mud from the pond. She entered water and took out mud from it with which she filled the vessels of all her sisters-in-law. Although unintentionally, yet some young-ones of Hoi were killed by her. The Goddess Hoi became so much angry with the offender that in order to take revenge, she removed her uterus so that she might be disabled to produce any children in life. She told that Hoi had removed her uterus and cursed her to remain childless in whole of her life. All of the 7 sisters-in-law were agonized to hear it. The eldest sister-in-law prayed to Hoi to return the womb of her nanad, but take her own instead. Hoi agreed to it. Then all of the 8 girls went back to their house. The eldest one told her mishap to her mother-in-law, who knowking her sterility turned her out of the house. The helpless exiled woman kept wandering from place to
place. One day she saw a very miserable cow whose body was full of sores having pus and numerous worms, in them. She was very much moved to see this pitiable plight of that cow. She intended to cure her wounds and attended to it for 12 years constantly. The cow was cured and she blessed that women with the birth of a son. The benediction of cow was actually fulfilled and a very handsome son was born miraculously to that woman. The news of the birth of a son reached her mother-in-law who was surprised over it and called at her daughter-in-law. She was inexpressibly pleased to see the child and asked her how she could give birth to the baby. She related her 12 years service to the miserable cow and the blessings of the cow. Hearing this the mother-in-law took her to her house where she passed the rest of her life in a very respected way.

3. The third story says that Hoi was a very saintly woman, but had no children. All the people gave feasts and gifts to children on the day of fasting-festivals. Once she asked her sister to lend her children to her for some time so that she could also give feast and gifts to them. Her sister said, "The children are never lent and how can I do it?" She refused to lend her children to her. At last, she prepared sweet dishes and brought four kids of a goat. She shut them in a room and called them from outside, three times addressing them as if they were real human children. Then she opened the door to offer sweets and other gifts to them. God was so kind to her that those four kids actually became children and all the people were surprised over the miracle. After that she was treated as a goddess and Hoi is observed in her veneration.

The festival of Hoi is observed in the following manner:

In the morning the women begin their fast. They clean and plaster their houses with cow-dung. Then they draw a sketch of a child with cow-dung, on the especially plastered and clean spot or on the wall of the house, with cow-dung or clay. At about four in the afternoon some children are invited and shut in a room. The host calls them from outside as follows:
Host : Who are you in the room?
Children : It is Hoi, it is Hoi.
Host : What do you want?
Children : Takka and Matha.

After repeating this dialogue three times, the door is opened and the children come out of the room. Then they are loved and offered sweet dishes, fruit and coins. The children go home and the host breaks her fast eating the dishes prepared at home.

Another custom of breaking the Hoi fast is to invite a Brahman woman or some other elderly woman who narrates the story of Hoi and throws a handful of grains in a pitcher at every sentence. At the end of the story the woman gives some coins to the story teller. Sometimes the grain which is collected in the pitcher is given to her but usually it is given to the children who are invited to the feast for purchasing anything from a shop which the children like to have.

18. Saradh or Sharadh

This festival is observed in the honour of one's dead ancestors. So this is nothing else but ancestor-worship. The Saradhs continue to be observed for fifteen days between the Pooran Mashi of Bhadon and Amavas of Assoo (September-October). Saradh is also known by the name of Karan Gat. In the Hindu religion “Gatti” or “Gat” means salvation or mukti. The story goes as follows:

In ancient times there lived a Hindu king named Karan. He was proverbially charitable. He used to give gold in charity every day which donation he continued throughout his life. After his death, he was given nothing else but gold in the next world. So he was not provided with anything to eat. He had to starve being deprived of any sort of food. On asking the reason he was told that he could get only that thing which he had given in charity in his life-time on the earth. He requested God to send him again to his previous state of life. His request was granted and he served the best type of food to lakhs of people during the fifteen days between the Pooran Mashi of Bhadon and the Amavas of Assoo. Thus he secured salvation in all aspects of his life in the
next world. Had he distributed food among the poor and the Brahmanas before his death he would have never felt any difficulty in the next world.

In order to save their ancestors from the deprivation of food and other necessaries of life, the people observe Saradh. A saradh could be held on any day during the 15 days referred to above. It may be remembered that the Saradh is held only for the adult males and females. One cannot perform this ceremony for one’s daughters and sisters because they are considered the members of another’s family through marriage. On the day of Saradh a Brahman is invited who comes in the morning. He takes bath in the house of the host. He gets the raw “samagiri” (material) and cooks some chapatis and karah. He gives chapatis to a cow and throws pudding to the crows. Then the rice-milk (kheer) and other dishes prepared at the time are eaten by him. Then the son or the person performing saradh pours some water on the earth, facing East, uttering the name of the pittar. The Brahman is also given some “dakshna” (a fee paid for performing some religious service). Then other invitees take food. The number of invitees depends on the economic condition of the host. The Sikligars usually do not invite Brahmans and perform all the ceremonies of Saradh themselves. Now some of the staunch Sikh Sikligars have given up the observance of Saradh as it is against the tenets of Sikhism which says:—

“Jeevat Pitar naan manat koi
Mooae Saradh karai.”

(The people do not respect and serve their living elders. But after their death they perform the ceremony of Saradh). But most of the Sikligars observe the ceremony of Saradh and spend on it according to their economic conditions.

19. Naurate

The festival of Naurate is also called Nauratre or Naurathre which literally means 9 nights (Nau Raat). They say that Durga Devi kept fighting against the Demons for 7 days continuously.
In the fight she finished the demons. The gods (deotas) were so highly pleased with her that on the 8th and the 9th day they devotedly performed stuti (In Punjabi it is called ustati meaning praise). They performed a great hawan and yajna on the nineth day as a gratitude. The Hindu observe this festival in the rememberance of Devi who is believed to be incarnated in nine various names or forms. As a matter of fact, this festival is meant for the worship of the goddess Durga. In the day-time one may do any work but in the night one should remain awake, recite some mantras and worship Devi. After nine days one should perform hawan. The fasts are observed. All the Sikligars do not observe fast, but some of them do it, and perform the Durga Pooja. The festival comes off immediately after the moonlight of Assuj (September-October).

20. Sitla Devi

Sitla Devi is one of the seven Devies (goddesses) who are real sisters and cause specific pustular diseases. So they are very much dreaded by the people. Sitla Devi is believed to cause small pox. These goddesses are not worshipped by men and are only worshipped by women and children. Sitla worship takes place on the seventh of the light-half of the month of Sawan. This is called Sitla Saptami. The shrine of Sitla Devi is mostly a small construction, 2 feet high before which the offerings are placed. The offerings are considered impure and nobody eats and takes them, because it is believed that the disease is transmitted to the person who eats or takes them from the shrine. She is believed to ride on a donkey and so they feed donkeys on gram on this day. Some Sikligars let loose some white cocks and pigs as sacrificial offers to the goddess Sitla, so that she may not attack them. As it has already been mentioned, her wrath manifests itself in the epidemic of small pox. They also believe that an adult person who has once been attacked by small pox and has recovered from it, should not let loose a pig or a cock as an offering to Devi, otherwise he will be attacked again. The worship is only made during the absence of the ravage of small pox, but if once the disease has broken out neither any worship is initiated nor continued if already being performed. Sitla Devi is called simply Mata (Mother). The Sikligars believe that small pox is not a disease, but it is a visit
of the Mother (Mata). I actually examined some Sikligars in order to see the marks of vaccination of small pox on their arms, but they did not have any and some of them said to me, "What can the teekas (vaccination) do against Mata? Who can prevent her if she is kind to visit somebody?" The younger and the present generation is being vaccinated. The fairs and mass-worship of Sitala Devi are held at various places of Punjab and the Sikligars worship and pay visit to the shrines where they can conveniently go.

21. Mata Masani

Mata Masani is highly venerated by the Sikligars and she is often invoked in their mantras. The shrines of Sitala are hardly distinguishable from those of Masani. Masani is a goddess who causes the disease of emaciation and atrophy in children. This disease is called Masan. Masani is propitiated and worshipped to prevent this disease. The major propitiation takes place at Sirmur where "Gaina" is situated. Gaina is a big lamp with 32 wicks having a hollow space in the centre. The flowers, pistachio nuts and perfumes are put in it. The mustard oil is put in the lamp. Then seven marks of sandhur (vermilion) are made on the lamp and one mark is made on the forehead of the child for whom the visit is undertaken and the vow is to be fulfilled. After doing this all the 32 wicks are lighted. Then the lamp is waved round the head of the child and the mother and it is carried out of the boundary of the village. Then it is left alone and the worshippers go home. They believe that this worship pleases the goddess and the victim is cured. The shrines of Masani are also worshipped at Gurgaon, Hissar, villages of Keshopur, Mubarakpur and Kalka in Delhi State, Ambala, Kangra, Bikaner, etc. The Sikligars go to any place which suits them. But as a tribe they mostly go to the village of Sooa near Panipat. Here a great fair for the worship of the Masani is held annually at the time of Holi. The Sikligars propitiate the goddess Masani by pig at her shrine and by throwing some drops of its blood at it, taken from the ears, nose and tail of the pig which is afterwards let off to its own fate. The Sikligars of all parts of India offer prayers and make vows invoking Mata Masani, for the fulfilment of their wishes, on whose actual realisation they visit her shrine at Sooa, and perform the worship as described.
22. Gugga

Gugga is worshipped by all the people of the Punjab—Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and others. Gugga is a snake-god and is worshipped to get immunity from the bites of all sorts of snakes and other poisonous animals and insects. He is called Gugga Bir by the Hindus, and the Sikhs, but is called Gugga Pir by the Muslims. Gugga Naumi is the most conspicuous festival of the Sikligars. They pay more attention to its observance than to any other festivals. The reason is clear from the mode of their nomadic life. Being wanderers they usually move and live in the jungles where they have more chances of meeting snakes. Hence they are greater worshippers of Gugga who is believed to be the protector of the people against the bites of snakes. The festival is called Gugga Naumi, because it comes off on the ninth of Bhadon. Like the other people, the Sikligars relate different stories about the origin of the festival and the history of Gugga, but mostly they relate and believe in the following story:

"Once there lived a king named Amar Singh Chauhan in Bagar (the Northern part of Rajputana in Bikaner State). He had a son named Jewar who had two queens named Bachhal and Kachhal who were real sisters. Both of the queens had no issue. They made many vows to various gods and goddesses, but could not realise their wishes. Once Guru Gorakh Nath came to Dadrera and encamped in the garden of the king. The garden had withered away 12 years before the arrival of Guru Gorakh Nath. But just at his arrival, the garden spontaneously became green. This miraculous rejuvenation of the garden caused a great stir in the city and all the people went to see Guru Gorakh Nath to pay homage to him and receive his spiritual blessings. Queen Bachhal sent her maidservant Heera Devi to go and find out the cause of the excitement of the people. She went to the garden and told the queen all about the miraculous revitalisation of the garden. Knowing this Bachhal herself wanted to see the Saint for being blessed with the birth of a son. She again sent Heera Devi to the garden and to ask Gorakh Nath about the time when she could see him. Heera
Devi approached Guru Gorakh Nath and stipulated the time of meeting. The news of the appointment was disclosed to Kachhall, who had a great jealousy against her sister being co-wife of Bachhal. So she borrowed the clothes of Bachhal with some excuse and went to Gorakh Nath before the time which was given to Bachhal for interview, and told her that she had come before time due to certain reason and might be excused but be kindly blessed with two sons. Gorakh Nath excused her and blessed her with the birth of 2 sons (twins), to be caused by eating two barley grains which he gave to her.

Bachhal went to Gorakh Nath at the fixed time, but he told her that she had already been to him and he had already blessed her with the birth of male twins. She was surprised to know this and the secret of the deceit and disguise of Kachhall was exposed. However, Gorakh Nath took pity on her and gave her some GUGGAL (bdellium) to eat which would cause conception to her. He also advised her that being born from Guggal he should be named “GUGGA.” Bachhal took some guggal from Guru Gorakh Nath and secretly ate it reaching her house. She actually conceived but Sabir Devi, the sister of Jewar poisoned her brother against the strange conception. Jewar turned her wife Bachhal out of his house and sent her away to her father named Chandar Bhan, the Raja of Gajni, now called Rawalpindi (West Pakistan). Thus Bachhal left for Rawalpindi. On the way the bullocks of the cart by which she was travelling were let off in the jungle for rest and grazing. A snake bit them from the grass and both of them died. On the death of the bullocks, she wept bitterly and fell asleep while weeping. Yet Gugga was not born, but he advised his mother from within the womb that she should break some branch of a neem tree and invoke Guru Gorakh Nath to cure the oxen. She got up, took the branches of a neem tree and invoked Guru Gorakh Nath by reciting the charm which she had listened to and learnt in the dream. The bullocks again came to life and she again started on her journey, being delighted and encouraged by the occult and spiritual power of Gorakh Nath and her unborn son Gugga. She reached Rawalpindi and was received by her father. All were in surprise because Gugga was not
born though 12 months had passed after conception of his mother. He again spoke from within the womb of his mother that he would not take birth in his maternal village, but he would be born at the native place of his father, Jewar. Knowing this his mother returned to Garh. Dadrera where Gugga took birth on the ninth of Bhadon. They say that his birth took place in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

It is said that the twins had been born to Kachhal 3 months before the birth of Gugga. An astrologer named Pandit Rangachar predicted that the greatness and fame of Gugga would spread far and wide. He also presaged that gugga would be a great saint and king and all the people would acknowledge him, and he will be worshipped as saviour of men against snakes. He also foretold that the followers of Gugga would use fans of flowers and flags of blue colour in the celebration of his birthday. Knowing this all, Jewar acknowledged Gugga as his legitimate heir on which great rivalry was created between Bachhal and Kachhal and between Gugga and his step-brothers, named Arjan and Surjan, who were born three months before him.

Gugga was 12 years old when a priest named Gunman came to Jewar, from the South. He was sent by Raja Sanja for finding a match for his daughter named Sirial. Gunman selected Gugga for the betrothal, but the nature did not smile over it and just at the time of betrothal Jewar died suddenly for which Bachhal wept bitterly. Gunman considered it to be a very bad portent and withdrew the offer of the hand of Sirial to Gugga.

The dissolution of a marriage alliance or offer was considered an intolerable insult for the Rajputs. Therefore Gugga was greatly hurt over this mishap, but his step brothers, Arjun and Surjan were pleased with this withdrawal because they were inimical to him. He went to jungle and began to play the notes of war on a flute. All the birds and beasts of the jungle were excited by the inspiring tunes of the flute. Basak Nag, the underground king of the snakes heard the notes of flute and was surprised to see the excitement. He sent his attendant Takshik Nag to enquire about the player of the flute. Takshik Nag met Gugga and asked his whereabouts
and cause of his playing on the flute. Gugga told him everything. Takshik Nag conveyed the complete information to Basak Nag who sent Takshik with Gugga to Dhoop Nagar and learnt that Sirial was strolling in her garden. He reached there in the guise of a Brahman and bit her becoming a snake. After that he assumed the form of a snake-charmer and hawked in the streets for his power to cure the snake-bite. Raja Sanja heard about him and sent for him so that he might save the life of his beloved daughter. Takshik agreed to cure her, but took a promise from the king that if Sirial was cured she must be married to Gugga. Although reluctantly, Raja Sanja agreed to it. Takshik recited many charms over the snake-bite and sucked the poison from the wound. She became all right within a few days.

Then the date of marriage was fixed and Gugga married her with peerless pomp and show and returned to Garh Dadrera. Thus the increased renown and success of Gugga became still greater eye-sore to Arjun and Surjan who started a dispute with him to divide the property but he wanted unity and turned down their proposal. Then they persuaded him to go with them for hunting, and they cunningly attacked him in the jungle, but both of them were killed by Gugga. He tied their heads with the saddle of his horse and returned home. Bachhal saw that Gugga had killed his step-brothers, Arjun and Surja, who were the twin brothers and sons of her real sister. She was enraged beyond control and said to him, "Buzz off. Never show me your face again, nor I wish to see you." Hearing this curse, Gugga immediately left his house and went to the jungle where he solicited the mother earth to take him in her lap, but the earth refused to do it, saying, "I take in my lap like this only the Muslims as they are buried, but you are a Hindu and should be burnt. You must become a Muslim, if you want me to do it." Then he reached Bhatinda and was converted to a Mohammadan by Haji Raṭtan who was a very pious Muslim saint of the 12th century. After receiving Islamic creed, he returned to Garh Dadrera where appeared a small split in the earth and
thus she received him in her lap. A shrine stands at this spot and every year the people celebrate Gugga's birth on the ninth of Bhadon.

The encampment of Sikligars is worth seeing from a month before to the actual celebration of Gugga's birthday. I paid several visits to six different Sikligar encampments in the rainy season of 1961. The whole of the month of Sawan and the first week of Bhadon are awfully busy days for the women-folk in getting the wheat flour ground to the finest possible powder (maida) to make sewian (vermicelli) which is a highly relishing dish of the Punjabis. The women-folk help each other in making sewian. The wheat—maida is kneaded a bit akra (thickest). Then a clean sheet is spread on the ground and every woman places a pot in front of her, upside down. The pitcher is cleaned especially on its bottom. Then she takes a lump of kneaded maida and it is shaped like a roller about a foot in length and an inch in diameter. Then on either end it is rolled under the palms of hands and a thread-like kneaded flour is tappered on either end. The hands are moved forward and backward when the flour-threads are made one foot long on either side. Then they are broken and put on a thorny branch for drying them. The clean thorny branches are fetched and kept beside for this purpose. This is how the women make sewian. Usually they gather under the shade of a tree in the centre of encampment and make vermicelli for their individual needs as well as help one another. They also keep singing the songs of Gugga in his honour. Some of the songs which I could collect from the Sikligars are given below and their line-wise translation into English is given also:

In the Punjab some songs are sung by the Chuhras (scavengers), who recite them from house-to-house beating a dauroo and carrying a blue flag on a big pole on whose top some flowers and a cocoanut are tied. The people give them clothes, money, gur and grain and the Sikligars also do it if they go and sing the songs of Gugga in their encampment.
Songs of Gugga

(1)

1. "Salaman merian, salaman merian
2. Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian
3. Oh Guru Gorakh, paida o kardia
4. Sanoon vi deh aulad."
5. "Iss wele te kujh nahn milda Bachhle,
6. Kal aa ke lai jaeen aulad."
7. Bhaji bhaji Bachhal Kachhal kol ai,
8. "Ni bhaine Kachhle mainun kal miloo aulad."
9. "Dauri dauri Kachhal Bachhal noon kaihndi
10. "Nee bhainen jora te deh mainoon udhar,
11. Main desh pitta de jana neen
12. Othon ai ae mainun mandi vaaj."
13. Pake jora Kachhal Gorakh kol ai
14. "Guru ji Sanoon te deho aulad."
15. Jatan noon khol ke diti aulad, kaihndi,
17. Bhaj ke te Kachhal Bachhal kol gai,
18. "Main ai Babal de desh ton
19. Mere babal da changa ae hal."
20. Daur ke Bachhal Gorakh kol gai,
22. Wekh ke Gorakh noon roh charhia te akhia,
23. "Hatko ihnoon chelio, hatko ihnoon chelio,
24. Ghari muri mangdi aulad."
25. Sidaq di bajhi Bachhal rata nan hilli
26. Baran saal khari laa ke aass
27. Putke dera othon Gorakh joo chalia,
28. Puje Raje Sanjae de desh
29. Ja ke dera us bagh wich laiya
30. Pa jogi da sacha wes
31. Daur ke te rani baghe aai
32. "Jogi ji saanoon te deho aulad."
33. Gorakh nen koi jari booti diti
34. "Akhia, Nee Ranien packa rakhin yakeen
35. Pher tere ghar ranian Sirial kaniya lai gi janam
36. Awega usnoon ranien, Gugga chauhan viahan."
37. Pher joo chalia jogian da jhund
38. Aya Garh Dadrer de kol
39. Gorakh de chele rahe san ghas joo khod
40. Baran baras di Bachhal aje ve othe,
41. Atank khaloti tapasian wang,
42. Wekh ke sidiq Gorakh tutha oste
43. "Ranien neen sidiq tera poora,
44. Lai neen Guggal ditta war neen ranian,
45. Tere ghar Gugga jamun soorma."
46. Thora chir pichhe Bachhal da
47. Garbh hoiya parkash,
48. Nanad ne chukia veer noon,
49. Badal gai ohdi akh
50. Kadhiya gharon naar noon,
51. Gai babal de kol
52. "Rakh laaj meri babla mein ai tere kol."
53. Garbhon bolia Gugga, "Ni mai
54. Janam naan nanke leisan
55. Bap da beta taan jo Dadrere janam dharesan."
56. "Ik salaman merian,
57. Do salaman merian,
58. Oh mere Kanta, Jewar rajia,
59. Mein ai haan tere dwar
60. Rakh naar te puttar di laaj."
61. "Das ni Bachhle kiwen barhin warhin sanjog ?"
62. Ik salaman, do salaman,
63. Neen sas rania, barhin te warhin tere kol."
64. "Tun meri nan noohn,
65. Mere put di nan wahuti,
66. Tun hain jogian di naar."
67. "Janda ae sacha Parmeshar neen sase,
68. Mandre bol naan bol."
69. Ik salaman merian,
70. Do salaman merian, Akhe Jewar Raja,
71. "Neen mai mahleen lai ihnoon war."
72. "Sun wey meria putra Jewra,
73. Tutta jeha ihnoon gadda mangvade,
74. Kohra mangvade gaddwal,
75. Peke jo aye ihnoon war."
76. Barhan wariyan da Gorakh baniya,
77. Baniy ni ohda gadwal,
78. Rangle taan pahiye gadde nal.
79. "Ik salaman merian,
80. Do salaman merian, dheeye meriye,
81. Kis bidh hoya tera auna?
82. "Ik salaman, do salaman,
83. Merian babla, mainoon ai see mandi waaj."
84. "Nanke naan jamna mai,
85. Jamanga mein babal de desh.
86. Gut da pranda khul lai mai,
87. Ban lai sajja angootha,
88. Tur babale de des."
89. "Ik salaman, do salaman merian babla,
90. Mein chali sauharian de desh."
91. "Ik salaman merian, do salaman we kanta,
92. Hun rakh apne jai di laaj,
93. Ik salaman merian, do salaman ni sasse,
94. Rakh le put apne di laaj."
95. "Meri naan noon, meri put di naan wahuti,
96. Eh gadwana di naar,
97. Jewar rajia, meria putra, rakh mehlan di laaj."
98. "Tutti Hoi kothri palang purana, lai Bachhle,
99. Meria rania, rakh mehlan di laaj."
100. Beta janmia chauran wala
101. Chanan hoia ghar baar
102. "Jewar rajia, Kanta meria,
103. Gugga taan rakhi ehda naan
104. Kai te deeve ehde mathe te jagde
105. Chanan hoia ghar baar."
106. "Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian,
107. Jewar rajia, kanta meria, puttar noon mehlin waar."
108. "Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian,
109. Mai merie,
110. Apne potre noon mahlin waan.”
111. “Meri naan noon, meri put di naan wahuti,
112. Barin warhin kitho naar?”
113. “Ik salaman merian, do salaman, wey
114. Guru Gorakh Natha,
115. Puthian noon sidhian paa.”
116. “Kapla te gaoo da goha mangaia
117. Neen raje di maie,
118. Teri nahin rehni aulad.”
119. Sutta Jewar saun gia, rahi naan maan di aulad,
120. Gugga aa gia mahlan de wich.
121. Gopi ne booha khol ke wekhia,
122. Gugga khede Sirial naal,
123. Sirial mangi Gugge naal.
124. Arjun wi giya te Surjan vi giya, te akhan
125. Gopi rani noon te Sanja raje noon,
126. “Jori naan rajia jor,
127. Jori naan rani ehe jor.”
128. “Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian,
129. Mata merie,
130. Kurmai taan mange ga Surjan aap,
131. Kurmai taan mange Arjun aap.”
132. “Iss tan shaihar di kurmai naan leni,
133. O Guggia Jawanan,
134. Kurmai taan chhad de app.”
135. “Ehe tan mang mein kadi naan chhadni
136. Sirial naan methon chhadi ja.”
137. Akhe bauhrin Takshik Nag,
138. Kurmai taan mangda Arjun aap
139. Kurmai taan mangda Surjan aap.”
140. Agon bole Takshik Nag
141. “Kurmai de wele khabar naan keeti
142. Sun oe Guggia Rajia
143. Chhuttan de wele kita yaad.”
144. Ik naag phan chuk ke bolia.
145. “Jinu mein wadhan o rahe naan raat.”
146. Ik hor naag kolon uthke bolia,
147. "Jinun mein laran oho rahe naan pehar."
148. Daurian kurian Sirial kol aiyan
149. "Aa nee chaliye baagh wich paiya peengh."
150. Iko jhoota aje Sirial nein liya
151. Takshik aap hi maria dang,
152. Daur ke kurian Gopi kol aiyan,
153. Gopiya Ranie, Sirial te paye behosh."
154. Daur ke Gopi Sirial kol aiee,
155. "Beti tenun ki pai balaa."
156. Ik Brahman ake akhe,
157. "Sirial jadoo nal dewan jawal,
158. Ihda karan je wiah Gugge nal."
159. "Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian,
160. Ve Brahmanan dhi meri deh khan jawal,
161. Ihda karan gi wiah Gugge nal."
162. "Ik salaman merian, do salaman merian,
163. Mata merie,
164. Sirial taan meri naar."
165. "Haan ve bachia mein ve haan mandi
166. Par galan karange lok,
167. Gugge di kaun barat naal jaiga,
168. Pio te giya soo parlok."
169. Gugge nein akhia,
170. "Mai neen merie,
171. Guru Gorakh mere naal,
172. Oho mere naal chalega barat.""
173. Agejo baithe Arjun te Surjan,
174. Khich ke nangi talwar
175. Gugge Chauhan wekhia donan noon,
176. Wekhke ditta lalkar,
177. Arjun te Surjan ditte mar.
178. Gugga jitia te wiha ke liyaia Sirial naar.

The line-wise English translation of the above-cited song is given below:—

1. "I bow to you, I bow to you
2. I salute you once, I salute you twice,
3. Oh Guru Gorakh, Oh Creator,
4. Bless us with progeny."
5. "There is nothing for you now Oh Baachhal,
6. Come tomorrow and get offspring."
7. Bachhal went to Kachhal running and said,
8. "Oh sister Kachhal, tomorrow I will get offspring"
9. Kachhal ran to Bachhal and said,
10. "Oh sister, just lend me your clothes,
11. I am to go to the land of my father,
12. Thence I have received a bad news."
13. Wearing the clothes, Kachhal came to Gorakh and said,
14. "O respected Guru, bless me with children."
15. He gave him issues from his matted hair and said,
16. "Name the twins, Arjun and Surjan."
17. Kachhal ran to Bachhal and told her,
18. "I have come from the land of my father
19. My father is safe and sound."
20. Bachhal ran to Gorakh and said,
21. "O Gorakh, give me children."
22. Gorakh was enraged to see her and said,
23. "O my disciples, stop her, stop her,
24. She demands children again and again."
25. The belief-bound Bachhal did not budge an inch
26. She stood still in hope for 12 years
27. Gorakh decamped from there
28. And reached the country of Raja Sanja,
29. He encamped in a garden,
30. Wearing the true dress of Yogis
31. Queen Gopi came running to the garden and said,
32. "O respected Yogi, give me children"
33. The yogi gave her some herb and said,
34. "O queen, keep your belief firm,
35. Then O queen, a daughter Sirial will be born to you,
36. Gugga Chauhan will come to marry her."
37. Then the group of Yogis started,
38. And came to the vicinity of Garh Dadrer,
39. The disciples of Gorakh were cutting grass,
When they saw Bachhal still standing since 12 years,
She was standing still like an ascetic,
Seeing her conviction, Gorakh was pleased and said,
"O Queen, your belief is perfect,
I bless you with this piece of bdellium,
The brave Gugga will be born to you."
After some time, the pregnancy of Bachhal,
Became very conspicuous,
The sister-in-law poisoned her brother,
He changed his mind,
He expelled her wife from the house,
She went to her father,
"Save my honour, Oh father, I have come to you."
Gugga spoke, "O mother,
I will not take birth in maternal village,
I am father's true son, if I am born at Dadrera."
"I salute once,
I salute you twice,
O my husband, Raja Jewar,
I have come to your door,
Save the honour of your wife and son."
"Tell me Bachhal, how can I receive you after 12 years?"
"I salute you once, I salute you twice,
Oh my mother-in-law I have come after 12 years."
"You are neither my daughter-in-law,
You are nor my son's wife,
You are the espouse of Yogis."
"Only true God knows, Oh mother-in-law,
Do not utter evil words."
"I salute you once, I salute you twice,
Oh my mother,
Let me come into the palace."
"Listen to me my son Jewar,
Get her a broken cart,
Get her a leper cart-man,
He should carry her to her father."
76. Gorakh in guise of a 12 yreas' young man,
77. Became her cart-driver,
78. The cart had coloured wheels.
79. "I salute you once,
80. I salute you twice, Oh my daughter,
81. How have you happened to come?"
82. "I salute you once, I salute you twice,
83. Oh my father, I received some bad news."
84. "Mother, I will not take my birth in maternal father's house,
85. I will take birth at father's house,
86. Untie the tassel of your braided hair,
87. Tie your right thumb,
88. Go to my father's land."
89. "I salute you once, I salute you twice,
90. My father, I am going to the land of my in-laws."
91. I salute you once, I greet you twice, Oh husband,
92. Now save the honour of your son."
93. "I salute you once, I salute you twice, Oh mother-in-law,
94. Now save the honour of your son."
95. "She is not my daughter-in-law, nor wife of my son,
96. She is the wife of cart-man,
97. O Jewar Raja, O my son save the honour of the palace."
98. "O Bachhal, take broken room and an old cot,
99. O my queen save the honour of palace."
100. The effulgent son was born,
101. Light appeared in and out of the house
102. "O Jewar Raja, my husband,
103. Give him the name of Gugga,
104. Several lamps light over his fore-head,
105. Light has appeared inside and outside the house."
106. "I salute you once, I salute you twice,
107. O Jewar Raja, my husband, receive your son in palace"
108. "I greet you once, I greet you twice,
109. O my mother,
110. Let your grand-son enter the palace."
111. "Neither my daughter-in-law, nor my son's wife,
Whence this woman has come after twelve years?"
"I salute you once, I salute you twice,
O Guru Gorakh Nath,
Correct the incorrigible."
"The dung of Kapla cow was fetched,
O mother of Raja,
Your children will not survive."
Jewar died while asleep, mother's son was dead
Gugga came to the palace.
Gopi opened the door and saw,
Gugga was playing with Sirial,
Sirial was engaged with Gugga.
Arjun and Surjan both went and said,
"O Queen Gopi, O Raja Sanja,
Do not marry Sirial with Gugga,
O Queen do not marry Sirial with Gugga,
I salute you once, I salute you twice,
O my mother,
Betrothal is demanded by Surjan for himself
Betrothal is demanded by Arjan for himself."
"The betrothal from this city is not to be accepted,
O Gugga, the youth,
You should reject this offer."
"I will never reject this fiancée,
Sirial, I cannot, reject."
Come and bless, O Takshik Nag,
Betrothal is demanded by Arjan for himself,
Betrothal is demanded by Surjan for himself."
Takshik Nag replied,
'You did not inform me at the time of betrothal,
Listen, O king Gugga,
At the time of its breaking, you have remembered me."
A snake shouted, raising his head,
"He shall not survive for a night, whom I bite."
Another snake rose and said,
"He shall not survive for an hour, whom I bite."
The girls came running to Sirial,
"Let us go, and put swings in the garden."
150. Sirial had only one swing,
151. Takshik bit her himself,
152. The girls came running to Gopi,
153. "O Queen Gopi, Sirial is lying unconscious."
154. Gopi came to Sirial and said,
155. "What calamity has fallen on you?"
156. There came a Brahman and said,
157. "I will revive Sirial by magic,
158. If you marry her to Gugga."
159. "I salute you once, I salute you twice,
160. O Brahman revive my daughter,
161. I will marry her to Gugga"
162. I bow to you once, I bow to you twice,
163. O my mother,
164. Sirial is my wife."
165. "Yes, O son I agree too,
166. But the people will say
167. Who will go with the marriage party of Gugga?
168. His father has already died."
169. Gugga said,
170. "O my mother,
171. Guru Gorakh Nath is already with me,
172. He will go with my marriage party."
173. On the way there sat Arjun and Surjan,
174. With naked swords in their hands
175. Gugga Chauhan saw them
176. On seeing them, he challenged them to fight with him.
177. He killed both Arjun and Surjan,
178. Gugga won and brought Sirial in marriage.

Besides the above-recorded long song in the praise of Gugga, the Sikligar women sing some other smaller songs. A day or two before the ninth of Bhadon, the actual day of Gugga festival, the Sikligar men go out in search of some holes of snakes, which they show to their women-folk. On the day of the festival, all the families plaster their houses with cow-dung. They wear new and clean clothes. In the morning, the dishes of sewian and rice-milk (kheer) are prepared. Then the women gather, taking these dishes
in their thalis. They also take with them some milk in separate vessels. They burn dough lamps in their houses and each woman carries a burning lamp with her placing it in the thali along with sewian and kheer, to put them before the hole of a snake which was already spotted out by the Sikligar men. They go singing on the way the following songs in praise of Gugga:

(2)

"Dhauliye dahriya,
Chittiye pagge neen
Araz kareni han Gugge de agge neen
Sukhian bellan noon
Je phal lagge neen."
(O gray beard
O white turban
I pray to Gugga
The withered trailers
May bear fruit.)

This song is sung in order to pray to Gugga to bless the issueless women with children.

They sing the following song at the time of lighting lamps in their houses:

(3)

"Gugga jamiia Chauran wala
Chanan hoiya ghar bar
Kai.deewe ohde mathe te jagde
Chanan hoiya ghar bar."
(The effulgent Gugga is born
Light has appeared inside and outside the house
Several lamps are lighted over his forehead
Light has appeared inside and outside the house.

They sing the following song on the way to the holes of the snake:

(4)

"Pale.mere chhalian
Main.Gugga manawan chalians
Jee main wari Gugga ji
Palle mere mathian
Mein Gugga manawan nathian
Ji main wari Gugga ji
La chali katora dudh da
Mera Gugga wehre wich kud da
Ji main wari Gugga ji
Chhana bharia tel da
Mera Gugga wehre wich pelda
Ji main wari Gugga ji
Sada Gugga khush khush jaega
Saapoon nagan te sappan ton bachai ga
Ji main wari Gugga ji."
(I have tied cobs in my skirt
I am going to worship Gugga
I sacrifice all for respected Gugga
I have got fried-bread with me
I am running to worship Gugga
I sacrifice all for respected Gugga
I am carrying a cup of milk
My Gugga struts in the court-yard of the house
I sacrifice all for respected Gugga
Our Gugga will go happy
He will save us from snakes
I sacrifice all for respected Gugga).

The text of all the above-noted songs of Gugga is given in Devnagari (Hindi) script in Appendix No. 3.

The women-folk reach the hole of a snake singing songs of Gugga, and on reaching the hole, they place the new earthen cups full
of milk, kheer and sewian near and around the hole. They reverently place the burning lamps also near the hole. Then all of them pray with folded hands, "Hey Karmanwalia Guggia, sanoon appna darshan naan devin." (O kind Gugga, do not appear before us in person). As a matter of fact, they associate Gugga with the snake itself and in reality their prayer to Gugga means to invoke protection from him from the bite of a snake.

Then they return home, but looking behind, towards, the consecrated hole of the snake is a taboo to them. After reaching home, all the people begin to eat the sweet dishes which were prepared to celebrate the festival of Gugga. It may be remembered that nobody eats these dishes before they are offered to Gugga at the hole of a snake. Sometimes all the families of an encampment of Sikligars subscribe to a common fund and this collection of money is spent to arrange a big feast of sweets enjoyed by all as a common-meal. In the end it goes without saying that Gugga is the most prominent festival celebrated by the Sikligars.
APPENDIX NO. 1

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

ACT NO. VI OF 1924

An Act to consolidate the law relating to Criminal Tribes
(As modified up to the 1st September, 1933).

Whereas it is expedient to consolidate the law relating to
criminal tribes; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

Preliminary

1. (1) This Act may be called the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924.
Short title and extent.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the
subject or context,—Definitions.

(1) "district" includes a Presidency-town and the town
of Rangoon;

(2) "District Magistrate" means, in the case of a Presi-
dency-town or the town of Rangoon, the Commissioner of Police;

(3) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under
this Act; and

(4) "Superintendent of Police" means, in the case of a
Presidency-town or the town of Rangoon, any officer appointed by
the Local Government to perform the duties of a Superintendent of
Police under this Act.

Notification of Criminal Tribes

3. If the Local Government has reason to believe that any
tribe, gang or class of persons, or any part of a tribe, gang or class,
is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences.
it may, by notification in the local official Gazette, declare that such tribe, gang or class or, as the case may be, that such part of the tribe, gang or class is a criminal tribe for the purposes of this Act.

Power to declare any tribe, gang or class a criminal tribe.

Registration of Members of Criminal Tribes

4. The local Government may direct the District Magistrate to make or to cause to be made a register of the members of any criminal tribe, or part of a criminal tribe, within his district.

Registration of members of criminal tribes.

5. Upon receiving such direction, the District Magistrate shall publish notice in the prescribed manner at the place where* the register is to be made and at such other place as he may think fit calling upon all the members of the criminal tribe or part, as the case may be—*Procedure in making register.

(a) to appear at a time and place therein specified before a person appointed by him in this behalf;

(b) to give to that person such information as may be necessary to enable him to make the register; and

(c) to allow their finger-impressions to be recorded, provided that the District Magistrate may exempt any member from registration and may cancel any such exemption.

6. The register, when made, shall be placed in the keeping of the Superintendent of Police, who shall, from time to time, report** to the District Magistrate any alterations which ought, in his opinion, to be made therein, either by way of addition or erasure.

**Charge of register.

7. (1) After the register has been placed in the keeping of the Superintendent of Police, no person's name shall be added to the register, and no registration shall*** be cancelled, except by, or under an order in writing of, the District Magistrate.

***Alterations in register.
(2) Before the name of any person is added to the register under the section, the Magistrate shall give notice in the prescribed manner to the person concerned—

(a) to appear before him or an authority appointed by him in this behalf at a time and place therein specified.

(b) to give him or such authority such information as may be necessary to enable the entry to be made; and

(c) to allow his finger-impressions to be recorded.

8. Any person deeming himself aggrieved by any entry made, or proposed to be made, in such register, either when the register is first made or subsequently, may complain to the District Magistrate against such entry, and the Magistrate shall retain such person’s name on the register, or enter it therein or erase it therefrom, as he may think fit.

Complaints of entries in register.

9. The District Magistrate or any officer empowered by him in this behalf may at any time order the finger-impressions of any registered member of a criminal tribe to be taken.

Power to take finger-impressions at any time.

10. (1) The Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, issue in respect of any criminal tribe either or both of the following directions, namely, that every registered member thereof shall, in the prescribed manner,

(a) report himself at fixed intervals;

(b) notify his place of residence and any change or intended change of residence, and any absence of intended absence from his residence.

(2) Where a registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which the Local Government has issued a notification under sub-section (1) changes his place of residence to a district other than that in which he has been registered (whether in the
same province or not), or is for the time being in a district of a province other than that by the Local Government of which the said notification was issued, the provisions of this Act and of the rules made thereunder shall apply to him as if in pursuance of a direction made under section 4 he had been registered in that district; and there that district is in a province other than that by the Local Government of which the notifications under section 3 and sub-section (1) of this section were issued in respect of such criminal tribe, as if the said notifications had been issued by the Local Government of such other provinces

(3) Where any such registered member changes his place of residence to a district other than that in which has been registered (whether in the same province or not), the relevant entry in the register shall be transferred to the Superintendent of Police of that district.

**Restriction of Movements of Criminal Tribes**

11. (1) If the Local Government considers that it is expedient that any criminal tribe or any part or member of a criminal tribe should be —

Power to restrict movements of, or settle criminal tribes.

(a) restricted in its or his movements to any specified area; or

(b) settled in any place of residence, the Local Government may, by notification in the local official gazette declare that such criminal tribe, part or member, as the case may be, shall be restricted in its or his movements to the area specified in the notification, or shall be settled in the place of residence so specified as the case may be.

(2) Before making any such declaration, the Local Government shall consider the following matters, namely:

(i) the nature and the circumstances of the offences in which the members of the criminal tribe or part or the individual member, as the case may be, are or is believed to have been concerned.
(ii) whether the criminal tribe, part or member follows any lawful occupation, and whether such occupation is a real occupation or merely a pretense for the purpose of facilitating the commission of crimes.

(iii) the suitability of the restriction area, or of the place of residence, as the case may be, which it is proposed to specify in the notification; and

(iv) the manner in which it is proposed that the persons to be restricted or settled shall earn their living within the restriction area or in the place of residence, and the adequacy of the arrangements which are proposed therefor.

12. The Local Government may by a like notification vary the terms of any notification issued by it under section 11 for the purpose of specifying another restriction area* or another place of residence, as the case may be, and any officer empowered in this behalf by the Local Government may, by order in writing, vary any notification made under section 11 or under this section for the purpose of specifying another restriction areas, or, as the case may be, another place of residence, in the same district.

*Power to vary specified area or place or residence.

13. Any notification made by the Local Government under section 11 or section 12 may specify, as the restriction** area or as the place of residence, an area or place situated in any other province provided that the consent of the Local Government of that province shall first have been obtained.

**Power of Local Government to restrict or settle criminal tribe in another province.

14. Every registered member of a criminal tribe, whose movements have been restricted or who has been settled in a place of residence in pursuance of any notification under*** section 11 or section 12 shall attend at such place and at such time and before such person as may be prescribed in this behalf.

***Verification of presence of members of tribe within prescribed area or place of residence.
15. (1) Where, in pursuance of any such notification, any member of a criminal tribe is restricted in his movements to an area, or is settled in a place of residence, situated** in a province other than that by the Local Government of which the notification under section 3 relating to the criminal tribe was issued, all the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder shall apply to him as if the notification under section 3 had been issued by the Local Government of such other province.

**Application of Act when criminal tribe is transferred from one province or district to another.

(2) If any criminal tribe, or any part of a criminal tribe which has been registered under section 4 in any district, or any member of such tribe or part, is restricted in its or his movements to an area, or is settled in a place of residence situated in another district (whether in the same province or not), the register or as the case may be, the relevant entries or entry therein shall be transferred to the Superintendent of Police of the last mentioned district, and all the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder shall apply as if the criminal tribe or part had been registered in that district, and the District Magistrate of that district shall have power to cancel any exemption granted under section 5.

**Settlements and Schools**

16. The Local Government may establish industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlements and may order to be placed in any such settlement any criminal tribe, or any part or member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which or of whom a notification has been issued under section 11.

Provided that no such order shall be made unless the necessity for making it has been established to the satisfaction of the Local Government, after an inquiry held by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed.
17. (1) The Local Government may establish industrial, agricultural or reformatory schools for children, and may order to be separated and removed from their parents or guardians and to be placed in any such school or schools the children of members of any criminal tribe or part of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification has been issued under Section 11.

(2) For every school established under sub-section (1) a Superintendent shall be appointed by the Local Government.

(3) The provisions of section 18 to 22 of the Reformatory schools Act, 1897, shall, so far as may be, apply in the case of every school for children established under this section as if the Superintendent of such school were a Superintendent and the children placed in such school were youthful offenders within the meaning of that Act.

(4) For the purposes of this section the term "children" includes all persons under the age of eighteen and above the age of six years.

(5) The decision of the District Magistrate as to the age of any person for the purposes of this section shall be final.

18. The Local Government or any officer authorised by it in this behalf may at any time, by general order, direct any person who may be in any industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlement or school in the province—

(a) to be discharged, or

(b) to be transferred to some other settlement or school in the province.

*Power to discharge or transfer persons from settlement or school.

19. Any order made under section 16 or section 18 may specify as the settlement or school in which any person is to be placed or to which he is to be transferred as the case may be, any industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlement or school in any other province, provided that the consent of the Local
Government of that province shall first have been obtained.

**Power to direct use of any settlement or school in British India for reception of persons.

Rules

20. (1) The Local Government may make rules to carry out the purposes and objects of this Act.

*Power to make rules.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for or regulate—

(a) the form and contents of the register referred to in section 4,

(b) the manner in which the notice referred to in section 5 shall be published and the means by which the persons whom it concerns, and the village headmen, village watchmen and landowners and occupiers agents of such landowners or occupiers, shall be informed of its publication;

(c) the addition of names to the register and the erasure of names therein, and the mode in which the notice referred to in sub-section (2) of section 7 shall be given,

(d) the manner in which persons mentioned in section 10 shall report themselves, or notify residence or any change or intended change of residence, or any absence or intended absence;

(e) the nature of the restrictions to be observed by persons whose movements have been restricted by notifications under section 11 or section 12;

(f) the circumstances in which members of a criminal tribe shall be required to possess and produce for inspection certificates of identity, and the manner in which such certificates will be granted;

(g) the conditions as to holding passes under which persons may be permitted to leave the place in which they are
settled or confined, or the area to which their movements are restricted;

(h) the conditions to be inserted in any such pass in regard to:

(i) the places where the holder of the pass may go or reside;

(ii) the persons before whom, from time to time, he shall be bound to present himself; and

(iii) the time during which he may absent himself;

(i) the place and time at which, and the persons before whom, members of a criminal tribe shall attend in accordance with the provisions of section 14;

(j) the authority by whom and the manner in which the inquiry referred to in section 16 shall be held;

(k) the inspection of the residence and villages of any criminal tribe;

(l) the terms upon which registered members of criminal tribes may be discharged from the operation of this Act;

(m) the management, control and supervision of industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlements and school;

(n) the works on which, and the hours during which, persons placed in an industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlement shall be employed, the rate at which they shall be paid, and the disposal, for the benefit of such persons, of the surplus proceeds of their labour; and

(o) the discipline to which persons endeavouring to escape from any industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlement or school, or otherwise offending against the rules for the time being in force, shall be subject, the periodical visitation of such settlement or school and the removal from it of such persons as it shall seem expedient to remove.

Penalties and Procedure

21. Whoever, being a member of a criminal tribe, without **lawful excuse, the burden of proving which shall be upon him—
(a) fails to appear in compliance with a notice issued under section 5 or section 7 or,

(b) intentionally omits to furnish any information required under either of those sections, or

(c) when required to furnish information under either of those sections, furnishes as true any information which he knows or has reason to believe to be false, or

(d) refuses to allow his finger-impressions to be taken by any person acting under an order passed under section 9 may be arrested without warrant, and shall be punishable with imprisonment for term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both.

**Penalties for failure to comply with terms of notice under section 5 or section 7.**

22. (1) Whoever, being a registered member of a criminal tribe, contravenes a rule made under clause (c), clause (g) or clause (h) of section 20 shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend—

(a) on a first conviction, to one year.

(b) on a second conviction, to two years, and

(c) on any subsequent conviction, three years or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both.

(2) Whoever, being a registered member of a criminal tribe, contravenes any other rule made under section 20 shall be punishable:

(a) on a first conviction, with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees, or with both; and

(b) on any subsequent conviction, with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

(3) Any person who commits or is reasonably suspected of having committed an offence made punishable by this section which is not a cognizable offence as defined in V of 1898:
the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, may be arrested without a warrant by any officer in-
charge ofpolice-station or by any police-officer not below the rank of a sub-inspector.

23. (1) Whoever, being a member of any criminal tribe and having been convicted of any of the offences under the Indian Penal Code specified in Schedule I, is **convicted of the same or of any other such offence shall, in the absence of special reasons to the contrary which shall be stated in the judgment of the Court, be punished—

**Enhanced punishment for certain
offence by members of criminal tribe
after previous convictions.

(a) on a second conviction, with imprisonment for a term of not less than seven years, and

(b) on a third or any subsequent conviction, with transportation for life;

Provided that not more than one of any such convictions which may have occurred before the first day of March, 1911, shall be taken into account for the purposes of this sub-section.

(2) Nothing in this section shall affect the liability of such person to any further or other punishment to which he may be liable under the Indian Penal Code or any other law.

24. Whoever, being a registered member of any criminal tribe, is found in any place under such circumstances as to satisfy the court—

(a) that he was about to commit or aid in the commission of theft or robbery, or

(b) that he was waiting for an opportunity to commit theft or robbery

shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.
the question whether they have been complied with; but every such notification shall be conclusive proof that it has been issued in accordance with law.

****Bar of jurisdiction of Courts in questions relating certain notifications.

30. (Repeals) Repealed by the Repealing Act, 1927 (12 of 1927).

SCHEDULE I.

Criminal Tribes

SCHEDULE I,

(See section 23)

CHAPTER XII

Sections

231. Counterfeiting coin.
232. Counterfeiting Queen's coin.
233. Making or selling instrument for counterfeiting coin.
234. Making or selling for counterfeiting Queen's coin.
235. Possession of instrument or material for the purpose of using the same for counterfeiting coin.
239. Delivery of coin, possessed with the knowledge that it is counterfeit.
240. Delivery of Queen's coin possessed with the knowledge that it is counterfeit.
242. Possession of counterfeit coin by a person who knew it to be counterfeit when he became possessed thereof.
243. Possession of Queen's coin by a person who knew it to be counterfeit when he became possessed thereof.

CHAPTER XVI

299. Culpable homicide.
307. Attempt to murder.
308. Attempt to commit culpable homicide.
310. Being a thug.
322. Voluntarily causing grievous hurt.

324. Voluntarily causing hurt by dangerous weapons or means.

326. Voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means.

327. Voluntarily causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act.

328. Causing hurt by means of poison, etc. with intent to commit an offence.

329. Voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act.

332. Voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from his duty.

333. Voluntarily causing grievous hurt to deter public servant from his duty.

369. Kidnapping child under ten years with intent to steal from its person.

CHAPTER XVII

382. Theft after preparation made for causing death, hurt or restraint, in order to the committing of the theft.

383. Extortion.

385. Putting person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion.

386. Extortion by putting a person in fear of death or grievous hurt.

387. Putting in fear of death or of grievous hurt in order to commit extortion.

390. Robbery.

391. Dacoity.

393. Attempt to commit robbery.

394. Voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery,
397. Robbery or dacoity, with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt.

398. Attempt to commit robbery or dacoity when armed with deadly weapon.

399. Making preparation to commit dacoity.

402. Assembling for purpose of committing dacoity.

457. Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night in order to the commission of an offence punishable with imprisonment.

458. Lurking house-breaking by night after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint.

459. Grievous hurt caused whilst committing lurking house-trespass or house-breaking.

460. All persons jointly concerned in lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night punishable where death or grievous hurt caused by one of them.
(१)
यह मन्त्र जिन भूत को निकालने के लिए है:

“मल्ये बसे कर्मराजा
सिर बसे कुख राजा
कुख पाए कुख बसे
चन्द पाए चन्द बसे
मल्ये की मशेसरी
जहां कहूं वहां खड़े
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
छुरे मन्तर
ईसर महादेव
tेरा बाचा बले”

(२)
यह मन्त्र भी जिन भूत को निकालने के लिए है:

“कंकर की मारी कांचलि
परवत चीर बले
परवत चीर के क्या करोगे
चन्नन बढ़ावांगे
चन्नन बड़ा के क्या करोगे
कोले बनाबांगे
कोले बना के क्या करोगे
बीजा सार की छुरी बनावांगे
छुरी बनाकर क्या करोगे
भूत को, प्रेत को, देव को,
दानू को, परी को, फरेस्ते को
काट के, खारे समुंदर में डालेंगे
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
ईसर महादेव
tेरा वाचा चले"

( ३ )
यह मन्त्र भी जिन भूत को निकालने के लिए है:

“महोच से सिर हुक्क राजा
कुछ पाए कुछ बसे
चंद पाए चंद बसे
वा दसे वा बसे
तत्व तंत्र सिंहूर
सत मारूं बेडी का पूर
घल में हरन
घल में हरन
मेरे गुरू ने कहा हंकार न बोलना
सत्तर सै नाबड़ा
बहुतर सै हुड़ी
तबने का कोट
हुके का भाडू
भाड भूड़ के
कहूं बेर
नो बिहां नारसं
ततविहां बेत्तलाल
किहले किहले बीर आए
मेरी जति बीर आए
वण वण करीर सटन्दे आए
रख, रख, गुरू गोरख नाथ की रख
कार्यता रखे कालका
बड़ रखे पंगम्बर
सिर रखे मियां नरसिंह जति
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
पुरे मन्तर
dीसर महादेव
tेरा बाचा चले”

(४)

यह मन्त्र मूर्ति के रोग को हटाने के लिए है:

“इक लाख अस्सी हजार भूत मने अन्दर बसवा होवे
ओरे बल पौन बनहा
सुरत मन चित बुढा
बनहा हाशिनी डाकिनी
गुरु शब्द विचार
नानक बने दसवें द्वार
जेती मुखिल वेती आसान
देव अर्घन के रूप
उड़नी भाव
बेटालिया बीर
बटका बीर
बरनाभोविया बीर
nरसिंह बीर
मेरों बीर
kावनवंता बीर
dजिया बिजिया बसोघरी
kागनी कुंडवी, अलस्पुरी, कलस्पुरी
पशुचमकरे
gलोधें का संगल बारे
जादू करे, जिस्ट करे, मिस्ट करे
उलट बहां सिर पड़े
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
ईसर महादेव  
मंतर महादेव,  
मंतर बाबे नानक जी का सम्पूर्ण होवे”

(५)  
यहू मन्त्र जिन भूतों को निकालने के लिए हैः  

“ढढ़ ढढ़ बांधू  
मठही मसान बांधू  
जिन बांधूं भूत बांधूं  
बारा कोहो अगाड़ी बांधूं  
बारा कोहो पछाड़ी बांधूं  
बांध बूंध के  
करूं जेर  
हमारे गुरु का  
सब रखवाला शेकर फेर  
मेरी मगत  
मेरे गुरु की सकत  
ईसर महादेव  
तेरा बाचा चले”

(६)  
यहू मन्त्र संतान उत्पन्न करने के लिए हैः  

“मंतर अंहारे का  
गौरजां कथि का  
बैर कर लड़ये  
सिर बंदे कंठा  
थाम थाम हंगमन्वा  
घरती घरन पड़े तो जान्हा  
जान्हा घरती पर पड़े  
इक रास बिराजे जान  
दुहाई बुदा की
दुहाई रसूल की
दुहाई गुलमान पंगम्बर की
नौ नाथ चौरासी सिद्ध
वनस्तर, सो जोगनी
बवन्जा सो बीर
भस्म करां हनवन्ता बीर
हमारे काम को तुम चले
तुम्हारे काम को हुमान अल्ला
मडी मसानी, रूप देस से पकड़के,
पुरे पलीता हनवन्त का
जब नरसिन्ह चले
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
पुरे मन्तर
ईसर महादेव
tेरा बाचा चले”

(७)

यह मन्त्र जिन भूतों को निकालने के लिए है:

“जाग मेरों जाग
लोहा बांधूं परों साथ
अपने जी का दुःख बंजारूं
राख, वरती माता, चन्द्र, सूरज, दिन रात,
काल कपट सब दूर
hंठों हरनी, वांतों हरनी
राज द्वारे रक्षा करनी
युद्ध जंग में रक्षा करनी
मित्र को रखनी
दुश्मन की भक्षनी
शुभा गुण चौहान
रखें खूंट का राव
लाख बागड़ का घनी।
लोहे का कोट, तरामें की खाई।
सतगुरु पूरा भेटिया, चित मिटाई।
मेरी मांगत।
मेरे गुरु की सकत।
पुरे मन्तर।
ईशर महादेव।
तेरा वाचा चले।"

(४)

यह मन्त्र स्वरूप, दुःखमणों और जिन भूतों को चश में करने के लिए है:

"आदेख घरती माता को आदेख।
पवन पानी को आदेख।
चांद सूरज को आदेख।
मेरे गुरु को आदेख।
चौसठ जोगिनी को आदेख।
मेरी मांगत।
मेरे गुरु की सकत।
पुरे मन्तर।
ईशर महादेव।
तेरा वाचा चले।"

(९)

यह मन्त्र भी भूतों प्रेतों को निकालने के लिए है:

"गरड़, कुकड़, मच्छी, हुड़ताल।
आक की तकड़ी नीम का बाट।
ऊपर बैठे वाद।
माहं एक।
ना हिले ना जुले।"
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुरु की सकत
फुरे मन्तर
ईंसर महादेव
tera वाचा चले”

(१०)
भूत चौट करके हजारों मील भी चला जाये तो उस को कैद करके ले ग्राहन का मन्त्र :
“हजारत मुहम्मद शाह बीर की
आग, सांग सीत का घोड़ा, सीत का पलान
तिस पर चंदे, मुंदर तिलकूली का जाम
अमदा बीर, काला बीर, भरों बीर,
काव्यवन्ता बीर
इत्यादि, बिज्ज्या, कागुमी, कुड़मी
अलसपुरी, कलसपुरी, पशुवंशकारे
गलोहिक संगल डारे
sिर सार की मुंगली मारे
जाहू करे, जिस्ट करे, मिस्ट करे
उहट बहुं सिर पड़े
pकढ़ने कौन-कौन चले
आगे कलवा बीर चले
पीछे ममदया बीर चले
भरों बीर चले
नरसिन्ह बीर चले
काव्यवन्ता बीर चले
हाथों में हृतकढ़ी
pेरों में पेर कढ़ी
बांध जूड़ के
ढोली को हाजिर करो
n करोगे तो बीवी फातमा के रक्त में नहायोगे
मेरी भगत
मेरे गुड़ की सकत
फुरे मन्तर
ईसर महादेव
tेरा बाचा चले”

( ११ )

विच्छू काटने की दर्द को दूर करने का मन्त्र :

“उठे सेड़े टिब टिबेले
जहां विच्छू दे पड़े डेले
सिन्ध बंजूर की बूढ़ी
गज मोटी दा हार
उतरे तां उतर
चढ़े तां मारां
मा उतरे
गुड़ गुड़ खाकी नाम दी आन
ब्याजे मल दीन की आन”

( १२ )

कोई भी दुःख दूर करने के लिए पढ़ा जाता है :

“ओह नाम
हनुमान बल जंगी हठीला
माता इंजनी का जाया
बोझ बेले सिमारिये
दोहरा आया
फुरे मन्तर
ईसर महादेव
tेरा बाचा चले”
(१२)
स्त्री को वश में करने का मन्त्र:

"हंसन बीर, बंसन बीर
बीरत में बसे नरसिंह बीर
हम चले बीर की
दे से घर छोड़े, दर छोड़े
छोड़े, छोड़े
सिर दा साई
बड़ी सुख न बैठी सुख
नित आ देखे हमरा सुख
हम को छोड़ ओर पे जाये
गूह गोरख नाथ की दुहाई चले" 

(१४)
यह मन्त्र अठराहे का है जिसे हम अठरा कहते हैं:

"पोरजां कठि घर
थाम थाम हुनमता
घरती थाम परन्ता
दे आंधे घरती पढ़े
आकाश बिराजे की आन
दुहाई घरती की
दुहाई पैगम्बर की
दुहाई जैकिल की
दुहाई अमरनाथ की
दुहाई चौरासी सिद्धों की
दुहाई बवन्या बीरों की
कौन-कौन चले पकड़ने चले
बवन्या सो बीर चले
हनवन्त चले
मेरों चले
लीकड़ियां बीर चले"
कौन जती?
हुनवन्त जती
खंद्रपाल माई का पूत
कौन जती?
कमर जती
बाल जती
हुनवन्त जती
खंद्रपाल माई का पूत
जिनी को मूतनी को
हाकनी को बाकनी को
मठी को मतान को
रूप बेगतों पकड़लियांचे
पुरे मंतर
ईसर महाजे
तेरा वाचा चले”

(१५)

यह मन्त्र अठराह और अठवाह दोनों के लिए है। अगर किसी
स्त्री की सत्तान गर्भ के घाठ मास बाद मरे हुए बच्चों की शक्ल में
जन्म ले तो उसे अठवाह को बीमारी कहते हैं:

“हुनत महन्त सबसे किया त्यारा
जिन मूत सब वृक्ष की छाया
सब सेर का रोट लंगोट
बाला बिदरी नाथा चढ़ाया
साचा माचा मत दे आनन्द
सुरत सम्पाली नरसिंह
सब पीर बांचे वे आया
हुनवन्त जती सब जगत दा बली
जिनी को मूतनी को
मठी को मसान को
बंक-बंक करता
तरंग करता
इतने भरो छपन रहता
कौन मासिया
इक मासिया
दो मासिया
तीन मासिया
चार मासिया
पाँच मासिया
छ: मासिया
सात मासिया
बाढ मासिया
नौ मासिया
कौन परी
हूर परी
पूर परी
शाह परी
सफेद परी
तिन के नाम को सुभानअल्ला
तस्त बली शाह
तेरे नाम को सुभानअल्ला
कुरे मन्तर
ईसर महादेव का वाचा चले”

(९६)
यह मन्त्र शिकार में शिकारियों और हिवियारों को सफलता
के लिए हैः
बिसमिल्ला हर रहमाने रहीम
जल छोड़ा जलिया छोड़ा
ब्रह्म छोड़ा कुसी छोड़ा
कुते दी बंध छोड़ा
गाजड़ी दा गज छोड़ा
बन्दूकन जा मूंह छोड़ा
इहड़ी छोड़ छोड़या
जेहड़ी मले रसूल पान छोड़ेहो
घोड़े पैर खोड़े
बात कुछे, बन्दूक जा छोड़े”

(१७)
स्त्री वस करने का मन्त्र:
“कवच करवा मसान बसे,
मास खाये हाड़े हुसे
चोवाहे की बूल
मसान की छायी
तेरहीं राईं
Pड़-पड़ मारां मंगलवार
रंडी फिर आवे हुमारे द्वार”

(१८)
यह मन्त्र शिकार हुसियार और भाग आद खोलने के लिए है:
“विसमिला रहमाने रहीम
तोहो सन्दा लुहार छुट्टा
कुंदक छुड़ बन्दूक छुट्टी
चीर सन्क मसह छुट्टी
बंदे सो छुड़ि
मोड़ मुड़ि
हुआ हुजरत पीर का”

(१९)
यह मन्त्र पागल कुते, गोदड़, और सांप के काटने, पशुओं को
मूह खुर की बीमारी और मनुष्यों को फोड़ों फुसियों से बचाने के
लिए है:
“विसमिला रहमाने रहीम
हुआ हुजरत पीर का
हुआ छिट्टे कुते का
छिट्टे गीदड़ का
बाग के बिच्छु का
माली का गुहड़ा का
वरोहद्दा का
हुआ हुजरत पीर
फुछे मन्तर तेरा बाचा करे”
Appendix No. 3

गुरुँ के गीत
(१)

1. “सलामा मेरियाँ, सलामा मेरियाँ
2. इक सलामा मेरियाँ, दो सलामा मेरियाँ
3. शो गुरु गोरखा, पैदा करद्या
4. सातू भी देव बौलाए”
5. “इस बेले टे कुज नहीं मिलवा बायीले
6. कल आके लै जाई बौलाए”
7. महजी-महजी बायील कायल कोल आई
8. “नी मैं, कायले मैंनूं कल मिलू, बौलाए”
9. दोई-दोई कायल बायील नूं कहदी
10. “नी मैं, जोड़ दे देहै मैंनूं उधार
11. मैं देख दिता दे जायमा हैि
12. बोटों आई ऐ मन्दी बाज”
13. पाके जोड़ बायल गोरख कोल आई,
14. “गुरु जी सानूं टे देहै बौलाए”
15. जटां नूं खोल के दिती बौलाए
16. “अर्जुन टे सुर्जुन रखी ना”
17. भज के के टे कायल बायील कोल गई,
18. “मैं आई बायल हेख तों
19. मेरे बायल दा बंगा ऐ हाल”
20. दोई बायल गोरख कोल गई,
21. “बे गोरखा सातूं टे दे खां बौलाए”
22. बेख के गोरख नूं रोह चढ़या टे आई
23. “हटको इन्नूं चेलेजो, हटको इन्नूं चेलेजो,
24. चढी मुड़ी मंगदी बौलाए”
25. सिवीक दी बजमी बायल रता ना हिली
26. बारा साल खड़ी लै के आस
27. पुट के डेरा बोड़यां गोरख जु चलया
28. पुज्जा राजे संजा दे देस
29. जाके डेरा उस बाग विच लाया
30. पा जोगी दा सच्चा देश ।
31. बौद्ध के ते रानी गोपी बागे आयी
32. “जोगी जी सानु ते देहो बौद्ध”
33. गोरख ने कोई जड़ी बुद्धी दिती
34. “आख्या, नि रानियाँ पक्का रखीं यकीन
35. फेरे तेरे घर रानियाँ सीरीयल कन्या लेपी जन्म
36. आबेगा उन्नू रानियाँ गुणा चौहान व्याहन”
37. फेरे जो चलिया जोगियाँ दा भुंड
38. आख्या गढ़ ददरेड़ दे कोल
39. गोरख दे वेले रंग सन प्रास जो बीढ
40. बारा बरस दी बालाल अजे भी आये ।
41. अटक खलीती तपसियाँ वांग
42. वेश के सिद्दक तुड़ा आयूस ते
43. रानियाँ नी सिद्दक तेरा पुरा
44. लाए नी गुणाल दिता वार नी रानियाँ
45. तेरे घर गुणा जनमू सूरा
46. बोड़ा चर पिन्छे बालाल दा
47. गर्म होया परतरख
48. नरद ने चूंकया बीर नू
49. बदल गई बोदी अख
50. कंड्या घरों नार नू
51. गई बाबल दे कोल
52. “रख लाज मेरी बाबला में आई तेरे कोल”
53. गभों बोलया गुणा नी माए
54. “जनम ना नानिके लेस्सां
55. बाप दा बेटा तां जे ददरेड़ जनम घरेसां”
56. “इक सलामा मेरियां
57. दौ सलामा मेरियां
58. ओ मेरे कन्ता, जेबर राजिया
59. मैं आई हां तेरे बौलर
60. रख नार दे पुत्र दी लाज
61. दस नी बाचिले किवें बारीं बरहीं संजोग”
62. “इसक सलामा दो सलामा
63. नीं सस रानियें, बारीं ते बरीं आई कोल”
64. “तूं मेरी ना गुहं,
65. मेरे पुत्र दी ना बहोटी
66. तूं हूं उन्हों दी नार”
67. “जानदा वे सज्जा परमेघवर नीं ससे
68. मंदःः बोल न बोल”
69. “इस सलामा मेरियां
70. दो सलामा मेरियां”, आबे जेबर राजा,
71. “नी माये महुली लाए इहनू बाड़
72. सुपा वे मेरया जेबरा
73. दूष्टा जिहा इहनू गढ़ा मंगवा दे
74. कोहुःः मंगवा दे गडवाल
75. पेके जो आवे इहनू बाड़”
76. बारा बरयां दा गोरख बनयां
77. बनया नी ओहुःः गडवाल
78. रंगले तां पाठःः गढ़े नाल
79. “इसक सलामा मेरियां
80. दो सलामा मेरियां, धिये मेरिये
81. किस बिझः तेरा आएणा”
82. “इसक सलामा दो सलामा
83. मेरया बाबला मीनू आई सी मंदःः आवाजः
84. “नानके ना जमना माये,
85. जमना गा मैं बाबल दे देस
86. गुहु दा परांदा खोल ले माये
87. बन्हू लाए सज्जा बंजूःः
88. टूर बाबल दे देस
89. “इंक सलामा, दो सलामा मेरिया बाला”
90. मैं चली सौहरियाँ दे देस”
91. “इंक सलामा मेरियाँ, दो सलामा वे कन्ता”
92. हुए रख अपने जाए दी लाज”
93. “इंक सलामा मेरियाँ, दो सलामा नी सस्ते”
94. हुए रख अपने जाए दी लाज”
95. “मेरी न गुढ़, मेरे पुत्र दी ना बहोटी”
96. बेढ़े गडबाना दी नार”
97. जेवर राजा मेरया पुत्रा, रच महिला दी लाज”
98. “टूटी होई कोठडी पलग पुराना ले बाढ़े”
99. मेरिये रानिए, रच महिलां दी लाज”
100. बेढ़ जनमया चानन बाला”
101. चानन होया घर बार”
102. “जेवर राजया, कन्ता मेरया”
103. गुणा तां रची ऐह्ना नां”
104. कई ते दीवंडे ऐदे मत्थे ते जगदे”
105. चानन होया घर बार”
106. “इंक सलामा मेरियाँ, दो सलामा मेरियाँ”
107. जेवर राजया कन्ता मेरया, पुत्र नू महली बाड़”
108. “इंक सलामा मेरियाँ दो सलामा मेरियाँ”
109. मेरिये रानिवें”
110. पोड़े नू महली बाड़”
111. “मेरी न गुड़ मेरे पुत्र दी न बहोटी”
112. बारहीं वर्षां किथां बार”
113. “इंक सलामा मेरियाँ दो सलामा मेरियाँ”
114. गुड़ सोरख नाया”
115. पृथ्वीयां नू सिद्धियां पा”
116. कला ते गां दा गुड़ा संगाया”
117. “नी राजे दिये माये”
118. तेरी नहीं रहनी जोलाड”
119. गुड़ा जेवर दी गया, रढ़ी ना मां दी जीलाण”
120. गुणा आ गिया महिलां दे विच
121. गोपी ने बुढ़ा खोलके बेकेया
122. गुणा बेड़े सिलियर नाल
123. सिलियर मंगी गुम्मे नाल
124. अर्जुंन भी गया ते सुरंजन भी गया ते सुरंजन
125. गोपी रानी मूं ते संज्ञा राजे मूं
126. "जोड़ी ना राजा ऐहू जोड़
127. जोड़ी ना रानी ऐहू"
128. "इक सलामा मेरियां दो सलामा मेरियां
129. मां मेरिए
130. कुड़माई तां मंगेणा सुरजन आप
131. कुड़माई तां मंगेणा अर्जुन आप"
132. "इसतां शहर दी कुड़ी ना लैखी,
133. ओ गुणा जवाना
134. कुड़माई तां छठू दे आप"
135. "इहे तां मंग मैं कदी ना छठनी
136. सिरियल ना मैंठों छठो जाप
137. बाके बौखी तक्षक नागा
138. कुड़माई तां मंगदा अर्जुं आप
139. कुड़माई तां मंगदा सुरजन आप"
140. अग्नों बोले तक्षक नाग,
141. "कुड़माई दे बेले खबर न फिक्ता
142. सुन वे गुणा राजया
143. छठून दे बेले फिक्ता याद"
144. इक नाग फन चुक के बोलया
145. "जिन्हूं मैं बढ़ाने ओहरो ना रहे इक रात"
146. इक हौर नाग कोलों उठ के बोलया
147. जिन्हूं मैं लड़ाने ओहरो रहे ना पहर"
148. दीड़ीयां कुड़ियां सिलियर कोल आइयां
149. "आ चनिए वाग विच पाईये पीँग
150. इक्की भूटा बजे सिलियर ने तेलया,
151. तक्षक आप ही मारया डंग
152. दीड़ कर कुड़ियां गोपी कोल आइयां
153. “गोपिये रानिये सिलियर ते पह्या बेहोया”
154. दौड़ के गोपी सिलियर कोई आई
155. बेटी तेनू की पई बला व?
156. ऐक ब्राह्मण आके आईः
157. “सिलियर जादू नाल देवां जवाल
158. येहवा कर जो ब्याहु गुगे नाल”
159. ऐक सलामा मेरियां, दो सलामा मेरियां
160. भे ब्राह्मणा, थी मेरी दे खां जवाल
161. येहवा करांगी ब्याहु गुगे नाल”
162. “ऐक सलामा मेरियां, दो सलामा मेरियां
163. माता मेरिये,
164. सिलियर तां मेरी नार
165. “हां भे ब्याहु, थे भी हां मनदी,
166. पर गलता करतांग लोग,
167. गुमे दी कोई बराय ना जाएगा
168. पेचो ते गया से परखोक”
169. गुमे ने भाषया,
170. “माए नी मेरिये,
171. गुरु गोरख मेरे नाल
172. बीहु मेरे नाल चलेगा बरात”
173. अगे जो बैठे बुधून ते सुर्जन
174. खिच के नंगी तलवार
175. गुमे बौद्ध बेव्या बोहुना नूं
176. बेख के दिता ललकार-
177. अरुं ते सुर्जन दिते उस भार
178. गुमे जिल्ला ते ब्याहु के ते भाया सिलियर नाल

(२)
“सिलिये दाहड़िये
चिट्टिये परने नीं,
भरज करनी हां गुमे दे अगे नीं,
खुसियां बेला नूं
जे फल लगे नीं”
“गुणा जम्मा चौरा बाला
चानन होया घर-बार
कई दीवे नोहदे मथे ते जगदे
चानन होया घर-बार”

“पले भेरे छलियाँ
मैं गुणा मनावन छलियाँ
जी मैं बारि गुणा जी
pले भेरे मठियाँ
मैं गुणा मनावन नठियाँ
jी मैं बारि गुणा जी
ले चली कटोरा दुंच दा
मेरा गुणा वेड़े बिच कुद दा
jी मैं बारि गुणा जी
छना मरया तेल दा
मेरा गुणा वेड़े बिच पेल दा
jी मैं बारि गुणा जी
साड़ा गुणा खुश-बुख-जायेगा
सारूँ नाथां ते सयां तों बजायेगा
jी मैं बारि गुणा जी”
लावां

सूही महला ४

(१)
हर पहलन्दी लाव परविरती कर्म द्रढ़‍या बलराम जीयो।
बागी ब्रह्मा वैद्य कर्म द्रढ़‍या पाप तजाया बलराम जीयो।
वर्धे द्रढ़‍या हरिनाम वियावे सिमृत नाम द्रढ़‍या।
सतिगुर गुर पुरा अरावे सब किल विव पाप गवाया।
सहज अनन्द होया बड़भागी मन हर-हर मीठा लाया।
कहे नानक लाव पहली आरस्भ काज रचया।

(२)
हर दुमली लाव सतिगुर पुरख मिलाया बलराम जीयो।
निरभो मन होये होने मंत गवाया बलराम जीयो।
निर्मल भी पाया हर गुरुग गाया हर वेल राम हूदे।
हर आतम राम पसारिया स्वामी सवे रहिया मंदिरे।
अंतर बाह्य हर प्रभु ऐको मिल हर जन मंगल गाया।
जन नानक दूढी लाव चलाई अनहंद शब्द बजाये।

(३)
हर तीजवे लाव मन चालो महत्या बेरागिया बलराम जीयो।
संत जना हर मेल हर पाया बड़भागीया बलराम जीयो।
निर्मल हर पाया हर गुरुग मुख बोली हर बागी।
संत जना बड़भागी पाया हर कहीं अकबर कहाणी।
हृदय हर हर हर धुनि उपजी हर जपीं मस्तिक भाग जीयो।
जन नानक बोले तीजी लाव हर उपजी मन बेराग जीयो।

(४)
हर चौकड़ी लाव मन सहज भूया हर पाया बलराम जीयो।
गुरुजुब मिलया सुभावे हर मन तन मीठा लाया बलराम जीयो।
हर भीठा लाऴा मेरे प्रभ माया अनविद हर लिव लाई।
मन चिंढ़िया फल पाइया स्वामी हर नाम जनी बचाई।
हर प्रभ ठाकुर काज रचया धन हृदय नाम विगासी।
जन नानक बोले चौखी लाव हर पाया प्रभु अविनाशी।
आनन्द रामकली मुहल्ला तीजा

( १ )

"आनन्द भया मेरी माघें,
सतगुरू में पाया
सतगुरू तां पाया सहज सेतीं,
मन विजयां वधायां
राग रल्ल परबार परियां,
सब्द गावन आईयां
शब्दों तां गावो ह्रयी केरा
मन जिनी वसाया
कहे नानक आनन्द होआ
सतगुरू में पाया"

( २ )

"ऐ एक मना भेरया तूं सवा रहो हरनाले
हरनाल रह तूं मन मेरे
दुख सब विसारना
अंगीकार बोह हरे
तेरा कारंज सब सवारना
सबना गल्ला समरथ स्वामी
सो बयों मनों विसारे
कहे नानक मन मेरे
सवा रहो हरनाले"

( ३ )

"साचे साहब क्या नहीं चर तेरे
धर तां तेरे सब किंचु है
जिस देह सो पावे
सवा सिगुत सलाह तेरी
नाम मन बसावे
नाम जिन के मन बसुया
बाजे शब्द घनेरे
कहे नानक सच्चे साहिब
क्या नहीं घर तेरे।"
(४)
“सच्चे नाम मेरा आधारो
सच्चे नाम आधार मेरा
जिन भुक्कां सब गवाइयां
कर साँत सुख मन आये वसिया
जिन इच्छां सब पुजाईयां
सदा कुरबान कीता गुह बिठ्ठों
जिसदियां इह बिखवाईयां
कहे नानक सुनो सत्तो
शब्दों घरो द्वारो।
सच्चे नाम मेरा आधारो।”
(५)
बाजे पन्च शब्द
तित घर सुभागे
घर सुभागे शब्द बाजे
कला जित कर धारिया
पंच हूँ तुरु वस कीते
काल कटक मारवा
घुर करम पाया
तुब जिनको
से नाम हरके लागे
कहे नानक तह शुभ होया
तित घर अनहुँ बाजे।”
(६)
आनन्द सुनो बहभागियो
सगल मनोरथ पूरे
पार ब्रह्म प्रभ पाया
उत्तरे सगल बसूरे
हुक रोग सत्ताप उत्तरे
सुधी सच्ची बापी
सत्त साजन भये सरसे
पूरे गुरुः जायैः
गुरुः पञ्चित कहैः पवित्रः
सदृश गुरुः रिहा सेरूपः
बिनवन्त नानक गुरुः चररूः लागे
बाजे अनहृद तूरे।”

श्लोक महृल्ला पहला

“पवन गुरुः पानी पिता
माता धरतुः महत्
दिवस रात दोगे ।
बाई दाया
बेले सगत जगत्
चंगिवाईः बुरिवाईः
बाजे घरं अघूर
कर्मी आपो अपनी
के नेड़े के दूर
जिथीः नाम विज्ञाया
गए मसबकत घाल
नानक ते मुख उजले
केति छुटि नाल।”
កीर्तन सोहिला

सोहिला राग गौड़ी दोपकी महूला १

१ रूकार सत्पुर प्रसाद ॥
जे घर कीरत बासीऐ,
करते का होये बिचारो ।
तिताथर गावो सोहिला
सिभोर सिंगजनहारो ॥१॥
तुम गावो मेरे निरभूज का सोहिला ॥
हृदारी जित सोहिले सवा मुख होये ॥१॥ रह्याहो ॥
नित नित जीयड़े समालियन,
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तेरे दाने कीमत न पवे
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मिलकर पावो तेल ॥
देहो सजन अविस्ह्राया
जो होवे साहिब स्यो मेल ॥३॥
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राग बासा महूला १॥

छे घर छे गुर छे उपदेस ।
गुर गुर ऐंको बेस अनेक ॥
बाबा जे घर करते कीरत होये ।
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THE SIKLIGARS OF PUNJAB
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गान में धार रब चन्द दीपक
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मन हर लिख मण्डल मन्त्र है ॥१॥
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हर नामे ही सुख मंड़ा हे ॥४॥

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करो बेनती गुनो मेरे मीता
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adhichari</td>
<td>Half a chari, seven rupees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adi</td>
<td>Original</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni Pooja</td>
<td>Fire worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhand Path</td>
<td>A continuous reading of the holy book of the Sikhs (Guru Granth Sahib).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrit Dhari</td>
<td>A duly baptised Sikh, converted to a Singh according to the doctrines founded by Guru Gobind Singh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand Garh</td>
<td>Literally a fort of joy, but a fort of this name is actually situated at Siri Anand Pur Sahib, the native place of Guru Gobind Singh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andha</td>
<td>A blind man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhi</td>
<td>A blind female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astar</td>
<td>A weapon which is hurled at the enemy from a distance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athrah</td>
<td>A disease due to which the children of a woman mostly die up to age of 18 months and it is believed that they may die under its influence up to the age of 18 years. The word Athrah is derived from Athara meaning 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athwahan</td>
<td>The disease by which miscarriage or abortion is caused after conception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aukhi</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badam</td>
<td>Almond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badh</td>
<td>Sharp edge of a weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoot</td>
<td>Ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baithnias</td>
<td>The settled people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baithak</td>
<td>A sitting, a custom of Sikligars to suspend their routine work and remain at home due to some social event or an important guest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bakra
Baloo
Bandi Chhore
Baraat
Bandook
Barood
Barah Maha
Barmala
Barmala Lutni
Bati
Bedawa
Beerit
Bhagoo
Bharjai
Bhoj Patar
Bhooa
Bhang
Bir
Bichhoo
Bodi
Bolanwala
Boli
Bora
Chadar pana
Chambeli
Chamgadar
Chari

He-goat.
Coarse sand.
Liberator.
Marriage-party.
Gun.
Ammunition.
Twelve months.
The dry fruits and sweets which the Sikligar bride and bride-groom keep with them from the day of marriage to the end of the marriage ceremonies.
Snatching the Barmalas from the bridal couple.
Wick.
A disclaimer or boycott.
The offerings that the Sikligars propitiate to the spirits of Birs.
Accused.
Brother's wife.
A palm leaf.
One's father's sister.
Hemp.
The spirit of a brave god, literally a brave man.
Scorpion
Scalp lock.
Out-spoken.
Literally boli means a language or a dialect and in folklore it means a folk song.
A vessel with a broken part of its mouth, a person having some broken teeth is also called bora.
To marry a widow.
Jasmine.
A bat.
Fourteen rupees.
Chashni  A syrup like preparation made by dissolving sugar or gur in water and boiling them together.
Chattoo  Mortar.
Chauk  A rectangular diagram, or a crossing, where four paths meet.
Chauki  A small wooden bench, used for sitting upon it or bathing. The sitting of sorcerers to cast out ghosts is also called chauki.
Chauke charhna  Entry of a woman to the kitchen after child-birth.
Chauka pair  Entry of a bride into the kitchen for the first time after her going to the house of her in-laws.
Chaumukhia  Having four mouths.
Chela  A sorcerer who casts out evil spirits.
Chelgi  The profession of a chela.
Chhala  A finger-ring.
Chhamak  A long tender shoot of a tree.
Chhanani  A sieve.
Chhankana  A rattle (toy).
Chhara  A man who remains unmarried inspite of his efforts to marry.
Chhila  Confinement or predicament.
Chhitian khednian  To play with sticks.
Chhohara  A dry date.
Chhuri  A stab.
Chitta Ilam  White magic or benevolent magic.
Choonda  The tuft of braided hair.
Chunni  A head-scarf.
Chulha  Hearth.
Churi  The bread mixed in ghee, broken into small bits.
Dian  Witch.
Dakishna  A fee paid to a person for the performance of religious service.
Dامād  Son-in-law.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darani</td>
<td>A woman's husband's younger brother's wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dauroo</td>
<td>A very tiny drum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deeva</td>
<td>Earthen lamp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehmata</td>
<td>The mother-goddess who created the body of man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota</td>
<td>A small-god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>Encampment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwan</td>
<td>A gathering of Sikh congregations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhab</td>
<td>A lake or a pool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhar</td>
<td>Sharp edge of a weapon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharam Yudh</td>
<td>A crusade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharti Mata</td>
<td>The mother-earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dho</td>
<td>Earnest money paid to Panchayat to initiate a case to be settled by it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholi</td>
<td>A drum-beater, dhole means a drum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholki</td>
<td>A small drum beatable on both sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhoop</td>
<td>Incense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dori</td>
<td>A rag mattress used as a carpet, or bed-sheet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubhka</td>
<td>Effect of being drowned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukan</td>
<td>Shop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaana</td>
<td>The custom of tying wrist-cord to the bride and the bride-groom. It also means a wrist-cord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal vich palla paa ke</td>
<td>To request putting a cloth round one's neck. This manner of requesting something is a symbol of great humility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhak</td>
<td>Sulpher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garam kam</td>
<td>Work of heated iron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gari</td>
<td>Dry coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gati</td>
<td>Salvation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gau da Dudh</td>
<td>Literally it means milk of cow, but in actual use it means one's real son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghara</td>
<td>A pitcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghar Jawain</td>
<td>The son-in-law who lives in the house of his in-laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gharoli</td>
<td>Literally it means ghare-wali or a woman with a pitcher. It is a common-marriage rite in Northern India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>Purified butter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam</td>
<td>A slave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girajh</td>
<td>A vulture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghund</td>
<td>Veil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotaknala</td>
<td>The rite of eating food by the women of the same caste from the same vessel. It is done to dine with a bride when she goes for the first time to the house of in-laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gote</td>
<td>Sub-caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granthi</td>
<td>A sikh priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guggal</td>
<td>Bdellium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulal</td>
<td>Red oxide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur</td>
<td>Molasses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurti</td>
<td>Some sweet edible which a new-born baby tastes for the first time in life. Mostly honey, sugar and gur are used as gurti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutka</td>
<td>A book-let or a pocket book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadd da sucha</td>
<td>Real son of parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilam</td>
<td>Knowledge, but in general sense it is used for magic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishnan</td>
<td>Bath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagrata</td>
<td>Act of remaining sleepless throughout the night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jathani</td>
<td>A woman's husband's elder brother's wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawain</td>
<td>Son-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeeja</td>
<td>One's sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jetha</td>
<td>The first-born son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhara</td>
<td>The act of applying some incantation to a person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhatka</td>
<td>De-capitation, of an animal, with a single stroke of a weapon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhoolia</td>
<td>A swing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaar</td>
<td>A line drawn around a person for protection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
panchayat, in order to put it before another
panchayat.

Praya dhan
A belonging of somebody else.

Parchhawan
Shadow.

Paksh
Open, expression, light.

Parsad
Sacramental food.

Patli
Thin.

Paunchi
A wrist cord.

Peehang
A swing.

Peehra
A small cot.

Pet ki beti
Marriage by exchange.

Pheray
Circumambulations.

Pheri wala
A hawker.

Pittar
A dead ancestor.

Pocha
A thick solution of clay, cow-dung and
water with which the ground or walls are
plastered.

Phook
A blow of wind produced with one’s mouth.

Phtilkha
A thin and small chapati.

Phuman
A tassel.

Pran
A pledge.

Praat
Platter.

Puras
The bread-like cake, prepared with the
solution of flour, and gur fried in oil or
ghee on a tawa or a baking pan.

Putha hath
Reverse side of hand.

Qiyamat
Dooms-day.

Raksh
A demon.

Rasad
Provisions.

Romala
Literally it means a handkerchief, but in
actual usage it connotes the piece of cloth
in which some sacred book is wrapped.

Roop
Beauty.

Ropna
Ceremony of betrothal.

Roti
A big bread.

Roze-mehshar
Dooms-day.

Saali
Wife’s sister.

Saloo
A sheet of cloth of red colour.
Saan  A hone.
Sao  Noble or real son of one's parents.
Saoo-puna  Nobility.
Sandhoor  Vermillion.
Sarowar  A tank.
Sarson  Mustard.
Satwania  Having seven colours.
Saukhi  Easy.
Seera  A sweet dish prepared by cooking baked wheat flour in the solution of gur and water.
Seh  Porcupine.
Sehra  The flower garlands or gilded threads worn at the forehead by the bride-groom.
Sewian  Varmicelli.
Shagan  Omen or the articles offered or exchanged as presents at auspicious occasions.
Sharbat  Syrup.
Shshtar  A weapon used with one's hands when fighting face to face with the enemy.
Shooshak  A long shoot of a tree.
Shora  Nitre.
Singh  A lion.
Sir da saeen  Husband.
Sirki  A reed-hut.
Sirnahauni  Menstruation.
Sohagan  A married woman whose husband is alive and leads a happy life with her.
Stuti  Praise.
Supari  Areca nut.
Surma  Collyrium.
Sutak  Impurity in a house due to a birth or a death.
Tamba  Copper.
Tanka  A non-Sikligar.
Tanhi  A non-Sikligar woman.
Tappa  A couplet of folk song.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tariore</td>
<td>Hot milk in which some ghee is mixed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawa</td>
<td>An iron sheet for baking bread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taweez</td>
<td>A charm (Taweez).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeka</td>
<td>Vaccination, or injection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teerath</td>
<td>A sacred religious place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teer thande karna</td>
<td>To throw arrows in water, a Sikligar marriage-rite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaka</td>
<td>Engagement or betrothal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalauri</td>
<td>The feast given by the father of the bridegroom to whole of the encampment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thali</td>
<td>Salvar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumi</td>
<td>A wooden post or pole fixed in the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thuthi</td>
<td>A dry coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikka</td>
<td>Mark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Til</td>
<td>Sesamun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toredar bandooq</td>
<td>A match lock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ult</td>
<td>Opposite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatna</td>
<td>A mixture of oil, flour and turmeric, rubbed on one's body at the time of bathing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatta or vattosatta</td>
<td>Marriage by exchange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangan</td>
<td>Glass bangles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedi</td>
<td>The marriage booth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakhni</td>
<td>Rice and meat cooked together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zer karna</td>
<td>To bring under submission.</td>
</tr>
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