

1941, the Students' Movement in 1941-42, the Labour Problems in the Dalmianagar area, the Kisan Sabha activities, are some of the features that predominated, the local history of the district in this decade.*

The 1942 Movement was very chequered in this district as in some other districts. Fuller details are not being repeated as they are available elsewhere.† As in the other districts here also several public institutions were damaged or burnt, railway lines were tampered with and a general sense of lawlessness prevailed for some time. Some of the local leaders went underground while a number of them were tried and convicted. Students went completely out of hands although at that time the number was much smaller there being no colleges.

The outbreak of the Second World War sounded the death-knell of the newly-formed Congress Ministry in the State. The Second World War broke out in 1939. The Indian National Congress was opposed to this imperialist war and it had its impact on the country as a whole. Anti-war demonstrations were organised all over the district and that was followed by the Individual Satyagraha in 1940-41. On November 8, 1941, the District Depressed Class Conference was held. Shri Prithvi Singh Azad presided over the Conference and Shri Anugrah Narain Sinha inaugurated it. Between 1930 and 1940, Congress Socialist Party, Communist Party, Forward Bloc and other small parties were organised and founded in the district. During August Revolution of 1942, Arrah played a prominent part and kept up the high tradition of the district. The American and the British Forces committed unprecedented activities in the district. Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Sardar Harihar Singh, Ramanand Tewari, Ambica Sharan Singh and a host of other persons led the district during these difficult days. The people of Arrah, in certain villages, had practically declared independence. The national movement in the district has always been inspired by the memories of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh and in 1942, they proved worthy of the same. Villages were taxed and the people were harassed beyond imagination and these trials and tribulations continued till 1947 when on August 15, the country attained independence.

* For details see K. K. Datta—*History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II, 1957, pages 65, 105, 106, 107, 408, 409 and 414.

† K. K. Datta—*History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. III, 1958, pages 95—101.

CHAPTER III.

PEOPLE.

POPULATION.

The population of the district in the different census years from 1872 is as follows:—

Year.	Total population.	Male.	Female.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5

1872	17,10,471	8,28,623	8,81,848	..
1881	19,49,900	9,43,083	10,06,817	+2,39,429
1891	20,60,579	9,89,596	10,70,983	+1,10,679
1901	19,59,896	9,35,208	10,24,688	—1,00,896
1911	18,62,998	9,03,659	9,59,339	—96,898
1921	18,14,229	8,94,227	9,20,002	—48,769
1931	19,93,489	9,99,099	9,94,390	+1,79,260
1941	23,28,581	11,75,707	11,52,874	+3,35,092
1951	26,88,440	13,58,443	13,29,997	+3,59,859
1961	32,18,017	16,16,732	16,01,285	+5,29,577

There are four subdivisions in Shahabad district, namely, Sadar, Buxar, Sasaram and Bhabhua. The total population of the four subdivisions in the last two census years have been as follows:—

Subdivision.	1951.		1961.	
	Total population.	Male.	Total population.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5
Sadar	8,85,270	4,41,077	4,44,193	10,31,645
Buxar	5,36,754	2,70,519	2,66,235	6,35,988
Sasaram	8,26,278	4,22,547	4,03,731	10,18,636
Bhabhua	4,40,138	2,24,300	2,15,838	5,31,748
				2,69,148
				2,62,600

Along with the variation of the population the density of population per square mile has also varied from time to time. The

density of 528 persons per square mile in 1941 Census went up to 610 persons per square mile in 1951 Census. The density according to 1961 Census is 730 persons per square mile. The density will be better appreciated with the background of the density of the State of Bihar. The density for the State in 1941 Census was 521 as against 575 persons per square mile in 1951 and 691 persons in 1961.

The rate of increase of the population is naturally varied. In 1941 Census the increase was 16.8 per cent over 1931 figures. In 1951 Census the increase was 15.5 per cent while in 1961 Census the increase is 19.70 per cent. The rate of increase in Shahabad district during the last decade was 15.5 per cent among the districts in Bihar. In 1951 Census the highest increase was recorded in Sasaram subdivision (19.7 per cent) while Buxar recorded (17.2 per cent). The increase in Bhabhua subdivision was not spectacular, but the population of the Mohania Revenue Thana increased by 19.1 per cent. Among all the revenue thanas of the district, the highest increase in 1951 Census was recorded 29.2 per cent at Dehri followed by 26.2 per cent at Buxar.

In this connection the observations in the last *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924) may be quoted. "The density varies considerably in different parts; it is greatest in the rich and highly cultivated tracts to the north, where the people are prosperous and well-to-do; but decreases towards the south, where a large area is covered by the Kaimur hills, which afford but scanty space for cultivation and support a spare population thinly scattered over the plateau. These factors result in a marked variation between the northern and southern subdivisions, as those of Sasaram and Bhabhua support less than half of the number of persons to the square mile which the more fertile areas in the headquarters and Buxar subdivisions maintain. The pressure of the population on the land is greatest in the Arrah thana, where there are 782 persons to the square mile, and the minimum is reached in the thinly populated tract comprised in the Bhabhua thana, which with 182 persons to the square mile is more sparsely inhabited than any tract in South Bihar."*

The 1951 Census figures indicated that the above position has changed to some extent in the southern subdivisions specially in the Mohania Revenue Thana due to new irrigation schemes taken up under the Bhabhua-Mohania Community Development Programme. The Sasaram and Bhabhua Revenue Thanases which consist mainly of a number of hill tracts of the Kaimur plateau were found to be still sparsely populated. The plains show two different patterns of population distribution. The north-eastern portion, where the soil is generally more fertile and irrigation facilities are more available, has an average density of 909 persons per square mile. In this tract excepting Bikramganj no other revenue thana was found to have a

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad, 1924, pages 39-40.*

density of less than 870 persons per square mile. The density of Bikramganj Revenue Thana was below 800 persons per square mile. The average density of the south-western portion consisting of Revenue Thanas Karaghar, Buxar and Mohania with poorer soil is 630 persons per square mile. No revenue thana in this area reaches a density of 700 persons per square mile while Karaghar has only 550 persons.*

The detailed 1961 Census figures are not yet available. But the trends show that the pattern in 1951 Census continues, more or less, as the same in the decade 1951-61. The impact of propaganda for birth control appears to be practically nil for this decade. On the other hand the Community Development Projects, the Package Programme for agricultural extension and various other developmental projects have brought in more population.

The population figures from 1872 to 1961 indicate the trends that require some discussion. There was an increase of population by 14 per cent in 1881 over 1872 figures. The increase in the decade 1881-90 was only 5.7 per cent on the 1881 total. Thereafter the population declined at every census till 1921, which year completely changed the trend and a rapid acceleration of population was registered at every census thereafter. In spite of the rise recorded in the decade 1881-90 the population at the 1921 Census was less than the figure in 1881. The annual average rate of decrease in between works out to 0.17 per cent per year. After 1921 the population has been increasing at the rate of 1.6 per cent per year. The low incidence of public health and economic condition affected the growth of population before 1921. Persistent fevers brought about a heavy mortality in the period between 1879 and 1886. Thereafter also it persisted but the rate of mortality was lower. In 1896-97 there was a famine in the southern parts of the district. Plague appeared in 1900 and continued to take a heavy toll of lives. To this were added a serious outbreak of plague in 1912 and cholera epidemic in 1915. Both plague and cholera reappeared in 1917. The great influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919 were responsible for a large number of deaths. The decrease in the population between 1881 and 1921 would have been steeper, but for a large increase in immigration caused by the opening of the Sone Canals and also the extension of cultivation in the eighties and development of the lime industry in the decade 1911-20. It may be mentioned that there were several years of scarcity such as 1907, 1909, 1925, 1928, 1950, etc., which will be discussed later. Scarcity does affect population. Floods in Sone river particularly of 1923 had also brought in scarcity.†

The old Gazetteer (1924) gives the following account of the causes of the decline of population in 1921 Census, which has been quoted therein from the Census (1921) Report by Mr. P. C.

* *District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad*, 1954, page iii.

† *District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad*, 1954, pages iii-iv.

Tallents. "The loss is greatest in the Buxar subdivision where it amounts to 8.05 per cent. The two thanas in this subdivision, Buxar and Dumraon, are those in which plague has been most destructive in the last ten years: Buxar also suffered from a virulent outbreak of cholera in 1918 and Dumraon was similarly afflicted in 1917 and 1918. The loss in the adjacent Sadr subdivision is lighter than in any other. Shahpur thana which showed a loss of 11.38 per cent at the last census again shows a loss of 5.06 per cent; the other two thanas show a slight gain. In the case of Arrah this may be ascribed to the decreasing severity of plague and to recovery from the heavy mortality caused by this disease in previous years; in Piro plague has never been so severe as in the neighbouring thanas; the loss was lightest here at the last census, and on the present occasion the gain is greatest (1.79 per cent). In the Sasaram subdivision the loss is general except in Dehri thana, where the increase of 4.19 per cent is due to the development of the lime industry and the resulting concentration of labour which, as its occupation was independent of the rainfall, had no cause to emigrate in years of short crops. Karghar thana where the loss is heaviest suffered acutely from cholera in 1918. In the Bhabhua subdivision the loss of 2.96 per cent is fairly equally shared by both thanas; plague has never assumed formidable dimensions in this subdivision, but there was cholera in 1919 and the scarcity and distress led to emigration to the tea gardens. Here as elsewhere in South Bihar, there was a general decrease of migration at census time".*

The rate of increase of the population in this district as in some other districts of Bihar is quite alarming although it has not reached the phenomenal rate of increase in Purnea and Saharsa districts. The rate of increase in 1961 Census over 1951 population in Shahabad district is 19.70 per cent as against 31.75 per cent in Saharsa and 37.16 per cent in Purnea districts. The Census of 1961 has given a large addition of 5,29,577 person. It is all the more alarming as if the years 1957-59 be taken as the norm, it shows a fecundity in the population which has to be controlled.

Coming to more details, in 1957, 30,657 males and 23,592 females were born while 16,671 males and 15,620 females had died. In 1958, 24,546 males and 21,693 females were born while the deaths were 13,437 for males and 12,962 for females. There has been a population explosion in 1959 when 35,203 males and 31,290 females were born while death claimed 15,095 males and 13,851 females. The death-rates were 10.97 per mille for 1957, 8.84 per mille for 1958 and 9.55 per mille in 1959. The birth-rates were 18.44 per mille for 1957, 15.48 per mille for 1958 and 21.95 per mille for 1959. The condensed Annual Vital Statistics Report for the years 1957-59, published by the Directorate of Statistics, Bihar,

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad, 1924, pages 38-39.*

Patna (1962), p. 6, shows that the excess of births over deaths per mille over population in 1957 was 7.46, 6.64 in 1958 and 12.39 in 1959 respectively.

With the wider use of antibiotics and introduction of sanitary measures the incidence of death which is now at about 8 to 10 per cent per mille per year is bound to go down. But if the mortality goes down and the birth-rate shoots up, the position becomes rather alarming as the fecundity remains at the same incidence unless controlled. Illness and starvation are being fought against and at this dangerous rate of increase of population there is no doubt that the economic incidence cannot be upgraded. Without a certain amount of vigorous birth control, all the efforts for increased produce of lands or industrialisation will not be able to stop the evils of the pure agricultural society overtaking the district and the country at large. The very attitude towards marriage that a girl is born to be married has naturally made the problem all the more complex. There has to be a radical change of our social values. The demographic density of the district which is still based on agricultural economy and has to remain as such for decades is absolutely out of proportion to the district's technical capacity to control crop fluctuations and their consequences as well as the epidemic diseases. Carlo Cipolla in his book, "The Economic History of World Population" (1962) has observed, "Whenever a given agricultural population grew beyond a given 'ceiling', the probability increased of some sudden catastrophe that would drastically reduce the population itself". As the trends are at present, there is a long run of incompatibility of noticeably divergent fertility rates and death-rates. The consequences of such an increase in the long run in a population are incompatible with any estimated resources no matter how large the estimate may be. The district and the country are underdeveloped and any demographic explosion will be fatal in the long run and the birth-rate has got to be brought down to a manageable level released a substantive improvement in the level of living. With a population pressure such improvements are difficult to obtain. In the long run either fertility rate must be reduced or mortality rates through some reason or other must increase unless there is counterbalance by large-scale exodus.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Emigration.

The people of this district are very hardy, brave, adventurous and military-minded. As they are not satisfied with the quiet life of a farmer and take delight in courting dangers, they generally prefer military or pseudo-military life. Hence they generally form the bulk of the constabulary not only in the districts of Bihar but

also in the neighbouring State of Bengal. They generally get themselves recruited in the army. This is the main reason for emigration from this district. Besides this, the poorer section of the population go out to other districts and States as labourers, artisans and petty shopkeepers. For example, a large number of milkmen (*Goalas*) go out to Calcutta to trade in milk-supply business and there they maintain a few cattle for the purpose. The mills in the suburbs of Calcutta employ a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers from this district. The lure of such employment attracts people of this district to Calcutta and other important cities of India. A large number of lawyers, doctors and men in other professions originally belonging to this district have finally settled in other districts where such facilities are available as not to be found in their home villages. Many of the old aristocratic families have settled in the important towns outside the district of Shahabad specially in Patna and Calcutta where they have got better amenities than in Shahabad. The statement* later shows the number of emigrants, i.e., persons born in the district and enumerated outside and the proportion borne by them to the total population. Regarding emigrants during 1911 and 1921 the *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), page 39, has mentioned that there were 90,681 males and 76,615 females in 1911 as against 88,184 males and 60,169 females in 1921. The figures indicate that there was a decline in the number of emigrants in the district within ten years. The information regarding emigration is not available for the 1931 and 1941 censuses. The figures of the 1921 Census have, therefore, been shown in the statement below to give a rough indication of the extent of emigration in the district†:—

Within the State.				Outside the State.	
Total (1951).	Per ten thousand of general population (1951).	Total (1921).	Per ten thousand of general population (1921).	Total (1921).	Per ten thousand of general population (1921).
1	2	3	4	5	6
61,084	227	42,841	236	1,05,465	580

The fertility of the soil and opportunities for employment in the heavy industries, Sone Canal, quarries, etc., are appreciably great within the district. It was but natural that there should be a comparatively low exodus of population from the district.

* *Census of India, 1951, Vol. V, Bihar, Part I, Report, page 64.*

† *Ibid.*

Emigration in 1921 Census was 2.36 per cent and 5.80 per cent within the State and outside the State respectively. In 1951 Census the incidence of emigration within the State was only 2.27 per cent. As stated before the figures of emigration outside the State for the 1931 and 1941 Censuses are not available, but from the *Census Report of Bihar* (1951) it appears that in the Chotanagpur and South Bihar Divisions the emigration was much low.

Immigration.

In the 18th century when the Sone Canal was under construction a large number of labourers from the districts of Saran, Patna, Gaya, Palamau, Ballia, Banaras, Ghazipur and Azamgarh came to work in the project and many of them settled there. With the start of lime factories in the district towards the close of the 19th century a number of people came from the neighbouring districts and States to work in the quarries and in the factories. With the opening of the Dehri-Rohtas Light Railway more quarries were started and more people immigrated. Later on cement factories at Dalmianagar and Banjari were started employing a large number of skilled and unskilled workers most of whom were imported and a considerable number of them permanently settled in the area. The rapid industrialisation of the area served by the Dehri-Rohtas Light Railway led to further increase in the number of immigrants in that area. Recently Dehri-on-Sone (contiguous to Dalmianagar) has been highly industrialised leading to further immigration. The recent discovery of pyrites in that area is expected to lead to a further increase of immigration. Besides these the remodelling of the Sone Canal and the construction of a road bridge over the river Sone will lead to further immigration into the district. Immigrants are mostly from the neighbouring States of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The following statement* shows the number and proportion of immigrants in Shahabad district in the years of 1931 and 1951:—

Total (1951).	Per 10,000 of general population.	
	1951.	1931.
82,292	306	337

The figures mentioned above indicate that immigrants constitute nearly 3.06 per cent of the total population in the year 1951 as against 3.37 per cent in 1931. The proportion of immigrants in the district is very poor in comparison with the other districts of the State specially Dhanbad and Singhbhum districts where the immigrants constitute 32 per cent and 13 per cent respectively.

* *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. V, Bihar, Part I, Report, page 63.

DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION.

The urban and rural population from 1901 to 1951 has been discussed in the *District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad* (1951), pages iv-v, which is as follows:—

“There are only eight towns in the district and 4,729 villages.

The ratio of the urban to rural population works out to 1 : 14. Four villages in the district have a population of more than 5,000 persons each. All the four subdivisional headquarters are towns and the other four urban areas are Dehri, Dumraon, Jagdishpur and Nasriganj. Arrah is the only town with a population exceeding 50,000. The second largest town Sasaram has less than 30,000. Except for Dehri and Nasriganj, all the other towns are quite old and municipalities were constituted for them in the year 1869. Arrah is the headquarters of the district and has a population of 64,205 persons. The population has been increasing steadily since 1901 although there was a fall in 1911. In the decade 1911–20 also, this town recorded an increase in the population although there was a decline in the district as a whole. It is situated on the Eastern Railway Main Line on the junction with the Arrah-Sasaram Light Railway. It was called Chakrapur or Ekachakra in legendary times and is supposed to have been named Aramnagar by the Buddhists. It has no industry worth the name except metalware for local consumption. Sasaram (29,265) is also an old town. The only industry deserving mention is the manufacture of lacquered pottery. The chief importance of this industry lies in the small cost of production and the high price that it fetches. The town has the advantage of being on the Grand Chord Line of the Eastern Railway and also on the Grand Trunk Road. It is connected with Arrah town with a light railway. Dehri (24,496) which was recognised as a town for the first time at the 1941 Census has developed into a fine township. It is on the junction of the Eastern Railway Grand Chord Line and the Dehri-Rohtas Light Railway. Situated on the western end of the long railway bridge across the Sone, it lies on the Grand Trunk Road also. The main Sone Canal starts from here and it has the headworks of the canal system with an anicut on the Sone. The main workshop for the maintenance of provisions for the canal requirements are also situated here. The present importance of the town is, however, due to the development of cement, lime and sugarcane industries since the early twenties.

Apart from the greater employment facilities offered by the industries, the high rate of increase in the population during the last decade as shown by Table A-IV, is due mainly to the assimilation of some of the suburban areas into the town on account of the large-scale industrial expansion during the period. Buxar (18,087) on the bank of the Ganga and on the main line of the Eastern Railway has the advantage of both the kinds of trade communications. Dumraon (16,605) owes its importance to the Dumraon Raj. It registered a large fall in its population at the 1911 Census and also a fall at the 1921 Census with the result that although the population has been rising steadily since 1921, the 1901 mark has still not been reached. Jagdishpur (11,322), although an old town, is more properly an overgrown village. Over 54 per cent of its population are dependent on agricultural occupations for their subsistence. It is on the Eastern Railway Main Line and the home of Kuar Singh, the hero of the Sepoy Mutiny. Nasriganj (8,741) was classified as a town for the first time at the 1941 Census. It is situated about half a mile from the Sone on the Koilwar-Dehri Road and is a trading centre for articles of internal consumption. At one time, Hariharganj a part of the town, was famous for hand manufacture of thin parchment paper known as *Basaha*. Bhabhua with a population of 7,858 is the headquarters of a subdivision bearing the same name.

"As elsewhere, urbanisation of the district has been making rapid strides. The ratio of the urban to the rural population is 1 : 14 today against 1 : 15 of 1941, 1 : 16 of 1931 and 1 : 17 of 1921. The 1951 Census recorded an increase of 22.4 per cent in the urban population against 13.8 per cent of the rural population, over the 1941 total."

In 1961 Census there are nine towns in the district, namely, Arrah, Bhabhua, Bikramganj, Buxar, Dehri, Dumraon, Jagdishpur, Nasriganj and Sasaram. It has to be mentioned here that the concept of a town till 1951 was the population of 5,000 persons and above. In 1961 a different criteria has been fixed, i.e., only places with the population of more than 5,000 persons, the density of more than 1,000 persons per square mile and if at least 75 per cent of adult male population engaged in non-agricultural occupations fulfil the condition of being a town. According to this criteria Bikramganj which was a village with a population of 1,872 in 1951 Census has now become a town with a total population of 5,681. A city in Census means a place with one lakh and above population. As such there is no city in the district.

The table given below gives the list of all the towns in the district with population figures from 1901 to 1961:—

Town.	Persons.		Males.	Females.	Variation.	Variation.	Variation.
	1901	1961					

Net

1901—1961.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ARRAH	46,170	38,549	—7,621	19,955	—2,064	24,151	..
1901	46,170	38,549	—7,621	19,955	—2,064	24,151	..
1911	40,769	38,549	—2,220	21,664	+1,609	18,594	—5,557
1921	40,769	38,549	—2,220	21,664	+1,609	18,594	—5,557
1931	48,922	48,922	+8,153	26,686	+5,071	19,205	+611
1941	63,122	63,122	+4,200	33,466	+1,821	24,666	+3,082
1951	64,205	64,205	+11,083	33,683	+5,227	30,522	+2,379
1961	76,766	76,766	+12,561	41,748	+8,065	35,018	+4,496
SASARAM	23,644	23,097	—547	10,483	+101	13,262	..
1901	23,644	23,097	—547	10,483	+101	13,262	..
1911	23,097	22,308	—789	10,674	+191	12,614	—648
1921	22,308	22,308	—789	10,674	+191	12,614	—648
1931	25,175	25,175	+2,867	12,473	+1,799	11,634	—980
1941	27,201	27,201	+2,026	13,710	+1,237	13,491	+1,088
1951	29,265	29,265	+2,064	14,782	+1,072	14,483	+789
1961	37,782	37,782	+8,517	19,540	+4,758	18,242	+3,769
DEHRI	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1901	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1931	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1941	8,281	8,281	..	4,591	..	3,690	..
1951	24,496	24,496	+16,215	14,826	+10,235	9,670	+5,980
1961	38,092	38,092	+13,596	22,723	+7,897	15,369	+5,699
BUXAR	13,945	11,309	—2,636	6,857	..	7,088	..
1901	13,945	11,309	—2,636	6,857	..	7,088	..
1911	11,309	10,098	—1,211	5,827	—1,030	5,482	—1,606
1921	10,098	10,098	—1,211	5,266	—571	4,842	—640
1931	13,449	13,449	+3,351	7,430	+2,174	6,019	+1,177
1941	14,879	14,879	+1,430	8,036	+606	6,843	+824
1951	18,087	18,087	+3,208	9,742	+1,706	8,345	+1,502
1961	23,068	23,068	+4,981	12,353	+2,611	10,715	+2,370
DUMRAON	17,236	16,042	—2,194	8,059	..	9,177	..
1901	17,236	16,042	—2,194	8,059	..	9,177	..
1911	16,042	14,132	—910	7,402	—657	7,640	—1,537
1921	14,132	14,132	—910	7,137	—265	6,996	—645
1931	14,421	16,316	+289	7,602	+465	6,819	—176
1941	16,316	16,316	+1,895	8,473	+871	7,543	+1,024
1951	16,605	16,605	+289	8,486	+13	8,119	+276
1961	19,662	19,662	+3,057	10,313	+1,827	8,349	+1,230

Town.	Persons.	Variation.	Net variation. 1901—1961.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
JAGDISHPUR.							
1901	11,451	..	..	5,347	..	6,104	..
1911	8,924	-2,527	..	4,229	-1,118	4,695	-1,409
1921	8,564	-360	..	4,201	-28	4,363	-332
1931	9,661	+1,097	..	4,791	+590	4,870	+507
1941	10,658	+997	..	5,313	+522	5,345	+475
1951	11,322	+664	..	5,595	+282	5,727	+382
1961	11,840	+518	+389	5,919	+324	5,921	+194
NASRIGANJ.							
1901	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1931	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1941	7,817	..	..	3,786	..	4,031	..
1951	8,741	+924	..	4,232	+446	4,509	+478
1961	8,920	+179	..	4,481	+249	4,439	-70
BHABHUA.							
1901	5,660	..	..	2,691	..	2,969	..
1911	5,452	-208	..	2,657	-34	2,795	-174
1921	5,435	-17	..	2,731	+74	2,704	-91
1931	6,002	+567	..	3,220	+489	2,782	+78
1941	7,164	+1,162	..	3,809	+589	3,355	+573
1951	7,858	+694	..	4,153	+344	3,705	+350
1961	9,890	+2,032	+4,230	5,378	+1,225	4,512	+807
BIKRAMGANJ.							
1901	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1911	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1931	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1941	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1951	1,872	..	..	956	..	916	..
1961	5,681	+3,809	..	3,083	+2,127	2,598	+1,682

The further increase in urban population in 1961 Census is due to a spurt of industrialisation in many of the areas. Growth of new towns like Dalmianagar, Koilwar, and a shift of the families of many ex-landlords to the towns after the abolition of *zamindari*, etc. The opening of communications developed further the trade centres and they received more population. Many of the block headquarters have developed into townships while the expansion of the administrative departments owing to the Five-Year Plans increased the population of the subdivisional and the district headquarters. The highest incidence of urbanisation of Arrah town was followed by Sasaram, Dehri, Buxar and Dumraon. More details will

be found in the description of these places in the text on 'Places of Interest'. Arrah has now got three Degree colleges for boys and one Degree college for girls and a large number of other educational institutions. All of them are crowded institutions. The courts and a large number of district offices of administrative departments have had expansions. The same trends are also found for Sasaram. The development of an industrial zone by the side of the Sone river covering Dalmianagar. Tilouthu, Banjari, Rohtas and Pipardih has naturally led to a further expansion of the subdivisional headquarters.

Rural population has also had an enormous increase. The growth of population is quite high in all the thanas excepting Sandesh thana. The chart below gives the population figures for 1951 and 1961 in the different thanas:—

Name of the thana.	Total population.	
	1951.	1961.

Sadar subdivision.

Arrah town	}	•	64,205	76,766
Arrah Nawada				
Arrah Mufassil			1,62,618	1,36,227
Koilwar*			..	71,300
Sandesh			67,264	66,059
Barhara			78,165	84,959
Shahpur			1,21,644	90,732
Behe†			..	58,357
Jagdishpur			1,01,323	1,18,121
Piro			1,37,421	1,56,165
Sahar			85,951	95,555
Tarari			66,679	77,409

Buxar subdivision.

Buxar			85,224	1,05,095
Rajpur			81,353	96,591
Itrahi			49,727	60,618
Dumraon			1,76,582	1,11,186
Simri‡			..	89,625
Nawanagar			67,532	77,793
Barhampur			76,438	95,080

* Koilwar was not a separate thana in 1951. It was included in Arrah Mufassil thana.

† Behe was not a separate thana in 1951. It was included in Shahpur thana.

‡ Simri was not a separate thana in 1951. It was included in Dumraon thana.

Name of the thana.		Total population.	
		1951.	1961.
<i>Sasaram subdivision.</i>			
Bikramganj	.. ..	1,45,014	1,72,896
Dinara	.. ..	78,184	96,292
Dawath	.. ..	62,879	71,014
Karghar	.. ..	82,666	1,00,772
Nokha	.. ..	62,139	77,902
Sasaram	.. ..	1,45,819	1,84,204
Rohtas	.. ..	53,551	73,902
Chenari	.. ..	31,776	41,644
Dehri	.. ..	93,612	1,21,197
Nasriganj	.. ..	70,638	78,813
<i>Bhabua subdivision.</i>			
Mohania	.. ..	56,213	71,252
Ramgarh	.. ..	74,638	87,682
Durgawati	.. ..	38,945	47,248
Kudra	.. ..	39,222	49,355
Bhabua	.. ..	1,26,703	1,52,133
Chainpur	.. ..	51,279	61,517
Adhaura	.. ..	14,724	16,985
Chand	.. ..	38,414	45,576

In 1961 no police thanawise census was done in the district. Census was taken *anchal*wise as the new administrative unit is the *anchal*. *Anchal* is a unit of revenue administration below the sub-divisional level and above the *halka* level. An *anchal* has about ten to twelve *halkas* which are smaller units and each *halka* comprises ten to twelve villages covered under two or three *gram panchayats*. The chart below gives the population figures for 1961 in the different *anchals* of the district*:-

Name of <i>Anchals</i> .		Population.		
		Total.	Males.	Females.
SADAR SUBDIVISION.				
Arrah	.. ..	1,51,714	77,837	73,877
Udwantnagar	.. ..	61,279	30,019	31,260
Koilwar	.. ..	71,300	34,691	36,609
Sandesh	.. ..	66,059	32,270	33,789
Barhara	.. ..	84,954	40,091	44,863
Shahpur	.. ..	90,732	44,158	46,574
Behea	.. ..	58,357	28,488	29,869
Jagdishpur	.. ..	1,18,121	58,583	59,538
Charpokheri	.. ..	53,084	26,420	26,664
Piro	.. ..	1,03,081	50,822	52,259
Sahar	.. ..	95,555	47,238	48,317
Tarari	.. ..	77,409	38,082	39,327

* *Census of India*, 1961, Volume IV, Bihar, Part II-A, General Population Tables, pages 29-32.

Population.		Name of Anchals.	
Total.	Males.	Females.	
Buxar Subdivision.			
50,946	54,149	1,05,095	Buxar
47,575	49,016	96,591	Rajpur
29,861	30,757	60,618	Itarhi
46,071	43,554	89,625	Simri
55,263	55,923	1,11,186	Dumraon
38,934	38,859	77,793	Nawanagar
48,373	46,707	95,080	Barhampur
Sasaram Subdivision.			
41,742	41,905	83,647	Bikramganj
45,110	44,139	89,249	Karakat
47,857	48,435	96,292	Dinara
35,676	35,338	71,014	Dawath
49,422	51,350	1,00,772	Karghar
38,834	39,068	77,902	Nokha
60,801	64,505	1,25,306	Sasaram
29,058	29,840	58,898	Sheosagar
18,487	20,743	39,230	Rohas
16,136	18,536	34,672	Naubatia
20,543	21,101	41,644	Chenari
55,073	66,124	1,21,197	Dehri
39,977	38,836	78,813	Nariganj
Babruva Subdivision.			
35,128	36,124	71,252	Mohana
43,738	43,944	87,682	Ramgarh
23,409	23,839	47,248	Durgawati
24,194	25,161	49,355	Kudra
46,378	47,479	93,857	Bhabhua
28,726	29,550	58,276	Bhagwanpur
30,522	30,995	61,517	Chainpur
2,262	8,723	16,985	Adhaura
22,243	23,333	45,576	Chand

URBANISATION TRENDS IN SHAHABAD DISTRICT.

Old times.

Shahabad district is one of the most important districts of Bihar. It has a great historical background and culture. There was a high incidence of trade and commerce through the roadways and the riverways long before the railways were constructed. Even before the British came to the district, Shahabad had important commercial centres, large villages and towns. Both during the Hindu rule and subsequent Muslim rule the district had played an important role. Some of the pilgrim centres both for the Hindus and the Muslims had already developed into towns when the Britishers came. Buxar, Sasaram, Tilouthu, Arrah, Masarh, Ramgarh, Chenari, etc., have old historic relics and temples. In the Muslim time, Tilouthu, Sasaram, Rohtas and Shergarh had come into prominence. Riverine trade by the Ganga had made Barhara, Buxar, Chousa and Koilwar important. Sandesh, Nasriganj and Dehri had developed trade through the Sone river. Sasaram and its neighbourhood had a great development in Sher Shah's time. The trans-district and trans-province road now known as the Grand Trunk Road was one of Sher Shah's achievements. The existing trade was much improved by him.

When Buchanan visited Tilouthu he found the place inhabited by *Iraki* (Iraqi) Muslim traders.

In tracing the history of urbanisation in Shahabad district, Buchanan Hamilton's Journal on Shahabad may be treated as a landmark. Buchanan Hamilton went through Shahabad district in 1812-13. His Journal was edited by C. E. A. W. Oldham and was published in 1926. Buchanan had passed through a number of important places in Shahabad district including Arrah, Shahpur, Barhampur, Dumraon, Nawanagar, Bikramganj, Nokha, Sasaram, Tilouthu, Rohtas, Nauhatta, Adhaura, Ramgarh, Durgawati, Mohania and Chainpur. Buchanan has used the word town for Bhojpur while he described Koliwar (Koilwar) a decent village. He also mentioned Arrah as a "town on a small elevated space. Dumraon is described as "a pretty large country town". Buchanan also mentioned Suryapur (Surajpura) as a small town. He has given a long description to Saheseram (Sasaram) as "a large town extending more than a mile each way and more closely built than usual". Thilautta (Tilouthu) is described as a small town "inhabited by *Iraki* (Iraqi) Muslim". Jagdishpur was also "a pretty large town but very poor".

It will appear that Buchanan's criterion of a town was the population. He has not mentioned when a village passes into a decent village or to a country town or to a large town like Saheseram.

Present times.

The census reports from 1872 give us more reliable data to trace the growth of the towns in the present times. In the Census

of 1872 according to Mr. W. W. Hunter, there were eight towns, namely, Arrah, Sasaram, Dumraon, Buxar, Jagdishpur, Bhojpur, Nasriganj and Bhabhua*. But from the perusal of the Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872, it appears that there were only seven towns (all the towns mentioned above except Bhojpur). We do not find the name of Bhojpur as town in later censuses and this gives rise to the doubt as to whether Bhojpur was a town in 1872 or not. Probably Bhojpur being a very largely populated village and particularly by influential *zamindars* was treated as a town. In the Census of 1872 it appears that the towns were, more or less, enumerated on the population and places with a population of 5,000 persons and above.

It appears that for some reasons or other Bhojpur and Nasriganj lost their entity as towns before the census authorities soon after. In the list of towns in the Census Report of 1901 there is no mention of Nasriganj and Bhojpur. The other places mentioned, however, continued to be treated as towns.

The census reports from 1901 to 1931 mention only six towns in the district, namely, Arrah, Sasaram, Dumraon, Buxar, Jagdishpur and Bhabhua. The criteria laid down in the Census report of 1901 for treating a place as town and its classification according to the population till 1931:—

“The term town includes every municipality of whatever size, all civil lines not included within municipal limits, every cantonment, and every other collection of houses, permanently, inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which is of an urban character though not under municipal government. The numerical test was not however strictly applied, and many places containing under 5,000 inhabitants were, for special reasons, treated as towns in the Census, while others with a population of over 5,000 were omitted The towns are grouped in six classes. The first class consists of towns containing a population of 1,00,000 and over, the second from 50,000 to 1,00,000, the third from 20,000 to 50,000, the fourth from 10,000 to 20,000, the fifth from 5,000 to 10,000 and the sixth of 5,000 and under”.†

It may be mentioned that for census purposes all the municipalities and cantonments irrespective of their size were regarded as urban. With regard to the classification of the other areas, no hard and fast rule appears to have been laid down. It appears that every

* W. W. Hunter: *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XII (1877), page 208.

† *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. 1-A, Part II, Tables by H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait, page 15.

continuous collection of houses, which although not under a municipal area but had a "distinctively urban character" was given the status of a town. The standard for fixing any area as urban was not rigid. In considering whether a particular area should be treated as urban or rural, various factors such as the number and occupation of its inhabitants, density of population, its character as trade centre, historical associations, etc., were taken into consideration. In the Census Report of 1931 the observation was made:—"Generally speaking, it may be taken for granted that the areas treated as rural area indubitably so, but several of the small towns are on the border line"*. It appears that Nasriganj was on the border line at that time. Up to 1931 Census the classification of a town according to its population into six groups remained the same as in 1901 Census.

The concept of a town underwent a change in the census operations of 1941. W. G. Archer, Superintendent of Census Operations, in 1941, observes:—"Places treated as towns in 1931 included all municipalities and cantonments and a small group which although not under municipal government, was deemed to have urban characteristics. In 1941, this latter criterion was taken to mean a marked preference for the brick house as against the mud house and a population of at least 5,000"†. On this basis Nasriganj and Dehri were treated as towns. The population of Nasriganj and Dehri was 7,817 and 8,281 persons respectively. Shahabad district had eight towns, namely, Arrah, Sasaram, Buxar, Dumraon, Jagdishpur, Bhabhua, Nasriganj and Dehri according to the Census of 1941. This number of the towns continued in 1951 Census.

In the Census Report of 1941 the towns are not shown under the classification of 1931. This may be due to the fact that owing to war exigency the census operations of 1941 were very much curtailed. This classification again appears in the Report of the Census Operations of 1951‡.

A TOWN IN 1961 CENSUS.

A slight change was brought in for treating a place as a town in 1961 Census. According to this census, Class I represents towns (technically called cities) with a population of 1,00,000 and above, Class II, 50,000—99,999, Class III, 20,000—49,999, Class IV, 10,000—19,999, Class V, 5,000—9,999 and Class VI less than 5,000. In the Census Operations of 1961 towns were determined on the basis of a number of empirical tests: (a) a density of not less than 1,000 per square mile; (b) a population of 5,000; (c) three-fourth of the occupations of the working population should be outside of agriculture; and (d) the place should have, according to the Superintendent

* *Census of India, 1931, Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa Part I Report, page 80.*

† *Census of India, 1941, Vol. VII, Bihar by W. G. Archer, page 21.*

‡ *District Census Hand-Book, Shahabad (1954), pages 8-9.*

of the State, a few pronounced urban characteristics, the definition of which, however, leaves room for vagueness.*

It may be mentioned that for the first time in the 1961 Census Operations emphasis was put on the occupations of the working population outside agriculture. This is in great contrast to the previous conceptions when the strength of population or the existence of a municipality or a cantonment decided the issue. In 1961 Census for the first time non-agricultural pursuits of three-fourth of the population was also adopted as a criterion for a town. By this time quite a few places in Bihar without any municipality had come into prominence because of industrialisation. According to 1961 Census, all the eight towns in the district continued as such and Bikramganj was upgraded to the status of town for the first time. Thus the district came to have nine towns.

MUNICIPALITIES, DISPENSARIES AND SUBDIVISIONS, ETC.

Since the 19th century the setting up of the municipalities has been taken to be a necessary feature in a town. Before the municipalities came into existence, there used to be Road Cess Committees in the towns controlled and run by the Government officials and usually the District Magistrate as the head. The Committee was mainly constituted for the improvement of roads, culverts, etc., of the towns.

The first municipality in the district was established at Arrah in 1865 and the municipalities at Bhabhua, Buxar, Dumraon, Jagdishpur and Sasaram followed in 1869†. The first dispensary was also started at Arrah in 1860, Jagdishpur in 1864, Sasaram in 1865, Buxar in 1866, Dumraon in 1871, Dehri in 1872, Bhabhua in 1873 and Nasriganj in 1874‡.

Arrah appears to have been the headquarters of the district from the very beginning. The subdivisional system, as mentioned in the *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906) was not introduced till nearly half a century later. Sasaram was made a separate subdivision in about 1846; while the Buxar and Bhabhua subdivisions were created in 1857 and 1865 respectively**. The first high school was established at Arrah in 1853, then at Sasaram in 1875, Dumraon in 1866, Buxar in 1887, Bhabhua in 1920, Dehri in 1924, Jagdishpur in 1927 and Nasriganj in 1929. The years of the establishment of municipalities, dispensaries, educational institutions and creation of subdivisions with headquarters in the towns indicate their antiquity and importance. Moreover, they also show their development and assure further urbanisation.

* *Census of India, Paper no. I of 1962, 1961 Census, pages xxv and xxvi.*

† *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906) by L. S. O'Malley' pages 120—122.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 47.

** *Ibid*, p. 111.

URBAN POPULATION.

The growth of population is also another important indicator of urbanisation. The population of each town as enumerated in the experimental Census of 1869 and thereafter in the regular decennial censuses since 1872 is given below:—

TABLE I.*

Towns.	Total population.										
	1869.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1941.	1951.	1961.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Arrah ..	23,934	39,386	42,998	46,905	46,170	38,549	40,769	48,922	53,122	64,205	76,766
Sasaram ..	17,114	21,023	21,818	22,713	23,044	23,097	22,308	25,175	27,201	29,265	37,782
Buxar ..	10,066	13,446	16,498	15,506	13,945	11,309	10,098	13,449	14,879	18,087	23,068
Jagdishpur ..	8,664	9,400	12,568	12,475	11,451	8,924	8,564	9,661	10,658	11,322	11,840
Bhojpur ..	..	7,004	Ceased to be a town.								
Nasriganj ..	4,059	5,732	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,817	8,741	8,920
Bhabhua ..	4,662	5,071	5,728	10,216	5,660	5,452	5,435	6,002	7,164	7,858	9,890
Dumraon ..	14,615	17,356	17,429	18,384	17,236	15,042	14,132	14,421	16,316	16,605	19,662
Dehri ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,281	24,496	38,092
Bikramganj ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,681

*Compiled from *Imperial Census Table IV of 1911* and as quoted in Table III of *Shahabad District Gazetteer*, B Volume, *Statistics*, 1900-1901 to 1910-11, page 3, (2) *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), Volume XII, by W. W. Hunter, p. 203, (3) *District Census Hand-Book, Shahabad* (1954), pages 8-9 and (4) *Census of India*, 1961, Volume IV, Bihar, Part II-A, General Population Tables, pages 29-31.

According to 1961 Census, Arrah belongs to Class II town; Dehri, Sasaram and Buxar come under Class III towns, Dumraon and Jagdishpur belong to Class IV towns and Bhabhua, Nasriganj and Bikramganj are Class V towns. From population point of view, Arrah has been at the top from 1872 till 1961; Sasaram was next to Arrah till 1951. In 1961 on the population basis the towns were grouped as follows:—Arrah, Dehri, Sasaram, Buxar, Dumraon, Jagdishpur, Bhabhua, Nasriganj and Bikramganj.

The reasons for the rapid increase or slight decrease in the population of a particular town at various census years will be dealt with while discussing each town separately. A detailed discussion on Arrah is given below and will give a general picture of the trends in urbanisation in this district.

ARRAH.

Mr. Francis Buchanan visited Arrah town in November, 1812 and his description of the town is as follows:—

“Arrah stands on a small elevated space surrounded by numerous creeks and lowland liable to be occasionally flooded so that the town cannot be extended without erecting embankments, and then the houses would be damp. The only remedy would be digging tanks and building on the earth thrown out, but enlarging such a place is no object as it is already abundantly large for containing all the attendants of the courts of justice, and it is not a place suited for trade. In an estimate made by the Collector, but without an actual enumeration, it is supposed to contain 2,775 houses, with 8 people to a house. The former I do not think can be exaggerated. The buildings are in general mean and close huddled together, but some decent roads have been made through it, forming tolerable streets. The Buxar road runs its whole length and at its east end has a close-built town on both sides, but towards the west and on its north side is an open lawn in which are placed the court houses, the accommodations for the Judge of circuit and the houses of the Judge and Surgeon, all buildings sufficiently commodious but no sort of ornament to the place. Two fine broad roads pass south at right angles to the west end of the great road, and about their middle are crossed at right angles by another parallel to the (great) road. This is the handsomest part of the town. At its west end are the Collector's office, his and his assistants' houses and those of some Europeans not in the service, none of the buildings in any degree ornamental. Good roads with abundant small bridges surround the town

in all directions for a little way, and are kept in very good order by the convicts. The jail has a very poor building. There are two or three small mosques and temples in good repair but in no manner remarkable. The soil seems poor and the plantations rather stunted, but several of the natives seem fond of gardens, in which they have collected a great variety of trees and a good many flowers. The environs are very neatly cultivated and well-watered**.

The above description points out that in the early nineteenth century the town was liable to be flooded and was not suited for trade. The soil was poor and the plantations were stunted. The town had an abundance of large areas with buildings without any ornamental shape or design. It may be mentioned that the low-lying parts of the town had for centuries been liable to flood on the occurrence of high floods in the river Sone. Much damage was done even in 1923 when the Sone rose to an unusual height†.

The observation of Mr. Buchanan as to the town of Arrah not suited for trade centre, does not hold good now. The soil is no longer poor but has become fertile. The hinterland has the facility for irrigation from the Sone canal and is rich. The town is now developing trade and commerce and much helped by good road and railway communications.

Location and Toponomy.

In '*A Statistical Account of Bengal*', Mr. W. W. Hunter mentions, "Arrah, the administrative headquarters of the district, is situated $84^{\circ} 43' 10''$ east longitude and $25^{\circ} 33' 35''$ north latitude‡, about 14 miles south of the Ganges and 8 miles west of the Sone.....To the north of the town lie the lowlands, making the old bed of the Ganges, which are annually inundated during the rains. The name Arrah, properly spelt Arah, is said by some *pandits* to be derived from the Sanskrit *aranya* or waste, the name given by the five sons of Pandu when Arrah was a forest. They are said to have married Draupadi at this place. General Cunningham, however, shows from an inscription in a temple of Masar that the original name of Arrah was Aramnagar***. An old temple standing between the old and new portions of the town still goes by the name of Aranya Devi. There are also various legends which are associated with the name of Arrah described in General Cunningham's article on Arrah in Vol. III, Reports, A.S.A.

* *Journal of Francis Buchanan* (kept during the survey of the district of Shahabad in 1812-1818), edited by C. E. A. W. Oldham (1928), pages 7-8.

† *Ibid*, foot-note, page 7. (Editor's note.) There have been subsequent Sone floods inundating parts of Arrah town.

‡ In *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906) at page 126, the town is mentioned as situated in $84^{\circ} 40'$ east longitude and $25^{\circ} 34'$ north latitude.

*** W. W. Hunter: *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), Vol. XII, p. 204.

There is a village named Bakri about one and half miles south from the Arrah Railway Station. There is a legend that in this part of the town there was the house of a powerful demon named Bakra, whose daily food was a human being supplied either by the village of Bakri or by Chakrapur (or Ekachakra), as Arrah was then called. Ekachakra has been mentioned as one of the capital cities of India in the time of Buddha. During their wanderings, the five Pandavas came to Chakrapur and were entertained by a Brahman whose turn was that day to supply a victim for the demon. Bhim who had eaten the Brahmana's salt decided to go himself to the demon. He fought and killed the demon at Bakri and then brought his body to Chakrapur. This myth is found in a more complete form in the *Mahabharata* and in the opinion of General Cunningham it must have been one of the time-honoured legends of antiquity which the Buddhists adopted for the glorification of their great teacher*.

There are some mohallas in the town which are named after particular castes such as Chik toli, Mahajan toli, Milki, Ahirpura, Missir toli and Bind toli. The names of these mohallas indicate that the predominant population followed a particular profession and belonged to particular occupational castes. Babu Bazar signifies the name of Babu Kuar Singh of 1857 fame and Maulabag was named after a Muslim woman of the same name. There is a mohalla named Purani Adalat where the old civil court buildings were located.

Growth of population in Arrah town.

The population of the town from 1872 to 1961 has been given in an earlier table.

From 1872 to 1911 the population of the town had been fluctuating. In 1872 the population was 39,386, in 1881, 42,998, in 1891, 46,905, in 1901, 46,170 and in 1911, 38,549. The slight increase in the population from 1872 to 1891 seems due to natural accretion and the decrease in 1901 and 1911 Census years is primarily due to attack of plague during this period. The *Census of India*, 1931, mentions, "There is always a possibility that at the time when the census is taken, some purely temporary and accidental influence may disturb the normal distribution of the population in urban and rural areas. Thus in 1901 the panic caused by the plague in Patna and Arrah was responsible for a large exodus from those towns". In 1921, the only town (out of six in the district) which did not actually lose population was Arrah and it could make good a small portion of the loss it had suffered during 1901-1911. Its population in 1921 was 40,769 as compared to 38,549 in 1911. In 1931, the population of Arrah had gone up by 20 per cent (from 40,769 to 48,922). The virtual disappearance of plague from the town was

* *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906) by L. S. S. O'Malley, page 126.

mainly responsible for the striking recovery. However, the population in 1931 (48,922) was a little over than that of 1891 (46,905). In 1941, the population was 53,122 which showed a variation of 4,200 persons from 1931 Census. This small percentage of increase in population is mainly owing to natural accretion. The population showed a somewhat rapid increase in 1951 Census year. In 1951 the population was 64,205 (11,083 persons more than that of 1951 Census). The incidence of increase in 1951 was mainly due to the expansion in the administrative staff, improvement in communications which toned up the trade of the town, and large number of students coming from rural areas to this town for their higher studies. The factors such as expansion in the number of administrative offices and consequent increase in the administrative staff, educational development, rise in trade and business, etc., have been discussed later. The rate of increase in the decade 1941-51 is about 21.04 per cent while to census the rate in the next decade is about 19.8 per cent.

Urbanisation of Arrah : Causes.

Industrialisation has been the most important factor for the development of some of the important large towns of Bihar. The development of Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Dehri may be ascribed to this fact. Barauni is on the way to development for the same reason. Some towns have also developed because of its religious importance and salubrious climate. Deoghar is an example. Development of trade and commerce also leads to urbanisation. Some of the towns have developed or are developing mainly being administrative centres. This factor is fully applicable to Arrah which is the headquarters of Shahabad district. In Arrah there is neither any large-scale industry nor any famous pilgrim centre. The incidence of trade and commerce is also not very intense. The main factor for the development of the town is the fact that it is the headquarters of the administration.

It may be pointed out that the opening up of a large number of shops and establishments, setting up of higher educational institutions (such as colleges and higher secondary schools) and starting of some cottage industries in the town particularly in recent times are some of the corollaries that have helped the tempo of urbanisation in Arrah.

As Arrah was made the administrative headquarters of the district, the Collectorate offices, Civil and Criminal Courts and various other offices were located. Officers, pleaders, mukhtears, doctors, clerks, businessmen, etc., came to the town for their own profession and they constituted the intelligent class of the society. The hospitals, bazars, shops, schools and colleges followed.

From the figures supplied by the Collectorate at Arrah it appears that in 1944 there was a strength of about 248 non-gazetted staff while in 1953 it was 532 and in 1963, the number went up to

2,812. In 1953 there were 13 Deputy Collectors and 25 Sub-Deputy Collectors whereas in 1963 there are 71 Deputy Collectors and 44 Sub-Deputy Collectors. The increase in the staff indicates the expansion of the offices for the general administration of the district.

The number of pleaders has also naturally been increasing rapidly. In 1963 there are 158 pleaders at Arrah. In 1963 the number of mukhtears is 61 as against 78 in 1953. Since the examination for mukhtear has been abolished, the number has rather decreased in the last decade. The figures relating to criminal cases and civil suits are relevant. In 1901, 1911 and 1956, 2,465, 3,212 and 6,301 persons respectively were convicted or bound over.* The number of suits filed in 1956 was 9,669 and the total value of the suits was Rs. 66,11,105 while in 1901 and 1911 the number of suits disposed of was 8,908 and 11,392†. The decrease in the number of suits instituted in 1956 as compared to that of 1911, is mainly due to the fact that rent suits which constituted the large share in 1911 or years thereafter, have been practically negligible in 1956 due to the abolition of the *zamindari* in 1950.

In order to accommodate the large ministerial staff about 71 quarters were built in Nawadah Mahalla (near the railway station) in recent years. Rajendra Nagar in the same area has come to existence where most of the inhabitants are Government employees who could not get accommodation in the ministerial quarters along with some other service-holders.

Two other areas, namely, Maharaja Hata and Baijnath Sahai Ka Hata have been developed and new buildings have been built. Most of the occupants in the Maharaja Hata are persons associated with the teaching profession while in the other areas various types of service-holders and businessmen have settled. Besides these two particular areas, there have been new buildings or *kutchas* structures in almost all the areas of the town. The cultivated green belt ten or twenty years ago has shrunk or shifted as houses are being built on them. The shift of the population from the villages to the towns has been accentuated after the abolition of *zamindari* discussed elsewhere. The enormous expansion of the schools and colleges has brought in thousands of students in the town and no house remains vacant if it has to be rented. Apart from residential purposes, houses or rooms meant for shops, restaurants, hotels have multiplied tremendously.

* *Shahabad District Gazetteer, B. Volume, Statistics, 1900-1901 to 1910-1911*, p. 10 and *Bihar Statistical Hand-Book, 1956*, p. 192.

† *Shahabad District Gazetteer, B. Volume, Statistics, 1900-1901 to 1910-1911*, p. 12 and *Bihar Statistical Hand-Book, 1956*, p. 194.

EDUCATION.

The incidence of progress in education is an index of the growth of the town.

In 1911 in the thana of Arrah which included the figure for Arrah town there were only 23,806 literates (20,659 Hindus and 3,147 Musalmans). The ratio of percentage of literates was 8 for the Hindus and 14 for the Muhammadans.* The total population of the town in 1911 was 38,549 and the population of Arrah thana excluding the population of Arrah town (which was a separate thana) was 2,35,564†. No separate figure for Arrah town is available. The *Old District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1906) mentions, "Education is in a backward condition in Shahabad, as according to the figures of the last Census it stands 29th in order of literacy among the districts of Bengal. The sole test of literacy was the ability to read and write, and only 83,595 persons, or 8.6 per cent of the males and 0.3 per cent of the females, could satisfy this simple qualification, in spite of the fact that the district contains 43,300 Kayasthas, of whom a large proportion were educated. Nearly half of the total number (39,253) were residents of the headquarters subdivision; and Bhabhua was the least advanced from an educational point of view, as out of a population of 3,06,401 persons only 8,185 could read and write‡".

But conditions have changed. In 1951 out of the total population of 64,205 in Arrah town there were 25,617 literates**. It shows that about 38 per cent of the town population was literate. This is the highest percentage of literacy among the towns of this district. But it may be pointed out that the incidence of literacy among females in this town is very low. Out of 25,617 literate persons only 7,055 were females. In 1961 out of total population of 76,766 of the town the total number of literate persons is 34,372 (23,660 males and 10,712 females).

The progress of primary education in Arrah will be evident from the figures given below§:—

Years.			No. of schools.	No. of teachers.	No. of students .
1938-39	..	..	44	Not available	2,106
1939-40	..	..	49	131	4,379
1940-41	..	..	75	Not available	4,438
1942-43	..	..	72	140	31,481
1943-44	..	..	72	140	32,999
1944-45	..	..	68	139	37,136
1963-64	..	..	76	126	5,340

* *Shahabad District Gazetteer, B. Volume, Statistics, 1900-1901 to 1910-1911*, p. 23.

† *Ibid*, p. 4.

‡ *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906), p. 103.

** *District Census Hand-Book, Shahabad* (1954), p. 10.

§ Source of Information: Arrah Municipal Office.

At present the following are the higher educational institutions, Zila Higher Secondary School (established as a high school in 1853), Town Higher Secondary School (established as a high school in 1882), N. N. Kshatriya Higher Secondary School (started as a high school in 1917), Government Girls' Multipurpose School (started in 1935 as a high school), Sri Jain Bala Vishram Girls' High School (started in 1954), Catholic High School (established in 1952), and the Model Institute, Arrah (established in 1917).

There are four colleges in the town, namely, H. D. Jain College, Arrah (1942), Maharaja College (1954), Jag Jivan College (1959) and Mahanth Mahadevanand Mahila Mahavidyalaya (1959). The details about these institutions have been given in the chapter "Education and Culture".

The H. D. Jain College has about 3,200 students and the Maharaja College about 1,700 students (1963).

COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications form another good index of the condition of a town. Hamilton Buchanan in his Journal (1812-13) mentions, "Good roads with abundant small bridges surround the town in all directions for a little way, and are kept in very good order by the convicts."*

The following roads passed through this town as early as in 1876†:—

(1) Road from Sasaram to Arrah, 65 miles long; annual cost, £ 156, (2) Road from Sinha to Arrah, 11 miles; annual cost £ 22, (3) Road from Barhara to Arrah, 11 miles; annual cost £ 33. All the above three roads were unmetalled but were raised and bridged throughout. Besides, there were three unmetalled roads which were raised but not bridged:—

(1) Nawanagar to Arrah, 28 miles; annual cost £ 84, (2) Sahar to Arrah 19 miles; annual cost £47 10s., (3) Ukhganon to Arrah, 12 miles; annual cost £ 36. The total length of the district roads, exclusive of village tracks was 957½ miles. Total expenditure £ 3,610 4s., of which £ 2,062 4s. was derived from Imperial, and the remainder from local funds. There was a road cess of one per cent on the permanent revenue of the district.

The *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1906) mentions, "During the rains, when the importations were greatest, the Sasaram and Arrah road, which is the principal line in the district, but unmetalled, was crowded with traffic, and it was painful to witness long strings of carts, half a hundred in a line, cutting their way through

* Journal of Francois Buchanan kept during the survey of the district of Shahabad in 1812-13, edited by C. E. A. W. Oldham (1926), p. 8.

† W. W. Hunter: *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), pages 256-257.

a foot deep of puddles." As mentioned above Sasaram-Arrah road was an unmetalled road but from the following description as given in *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906) it appears that this road was metalled in later years. By 1906 the District Board was maintaining 189 miles of metalled road, 527 miles of unmetalled road and 1,197 miles of village roads.*

The expansion of communications in the district meant an improvement of Arrah town. In order to improve the roads, a divisional office of Public Works Department was set up at Arrah in 1950 with its jurisdiction over the whole district. In April, 1956 another divisional office of P. W. D., the Sasaram Division was created in 1956. Since the creation of Sasaram Division the jurisdiction of Arrah Division confines to Arrah and Buxar subdivisions whereas the jurisdiction of Sasaram Division extends over Sasaram and Bhabhua subdivisions.

* The Arrah Division completed the improvement of Arrah-Sasaram road (61 miles) in 1956, Arrah-Salempur road (10 miles) in 1959 and Arrah-Buxar road (46 miles) in 1957. All these roads have been metalled. A portion of Arrah-Patna road measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Arrah town to Koilwar was transferred to this division by the Central Division, P. W. D., Patna in 1951. This portion of the road in the whole road was metalled by the Central Division, Patna. Approach road (2 miles) from Koilwar on the Patna-Arrah road to T. B. Hospital, Koilwar, was metalled in 1962. Two roads, namely, Arrah-Sinha (10 miles) and Arrah-Ekawanakhaira Sahar (22 miles) are under improvement.

The Shahabad District Board maintains (in 1963) 112 miles of metalled roads (but all the roads are of very short distance), 541 miles of unmetalled and 913 miles of village roads as compared to 287 miles of metalled, 691 miles of unmetalled and 1,078 miles of village roads in 1948-49. The reasons for the decrease in the length of the roads maintained by the District Board are that it has transferred several roads to the P. W. D. Division, Arrah and Sasaram and has practically ceased its function regarding metalling the road. In addition to a few approach roads there is one road, i.e., Arrah-Chapraghat road (nine miles—eight miles metalled and one mile unmetalled) which is motorable in all seasons. There is no other road maintained by the District Board which connects Arrah with other places.

The improvement and expansion of the roads through the district with Arrah as the centre brought in more trade, commerce and floating population to Arrah town. Within the town also the Arrah Municipality expanded the roadways and improved the existing ones. Details will be found in the texts on 'Local Self-Government' and 'Communications'.

* *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906), pages 99-100.

Railways.—This district is fairly well served by railways. Arrah town is on the main line of the Eastern Railway which runs through the north of the district. There is a large staff of the Eastern Railway posted in Arrah. The station has a large turnover of passengers and goods traffic discussed elsewhere.

Martin's Light Railway from Arrah to Sasaram was first opened on 6th March, 1911 with a track length of 41.48 K. M. The line from Arrah to Sasaram measuring 104.84 K.M. was completed on 12th November, 1914. Since then the railway is functioning. Between Arrah and Sasaram there are sixteen railway stations.

There is an office of the Superintendent, Light Railways, Arrah, functioning since 1955. There are three officers—one Superintendent, one Assistant Traffic Superintendent and one Assistant Loco Officer. Previously there was one District Engineer but the establishment of the Office Superintendent replaced the District Engineer.

There are separate Engineering and Traffic staff. The Engineering staff consists of 5 Class III staff and 180 Class IV staff; the traffic staff consists of the Traffic Inspector, one Assistant Inspector of Ticket control, 87 Class III staff and 81 Class IV staff. There is a Loco Shed where 139 workers are employed. The railway also runs a dispensary which has one qualified doctor and one compounder. For recreational purposes there is an institute where there is a library and equipments of games and sports.

There is one Railway Co-operative Credit Society in which out of about 450 employees 350 are members. The Society advances loan up to the extent of 75 per cent of the deposit in the Provident Fund at the rate of 7.5 per cent interest per annum.

So far the Eastern Railway station at Arrah is concerned there has not been any remarkable increase in the staff. However, the old railway station has been remodelled and more frontage has been given. Two retiring rooms have been recently constructed on the first floor. A garden has also been recently added. There is a catering establishment and a book-stall.

Water communication.—The *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1906) mentions "the main canals of the Son irrigation system are navigable, 123 miles of canals being now (1905) open to navigation; and a bi-weekly service of steamers runs from Dehri to Arrah."* But in later years due to inadequate water and fall in traffic the bi-weekly service of steamers was discontinued.

The main Ganga flows near Arrah town and there are important places like Barhara, Sinha, etc., on the Ganga river which clear a lot of passengers and goods meant for Arrah town. These places have a large boat-traffic. Previously a daily steamer service

* *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906), pages 100-101.

of B. I. S. N. Coy used to run by the Ganga river and Sinha, was an important station for this steamer service. This service has now been discontinued. Details will be found elsewhere.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

As mentioned before trade and commerce in a town form an important feature. From the Journal of Francis Buchanan of Shahabad (1812-13), W. W. Hunter's, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XII (1877) and L. S. S. O'Malley's *Shahabad District Gazetteer* (1906), it appears that there was not a single manufacturing unit at Arrah. Manufacturers still in the proper sense of the word are few in number and of little significance. From their description Sasaram, Dehri, Behia and Nasriganj appear to have been more important than Arrah town for trade and commerce. That aspect still continues.

However, there is a good number of shops in Arrah dealing in cloth, grain and consumers' goods. There are about 30 wholesalers and most of them deal in cloths and grain. Next to the shops of these two commodities, come sweetmeat shops, hotels and betel-shops. In Arrah town almost all the shops and establishments were registered by 1958. From 1958 to 1962 there has been a great increase as will be seen in the table below:—

Years.				No. of shops registered.	No. of shops employing labour.	No. of labour employed.
1958	..	..	..	2,406	682	1,996
1962	..	..	..	2,884	825	2,453

From the above figures it appears that most of the shops have self-employed labour and only a very small portion of the total number of shops engage labour from outside. There are a few rice, dal and oil mills. Furniture and other wood work are done in a number of establishments. The more important establishments are the following:—

- (1) M/s. Shahabad Engineering Works have employed 45 workers and manufacture pedal looms and spare parts of motor.
- (2) M/s. Arrah Engineering Works, Karmantola, have 30 workers and manufacture agricultural implements and also carries on fabrication work.
- (3) M/s. Keshri Industries, Aharpool, have 15 workers and soap (washing) is made.
- (4) M/s. Bihar Engineering Works have 15 workers and manufacture spare parts of motor vehicles.
- (5) M/s. Arrah Cold Storage have 15 workers and keep in cold-storage eggs, etc.

M/s. Jadunandan Mistry and M/s. Supan Mistry each employ about 12 workers and carry on sawing of timber and make furniture.

The Railways form the main artery of trade and commerce. The figures of goods and passenger traffic of Arrah (Eastern) Railway Station from 1960 to 1962 and that of Light Railway Station, Arrah, from 1959-60 to 1962-63 have been given in the chapters 'Banking, Trade and Commerce and Communications'.

DISPLACED PERSONS.

The total number of displaced persons in this district according to the Census of 1951 is 2,054 from Pakistan. All of them are rehabilitated in business, mostly in cloth business. Loans ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5,000 have been given to the displaced families and they are all settled. Attempts were made to get a suitable site in the Arrah town but so far they have failed because of prohibitive price. Some lands have been acquired at Buxar and Sasaram, the cost of which was paid by the Government as well as by the displaced persons.

Some more displaced persons have come to the district in the recent years. They have all been merged in the population and have taken to services or professions. Some have taken up business. Bengali sweetmeat shops and Punjabi non-vegetarian hotels have become quite an attraction now.

LANGUAGE.

As regards the language of the district is concerned the revised *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), pages 40-41, mentions as follows:—

"The vernacular current over the whole district is the dialect of Bihari Hindi called Bhojpuri* after the pargana of Bhojpur, which was formerly the centre of the power of the family whose head now lives at Dumraon. This dialect, which is spoken by 18,01,404 persons in the district, has been characterised as a handy article made for current use, not too much encumbered by grammatical subtleties, and suitable to an alert active people. In contrast with the Maithili dialect, it pronounces the vowel *a* with the clear sharp-cut accent heard all over Central Hindustan and on the other hand it possesses a long drawled vowel *a* which gives a tone to the whole language. The form current in Shahabad is the standard Bhojpuri, which exhibits a local peculiarity in preferring the letter *r* to *t* in the

* For a full account of Bhojpuri, see Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, from which this sketch on the dialect has been condensed.

conjugation of the auxiliary verb (e.g., *bare*, he is, instead of *bate*). Bhojpuri has scarcely any indigenous literature, though a few books have been printed in it, and numerous songs are current, such as the epic of the cowherd Lorik, and what Dr. Grierson calls the Bhojpuri National Anthem, i.e., the song of the stick, in which the many virtues of the *lathi* are rehearsed. The character in general use in writing Bhojpuri is the Kaithi, but the Devanagari is also used by the educated classes.

“Muhammadans and Kayasthas mostly speak the Awadhi dialect of Eastern Hindi (literally the language of Oudh); and Dr. Grierson considers that this is possibly an example of the survival of the influence of the former Muhammadan court of Lucknow. It is estimated that in Shahabad 1,37,000 persons speak Awadhi; and this dialect is also commonly used as a sort of language of politeness by the rustics who have picked it up from their Musalman friends and imagine it to be the Hindustani of polite society. The Devanagari and the Kaithi characters are both used in writing Awadhi; but the Persian character is also used by the educated classes, particularly by Muhammadans”.

Since Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey referred to in the quotation, no comprehensive critical survey has been conducted and so his observation still holds good. He has mentioned that *Kaithi* character is used both in writing *Bhojpuri* and *Awadhi* along with *Devanagari* script. The former script, that is, *Kaithi* has practically disappeared and *Devanagari* script is used in writing in both the languages. Persian character has also disappeared and has been displaced by Urdu.

The table below shows the number of persons—males and females—in the district speaking different languages as mother-tongue gathered in 1951 Census*—

Language.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Total population of the district	26,88,440	13,58,443	13,29,997
<i>Indo-Aryan languages—</i>			
Hindi	26,82,367	13,54,861	13,27,506
Bengali	2,610	1,531	1,079
Oriya	130	75	55
Punjabi	1,110	692	418
Marwari	485	284	201
Nepali	171	146	25
Gujrati	4	4	..
Other Indo-Aryan languages	66	38	28

* District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad (1954), pages 72-78. Detailed figures collected in 1961 Census are not yet available (March, 1963).

Language.			Persons.	Males.	Females.
<i>Munda Language—</i>					
Santali	..	..	184	106	78
<i>Dravidian languages—</i>					
Oraon	..	..	1,018	532	486
Telugu	..	..	91	54	37
Tamil	..	..	26	17	9
Asiatic languages foreign to India.			10	6	4
Chinese	..	..	10	6	4
<i>European language—</i>					
English	..	..	168	97	71

Like the previous census Urdu had not been enumerated in 1951 separately and had been clubbed together with Hindi. Though Urdu has a separate entity but for the facility of the interested persons in the language, the Census of 1951 had given the number of Urdu-speaking people as 1,64,916.*

Hindi has been shown to be the principal language of the district and the total speakers of Hindi in the district is 26,82,367†. Bhojpuri-speaking people have also been put under Hindi-speaking section. This has been done in 1961 Census also.

The vernacular spoken all over the district is the Bhojpuri dialect of the Bihari language which according to Grierson's classification, falls into the eastern group of the outer sub-branch of the Aryan languages as a whole. The Bhojpuri is an offshoot of Eastern Hindi spoken in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh. It takes the name after the pargana Bhojpur in Shahabad.

It may also be cursorily mentioned that the Bhojpuri-speaking tract which covers Shahabad district as well is well-known as one of the homes of a martial race in India. Bhojpur pargana has been famous for martial activities through different ages and the *Bhojpurias* were given the name of *Bandukachi* (matchlock-man) during Mughal India. The tract has always been a fruitful source of recruitment for the police and military. The stalwart Bhojpuri with his burly *lathi* (long staff) has been a familiar object striding over the field far from his home. Somehow the dialect of Bhojpur has also been taken as virile as the *Bhojpuria*.

* *District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad* (1954), page 71.

† *Ibid*, page 78.

The contribution of Shahabad district to the literature in Bhojpuri,* Hindi and Urdu has been discussed elsewhere. There are still quite a few persons in this district who can freely speak and deliver speeches in Bhojpuri. It is gathered that there were (March, 1963) a few Sikhs and Sindhis in the district who speak their own languages, i.e., Punjabi and Sindhi.

Bilingualism.

The table below shows the number of persons who commonly use another Indian language in their everyday life in addition to (and sometimes largely in supersession of) their mother-tongues as enumerated at the census of 1951*:-

Mother-tongue.		Total speakers.	Total persons returned as speaking languages subsidiary to that shown in column I.	Subsidiary languages.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Hindi	26,82,367	615	Bengali	585	
			Punjabi	15	
			Nepali	15	
Bengali	2,610	1,821	Hindi	1,808	
			Oriya	11	
			Nepali	2	
Punjabi	1,110	916	Hindi	916	
Oraon	1,018	355	Hindi	355	
Marwari	485	347	Hindi	337	
			Gujarati	10	
Santali	184	48	Hindi	48	
Nepali	171	41	Hindi	35	
			Bengali	6	
English	160	68	Hindi	63	
			Bengali	5	
Oriya	130	23	Hindi	10	
			Bengali	13	
Telugu	91	30	Hindi	28	
			Bengali	2	
Tamil	26	13	Hindi	12	
			Bengali	1	
Gujarati	4	1	Hindi	1	

* District Census Hand-Book of Shahabad (1954), page 73. Detailed figures collected in 1961 Census are not yet available (March, 1963).

Bhojpuri Language and Literature.

Bhojpuri is the westernmost dialect of the Eastern or Magadhan Group of Indo-Aryan languages. It is a major dialect in this group. Dr. Grierson likes to call Western Magadhi by the name of Bihari. By Bihari he means a language consisting of three dialects, namely, Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuri. In this way, according to him, like Bengali, Oriya and Assami, Bhojpuri along with the other Bihari languages is derived from Magadhi *Apbhransha*. But, on the other hand, he is aware of the fact that to a great extent, Bhojpuri is different from Magahi and Maithili, which are much more related to each other. Bhojpuri has no complicated verb-system like Magahi and Maithili. Maithili has $\sqrt{achh}$ (अछ) or $\sqrt{chh}$ (छ) which has no existence in Magahi or Bhojpuri.¹ Keeping these differences in view, Dr. S. K. Chatterji is of opinion that Bhojpuri is derived from a group different from those of Magahi and Maithili.² He divides Magadhan languages into three groups—Western, Central and Eastern. He relates Bhojpuri with the West Magadhan, Maithili and Magahi with the Central and Bengali, Assami and Oriya with the Eastern. On the contrary, philologists like Dr. Shyam Sundar Das, Dr. Dharendra Verma, etc., are of opinion that like Awadhi, Bhojpuri too is one of the sub-languages related to Hindi. But, Dr. Bishwanath Prasad holds a different view from the above. In his opinion Bhojpuri is much more related to Ardhmagadhi³ than to Magadhi. Further he says, according to Prakrit Vaiyakaranas, only palatal *sh* (श) is used in Magadhi in place of the three—dental, cerebral and palatal *sh* sounds. Likewise, *l* (ल) is used in Magadhi in place of *r* (र). There is no such tendency in Bhojpuri. Like Awadhi, Bhojpuri has only dental *s* (स) and in its several forms *r* (र) is used in place of *l* (ल), which is prevalent even in Western Hindi. For example, Hindi words like Thali, Kela, Talawar, etc., become Thari, Kera and Tarawar in Bhojpuri.⁴

Further, Bhojpuri suffixes *As* (अस) in some of its verbs like Dekhas, Dekhalas, Dekhatas, etc., verbs like these have similarity with Awadhi, which are derived from Ardhmagadhi. From linguistic point of view, though Bhojpuri has many signs which bring it nearer to its sister languages like Magahi, Maithili and Bengali, yet from the point of view of its word-stock, case-endings, pronouns and pronunciations, it has similarity, to a great extent, with Awadhi and

¹ See 'Bhojpuri Bhasha Aur Sahitya' (First Chapter, page 8) by Dr. U. N. Tiwari.

² See 'Origin and Development of Bengali language' (page 92), by S. K. Chatterji.

³ See 'Sampadak Ka Mantavya' by Dr. Bishwanath Prasad 'Bhojpuri Ka Kavi Aur Kavya' (pages 6-7) by Shri Durga Shankar Prasad Singh.

⁴ See the same as in 3 (page 1).

other sub-languages of Eastern Hindi. Several lines of *Ramcharit-manas* of Goswami Tulsidas are as much Bhojpuri as they are Awadhi or Baisawari. Likewise, many verses of Kabir and other saints, which were written mainly in Bhojpuri, are regarded as Awadhi. On the basis of the glossary prepared by the *Prakrit Vaidyakarans*, this much can be said that Bhojpuri comes under Eastern Language Group, and being related to the areas in between the two forms of this group, namely, Ardhamagadhi and Magadhi, it has the qualities of both in it.¹

The name given to the language.

Bhojpuri has been named after the Bhojpur Pargana in the Buxar subdivision in the district of Shahabad. There are two small villages in this pargana, situated at a distance of three miles from each other on both sides of Arrah-Buxar road near Dumraon Railway Station. One is called old Bhojpur and another is known as the new one. In ancient times Bhojpur was a thickly populated, rich and wealthy city. It was the capital of the Ujjain Rajput Kings. Ujjain Rajputs are the descendants of the well-known illustrious King Bhoj or Bhojraj of Malawa. They came here as invaders and after defeating the aboriginal 'Chero' race of this place, established a small estate, which they named Bhojpur after the name of their famous predecessor. Reminiscences of their old fort known as '*Navarathna Durg*' can be traced in the New Bhojpur. In course of time, adjective Bhojpuri or Bhojpuria, derived from Bhojpur, was being used to represent the inhabitants as well as the language of this area. At the end of the Moghul rule, these terms are found in common use. We find the word Bhojpuria mentioned as a language, firstly in 1789. In his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Dr. Grierson refers to this language, as follows:—"Two days after, as a regiment of sepoys on its way to Chunar-Garh, was marching through the city at day-break, I went out and was standing to see it pass by, the regiment halted; and a few men from the centre ran into a dark lane, and laid hold of a hen and some roots; the people screamed. 'Do not make so much noise', said one of the men in his Bhojpuria idiom. We go today with the Frenghees, but we are all servants (tenants) to Cheyt Singh and may come back tomorrow with him; and then the question will be not about your roots but about your wives and daughters."²

After that John Beams used the word Bhojpuri for the language in 1868 in an article by him, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Bhojpuri is known also by some other names given to it after the names of the different areas or places in which it is used—*Buxaries*, *Chhahparahia*, *Benarsi*, *Bangarahi*, etc., are a few of such names.

¹ See '*Bhojpuri Ke Kabi Aur Kavya*', page 7.

² See, page 22 of the Supplement issue of the first part of the *Linguistic Survey of India* by Dr. G. A. Grierson.

Mahapandit Shri Rahul Sankrityayan likes to call it 'Malli' after the name of 'Malla' Janapada. Malla was one of the sixteen *Maha-Janapadas* during the period of Mahatma Buddha. But, because the actual area and extent of this Janapada is not known, it is not wise and scientific to name the language after it.

Range and Extent of the Language.

During the reign of the Ujjain Kings, Bhojpur was not a big State as we find it today linguistically. According to linguists, Bhojpuri is spoken from the Himalayan region adjoining the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to the Surguja estate of Central Province in the south. In Bihar it is spoken in Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, Ranchi, Jaspur, some portions of the Palamau and north-west of Muzaffarpur district.¹ In Uttar Pradesh Varanasi, Ghazipur, Ballia, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Azamgarh, a major portion of Jaunpur and the area up to river Kuwano in Haraiya Tahasil of the Basti district come into the range of this language. In this way, it is spoken within an area of about fifty thousand square miles and by over three crores of people.

Sub-languages or Dialects of this Language.

Dr. Grierson has divided Bhojpuri into four sections. They are—(1) Northern, (2) Southern, (3) Western, and (4) Nagpuria. There are two subdivisions of Northern Bhojpuri according to him. One of them is called Sarawaria and another Gorakhpuria. Language spoken east of Gorakhpur is called Gorakhpuria and that of west is known as Sarawaria.

Northern Bhojpuri is spoken in Gorakhpur, Deoria and Basti districts; western in Varanasi, Azamgarh, Western Ghazipur, Mirzapur and Jaspur and Southern or standard Bhojpuri is spoken in Shahabad, Saran and Ballia districts. People speak Nagpuria in Palamau and Ranchi districts of Chotanagpur Division. Pandit Shri Ganesh Chaubey is of opinion that Dhangars or Oraons of Ramnagar and Bagaha P.S. in Champaran district use this very Nagpuria dialect of Bhojpuri in course of their conversations with non-Dhangar folk.² But it is not a fact. They do not exactly use Nagpuria. They speak a kind of mixed language like Tharoo.

Bhojpuri spoken in the district of Champaran is known as 'Madhesi' by Dr. Grierson due to its position in between Gorakhpuri Bhojpuri in the west and Maithili in the east. In the lower

¹ According to Dr. Grierson the language spoken in the north-west of Muzaffarpur district is Bhojpuri. But, it is not a fact. The language spoken here, is neither Bhojpuri nor Maithili. It is the admixture of Bhojpuri and Maithili, which is now known as 'Vajjika', the name given by Maha Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan.

² See 'Bhojpuri Bhasha Aur Sahitya' (page 4), paper read by Pandit Shri Ganesh Chaubey on the occasion of the Annual Function of the 'Bihar Rashtra-bhasha Parishad' in October, 1959.

region of the Himalayas, from Jalpaiguri in the east to Kumayun in the west, an aboriginal race is known by the name Tharoo. These Tharoos of the adjoining areas of Champaran in Bihar and Baharaich in Uttar Pradesh, speak a kind of mixed Bhojpuri which is known as Tharoo.

Stock of words and Grammar.

Bhojpuri has a very rich stock of words. Words for every expression, however, subtle and peculiar it may be, are found in abundance. There are some peculiar words and expressions which have no parallel either in Hindi or in any other Indian language or dialect. Bhojpuri words can be divided into four sections, viz., (1) Tatsama, (2) Tadbhava, (3) Deshaj, and (4) Videshi. Proportion of Tadbhava and Deshaj words is greater than the rest. Due to foreign rules for about seven hundred years, many words of day-to-day business have been borrowed from Arabic, Persian, Turki, French and English. Tatsama words are much less in number in comparison with the other three kinds.

Bhojpuri has a very simple and clear grammar. There is no complicated system of verb, number, gender, etc., in it. This is why, it is within the easy approach of all. A Bhojpuri, however, highly educated he may be, always likes to talk in his own vernacular. Even a non-Bhojpuri-speaking person finds it easy to adapt and speak within a short period of time. Due to these qualities of the language, it would be no exaggeration to say that as Hindi is the simplest language of all the languages of the Indo-Aryan Group, Bhojpuri is the simplest one of all the sub-languages or dialects of Hindi.

Script.

From the very beginning Kaithi has been the script for writing in Bhojpuri areas. But, with the gradual development of education and press-facilities, now it is being written mostly in Devanagari script. Kaithi is now limited only with the older generation in letter-writing, and other day-to-day domestic affairs. But, all the old Sub-Registry, *zamindari* and personal documents of this area are found in Kaithi. Kaithi has been named after 'Kayastha', a Hindu caste of this area, whose main occupation has been the preparation and maintenance of different kinds of small or big records.

Bhojpuri Literature.

Bhojpuri literature can be divided into two sections. One is its folk literature, which is mostly alive on the tongues of the illiterate village or town folk. The other is the standard or written literature from the pens of different poets and authors. Now, let us take firstly its folk literature.

Folk Literature.

Bhojpuri has very rich folk literature in it. Different kinds of folk songs, folk tales, folk ballads, proverbs, maxims, etc., are found in abundance. From the very beginning of birth to death there are sixteen *Sanskaras* according to *Vyasamriti* in Hindu families.¹

Bhojpuri has different kinds of folk songs for different Sanskaras. Besides, there are many most beautiful and heart-touching songs concerning every sphere of life. Folk tales of different types and qualities, concerning gods and deities, men and beasts and other animals and supernatural beings are found in thousands. Folk ballads of gallantry and chivalry, pathos and sorrows are also in the memory of folk singers of this area. These singers, at dead of night, sit beside the burning fire during the winter and in the open sky during summer and go on singing the ballads fluently as if they have some books or paper before them. Aalha, Lorikayan or Liriki, Kunwar Vijai, Sorthi-Brijbhar, Saranga-Sadabriksa, Bihula, etc., are a few of them. Like Spanish in Indo-European Language Group, Bhojpuri has very rich stock of proverbs.²

Folk literature in Bhojpuri has a very old tradition. It goes back up to Rigveda, Brahmin Granthas and Grihsutras. Influence of Nath-Sidha literature is found in most of the folk songs of this language. Oppressions on Hindu women by the Mugals and Turks are found narrated in songs like Jantsar. But, it is a fact that in spite of its such an old and rich tradition, notice was taken very late of the collection and study of this literature. It was started first by the European scholars. At the end of the 19th century John Beams, Frazer Horneil, Grierson and others took interest in it and published some of the texts in English in different research journals. Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi was the first Hindi scholar, who took interest in the collection and publication of the folk songs of different languages in this country. In course of this work he published many important Bhojpuri folk songs in his book, *Kavita-Kaumudi-Gramgit* in 1929. After that many individual persons took this work in their hands and published a lot. Along with the above European scholars, Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari, Dr. Bishwanath Prasad, Dr. Krishnadeo Upadhyay, Reverend Santi Piter Navarangi, Dr. Satyavarta Sinha, Shri Durga Shankar Prasad Singh, Pandit Shri Ganesh Chaubey, etc., are a few persons, whose contributions in this field are important. At present the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad of Patna has a large collection of this literature.

¹ These *Sanskaras* are thirteen according to *Manusmriti* and *Paraskar*. Baudhayan and Warah Grihsutras; eleven according to *Aashvalayan Grihsutra*; eighteen according to *Vaukhanas Grihsutra* and forty according to *Gautam Dharmasutra*. For details, see '*Magahi Sanskar Git*' (pages 83-84) by Dr. B. N. Prasad, published by Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna.

² See '*Bhojpuri Ke Kavi Aur Kavya*', page 13.

Written Literature.

In the opinion of some great scholars like Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Bhojpuri is not rich enough in the field of its written literature. To a great extent, it is a fact. It is but natural for one to ask, why such a prominent language, which is spoken by over three crores of population, has a meagre written literature in it? In the opinion of Dr. U. N. Tiwari,¹ in ancient times, the Brahmins of Mithila and Bengal adapted Sanskrit along with their mother-tongues for literary pursuits. Banaras has been the centre of learning, which is situated in the Bhojpuri area. Bhojpuri people have always been getting inspiration from this centre of learning and thus, naturally Sanskrit should have been the medium of their education and learning.

In the opinion of Dr. Bishwanath Prasad,² Bhojpuri people have been historically and culturally so much closely connected with the Hindi areas that, keeping themselves aloof from it, they never felt the necessity to develop an independent literature of their own. Up till now the educated Bhojpuri people have been using the language of the Central India as the language of their literature and culture. The famous prose-writer of Khariboli, Pandit Sadal Mishra, the originator of modern prose style, Bhartendu Harishchandra, the great Hindi novelist, Shri Premchanda and the well-known Hindi poet of this area, Shri Jaishankar Prasad were all natives of the Bhojpuri areas and used to speak Bhojpuri. Another cause for the dearth of independent tradition of Bhojpuri literature is the adaptation of a common mixed language by the *Bhakta* and saints of medieval period for their literary pursuits. It is because, they wanted to have a glimpse of the languages concerned in their literature so that it might be acceptable to all. Further, Dr. B. N. Prasad says³ that in his opinion, as Brajbhasha was the chief language for *Krishnabhakti-Shakha* and Awadhi for the *Rambhakti* and *Premmargi-Shakhas* so was the Bhojpuri for *Gyanmargibhakti-Shakha*. Kabir says about his own language as follows:—

बोली हमारी पूरबी, हमको लखे न कोय ।
हमको तो सोई लखे, जो पूरब का होय ॥

In spite of numerous admixture of words from different dialects in his writings, Kabir has used the typical Bhojpuri words in their original forms. Besides Kabir, many works of Dharamdas, Dharanidas, Daria Saheb of Shahabad and of Sarbhang Sampraday of Champaran district are in Bhojpuri.

¹ See '*Bhojpuri Bhasha Aur Sahitya*', page 9, by Dr. U. N. Tiwari.

² See '*Bhojpuri Ke Kavi Aur Kavya*' page 7.

³ *Ibid.*

In his book, '*Bhojpuri Ke Kavi Aur Kavya*' Shri Durga Shankar Prasad Singh has divided the Bhojpuri literature into five periods. He has traced its origin from 700 A.D. According to him the period between 700 to 1100 A.D. is the 'undeveloped beginning period' of this literature. He visualizes many forms of Bhojpuri in the *Sidha* literature of this period. He names the period between 1100 to 1325 A.D. as beginning period (*Aadikal*) and during this period he points out to the composition of different kinds of folk ballads prevalent in this area. Periods between 1325 to 1650 A.D. and between 1650 to 1900 A.D. are pre-medieval and post-medieval according to his division. During pre-medieval period he points out the works of different saints and *Bhakta* poets and during the post-medieval he deals with the posterior saints and individual poets. From 1900 to 1950 A.D. he takes into account the modern poets and writers of this age.

In the opinion of Dr. Bishwanath Prasad,¹ though it is not correct that Vidyapati, Govindadas, Soordas, Tulsidas and Mirabai have composed their poems in Bhojpuri, yet it is a fact that they have used a kind of mixed language in their works. And, to show the historical development of the literature of any concerned language, it cannot be ignored.

In this way, we see that Bhojpuri has an old and long tradition, even of its written literature, though not a chronological one. During the present period, with the gradual development of education and research facilities many persons and institutions are taking much more interest in the study and development of this language and literature. Since 1900 A.D. many a masterpiece works have come to light and thus, the stock of this literature is gradually becoming richer and richer. A full length motion picture² has been produced recently in this language.

Prominent Bhojpuri writers and poets and their works.

Bhojpuri prose is still in an undeveloped stage. It has no such old tradition as its poetry has. Its old specimen is found in only one book, namely, '*Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaran*' by Pandit Shri Damodar Sharma of 12th century A.D. The old form of its prose is mostly found in some two or three hundred years old *zamindari* records, lease, *pattas*, sanads, etc. During the modern period though it is used in story, drama and essay writings still it is not so much popular as its poetry is.

Shri Awadhbihari 'Suman' is famous among the story-writers in Bhojpuri. His book, '*Jehal Ka Sanad*' is a very good collection of

¹ See '*Bhojpuri Ke Kavi Aur Kavya*', page 7.

² The name of the picture is '*Ganga Maia Toke Piyari Charhaibon*'. There have been since several other Bhojpuri pictures.

ten stories. Many good stories by Shrimati Radhika Devi Shrivastawa have been published in '*Bhojpuri*', a monthly journal of this language.

In 1884, Pandit Shri Ravidatta Shukla of Ballia wrote a drama, named '*Devakshar Charita*' in which supremacy of Devnagari script has been emphasised. After that, within a period of fifty years only one folk drama, namely, '*Bidesia*' by Shri Bhikari Thakur of Chapra is found. It was a very popular drama of its time and was acted not only in Bhojpuri areas, but also in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. During the Second World War Mahapandit late Shri Rahul Sankrityayan wrote eight dramas in Bhojpuri which were popular during those days. Besides, '*Uta Jamana*' by Shri Gorakh Nath Chaubey and '*Kunwar Singh*' by Pandit Shri Ramvihar Pandey are two famous modern dramas in this language. '*Loha Singh*' by Professor Shri Rameshwar Singh Kashyap has been very popular.

Among modern Bhojpuri poets Shri Teg Ali of Varanasi is famous for his work '*Badmas Darpan*' in which we find the real form of Banarasi (western) Bhojpuri. Before him, in 1884 Shri Kharagbahadur Singh of Ballia district published his book '*Sudha-Bunda*', a collection of sixty *Kajali* songs. In 1886, '*Nagari-Vilap*' by Shri Ramgarib Chaubey was published from Banaras. Next comes Ramkrishna Verma 'Balvir' of Banaras who wrote a book named '*Biraha Naikabhed*' in which '*Naikabhed*' has been described in well-known '*Biraha*' meter of Bhojpuri. Pandit Shri Dudh Nath Upadhyay of Ballia wrote three books in which '*Bharti Ke Git*' was meant for inspiring Jawans to join army during the First World War.

During the Non-Co-operation Movement in the country Shri Raghubir Narayan, Principal Manoranjan Prasad Singh, Shri Harihar Singh and Shri Chancharik composed many poems which gave inspiration to the said movement. '*Batohia*' of Shri Raghubir Narayan and '*Phirangia*' of Principal Manoranjan were very much popular during those days. Shri Prasadha Narayan Singh, Shri Ramvachan Dwivedi 'Arvinda', Shri Ramdeo Dwivedi 'Almasta', etc., also composed poems in the cause of the nation.

After 1945, Bhojpuri poets concentrated their attention mostly on social life, nature's beauty and romance of village life. '*Dehati Dulki*' by late Shri Shyamvihari Tiwari 'Dehati', most heart-touching Biraha songs in Biraha meter by late Thakur Bisaram Singh, '*Amarlatti*' by Shri Arjun Kumar Singh, '*Ashanti*', '*Aaj Ki Aawaj*' by Shri Mahendra Shastri, '*Sitar*' and '*Koilia*' by Shri Ramnath Pathak 'Pranai', '*Binia Bichhia*' by Shri Ramvihar Pandey, etc., are a few beautiful and prominent works in Bhojpuri during the period. '*Kunwar Singh*', a narrative poem by Shri Harendradeo

Narayan, is the first successful venture in this direction in Bhojpuri. Shri Arjun Kumar Singh 'Ashant' also, is busy with his narrative poem '*Buddhayan*' on the life of Mahatma Buddha.

Besides, there are many modern poets in Bhojpuri, details about whose works are omitted for want of space. Some of them are Shri Pandey Surendra, Professor Parmeshwar Ray, Professor Rameshwar Singh Kashyap, Shri Bhuvaneshwar Prasad 'Bhanu', Professor Ramdarash Mishra, Shri Ramkant Dwivedi 'Ramata', Shri Basant Kumar, Shri Banarasi Prasad 'Bhojpuri', Shri Kamala Prasad Mishra 'Vipra', Shri Maheshwar Prasad, Shri Baldeo Prasad Shrivastwa, Shri Ramvachan Lal, Shri Ramsingar Giri 'Vinod', Shri Ramagyan Pandey, Shri Moti, B.A., Shri Rahgir and many others.

Bhojpuri Journals.

Akhauri Shri Mahendra Kumar Verma of Shahabad district first started '*Bhojpuri*', a weekly journal from Calcutta, whose first issue came to the public on 15th August, 1947. After that Shri Mahendra Shastri had started a quarterly journal from Patna, also named '*Bhojpuri*', the publication had to be stopped due to financial difficulties. From 1952, Shri Raghuvansha Narayan Singh started to publish '*Bhojpuri*', a monthly journal from Arrah. Shri Singh helped much in the development of Bhojpuri prose and poetry through this journal. Quarterly '*Anjar*' from Patna under the editorship of Pandey Shri Narwadeshwar Sahay and fortnightly '*Gaon Ghar*' from Arrah under the editorship of Shri Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Srivastwa 'Bhanu' are two prominent journals of this language.

Urdu literature in Shahabad.

Along with Brij Bhasha, Awadhi, Maithili and Khari-boli, Bihar has had a highly developed Urdu literature and there have always been thousands of Urdu-reading people.

The Sultanate of Delhi had set up Persian as the court language and Persian writers and thinkers were greatly encouraged. The Persian-knowing elite of Delhi court had almost become a legend for culture, advanced thought and courtesy. From Delhi the Persian language spread and Azimabad (Patna City area) became a centre of Persian literature. From Azimabad, it may be said that the current had flown to Biharsharif, Maner Sharif, Arrah, Gaya, Bhagalpur, Saran, Muzaffarpur and other places. The contribution of the Muslim *Daraveshes*, poets, and philosophers of Bihar to Persian language has yet to be assessed.

The shift of the central power from Delhi again was the patronisation of Urdu which had already become, more or less, the language of the mass even when Persian was the language of the intellectuals. It is not necessary here to enter into the origin of Urdu which seems to have been an admirable bond of synthesis

between the Hindus and the Muslims. The military sections through their movements had spread Urdu language far and wide. In the course of the Mughal rule several military colonies almost of semi-permanent in character had been set up in different parts of Bihar and particularly on the borders of North Bihar. There were also several places in South Bihar particularly Patna, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Sasaram where such colonies were established. The colonists merged themselves in the population and were in a way the protagonists of Muslim culture and spread Urdu language. Urdu was not the exclusive language of the Muslims in Bihar. Till the first decade of the twentieth century, the Hindu students of Bihar learnt Persian and Urdu. Many of the Hindus have written valuable books in Urdu.

Patna College, the only college in Bihar, for a very long time in the first decade of the 20th century, used to have Urdu and Persian classes overfull while there were hardly any students in Sanskrit classes.

From Arrah, the district headquarters, the Urdu language spread to the other subdivisions. Sasaram and Koath in Sasaram subdivision quickly became great centres of Urdu language and culture where sizeable libraries of rare Persian and Urdu books were started. At Sasaram an Arabic Madrasa was started affiliated to Madrasa Aalia, Calcutta. The Queen's proclamation in Urdu is still preserved in the library of *Khanquah* Madrasas at Sasaram. A number of eminent Urdu and Persian poets of Sasaram distinguished themselves and commanded all-India reputation. The affluent families of Shahabad like Dumraon Raj, the Kulharia family, the Bilgramis of Koath, the Surajpura house, the Pathans of Jagdishpur, etc., extended their patronage to Urdu. Eminent Urdu scholars, poets and philosophers have come from Shahabad district. It will not be possible to mention the names of even the more famous of the Urdu scholars and writers of Shahabad district as there are quite a number of them. It may, however, be mentioned that the Bilgrami family who had settled at Koath, a large village in Sasaram subdivision before the Mutiny of 1857 has produced a galaxy of Urdu writers. Some of them are Mir Imami Bilgrami, a poet, Syed Farzand Ahmad Safir Bilgrami, a prolific author and a poet, Syed Ghulam Hassain Bilgrami, a scholar in Urdu, Hindi and Sanskrit and a poet who was trained by Sahar Lucknowvi and Ghalib Dehlavi, Syed Mohammad Afsar Bilgrami, Mir Ghulam Hasan Ghulam Bilgrami, Syed Aulad Hyder Bilgrami who compiled fourteen volumes of biography of great men of Islam and a historian.

Besides these gentlemen, there were a large number of Urdu writers and poets such as Syed Ali Md. Bilgrami, Maulvi Syed Amir Hassan Badar Arvi, Syed Wali Hyder Gauhar Arvi, Hakim Syed Ruknuddin Dana of Sasaram; Babu Shankar Dayal Fitna. Amongst

the Urdu writers Raja Radhika Raman Prasad Sinha is well versed both in Urdu and Hindi. He wrote a number of Hindi and Urdu books. Babu Bijoy Kumar Jain, a retired Deputy Magistrate, Manooos of Sasaram, Shah Fazal Imam Waqif, resident of Mahalla Choudhariana, Arrah, Syed Nasrat Hussain, Syed Safir Hussain, Hafiz Imam Ali, Munshi Ram Swarup Zaft of Dehri-on-Sone and Syed Wasi Haider Zaidi Bilgrami are some of the present-day poets and writers.

JAIN CULTURE.

The impact of Jain culture on the district of Shahabad is quite marked although the Jain population may not go beyond 1,500 souls. The main concentrations are in Arrah, Dalmianagar and other urban areas where the Jains are mostly engaged in trade or professions.

Jainism has been a creed in this district from the 6th century A.D. About twenty images of the *Tirthankaras* Nemi Nath, Rishabha Nath and others, the relic of a *Dharmachakra*, excavated from Chousa in Buxar subdivision indicate that Jainism was once flourishing here. Archaeologists have fixed the period of these images to be from the 6th century A.D. to the 9th century A.D. The find of the *Dharmachakra*, originated by the *Tirthankara* Rishabha Nath, is the symbol of the spread of Jainism in Shahabad district even before the 6th century A.D., as it is undisputed that *Dharmachakra* has been excavated only from those places where Jainism had once its stronghold.*

The present existence of the Jains in Shahabad, however, is not traceable to earlier than four hundred years ago. There are various images of year 1554 in the Chandra Prabhu *Chaityalaya*, built by Babu Chunni Lal. It is clear from the '*Murtilekha*' of '*Mul Nayak Pratima*' of Chandra Prabhu that it was built in Aram Nagar, in '*Sambat*' 1562 '*Baishakha sudi astami*'. The front portion of the image has been defaced. In the same temple there is a little image of Chandra Prabhu bearing the date of its installation as *Baishakha Sudi tija* 1533, established by Jivaraj Papriwal. It seems, it is one of the one lakh images installed by Jivaraj Papriwal in the different parts of India. There is also a Jain temple at village Masarh, six miles west of Arrah, a place of antiquity which goes back to the time of Harsha. Hiuen Tsiang has referred to this place as Mo-no-so-lo or Mahasara, which was close to the Ganga at that time. Some Rathor Jains of Marwar settled there in the fourteenth century and an inscribed Jain image bearing the date 1386 A.D. is still to be found there. Babu Sankar Lal of Arrah completed a Jain temple '*Parshanath Mandir*' there in *Bikrama Sambat* 1819 and an

* Some of the relics excavated from Chousa have been kept in Patna Museum.

inscription reads that the image of Parshanath was dedicated by him, a citizen of Aram Nagar, during the prosperous English rule over *Karusha-desha*.

There are now 44 Jain temples in Arrah and its suburb and one in Dalmianagar. There are a few other Jain temples elsewhere.

A brief sketch of some of the well-known Jain temples of Shahabad is given below:—

- (1) *Shree Samaveda Sikhar Mandir*.—This was dedicated by Shri Har Prasad Das Jain. He got erected two palatial buildings in 1902 and employed a highly paid sculptor from Jaipur to reproduce in marble the famous holy places like Pareshnath Hill and the images of 24 *Tirthankars*. In the same year he executed a registered deed on the 10th March, making a free gift of the houses to the public along with this temple.
- (2) *Shree Bahubali Jain Mandir*.—This temple built within the compound of Shree Jain Bala Bishram, Dharma Kunj, Arrah, was dedicated by Shreemati Nem Sunder Devi, wife of Late Babu Dhanendra Das Jain of Arrah. The 57-feet high ancient image of Bahubali Swami in Sharawan Bela Gola, in Mysore State, is a unique sight. The first statue of Bahubali in this part of India was first erected in Arrah. The statue is 15 feet high and weighs 250 maunds. The temple is standing over an artificial mountain amidst beautiful natural surroundings. The temple is a specimen of great aesthetic standard and delicate execution.
- (3) *The Jal Mandir*.—This was laid by late Babu Abhay Kumar Jain of Arrah in imitation of Pawapuri near Biharsharif. A magnificent image of Mahabir is installed in it.
- (4) *Nandiswar Dwip Mandir*.—This is adjacent to Panchayati Mandir. In this temple 52 small *Chaityalayas* have been set up in a very artistic way. The construction of Nandiswar Dwip has been set on the basis of Jain-geography. From the point of art, religious instinct and minute details this temple also is of great importance.
- (5) *Sahasrakut Chaityalaya*.—This temple is under the Adinath temple in Dhanupura. In this temple, on the same storey are one thousand Jain Arhat images, carved with delicate skill and vision.

- (6) *Shree Adinath Mandir*.—This was constructed by late Babu Makhan Lal in Dhanupura. Images of the gods Adinath, Parshwa Nath and others have been installed.
- (7) *Panchayati Jain Mandir*.—One thousand Jain images have been constructed in one stone-piece. Many important relics of Jainism are to be found in the temple.
- (8) *Chaubishi Jain Mandir*.—This was founded by Late Babu Sukhanand. Its importance is due to the fact that all the 24 images of *Tirthankars* are of similar colour as written in Jain Agam.

There are several Jain institutions which are a great credit to the State. Some of them are—

Shree Jain Bala Bishram.—This institution was founded by Shreemati Chanda Bai Jain in 1921 for education of the girls. Jain girls and also girls of other faiths come from various parts of India to study here. From here girls appear at various examinations, viz., Matriculation, Intermediate and Bachelor of Arts as well as for Diplomas in Sanskrit. It has got a big compound with three buildings and two hostels for girls.

There are many charitable dispensaries, two *Dharamshalas*, one Jain school and one Jain Degree College managed by the Jains. The college has been described separately. Jainology is also being spread and popularised by two schemes at a great cost by some Jains. One is the Central Jain Publishing House established in 1911. This House has published many valuable books. Shri Dev Kumar Jain *Granthamala* has published an excellent series of books and has some translations of books in other Indian languages. There is another Publishing House that has translated Jain books in South Indian languages into Hindi.

The Central Jain Oriental Library.

Sponsored in 1903 by Shri Dev Kumar Jain as Jain Dharma Pustakalaya, the name was changed in 1908 after the death of the founder. The nucleus was a collection of manuscripts by Pandit Parbhu Das Jain, the grandfather of the founder. Sri Dev Kumar Jain personally travelled throughout India and spent a fortune in collecting old literatures, manuscripts, paintings and other relics on Jainology. The library is now located in its own building. The library has now got a large number of extremely scarce books in various Indian languages.

The library has at present about 10,000 printed books in several Indian languages as Prakrit, Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannadi, Tamil and Telugu, and 3,250 English books. Besides these

the library has about 8,000 manuscripts on palm leaves, paper and tree-bark, collection of old coins, postage stamps, match levels, drawings, unique playing cards and various other relics.

It has an attached research centre known as the Jain Siddhant Bhawan. The library is very well equipped for study and research in Jainology. Scholars from all over India and beyond have visited the library for research.

RELIGION AND CASTE.

According to the Census of 1961 the total population of the district is 32,18,017 (males 16,16,732; females 16,01,285). The break-up religionwise figures are as follows:—

			Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindus	..	..	15,05,679	14,85,541	29,91,220
Muslims	..	..	1,08,308	1,13,171	2,21,479
Christians	..	..	1,146	1,069	2,215
Sikhs	..	..	1,067	924	1,991
Jains	..	..	513	573	1,086
Buddhists	..	..	16	7	23

According to the Census of 1961, the population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes are as follows* :—

		Males.	Females.	Total.	Percentage of the total population.
1. Scheduled Castes	..	2,54,785	2,60,262	5,15,047	16.01
2. Scheduled Tribes	..	11,248	10,926	22,174	0.69
3. Backward Classes	..	..	..	3,15,762	5.035

The bulk of the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward Classes are Hindus.

The Muslims who form the next largest group are scattered all over the district although there are certain Muslim pockets. Sasaram town, Arrah town and a number of villages in Bhabhua subdivision have got a large number of Muslims. There are some

* These figures have been collected from the office of the Census Superintendent, Patna. The figures have not yet been published in a book form (P. C. R. C.).

very old Muslim families in Arrah, Sasaram, Koath, Jagdishpur and other villages. It is understood that some of the old Rajput families had been converted. There are a number of Pathan Muslim families. Converted Muhammadans are not uncommon in several villages in Chainpur thana. A number of Pathan families who claim to have descended from the members of the household of Hasan Sur Shah and Sher Shah are found in Sasaram. There were Muhammadans in Sasaram from earlier days, and the ancestors of the Sajjada-nashin families were *fakirs* there at a much earlier time. The leading Muhammadan families were, however, immigrants of a comparatively recent date. The Choudhuris of Arrah were said to have settled there in the time of Firoz Shah. Some families had come to Shahabad at a later time, as, after the fall of Delhi in 1759 a few of the Muslim nobility attached to the Mughal court retired with their followers to the *Jagirs* they held in this district.* Normally any village with some Muslim families has a mosque.

The Census of 1961 records 1,991 Sikhs in the district. The majority of the Sikhs in the rural areas reside in Sasaram subdivision and are mostly engaged in various types of trade and commerce. The Sikhs have been described in details elsewhere. This is one of the two areas in this State where Sikhs have been residents for centuries, the other pocket being near Karhagola in Purnea district. There are a few rich and respectable Jain families in the district. Jainism has had its hold in the district from very old times as some of the Jain antiquities in this district indicate. The Jains have also been described separately. The majority of the Jains belong to the Marwari community and are engaged in trade and commerce. The Christians have been recorded at the small figure of 2,215 in the 1961 Census. According to the Christian missionaries, this figure is an under-estimate. The majority of them are residing in Arrah and Dumraon police-stations. The Christian Missions have been treated separately.

Castes.

There has been no castewise enumeration in the Censuses of 1951 and 1961. Probably this was not done with a view to discourage caste-consciousness; but the hold of the caste on Indian life is so deep that for various academic purposes castewise figures are interesting study particularly because of the impact of modern trends of education and industrialisation on the rigours of the caste system. It is also interesting to trace the trends of changes in occupations which followed castes and *vice versa* before. The position of caste in the present urbanisation and industrialisation of the district is also an interesting study for which castewise figures in the towns are of interest. Castes have certainly not become extinct

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), pages 41-42.

from the district and still continue to be a strong social and political force. The traditional division of occupations or functions according to caste has, however, been in the melting pot. A potter's son or a cobbler's son does not usually follow the traditional caste-function. Untouchability is losing its hold more by social education than by law. The liquidation of untouchability is a very slow process. Caste-consciousness is both an evil and a benefit. In political issues, unfortunately caste-consciousness breaks out in an ugly form and becomes aggressive. This trend has been noticed in both the General Elections of 1957 and 1962. Caste-consciousness may lead to a stratification and this base may be helpful for improving the position in a healthy manner but such attempts are rare.*

The last castewise enumeration was done in 1931 Census. In 1941 Census, owing to war exigency this along with the compilation of some other tables were omitted. As mentioned before castewise enumeration was deliberately dropped in 1951 and 1961 Censuses.

A brief note on the principal castes will be of interest to show the particular occupational or functional role which some of these castes still play.

Brahman.—Brahmans are very prominent in Dumraon thana. Their hereditary occupation is priesthood, but owing to the changes in the economic trends, many of them have taken to cultivation as a means of livelihood while the number of service-holders among the Brahmans is also not negligible. In this district we find a large number of Kanaujia and Sakaldwipi Brahmans. The Kanaujias are subdivided into Kanaujia proper and Saryupari or Sarvaria. The Saryupari are considered to be of an inferior status because they accept alms. But, nevertheless, many of them have still strict scruples regarding ceremonial purity, food and drink and social habits. There are also some prominent Brahman families scattered all over the district.

Rajput.—The Rajputs, who are numerous are perhaps the most interesting of all the castes found in this district; they are found in larger number here than in any other district in Bihar, except Saran, and are largely the descendants of the early conquerors of Shahabad. There seems no doubt that Rajputs from Ujjain in Malwa overcame the Cheros, who had established their rule after the downfall of the Gupta dynasty. Raja Bhoj is credited with having subdued them over a large part of the country and having brought the *pargana* of Bhojpur under his control; and the family records of the Rajas of the Harihobans clan, who formerly ruled at Bihea, notice a conflict between their chiefs and the Cheros

* The Subdivisional Magistrate of Sasaram thinks that unfortunately the district, specially South Shahabad (Sasaram and Bhabua subdivisions) is suffering from an acute sense of the so-called forward feeling on the basis of castes and this has been accentuated after the recent general election.

which lasted for hundreds of years and finally terminated in favour of the Rajputs. The Maharaja of Dumraon is of the line of the Ujjain Rajputs, and a number of the ex-zamindars in this district belong to the same sub-caste and are descendants of the immigrant Rajputs who conquered the Cheros. Shortly after the Muhammadan invasion three Ujjain *Sardars* were frequently mentioned in the district annals, viz., those of Jagdishpur, Dumraon and Buxar; and for a long time they continued as the chiefs of small principalities. Small or large they carried with them a tremendous aristocracy and prestige. Another sub-caste is the Raj Kuar, to which belonged the family of the former Hindu Rajas of Chainpur, whose descendants have now for several generations resided at Bhagwanpur, south of Bhabhua. There are many other sub-castes of Rajputs, all of whom appear to have migrated from the north-west.

The Rajputs of Shahabad contributed a large portion to the East India Company's forces and supplied some of its best soldiers to the sepoy army. It is well known that the Rajputs of this district formed the bulk of Kuar Singh's force. In the district itself they are usually land-owners and cultivators, and in many cases occupy whole villages.* The Rajputs have a martial bearing and have no hesitation to go far from the home village for a suitable job. With a fine manly physique, urbane manners and a sense of discipline, they make good administration, fine soldiers or police constables. English education has brought out their innate qualities to grasp higher education and many of the Rajputs of this district have contributed to the very best elements of various services and professions. Their traditionalism and love of the past are assets if properly guided. Many of the Rajput families carved out large zamindaris for themselves. It is said they are clannish but no special attitude survey was made.

Nishan Singh, Commander of Kuar Singh came of village Baddi, 10 miles south-east of Sasaram. He was blown off by cannon at Gaurakshani *muhalla* of Sasaram when he was caught. It may be mentioned here that the rich aristocracy and prestige of the Rajputs have prompted other groups to upgrade themselves and claim to be Rajputs. The Kharwars and the Cheros who carved out small or big principalities for themselves started their claim for being Rajputs since the last century. They have managed to strike marital alliance with pure Rajputs of poorer means as a proof to their claim.

This tendency is a remarkable socio-political factor. Any one who could carve out a zone for him and keep a few smaller satellite zamindars would call him a Rajput and claim descent from some well established Rajput family. Some of the Rajput families in this district have been philanthropists and have taken active part in

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), pages 46-47.

educational, social or political work. The families of the Maharaja of Dumraon, Kulharia, Darigaon, Garh Nokha, etc., have done a lot of welfare work for the district. One of the earliest Congressmen of Bihar who had attended the second Indian National Congress was a Rajput of Kulharia family. Another Rajput zamindar Shri Shatrunjay Prasad Singh was a great revivalist of music and dance. One of the ex-Chief Justices of the Supreme Court was a Rajput of this district. Many educated Rajputs of this district have fully justified their appointment in very high government services.

Babhan or Bhumihar.—Bhumihar Brahmans now rank at the same level as the two castes just mentioned and are one of the most important castes in the district. Various traditions as to their origin are current. One is to the effect that they are descended from Brahmans who took to agricultural pursuits, and one of the titles they claim is Zamindar Brahman. Another local legend declares that they were originally drummers to Ravana, king of Lanka. They are speculative, shrewd, polished in manner, talk and behaviour. Many of them have taken up professions like law, medicine, etc., besides cultivation and business. Quite a few of them have had large zamindaris particularly in Bhabhua subdivision. They make astute administrators and diplomats.

Brahmanical titles, such as Misr, Panre and Tewari are used along with Rajput titles of Singh, Rai and Thakur. Like the Rajputs they are usually land-owners and cultivators and like them they are fairly prosperous.

Kayastha.—Although it may not be very correct to state now that the Kayasthas only form the brain trust of the district, there can be no denial that at one time most of the service-holders were recruited from this community. They were the first to imbibe western education under the British rule. Usually the better classes of the Kayasthas invariably go in for schooling, and, for generations, have been in the forefront in the leading professions as well. There are only a few Kayasthas who actually till the field by themselves. Most of them normally employ ploughmen. Among the Kayasthas there are sub-castes also. Inter-marriages among the sub-castes are becoming common. The incidence of literacy among them is very high. The incidence of education among Kayastha girls is higher than that of the girls of other castes. Some of the Kayasthas of this district have taken active part in politics and public life and have occupied many high positions in Bar and other professions and in Government services.

Incidentally, the Kayasthas of this district have taken a prominent part in social reforms. The Tilouthu and Surajpura families for various outstanding contributions need special mention. The families have produced writers, philosophers and administrators

besides politicians. The Kayasthas only about four decades back were rather opposed to women's emancipation, although the males formed the bulk of the literate classes. It may be mentioned that the Kayasthas of this district used to take a prominent part in the Kayastha conferences from the year 1887. In the year 1887 the Kayastha conference at Lucknow was presided over by Sri Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., the Diwan of Dumraon Raj. Dr. Sachidanand Sinha of Arrah and Patna was elected the President of the Kayastha conference held at Delhi in 1929. Dr. Sinha was one of the foremost politicians of Bihar and was the President of the Constituent Assembly. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for a number of years, a prominent advocate and a writer of eminence. He was also an Executive Councillor for a long time. Several sessions of the Kayastha Conferences were held in different parts of Bihar and at each of them a large number of delegates from Shahabad district had attended. The Conference in 1927 at Daltonganj presided over by Sir P. C. Roy was particularly attended by a large number of Kayasthas from Shahabad district.

Goala.—Goalas are also known as Ahirs and Gopes. They are practically found all over the district. Their hereditary occupation is that of herdsmen and milkmen, but with this they combine cultivation. A large number of them have given up pastoral pursuits altogether and are only tillers of the soil. The number of Goala cultivators is quite large and a good percentage are substantial cultivators. The incidence of literacy is not so high in them but some of them who are educated have taken up other professions also. They predominate in Arrah thanas. It may be mentioned here that the Goalas of Shahabad district are divided into four sub-castes, Majraut, Kishnaut, Gorla and Kananjia. The Kishnauts prefer a claim of precedence over others on the tradition that Lord Krishna was born in their sub-caste. The Goalas have become very caste-conscious now and have a strong unity among them which is often seen canalised in election fights. The Bir Kuar deity has been discussed elsewhere.

Koeri and Kurmi.—The Koeris are skilful and industrious cultivators, who are the best agriculturists to be found in the district. They are a purely agricultural caste. They are also excellent horticulturists. Kurmis are also hardworking and good cultivators in the district. Both these castes form the backbone of the agricultural economy of the district but the Kurmis are more educated and some of them have taken up various types of professions like law, medicine, business, etc. The Koeris and Kurmis have taken full advantage of their enlistment in the Backward classes and have a strong community feeling. They have also started going in for services and professions. The educated boys of these communities do not turn to agricultural pursuits as a rule.

Bania.—As a class Banias are mostly shopkeepers and traders and some of them also carry on money-lending business. This class has not been very much affected by the recent economic trends and continues to be among the moneyed sections. Hemu, Commander-in-Chief of Sher Shah was a Bania. In Sasaram town, Nasriganj and Chenari they have got a sizeable population.

Barhi.—This community is evenly distributed all over the district. The Barhis are by profession artisans and they generally make agricultural implements for the villagers, and are paid in the villages both in cash and kind. The Barhis in the towns have a busy time in making furniture and other carpentry work. The urbanisation trends have been a windfall for them.

Chamar.—The Chamars are notified as Scheduled Caste and besides the traditional profession of making footwear, they also follow cultivation. The services of the women-folk are frequently requisitioned as midwife although they are not trained and follow crude methods. They are now quite progressive and if given opportunity they could equal any other community in any work. The incidence of education is low. An educated person of this community had been a prominent Central Minister for a long time. The S. D. O. of Sasaram reports that this caste has now got a bitter attitude towards the so-called high castes. Their *Caste-Panchayat* is very strong and literacy is increasing.

Dhanuk and Kahar.—Dhanuks and Kahars both belong to the Backward Classes and are largely recruited as domestic servants. Both used to be employed as palanquin bearers but palanquins have become rare now. With the advancement of time and as a result of caste-consciousness they have now adopted various professions. Some of them are quite good cultivators and a few of them have gone to big cities like Calcutta and other places for their livelihood. The hold of caste-occupation on these communities is definitely dwindling.

Dhobi.—Dhobis are the washermen and belong to both Hindu and Muslim communities. In the rural areas the Dhobis are still paid in kind or are allotted fixed bundles of crops during the time of harvest. In the urban areas they are paid in cash. Hindu Dhobis have been classified as Scheduled Caste while Muslim Dhobis have been put under the Backward Classes. The incidence of literacy is low but the literate and educated among them are turning to professions other than the caste-occupations. They are extremely caste-conscious and their *Caste-Panchayats* are very strong.

Dom.—They are included in the Scheduled Castes under the Constitution. There are two types of Doms in the district known as Doms and Magahiya Doms. They have strong physique and they are capable of hard work. They rear pigs for their living and also make and sell bamboo-wares such as baskets and fans, etc.

Previously a number of them followed anti-social practices and often got into prison. They are scattered all over the district. The Doms are trying to improve their position in society and have now been sending their children to schools, if possible. A development of piggery scheme will give them better employment chances.

Dosadh.—They have been classified as Scheduled Caste under the Constitution. They are scattered throughout the district. They have practically monopolised the duties of the post of *Chowkidars* or village watchman in the district; some are also cultivators and the rest are labourers. They also rear pigs. Their women supplement the income of the family by working as labourers. *Dosadh* cooks are sought after. *Dosadhs* have also been receiving schooling. The *Dosadhs* have started taking up various kinds of services suited to their education. Some of them are professional cooks. Some of them make a living by making ham and bacon in crude methods. A developed piggery scheme will be a great benefit to them.

Hajam.—The *Hajams* are now included in the Constitution under Backward Classes and are also known as *Nai* and *Thakur*. They have earned the reputation of being too clever. Their chief occupation is hair-dressing but some are also good cultivators and rear cattle. Some village *Hajams* practise a rude form of unscientific surgery. Their women supplement the income of the family by dressing and anointing the feet of the females of other castes and communities with *alta* (dye). They sell their services at a high fee now.

Teli.—*Telis* have a monopoly of pressing oil out of oilseeds and selling oil. This has been their traditional occupation for generations. Some of them have taken to business and money-lending. Their Caste—*Panchayats* are very strong.

Kandu.—They are distributed throughout the district. They are the class who prepare parched rice known as *chura*, *murhi*, etc. The original caste-occupation is not always followed now.

Kumhar.—In almost all the villages and towns this caste is found. They are mainly potters and prepare earthenwares, tiles, etc. Their other occupation is building of mud walls. They sell their wares for laying bricks or thatch houses, etc. Some of them are also good cultivators.

Mali.—They have been classified as Backward Class under the Constitution. Previously they were employed as inoculators but now their importance as such is on the wane. They are gardeners and sell the flowers and work in the gardens, etc. They make out various types of decorations and ornaments out of flower during the marriage ceremony of a boy. With the decline in the economic incidence their work as *malakars* is now on the decline. The incidence of literacy is not high.

Musahar.—They are a notified Scheduled Caste and their number in the district is not insignificant. Most of them are without land and they are agricultural labourers. They are very eclectic in their food and relish even rats and snails. Attempts are being made to educate them. Drinking and gambling are their common recreation. Child marriage, widow re-marriage and divorce are common among them. The Mushars are quite willing to take up other occupations if they get.

Pasi.—They have been included in the Constitution under Scheduled Castes and their chief occupation is the sale of the fermented juice of the *tal* and *khajur* trees. They are physically strong and can work hard. A few of them are agricultural labourers and good cultivators. They are scattered throughout the district. The incidence of literacy is not high.

Nonia.—This caste supplies labourers and cultivators. Originally they used to scour salt out of the earth and that gave the name. Literacy is low. This caste has given several veteran criminals of South Shahabad.

Jolaha.—Among the Muhammadans the weaver caste, Jolaha, is the most numerous. They weave cloth and some of them are engaged in agriculture. Weaving is the main cottage industry of the district. They have upgraded themselves by education and look down upon the word 'Jolaha' as a contemptuous term and prefer to be called Ansaris. They have shown a great adaptability to new designs and craftsmanship in textile goods. Not only do they form a very progressive and useful element in the society but they are politically a well-knit body. They were backward in education but are now coming up. An educated person of Ansari community has been in the Congress for decades and has held high position in the organisation and the Government.

Among the Muslims we find Pathan, Syed, Shaikh and others. Besides these four well-known classes, the following Muslim sections are also found in the district:—

Dhunia (cotton-carder), *Dhobi* (washerman), *Darzi* (tailor), *Fakir* (Muhammadan mendicant), *Kasai* (butcher), *Nalband* (farrier), *Pamaria* (singer), *Nat*, *Rangrez* (dyer) and several others.

SCHEDULED TRIBES.*

The Adivasis who are classed as the Scheduled Tribes are mostly found in the Sasaram and Bhabhua subdivisions of the district.

* Reliable thanawise or villagewise figures of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes or the Backward Classes are not available either in the District Magistrate's office or in the Welfare Department. Prolonged correspondence failed to procure them. (P. C. R. C.)

The census figures for 1941, 1951 and 1961 showing the number of Scheduled Tribe people are given below:—

Census of—			Total population of the district.	Total population of the Scheduled Tribes.	Percentage of the Scheduled Tribes.
1941	..	..	23,28,581	17,558	.75
1951	..	..	26,88,440	16,993	.63
1961	..	..	32,18,017	22,174	.69

It was gathered that in the pre-independence days the people of the lower castes and those belonging to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes wanted to raise their social status by getting themselves enumerated as belonging to the higher caste Hindus but now the trend is otherwise. The reasons are that the welfare programmes have made special provisions for their welfare, education, etc., and in order to get the benefits they are trying to get themselves enumerated as belonging to the *Harijans* or Scheduled Castes, Tribes or Backward Classes. There has also been a movement to bring the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward Classes together as a political unit to fight the elections.

The Scheduled Tribes were classified and enumerated tribe-wise in the census held up to 1941, but they have not been enumerated in this manner in the censuses held in 1951 and 1961 and so the present strength of each of these tribes in this district cannot be given. The figures for 1941 give a good idea about their comparative strength. According to 1941 Census the population of the tribes was as follows:—

Name of tribes.			No. of persons.	Percentage with reference to total tribal population.
Kharwar	..	..	9,410	53.60
Oraon	..	..	3,708	21.07
Munda	..	..	2,426	13.81
Chero	..	..	1,185	6.74
Agaria	..	..	429	2.45
Santal	..	..	296	1.63
Gorait	..	..	83	0.47
Bhogta	..	..	12	} Negligible.
Ho	..	..	7	
Maulik	..	..	2	
Total	..	..	17,558	

The Oraons.

The Oraons are found in all the four subdivisions of Shahabad district, i.e., Arrah, Buxar, Sasaram and Bhabua. Their actual total population in the district is not known. The information in Rohtas and Adhaura Blocks is that they are about 2,104 in number only in the said two blocks.

An investigation was made into the conditions of the Oraons at villages Nagatoli, Budhua, Koriari and Aamdih in Sasaram subdivision and villages Dahar, Lohra, Sarodag, Sorha and Sarki in Bhabua subdivision.

W. W. Hunter mentions about them as follows:—

“They are a hardworking race, and as a rule do not hold land. They affirm themselves that they were long settled on Rohtas and the adjoining hills, whence they were driven by the Muhammadans. But as they also assert that they were in Chutia Nagpur prior to the birth of Phani Mukuta Rai, the first Nagbansi Raja, they must have been under the sway of that dynasty before Muhammad was born. According to their own account, after they had been expelled from Rohtas, they divided into two parties: one of which migrated to Rajmahal, while the other proceeded up the Son into Palamau, and so along the valley of the Koel into their present seat.”*

On enquiry from Jokhu Oraon, the *mukhiya* of Koriari Gram Panchayat, and others it was ascertained they think that they had migrated from this place to Chotanagpur and again from Chotanagpur they have come about 200 years back. They are now completely detached from Chotanagpur. The marriages usually take place in this area and for this purpose they do not go to Chotanagpur. They settled here as agricultural labourers. They are also called *Dhangars* by the non-aboriginals.

The Oraons as a group occupy a contiguous territory and speak a common dialect, i.e., *Kurukh* among themselves and *Bhojpuri* with others. They have good relationship with the non-aboriginal inhabitants in the villages. They are divided in several classes. Their *Killies* or septs usually bear the name of the animals. The family is patriarchal and the father is the head of the family.

The initiative for a marriage is taken from the boy's side. The marriage ceremony is performed at the residence of the bride. Polygamy and widow marriage are known. Ordinarily the children are named after the day on which they are born. Sometimes the names of some relative or ancestor are fixed.

* A Statistical Account of Bengal, 1877. Vol. XII, page 191.

Regarding funerals it was observed that the dead bodies are burnt. After the body has been consumed, five bits of bone from the hands, ribs, and thighs are collected and put in an earthen vessel and kept at the place where the body was burnt. The dead body of a pregnant woman or of a woman who dies after a few days of the birth of the child is subjected to a peculiar treatment. Thorns are pushed in her feet and the eye-lids are sewn and the dead body is carried to a distant place for the burial. It is believed that the spirit of the person who dies like that turns into a malevolent spirit and harasses the members of the family. Shukra Oraon, a resident of Budhua village, informed that his wife had died after a few days of the issue of the child. He believes that she harassed them badly and holds her responsible for the death of his child. They believe in ancestor-worship and are afraid of the malevolent spirits. But now they usually do not take any outbreak of disease as the working of a malevolent spirit though they are scared of witchcraft.

Their most important festivals are the *Karma*, *Jitia*, *Sohyai* and *Deothan*. They also participate in *Dashara* festival of the Hindus as observer. The day on which the *Karma* is celebrated has its unique importance and they enjoy the day in group dancing and group singing. Some of the festivals have been adopted due to the impact of the Hindus.

Due to the impact of urbanisation and development in communication, remarkable social changes have taken place among the Oraons. There is not so much change in the food habit excepting that they now take rice. They eat pigs, goats' meat, eggs, chickens and other birds. They have now started to participate in the festivals of the Hindus.

The Oraons in the district do not have any dormitory. In the dormitory in Ranchi district the young unmarried boys and girls sleep separately and get ample opportunities of mixing with each other. Jokhu Oraon of village Koriari who is also the *Mukhiya* gave out that there is no dormitory and that they discourage this system. The Oraons here do not drink *Handia*. They drink liquor. On enquiry as to why they do not take, it was ascertained that *Handia* is prepared with fermented rice and a kind of herb. The herb is not found in their areas and hence they do not prepare it.

The Oraons are very hardworking people. They are essentially community-minded and the whole village will turn out to cultivate another man's land, if necessary.

The women take part in the agricultural operations including heavy manual work. Again it is to be noted that generally the Oraons in other districts do not like to rear cattle (cows and buffaloes) but in the villages it was seen that many Oraons rear cattle, and sell milk and *ghee*. The economic condition, the incidence of literacy and education among the Oraons are very poor.

They are educationally so backward because like Chotanagpur, they have not been influenced by the Christian Missionaries. It is surprising that the Christian Missionaries did not open their missions in the Kaimur range.

Welfare Facilities.

These people being very poor had to procure seeds and money on credit at an exorbitant rates of compound interest from the village *mahajans* located on plain level. These debts were realised at the time of harvesting, leaving very little for the poor people for future use. Thus poverty remained a permanent feature of their lives. To help them, grain-golas have been established which supply seeds at 25 per cent rate of interest for the first year and thereafter at 6½ per cent compound interest for each succeeding year. Of the villages studied two grain-golas located at villages Saraiya and Nagatoli in Rohtas block, three at villages Adhaura, Daher and Behera in Adhaura block and one at Bhagwanpur village in Bhagwanpur block have been established to help the tribals. During 1962-63, agricultural subsidy of Rs. 750 was granted to 15 tribals in Rohtas block, Rs. 1,145 to 18 persons in Adhaura block and Rs. 951 to 13 persons in Bhagwanpur block. These subsidies were meant for purchase of bullocks, manures and seeds.

Arrangements had been made to encourage education among the boys of the Scheduled Tribes by giving them stipends, exemption from school fees and book-grants. Free hostel accommodation has been provided in residential schools as discussed elsewhere.

Welfare programmes among the tribals should be in keeping with their culture-complex, traditions and background. They need specific methods of approach. It has been realised that the best people to do this are those who have special aptitude and devotion for the social service. Attempts hitherto taken to settle the tribals on the plain by providing them free houses and other facilities have proved futile because of a somewhat the lack of understanding of the block personnel and of not understanding fully the reaction of the tribals to such schemes. The appraisal reports of some of the tribal blocks have been incorporated elsewhere.

The Kharwars.

There are Kharwars, another tribal in Sasaram and Bhabua subdivisions in Shahabad district. They are generally found in the western part of the district on Kaimur hills, i.e., in Rohtas, Sasaram and Adhaura police-stations. An investigation was made into the conditions of the Kharwars at villages Koriari, Aamdih, Kachuar and Budhua under Rohtas Development Block and villages Dahar, Lohra, Sarodag, Sarki, and Sorha under Adhaura block. The origin of the Kharwars is obscure and it is not known from where they have migrated to Shahabad. The actual total population of this

community is not known but the investigation made in Rohtas and Adhaura blocks give us an idea that they are about 7,463 in Adhaura block and 962 in Rohtas block.

The legendary history of the Kharwars indicates that in the olden days they were the rulers of Rohtas *garh*, the great fort in the south of this district. Mr. Montgomery Martin who had summarised Buchanan Hamilton's report of Shahabad mentions—

“In Shahabad district great confusion prevails concerning the Kharwars or Kharowars, because in different places they have in very different degrees adopted the rules of Hindu purity, and have therefore been placed in very different situations of life; some of them are mere labourers, intermixed with various other tribes, and live by agriculture and carrying the palanquin; others have very considerable estates, and rule many Brahmans and Rajputs, while some occupy the tableland almost totally unmixed with any other tribe, and there is little reason to doubt, but that they are its original inhabitants. These have retained the features, by which the aboriginal tribes of the Vindhyan mountains are distinguished, just as entirely as the inhabitants of the Rajmahal hills, although, the whole, both of this district and of Ramgar, speak an old or corrupted dialect of the Hindi language. Some of the principal men among the highlanders of this district have been induced to live a pure life; but by far the greater part eats buffaloes, pork and fowls, and it was assured by Banakhandi Singh, a very intelligent person who had more influence over them than any person in the low country, and who is thoroughly acquainted with their manners that once in three years a great sacrifice is made, at which an animal of the ox kind, a hog, and a fowl are offered.

“These highlanders call themselves Suryabangsis or descendants of the Sun; and as their hills would at one time appear to have been the residence of Rohitaswa, a prince descended of Surya, their claim has some shadow of support; but notwithstanding it appears exactly on a footing with that of the Bhungihars of the family of the Sun were of foreign extraction. It would, however, appear that a great part of the country immediately south and west from their hills, has for ages been the property of persons belonging to this tribe, although it has not there had the exclusive occupancy of the soil. The unmixed Kharowars, who

occupy the table-land amount to 770 houses, and those, who occupy the plains intermixed with other labourers, to about 2,230 houses."*

Regarding religion, beliefs, rituals, customs and marriages, Edward Tuite Dalton in his book "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal" published in 1872 (pages 125 to 131) mentioned that Kharwars observed like the Kols the triennial sacrifices. Every three years a buffalo and other animals were offered in the sacred grove "Sarna" or on a rock near the village. They also had the priest for each village called *Pahan*. The other priest was known as the Baiga. No Brahmanical priests were allowed on any occasions. The deity honoured was the tutelary god of the village called *Duar Pahan*.

When W. W. Hunter wrote his *Statistical Account of Bengal* he did not find much change in the Kharwars. He mentions:—

"Kharwars number 5,673 principally found in the Bhabua subdivision. They themselves say that their original seat was Rohtas—so named from its having been the abode of Rohitaswa, son of king Harish Chandra, of the family of the Sun. They call themselves Suryabansi, and wear the *paita* or caste string. Another tradition is that they are a mixed race, who originated during the time of Raja Ben, who gave orders that all men might wed women of any caste or country: the Kharwars being the offspring of the union of a Kshattriya father with a Bharni woman of aboriginal descent. In different places they have adopted the rules of Hindu purity in every degree. Colonel Dalton considers that their physiognomy shows them to be of pure Turanian descent, and not improbably connected with the Kiratas, who call themselves by a somewhat similar name, Kerawa, and who like the Kharwars have a subdivision called Marhi. The Cheros and Kharwars both observe triennial sacrifices. Every third year a buffalo with other animals is slaughtered in the sacred grove called *Sarna*, or on a rock near the village. They also, like some of the Kols, have a priest in each village, called *pahan*, or *baiga*, who always belongs to one of the impure castes; and Colonel Dalton observes that *pahan* alone can offer the triennial sacrifices at which no Brahminical priests are allowed to interfere. His priestly functions in other matters, however, are fast being usurped by the Brahmans from the plains. The Kharwars are

* *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, by Montgomery Martin, published in London in February, 1838, Vol. I, pages 492-493.

divided into four tribes, Bhogta, Manjhi, Raut and Mahato. They generally follow the Hindu observances in marriages, and in their disposal of the dead."*

The only remarkable change was the penetration of the Brahmin priests which was probably a mark of more Hinduisation. This Hinduisation had received an impetus in Palamau and other districts also where there were Kharwars. The Kharwars took pride being a ruling class and married Rajput girls and claim themselves to be Rajputs. It may be observed that the emergence of the Rajputs as a caste is a later phenomena. The claim of being a Rajput was synonymous of being a chieftain; whoever could carve out a little area for himself called himself a Rajput. The Kharwars held portions of Shahabad district as the ruling power. In Palamau district also they held some principalities. No wonder, they upgraded themselves in the caste-hierarchy and classified them as Rajputs. This was done without any regard to what others thought. A Kharwar even in 1918 would have demurred if he was told that Mr. H. D. Christian in his Settlement Report had dubbed the Kharwars as the purest aborigines to be found unmixed with any other tribe.

When the last *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* was written in 1924 it was observed "they have now to a certain extent become Hinduised, claim to be Rajputs, and generally wear the sacred thread. They do not drink intoxicating liquors or eat beef; but pork is not forbidden food to them."† This pork is not the meat of the tame pigs but of the wild boar.

Changing Scene.

Due to impact of urbanisation and contact with the Hindus, there have been changes in their outlook. They now rank among Hindus and employ Brahmans which they did not do before. On an enquiry from Daso Baiga of village Adhaura and Hisab Singh Baiga of Kachuar village, it was ascertained that the Kharwars now refuse to be called as tribal people and rather resent to be called as such. They always call themselves to be the offshoots of Suryabansi Rajputs.

A few years back the males used to wear *Kasti* (dress of the upper part of the body) and the females *bukni* (dress for the lower part of the body). But now the males wear *dhoti*, shirt, *kurta*, *lungi*, *paijama*, *ganji* and trousers like any other section. The females mostly wear the old dress but some of them who are financially better off wear *sari*, *jhula*, under-garments, etc. The females generally wear coloured *saris*.

* *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), Vol. XII, pages 189-190. Also see H. H. Risley's *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1891, pages 472-476.

† *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), page 49.

As regards ornaments they wear *bali* (ornaments for the ear), *shankha* (ornaments for the hand) and *kara* (ornaments for foot). Silver jewellery of modern fashion have also come into use.

The Kharwars now eat goats' meat, fowls, eggs, fish and all edible roots. They do not eat beef or mutton. Their principal food in Shahabad district is maize, *marua* and *mahua*. Given these three articles, they want nothing more, and do not depend on rice. The Kharwars wear sacred thread (*janau*) and some of them also drink liquor as reported by Daso Baiga of village Adhaura.

They speak *Bhojpuri* and they have no tribal dialect of their own. The title is "Singh". On enquiry from the Kharwars in Adhaura and Rohtas blocks, it was found that the rites observed at birth are all the rites followed by the Hindus. The Kharwars also follow the Hindu practices in marriages and in the disposal of the dead. Infant marriages are not practised. The bridegroom must be of the age of 12 or 14 years and able to plough and the girl should be of the same age. A Brahmin priest functions in the marriages. A widow may re-marry in the *sagai* form. About two maunds of rice and also a goat and a *sari* have to be given for her. If the husband and the wife fail to agree, they may leave each other by mutual consent. This appears to be a remnant of the past tradition.

After the burning of the dead body five bones of the deceased are collected and placed in an earthen pot which is buried under a *pipul* tree. The person who had put fire to the mouth of the deceased is called *ag deoa*. For ten days he places some rice, milk, and a little water in an earthen cup (*dona*) together with a lighted *chirag* on the spot where the bones are buried. On the lapse of ten days the *kantaha* or *Maha Braman* goes to the bank of the nearest river, and after placing some milk, *jao*, *til*, *gur* and *arwa* rice in ten leaf plates performs *puja* for satisfying the spirit of the deceased. A community feast follows.

The Kharwars do not indulge in dancing as an amusement as it is observed among the Kols and Oraons.

As regards village organisation, it may be noted that they have both Caste Panchayat and the Statutory Gram Panchayat. They always take part in the meeting of the panchayat and Block Development Committee. In Caste Panchayat the *Baiga* and *Gouhan* are the heads and the duty of *Gouhan* is to settle the disputes. If any matter is referred to Gram Panchayat for decision, the *Baiga* and *Gouhan* attend the meeting of the State Gram Panchayat as the representatives of Kharwars.

Regarding triennial sacrifices an enquiry was made from Daso Baiga of village Adhaura and was ascertained that the practice is still in vogue but in a refined form. The Kharwars (*Baiga*) cut the left ear of the buffalo in every three years instead of completely sacrificing the animal.

The incidence of literacy is extremely low though there has been a slight improvement. It was ascribed mostly to the absence of educational institutions and poverty of the Kharwars. Recently the Community Development Block have started one lower primary school each in villages Koriari, Nagatoli, Kachuar, Budhua, Aamdih under Rohtas Block and villages Sarodag, Lohra, Dahar and Sarki. Besides, residential schools have also been started at villages Nagatoli and Budhua in Rohtas block.

It may be mentioned that there are some Kharwars in Chenari Block also between Shergarh and Guptadham in the hilly and forest areas. One Laxmi Singh of Guptadham calls himself a Raja and appropriates a portion of the offerings inside the cave at Guptadham. The Kharwars of this area also claim themselves as Suryabanshi Kshatriyas and have Brahman *gurus* and priests. They speak Bhojpuri and have relationship with poorer Rajput families.

Importance of Baiga.

The *Baiga* has the same importance among the Kharwars as before. Among the Kharwars and Cheros there is a headman and priest (*Baiga*) to each village, both the offices being often vested in the same man. Though the Kharwars and Cheros invite the Brahmans in social functions, still they must have the *Baiga* for the agricultural operations. It is the *Baiga* who inaugurates for each Kharwar the work of sowing or reaping or of transplanting paddy seedlings. The crops cannot be removed from the threshing floor until the *Baiga* has propitiated the deities at that place. He determines the auspicious day for cutting wood to be burnt for manure. He has been holding some lands which he got during *zamindari* days as *jagir*. He was entitled to cut a bundle of paddy from each *raiya's* field but now it is not so. The office of the *Baiga* is hereditary; and the sacrificial 'knife', the emblem of the office, is passed on from father to son.

Regarding the said practice Daso Baiga of Adhaura village and Ram Nath Baiga of village Koriari were contacted during the investigation. It was ascertained that during the agricultural operations in the months of May-June *chairi* puja is celebrated by the Kharwars or Cheros. On the occasion, the *Baiga* sacrifices the he-goat with his hand and first and foremost gives manures in his field and then after the other Kharwars or Cheros do such practice. The *Baiga* is given 10 seers of paddy seed per *bigha*.

The *Baiga* has also to do some function during the marriage among the Kharwars or Cheros. He sets up the *marwa* or marriage canopy built of bamboos in the courtyard. On this occasion one *dhoti* or *sari* and 5 seers of grains are given to him.

Cheros.

There are Cheros in Sasaram and Bhabhua subdivisions in the district. They are mostly found in Bhagwanpur and Adhaura blocks. An investigation was made into the condition of the Cheros in villages Makrikhoh, Parari and Bajdihwa under Bhagwanpur block and village Dahar under Adhaura block. The actual total population of this community is not known but the investigation made in Adhaura and Bhagwanpur blocks is that they are about 533 in Adhaura block and 412 in Bhagwanpur block.

The Cheros are a landholding and cultivating class of people in this district. They claim to be Rajputs. The old Cheros claimed to be *Nagbansi* Rajputs.

The Cheros vary in complexion, but are usually of a light brown colour. They have high cheek, low and broad noses and large mouths with protuberant lips.

The Cheros of the district claim to be pure Rajputs and some of them wear sacred thread (*Janau*). They do not, however, inter-marry in high-browed Rajput families. If the economic condition of other Cheros was sound there would have been no hitch in their case also for inter-marriage between the Cheros and Rajputs as reported by Raghunandan Chero (*Baiga*) of village Makrikhoh.

Regarding the Cheros the observations of W. W. Hunter would be interesting. He mentions:—"According to Colonel Dalton, the Gangetic Provinces were once, in all probability, occupied by people speaking the Munda or Kolarian language, of whom the Cheros were the last dominant tribe. Sir H. Elliot states that they were sometimes considered a branch of the Bhars. Through the whole of Behar, but specially in Shahabad, there are many monuments attributed either to them or to the Kols; but as some of these are temples dedicated to idol worship, it is impossible that they were erected by the latter. At Tilouthu in the Sasseram subdivision, there is a large image said to have been fashioned by them. Colonel Dalton concludes that the Kols alluded to were really Kharwars, who were for long mixed up with, and subject to the Cheros".

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton says that the old Cheros claimed to be Nagbansis, and held the tradition of their origin similar to that adopted by the Chutia Nagpur family. It is traditionally asserted that the whole district of Shahabad formerly belonged to the Cheros. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton supposes they were princes of the Sunak family, who flourished in the time of Gautama, about 500-600 B.C. They still create a *raja* for every five or six houses, and invest him with *tilak*. They were expelled from Shahabad about 400-500 A.D. by the Savars or Suars according to some and by a tribe called Hariha, according to others. Both the Cheros and their conquerors, the Savars are considered impure by the Brahmans.

It is evident from their temples that they were worshippers of Siva and of Hanuman. Whatever their position has been, they are now found in the meanest offices, lurking in the jungles with their cousins, the Kharwars. Although they speak Hindi to outsiders, they are said to possess a secret language, unintelligible to Hindus.*

The details regarding the changing scene among the Cheros are given below. It will be seen that there is a clear stamp of the old background:—

Birth.—At child-birth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law if she be available, and also by the *chamain*. The woman after delivery takes bath on the sixth day, and on the twentieth day, if able again bathes and wears clean clothes. She draws water from the village well after marking it five times with *Sindur*, and after this she is considered to be clean, and will do her usual work. Births sometime occur out of wedlock. If the Chero woman in presence of the caste *panchayat* names the father of the child the man named is obliged to marry her by the *sagai* form, and both are permitted to remain in the caste. If the woman fails to mention the father's name, she is outcasted. Such instance was quoted in the family of Raghunandan Chero of village Makrikhoh. Children are named as soon as means are available for paying the Brahman. He is told the date and hour of birth and he gives the name.

Marriage.—Infant marriages are not in vogue. The girl and the boy are usually of the age of 10 or 12 years. Previously the Cheros did not allow Brahmans to conduct any social functions in their families but due to contact with the Hindus the system has changed. Now the marriage service of Cheros conforms more to the orthodox Hindu pattern. At the close of the *Bhamwar* ceremony the couple march round an earthen vessel set up in the centre of the *marwa* or marriage canopy, built of bamboos in the courtyard. Polygamy is permitted but is not very common. The Cheros have Brahman *gurus* and priests. They worship Hindu gods but worship such spirits as *Baghant*, *Cheori*, *Darha*, *Dwarfal* and other to which goats, fowls and sweets are offered. In these sacrifices Brahmans do not take part. The *Baiga* who is a priest of the aboriginal tribe performs the *puja* of these spirits. The *Baiga* is given one *dhoti* and *saree* and 20 seers of grains after he conducts the *Puja*.

Tattooing.—Of the villages visited it was noticed that all Chero women are tattooed. Tattooing is confined to women, and is made by a woman who is paid from two to four annas or one seer of grain. Tattooing commences inside the forearms, and then goes on to the neck and breast. Tattooing seems to be an ancient tradition.

* A *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1877), Vol. XII, pages 188-189.

Also see H. H. Risley's *The Castes and Tribes of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1891, pages 199-203.

Funerals.—The dead are burnt in the usual manner. The Cheros as reported in villages Parari and Bajdihwa, take five bones, viz., two from the feet, two from the hands, and one from the ribs, from the ashes of the pile, and place them in a new earthen pot, which is buried in the ground near a *pipul* tree. The nearest male relative of the deceased pours water on the ground over the pot for ten days, and after this the usual ceremony of feeding Brahmans and others is performed.

It may be noted that the Cheros speak *Bhojpuri* language and they do not have any language or dialect of their own. Dalton's view that they have a secret language is not true now.

Food habits.

Secondly, though the Cheros do not rear pigs, fowls, etc., but on an enquiry at villages Parari, Bajdihwa and Makrikhol and especially reported by an old man Raghunandan Chero it was ascertained that many of them eat fowls and eggs and drink liquor. Their food habits have considerably changed due to the contact with other people.

As to the impact of the Community Development Project on the tribals, an investigation was made in some of the tribal villages in Adhaura, Bhagwanpur, Rohtas, Nauhatta Blocks. The investigation reports have been given elsewhere.

CASTE PANCHAYAT.

A young scholar, Shri B. B. Goswami of the Anthropological Survey of India, has been working on the Caste Panchayats in different parts of Bihar (1964). He has carried out a certain amount of investigation in Shahabad district and will project his investigation in other districts as well. From a discussion with him, it appears that he has confirmed our conclusion that the Caste Panchayats still exist in quite an active form usually among such castes that are guild like and have stuck to their traditional occupations. Such castes are the *Chamars* (Rabidas-cobblers), the *Patwas* (weavers), the *Dhobis* (washermen), the *Baniyas* (small shopkeepers), the *Gonds* (stone workers), the *Gareris* (sheep rearers), etc. It will be seen that most of these castes occupy comparatively "lower grade" in the caste hierarchy. Anthropologically the castes that are in the cadre of inferior *Sudras* have got more virile Caste Panchayats. We further understand that some of the Caste Panchayats in Shahabad district have regular records of their findings and particularly of punishments that have been given to the members of their community for alleged breaches of social rules. Goswami got a case in the *Gond* caste of Shahabad district where for the sin of a cow dying in the house, he had to feed the Brahmans and pay a certain amount of money for the cleansing ceremony. Mostly the breaches move round the pivot of breaking of social taboos particularly for marriage

and inter-dining. Even breaches of social laws, customs and practices such as elopement, rape, etc., have also been dealt with in the Caste Panchayats of this district. Rarer are the cases for the redress of civil grievances such as land disputes. It is apparent that through these Caste Panchayats, the social solidarity of some of the castes has been kept up wonderfully in contrast to the so-called higher castes like the Brahmins, the Bhumihars and the Rajputs who have not got this type of Caste Panchayats. The most virile of the Caste Panchayats are found among the *Chamars* and the *Patwas*. The *Patwas* have an annual Caste Panchayat session at a religious seat on the Sone, few miles away from Tilouthu. The *Chamars* hold their Caste Panchayats whenever an occasion arises. The jurisdiction of a Caste Panchayat is normally limited to a clearly demarcated geographic zone.

The trends of upgrading a caste in the caste hierarchy have also been observed. The castes that are most active for this upgrading, described as the process of sanskritisation by Prof. M. N. Srinivas, are mostly seen in such castes that have started accumulating considerable savings, such as, the Koeris, the Kahars and the Kurmis. The Cheros and other Kharwars who are enlisted as Scheduled Tribes claim themselves to be Rajputs and are always keen to get marriages performed in poorer Rajput families. This they are doing simultaneously with enjoying a number of special privileges as belonging to the Scheduled Tribes.

AGRAHARI SIKHS OF SASARAM.

Sasaram in Shahabad and Karhagola in Purnea district are the two places in Bihar where there has been an indigenous Sikh population for centuries.

The Agraharis have been settled in Sasaram for the last four centuries. They are followers of Guru Nanak and belong to the "Udasi" section.

Guru Nanak had two sons but Guru Nanak gave his *gadi* to one of his disciples, Guru Angad Deo. The two sons of Guru Nanak did not like this and as a result they started preaching separately in a way slightly different from the preaching of Guru Nanak. The followers of the two sons of Guru Nanak were known as members of "*Udasi Samudai*". When the preachers of "*Udasi Samudai*" came to Sasaram most of the communities engaged in trade and commerce adopted this modified Sikh faith. The communities that accepted to be the members of "*Udasi Samudai*" were Agraharis, Sonar, Haluwai, Kesera, Kasanda teli, Kalwar and Khaties. Besides the Agraharis even today there are members of some other communities who have adopted this form of Sikh religion.

The Agraharis trace themselves to Maharaja Agrasena of Rajasthan. According to them Maharaja Agrasena had two wives. The sons of the first wife were called Agraharis. It is, however, not

known to any one as to how these Agraharis came over to Sasaram. It is accepted that the main occupation of the Agraharis has always been business.

It is said that their condition was bad before the arrival of Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs. Guru Teg Bahadur came to Sasaram and he stayed here for some days. At that time the *Khankah* was of the landlords of Sasaram. It is said that the spot where Guru Teg Bahadur stayed became a great place of attraction and the plants became green. The *Sajjadanashin* of the *Khankah* donated 52 bighas of land for the construction of a *Gurudwara*. At this place *Gopastami mela* is still held every year in the month of *Bhado*.

There are two sections of the Agraharis, one known as Singh Agraharis and the other Munaria Agraharis. The Munaria Agraharis are known so because they do not keep long hairs and beard, i.e., those who believe in getting the hairs cut (*Mundan*) are known as Munarias. Singh Agraharis are those who keep long hairs and wear *Kripan*. It is understood that the Munaria Agraharis wear *Kripans* but they do not attach so much importance to this.

L. S. S. O Malley, I.C.S., mentioned in an article published in 1904 that there were about 700 Singh Agraharis and 25 Munaria Agraharis in Sasaram. There appears to have been a decline in the number*. The accurate figure is not available but there may be about 400 Singh Agraharis and 20 Munaria Agraharis. This decline in the population of Agraharis is due to the fact that some of the Agraharis have migrated to important commercial cities like Calcutta, Kanpur, etc. Those present at Sasaram are mostly shop-keepers dealing in cloth, grain, sugar and spices. Some of the educated Agraharis have also joined service. It is also possible that the Census enumerators have clubbed the Agraharis as Hindus.

The two sections have their points of difference. There is inter-marriage between the two sections under certain circumstances but this is only tolerated but not encouraged.

These two sections freely followed many of the Hindu customs and rites. "*Pinda-dan*" in Gaya and offering of oblations to the dead ancestors, an essentially Hindu obligation, is done by many of them. Some of the Agraharis participate in the worship of Hindu deities like Siva, Durga, etc. "*Kul-devata*" is also worshipped. All this indicates that the Agraharis follow a faith that has in it elements of both Sikhism and Hinduism. There has been a great eclecticism in their religious outlook and they have broad catholicity to combine the both. They follow Guru Nanak and also perform Hindu rites.

* *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXXIII, Part III.

Widow marriage is prevalent amongst the Agraharis but it is not encouraged. It is, however, strictly prohibited for the widow of the younger brother to marry the elder brother. In some of the orthodox Agrahari families, a remarried woman is not allowed to worship the "*Kul-devata*" of the family. This restriction is not rigid.

Social ostracism is still practised. If any Agrahari is outcasted, he could be taken back by realisation of a fine and by his purification in a ceremony known as "*Charan Amrit Chhakaw*" or "*Khand Amrit Chhakaw*". The fine realised is taken towards the maintenance of the Sikh *Gurudwara* at Sasaram.

The Agraharis observe a rite of initiation of outsiders to their sect which corresponds to the "*Pahul* or *Amrit*" of orthodox Sikhs. The ceremony which they call "*Khand Amrit Chhakaw*" or "*Charan Amrit Chhakaw*" is performed in the presence of five Sikhs. The latter repeat "*Mantras*" and the man puts on "*Kara*", "*Kacch*" and "*Kangha*", drink the *Charanamrit*, i.e., *Batasa* or sugar and water mixed and stirred with a dagger and finally partake of the "*Kara*" *Prasad*. The dagger with which this mixture is stirred is of two kinds and known as the "*Khand*" and the other as the "*Kripan*" when the point only is used. The "*khand*" is apparently used for initiating the males and the "*Kripan*" is used only when women are admitted.

It is essential for the boy and girl both to be made Sikh by performing "*Charan Amrit Chhakaw*" before they are united in a holy wedlock. The Munaria Agraharis do not use *Kripan* at the time of "*Charan Amrit Chhakaw*" ceremony rather they mix *Tulsi* leaf in the '*Prasad*' for its purification.

The Singh Agraharis believe that if any kind of food is touched with "*Kripan*" it is purified. The Munarias, however, believe in purifying food after mixing "*Tulsi*" leaves in it.

There are four "*Gurudwaras*" of Agraharis at Sasaram. They are known as "*Chachajee*", "*Taksaljee*", "*Purani Sanghat*" and "*New Sanghat*". The Agraharis maintain these "*Sanghats*" and "*Gurudwaras*". These "*Sanghats*" and "*Gurudwaras*" are in good condition and they are regarded as sacred places.

After having examined the abovementioned facts one can easily come to the conclusion that the Agraharis of Sasaram are disciples of Guru Nanak and they are Nanak Shahi inasmuch as their physique and dress are similar to the Sikhs. They abstain from tobacco, keep their hair and beard unshaved and wear the iron *Kara* and the wooden comb, etc. They also observe the various rites in various functions as are observed by the Sikhs. On the other hand the Agraharis do not mind observing rites of the Hindus on occasion of birth, marriage and death.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Religious beliefs of the Hindus.

The religious beliefs of the Hindus have undergone a great change with the lapse of time. The Hindu religious faith is a mixture of animism, polytheism and monism. Monism is an abstruse theory of philosophy and is adhered to by a few highly intellectual people. The followers of Dayanand Saraswati or the Arya Samaj are believers of monism. The Brahmos believe in monotheism of the Upanishada and discard image-worship. Polytheism and animism are followed by the common people. The Hindu religion is still pre-eminently ritualistic and the worship of gods is looked upon as the first duty of man. Oblation, prayer and the recitation of the sacred hymns are also observed. The Hindus worship a legion of gods and goddesses, but the primary gods and goddesses are Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi, Shiva and his consort Bhawani or Parvati, Saraswati, Ganesh, Durga and Mahavira. There are a large number of temples, old and new, scattered throughout the district. A large number of temples are dedicated to Lord Shiva. The temple of Lord Shiva at Brahampur attracts many Hindus not only of Shahabad but of the other districts of Bihar on *Falgun Shivratri* and *Baisakh Shivratri*. The Mundeshwari temple near Bhabua is the oldest Hindu temple in Bihar.

Among the godlings, Bhairwa and Goraia, are supposed to be the village guardians and watchmen and the destroyers of malevolent spirits. *Brahma Pichas* is the ghost of a Brahman who meets a violent death and is also widely worshipped, but the Brahma Baba of Mairwa has attained a local celebrity. Many devout Hindus have a separate room for *devakuri* or the household god.

Sacrifice is believed to be efficacious and thus it is looked upon as a bargain or give-and-take between god and man. Goats, lambs, cocks and pigeons are sacrificed. Big animals like buffaloes are rarely sacrificed. Living kids used to be offered to the river Ganga. Sacrifice of animals is now on the wane. The community worship of Durga, Kali and Mahadeva had a tremendous hold on the masses. Brahmoism and the Arya Sabha have been treated separately.

Religious beliefs of the Muslims.

Monism is the cardinal principle of Islam and a devout Muslim has no other god but *Allah*, and has his *Rasul* or Messenger, the prophet Mohammad. But a sort of saint worship or *Pir* worship has become a common feature. A *Pir's* tomb often becomes a place of pilgrimage. In Shahabad district there are several tombs of the Muslim saints where *urs* ceremony is held. The devout Muslims keep awake for the whole night and after the recital of the *maulood*, the *chadar* or the sheet by which the tomb of the *Pir* is covered, is changed. The *wahabi* sect of the Muslim community is not in

favour of the *urs* worship. There are very few Ahmadia Muslims in the district. The town Sasaram contains a few *khanquahs*. One of the important *khanquahs* is *Khanquah* Ghausia where *urs* is held every year on a large scale. *Urs* is also held in other *khanquahs* of Sasaram. There are other places also in the district where *urs* is held. Some of the places are Milki Mohalla, Arrah, Waliganj near Arrah, Bihea, on the *Mazar* of Shaikh Bahbal near Rohtas fort, etc.

Customs.

Orthodox Hindus observe various customs from the conception in womb till death. There are forty *sanskars* which are to be observed but now a few are observed strictly.

Birth.

During the period of pregnancy the mother is subject to various taboos. In the case of first pregnancy, the woman has to be saved from attacks of evil spirits and she has to observe a number of restraints. During eclipse she is not permitted to cut anything with force and is asked to hold *kus* grass and stone in her hand till the eclipse continues. Bitter and sour food and acid fruits are not to be given to an expectant mother. She is also not to sleep in the *angan* or courtyard or under a tree. She has to wear amulets to ward off the evil eye.

In a village and in the family of the common man at the inception of labour pain she lies down in a room which has been swept clean and kept warm, dimly lighted and free from draught. A midwife, generally a *chamain*, is called to attend the expectant mother from the time of delivery of the child to a period of ten or twelve days thereafter. Thorn, old shoes, fire and a sword are kept at the door of the room to ward off the evil spirits. The expectant mother often ties up a herb with a pair of rings round the waist. A brass dish is beaten to herald the birth of a male child.

After delivery, the navel chord of the child is cut and ashes and oil are first applied and then the baby is washed. The mother is supposed to follow various taboos for the first twelve or twenty days.

A ceremony called *Chhathihar* is observed on the sixth day of the child-birth with a good deal of rejoicing. *Pujah* is performed by a *pandit* or priest and food is offered to relatives and friends. Presents are given to the mother and child by the elders. A major custom is observed if the child is born during a particular period known as *sataisa* which is supposed to be inauspicious. If the child is born during the *sataisa nakshatra*, the father is not permitted to see the child unless the *sataisa pujah* is performed after the lapse of 27 days and sometimes for another 27 days also. The naming ceremony, or the *Namkaran* is generally held on the 12th day of the child-birth, provided the child is not born during the *sataisa* period.

The other major *samskar* is *mundan* or the first shaving of the child. But now in some cases this rite is held simultaneously with the *upanayan* or sacred thread ceremony. *Upanayan* or *Janai*, as it is popularly known, is the ritualistic ceremony of investing the boy with *Yagnopavita* (sacred thread). A *mandap* is erected in front of the house decked with plantain trees, mango leaves and green fruits and a pitcher (*kalas*) is kept full of water and turmeric. Relatives and friends are invited and the sacred thread ceremony is performed after observing various rites. Priests, barbers and other attendants usually receive gifts in the form of cloth, money, corn and even lands. Feasts are given to relatives and friends. Hindu law-givers like Manu and others had sanctioned this rite obligatory only to the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas but now a great laxity is seen as Vaisyas and Harijans also take the sacred thread.

Marriage.

The next important *samskar* is the marriage rite which is performed with some pomp. The *Hindu Dharma Sastra* has classified eight types of marriages. Marriage is generally settled after examination of horoscopes of both the bridegroom and the bride by an astrologer who predicts whether the stars of both are in harmony. But this practice is slowly falling into disuse among the enlightened people. Cases of love marriage are becoming common. Inter-caste or even inter-racial marriages are becoming common. Civil marriages by registration have not yet become popular.

Marriage is usually settled by the guardians of the parties but the consent of the bridegroom or the bride is not ignored. An auspicious day according to the Hindu calendar is fixed for performing marriage. On the stipulated day the bridegroom with a party consisting of relatives and friends visit the house of the father of the bride. At the auspicious time the marriage rite is performed by a priest and hymns are uttered to solemnise the marriage. *Saptapadigaman* or going round the sacred fire is held to be essential. After the performance of some rites, the ritual of *Kanyadan* or giving away of the bride is done by the guardian of the bride which is followed by *Kanyapanigrahana* or accepting of the bride by the bridegroom on the utterance of solemn pledges. The rite of marriage usually comes to a close after applying vermilion or *sindurdan* by the bridegroom on the forehead of the bride. The *sindurdan* has now percolated to almost all the castes and communities where it was unknown some years before.

Funeral Rites.

It is taken to be the religious duty of a son to perform the last rites of the deceased father for his spiritual salvation. The dead body is usually carried on a bier by persons and is usually cremated on the bank of a river or a tank. The last rites are generally performed by the eldest son of the deceased father and in the case

of a mother by the youngest. The dead body of the new-born up to the age of five or six years and of the *sanyasi* or ascetic is usually buried. Lepers and persons who die of snake-bite or small-pox, are immersed by fastening an earthen pot to the neck.

The person who kindles the fire in the pyre is called the *karta* or the chief mourner and has to observe several restrictions for a period. The main *śradh* is performed on the twelfth day of the death of the deceased. *Tarpan* and *Pinda* or oblation and ball of rice or cake is offered to the deceased by the *Karta* and the family priest utters hymns for the salvation of the soul. *Śradh* is performed according to the social status of the deceased but an extravagance beyond the means is often seen. *Śradh* at a later date at Gaya is often done.

Customs among the Muslims.

Some of the customs of the Muslims are different from those of the Hindus. Muslim women during pregnancy observe like Hindus a number of restrictions. After the birth of a child, the father or any male member present recites the *azan* into the ears of the child. For the first forty days the mother abstains from the regular prayers. The Muslims circumcise their male children before they reach the age of seven or eight years. They also perform the *Bismillah* or *Maktab* ceremony of the child at the age of five by reciting the verses of the holy *Kuran*. This ceremony is supposed to mark the beginning of the educational career of the child. On the occasion of this ceremony sweets are distributed to friends and relatives.

Marriage.

The marriage customs of the Muslims are more simplified than the Hindus. Two male witnesses hear the testimony to the celebration of the marriage after taking the consent of the bride. After her consent they declare her intention to the public and then the sermon of the *Khutba-e-nikah* is recited. The bride's father or *wali* gives away the bride in marriage to the bridegroom. On the eve of the departure of the bride to the house of the bridegroom, the *jilwa* ceremony is performed. They are made to see each other's face in a mirror and to read the *Kuran* together.

Death.

Recital of verses from the holy *Kuran* and *Kalma* are made in low voice into the ear of the dying man. The dead body covered with cloth (*Kafan*) is placed in a bier (*Janaza*) and is carried by men to the graveyard. The last prayer is offered near the graveyard. The dead body is laid in the grave, the head being kept towards the north and the face towards the west to face the *Kaba*. After the grave is closed the *imam* recites verses of the *Kuran* and all present pray for the peace of soul. On the fortieth day alms are distributed and a dinner is given to friends and relatives.

Inter-caste relations.

The traditional division of *varna* or caste amongst Hindus is a part of the society but the pointedness of casteism of the old days has practically died out. Untouchability is now a crime. People of different castes now do not hesitate to take food on a common table in restaurants and hotels. Inter-caste dining is common in a hotel. No one questions now as to who is employed as a cook in a hotel or a restaurant. Inter-caste and inter-race marriages also are now tolerated. The facility of better communications and presence of different types of people in the village or town, co-education in the institutions, a shift in the social status have all helped the caste-system to shed its perpetuation of difference between a man and a man. The liquidation of the bad aspect of caste-system has started and the trend cannot stop now. There is an upsurge among the so-called lower castes and communities. The trends of urbanisation and industrialisation are cutting at the roots of casteism. But the elections and a hankering after a political career have led to tensions and a new type of caste-consciousness. Usually these feelings subside after a political election is over. Inter-caste relations are also getting a new shape as the traditional occupations of some castes are no longer followed. A Chamar or a Dom doing plumbing or sanitary work will have access to the high Hindu caste household. A Dusadh cook is a common sight in the household of an enlightened Hindu who does not follow rigid orthodoxy. On the other hand, since the thirties the forward-backward feelings and caste consciousness have become very marked and almost decide the elections.

New religious movements.

The British administration did not interfere with the growth of religions other than Christianity. The system of education that was introduced by the early British administrators encouraged the study of English literature, History, Philosophy, Political Science and allied subjects. Study of science was encouraged. Medical colleges were started. Serious attempts were made to improve the live-stock and agricultural practices. This liberal education meant the beginning of a tremendous upsurge. From the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy we find a definite break with the various orthodox ways which gave rise to new religious movements. Along with the growth of the spirit of nationalism there came quite a few religious saints who preached the older religions in a new form. Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was a great scholar and knew a number of languages and a nationalist to the core of his heart sponsored the *Brahmo Samaj*. Swami Daya Nanda Saraswati sponsored the *Arya Samaj*. Theosophy was preached by a number of men throughout India and came to be a potent factor in shaping the cultural life. The ideas of Sufism had also spread. The Christian Mission spread far and wide and pioneered schools and hospitals along with their evangelical work. These were some of the currents that had their impact

on Bihar generally and Shahabad district was no exception. The gospel of Christianity was a new religion but the creed of *Arya Samaj*, the *Brahmo Samaj* or the school of Theosophy was more a reorientation of Hinduism. They gave different interpretations and it will not be correct to say that they were opposed to the basic ideas of Hinduism.

The Arya Samaj.

The *Arya Samaj* was established in the district in 1878. It is a very old organisation which is working at social reforms in the district. It was established with a view to bring out all-round social reforms in Hindu society. The main aim and object of it are extensive social work in the district such as, Hindu widow marriage, girls' education, child marriage, abolition of untouchability, adult education, illiteracy campaign, etc.

There are 12 important centres of the *Arya Samaj* in the district situated at Arrah, Jagdishpur, Piro, Lasarhi, Buxar, Dehri-on-Sone, Koilwar, Bhabua, Ramgarh, Mohania, Agiaon and Sasaram. At every centre annual functions are held besides regular weekly sittings for religious preaching. It runs 5 middle and 7 primary schools for boys and 6 primary schools for girls, 20 libraries and 10 *Vedic Arya Samaj Mandirs* in the district. They are scattered all over the district.

Brahmoism.

Brahmoism, a theistic form of Hinduism was propounded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was the pioneer of a great reformist movement both on the religious and social side. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the man who was the father of a renaissance in India. His great disciple was Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen. They spread the movement of the Raja that had grown out of the limitations of Hinduism towards universal religion. The movement was ethical, religious and reformatory.

In the seventh decade of the last century a large number of Brahmo missionaries headed by Brahmananda Keshav Chandra Sen of Calcutta had visited different towns of Bihar at different times and a number of Brahmo *Mandirs* were set up. Keshav Chandra Sen who was a great Brahmo preacher on whom the mantle of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, the father of Rabindra Nath Tagore, had fallen visited different parts of Bihar several times*. His first visit was in 1867 and the second visit was a year after. His third visit appears to have been in 1879.

During his first visit he had visited Bhagalpur and Patna. From Patna along with Pratap Chandra Maumdar, Mahendra Nath Basu and Amrita Lal Basu he left for Allahabad, Kanpur, Delhi and

* *Acharya Keshav Chandra Sen* by Upadhaya Gour Govinda Roy, a very rare book now.

Lahore. The visit to Patna was a great success and his lecture meetings at the Mission School and at the Government college were very largely attended. Apart from the tenets of Brahmoism, a theistic religion, he gave a great emphasis on social regeneration through education, removal of untouchability, caste system, emancipation of women, ignorance of traditional orientalism, etc., which brought in a great enthusiasm to this part of the country. In his second visit he spent sometime at Bhagalpur and Monghyr and then at Patna. By that time a number of Brahmo Samaj churches and study centres had already been set up at these places. He went to several other places, namely, Jabalpur, Bombay, Allahabad and returned to Monghyr to re-join his family whom he had left there under the care of Sadhu Aghore Nath Gupta, the resident missionary at Monghyr. The Brahmo prayer-meetings were largely attended by orthodox Hindus and Muslims and the ideas rapidly spread.

Keshav's third visit to Bihar in 1879 covered Mokamah, Barh, Bazitpur, Muzaffarpur, Gaya, Patna and then Arrah. By this time the human side of Brahmoism had already obtained a foothold. His Hindi hymns (songs), street-singing and his lectures in Hindi were very widely appreciated and given publicity. In Muzaffarpur at *Sahujiha Pokhar* Keshav addressed a meeting and then there was street-singing on November 8, 1879. On the 10th November he spoke for 40 minutes in Hindi which aroused great enthusiasm in the assembly. Keshav came to Patna on the 12th November and left for Gaya next morning. In the school grounds at Gaya on the 14th November he first spoke in English and then in Hindi. He next visited Bodh Gaya where he offered prayers near the Mahabodhi temple. When he visited the temple of Vishnupad in Gaya on the 18th November morning, he was received by one of the chief priests who contributed Rs. 50 to his fund, and said "you are an Acharya and I must honour you". The party came back to Bankipur on the 19th November. Patna at that time had Shri Prakash Chandra Roy, father of late Dr. B. C. Roy as a Government servant. K. N. Roy, another high Government official was the host of Shri Keshav. Shri Keshav and his party had already become quite famous for their religious preaching in Bihar when they went to Dumraon on the 25th November 1879. At Dumraon Keshav and his party were received by the Maharaja's Manager, Shri Jay Prakash Lal* and his *Nanakpanthi Guru* (Nagaji Swami) and in spite of remonstrances the party was lodged in a palatial house and was entertained in right European style. Keshav addressed several meetings in Dumraon and the Maharaja came to meet Keshav which was a great mark of honour at that time. The Maharaja also contributed liberally to Keshav's religious fund. The *Nanakpanthi Guru* (Nagaji Swami) presided over some of the meetings addressed by Keshav. From Dumraon they went to Ghazipur and on their way

* This gentleman had presided over the All-India Kayastha Conference in 1887.

back the party visited Sonepur and Arrah. The Maharaja of Dumraon had a camp set up for his party at Sonepur where the famous annual fair was then on. Keshav held *kirtan* in the heart of the *mela* on the 30th November and gave a short address in Hindi. They visited the Harihar temple singing hymns on their way. He re-visited Arrah on the 2nd December and addressed a very large meeting in the school hall with the District Magistrate in the chair. The subject of his address was "*Satyam eba Jayate Nanritam*" (truth triumphs and not untruth). From Arrah the party went back to Calcutta.

Keshav's visits followed by other Brahmo preachers had a great religious and social impact on the people of all the places he had visited. As a result the district of Shahabad specially Arrah town profited immensely. On the social plane Brahmoism fought against untouchability, illiteracy, seclusion of women and denial of literacy and fundamental rights to them, etc., and this had a greater impact than the religious preachings. A number of Behari Hindus, namely, Brahmadev Narain, Baldev Narain, Bajrang Behari Lal, etc., joined the Brahmo Samaj. Prakash Chandra Roy, father of late Dr. B. C. Roy was posted to Arrah for sometime while his other places of posting were Bankipore and Motihari. His house in Arrah was also a great social centre where many orthodox Hindus and Muslims congregated to attend the prayer-meetings. • As it was emphasised that every religion had some good points, the meetings were very popular. The theism of the Brahmo Samaj had a special appeal along with an emphasis on social regeneration where the evils of caste system, no marriage for the widows, denial of education to the women, etc., were condemned.

The Brahmo Samaj Centre at Arrah as such has declined as most of the Brahmos there either left the place or died. Dr. Mitra, a Civil Surgeon of Arrah and his son who was also a doctor did a lot to spread the message of Brahmoism.

Keshav's work was continued by Pandit Shivanath Shastri, a great preacher of the *Sadharan* Brahmo Samaj who also visited a large number of places of Bihar. The famous institution of Ram Mohan Roy Seminary in Patna was the handiwork of Shivanath Shastri along with others. Shastriji visited Arrah four times, viz., 1878, 1894, 1895 and 1896 and there was a branch of *Sadharan* Brahmo Samaj Ashram in Arrah which was, however, removed to Bankipur in July, 1896. It may be mentioned that working for the emancipation of women and the untouchables (Harijans) and bringing relief to the general downtrodden classes have been a great contribution of the Brahmo Samaj in the district of Shahabad. In a sense, it may be said that the Brahmo Samaj was one of the pioneers for such humanitarian work. There can be no denial that the Brahmo Samaj along with the Arya Samaj did a lot to pioneer

social work in Shahabad district as well as in some other districts of Bihar. This pioneer work of theirs either by the way of girls' education or Harijan uplift or extension of literacy work, or putting down the evils of caste system, etc., was taken up by other persons and other bodies which may not have been imbued with the religious ideas of the Brahmo Samaj or the Arya Samaj. As a matter of fact, the triumph of these cults lies in the fact that the great work they pioneered was taken up by others without subscribing directly to their religious views.

THE METHODIST MISSION IN SHAHABAD DISTRICT.

The Protestant Mission work in Shahabad district is carried on by the Methodist Church in Southern Asia. Its work dates from the year 1909, when it took over the work in Arrah.

Rev. A. L. Gray had come to Arrah in the early years of the first decade in the present century. He was not working under the auspices of any particular church or mission, but supported himself and his work, on the basis of private gifts from churches in the United States where he had personal contacts from his childhood. In 1909 he approached the Methodist Episcopal Church authorities in Calcutta, to see if they would accept him and his wife, along with other workers, in this mission. They were accepted and from that time their personnel extensive property and activities were the foundation of the Protestant mission work in Shahabad district.

At present (1964) there are organised church congregations in Arrah, Buxar and Sasaram. A Methodist Hospital is maintained at Pratapsagar (police-station Dumraon). There are also village circuits of small congregations under a pastor. These are six in number situated at Bikramganj, Piro, Dhansoin, Raghunathpur, Shahpur and Jagdishpur.

There is a big co-educational middle school at Arrah which has about 400 students. There is a middle school with 150 boys in the village Nagpur (police-station Dumraon), and also a hostel with an accommodation of 80 students who read in a local high school at Balihar (police-station Dumraon). There are 25 primary schools in villages all over the district, one with a hostel at Bikramganj and each school has between ten and forty students. The mission schools are marked by a sense of discipline of the students.

The Methodist Hospital treating only outdoor patient is located near village Pratapsagar. It was established in 1950. It has treated over 42,000 people in 1962.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SHAHABAD DISTRICT.

The beginning of the work of the Roman Catholic Church in the district dates from the year 1936.

The first centre of the mission was opened at Piro in 1936 by Fr. H. I. Westropp. There is a mission dispensary also. To assist in solving the illiteracy problem, and providing character training for the more neglected elements, gradually 20 primary unrecognised schools were started in the villages of the district. They are distributed equally in each of Sadar, Buxar, Bhabhua and Sasaram subdivisions.

In 1939 a Church was established in a rented building in mohalla Katira of Arrah town. In the same year a site was acquired opposite H. D. Jain College, Arrah and a Church and school were built. The school started as lower primary and was recognised as upper primary under Father Pollard in 1941. Father Pollard brought the school to middle standard. The dispensary work continued hand in hand. With the needs of the times, the school has now been bifurcated into a middle school with 250 pupils and a high school with 150 pupils. There is an excellent pottery section where very fine statues are made.

Father Pollard moved on from Arrah to establish a Mission Centre at Shahpur. After pioneering for a time in the village, he acquired a site suitable for the school and the dispensary which was completed in 1953. This dispensary is in charge of the Mothers of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A hospital is being added.

There is also a centre at Buxar with an unrecognised girls' middle school with 65 pupils conducted by the Indian Sisters. It was started in 1940. The school has also a dispensary with trained personnel.

Besides these centres there are three more centres also doing socio-educational religious service for the needs of the people in the interior. They are as follows:—

- (1) Itarhi, opened in 1950 and serves fifteen to twenty villages;
- (2) Koath, opened in 1948 with a dispensary;
- (3) Piro, opened in 1940 and serves some forty villages; and
- (4) Sasaram, opened in 1958 to serve the people south of the Grand Trunk Road. It is now in the initial stage.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN SHAHABAD.

A lodge of the Theosophical Society was founded at Arrah in 1899 by a group of enthusiastic students of Theosophy or *Brahma Vidya* headed by the then leading lawyer Shri Kailash Chandra Banerjee. The society has worked for the promotion of universal brotherhood and humanity. It holds regular study classes and arranges for public lectures on religion, philosophy and science.

Occasional conferences are held and attended by members from all parts of the State.

New lodges have been started at Dehri-on-Sone and Buxar for the propagation of Theosophy.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Property and Inheritance.

The discussions on this subject in the other District Gazetteers also apply for the inhabitants of Shahabad district. Briefly some of the facts may be repeated. For the Hindus, the law of inheritance is governed by the Hindu Law and in the case of Muhammadans by Muhammadan Law. A Hindu's property is never held in abeyance. It is a general principle of the Hindu Law that property devolves on the sons on the death of the father. According to Manu, the great law giver, "to the nearest *Sapinda* the inheritance next belongs". A Hindu accrues his right in the ancestral property as soon as he is conceived but such right cannot be accrued in the separate property of his father. There are two schools of Hindu Law—*Dayabhag* and *Mitakshara* which govern different sections of the Hindus.

The position of women in this district along with the women elsewhere has substantially changed since the passing of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956. Before the passing of the above Act, except *Stridhan*, a woman was legally not supposed to be the last owner of the property, nor a married daughter could claim right in her father's property. But now a daughter has as good a claim in her father's property as the son, provided her father does not debar her legally. Secondly, earlier a widow had only life interest in the property and she was not legally entitled to dispose of her property as she liked. That disqualification is now removed.

In this district the right of inheritance accrues from the side of the father. Matriarchal system is foreign to this district except in the *Stridhan* in which the right of inheritance accrues legally from the mother's side. But in this also the law seldom operates and the son is always preferred by the mother. The sister usually hesitates to go to the court of law for the assertion of her right.

So far as the Muhammadans are concerned the father has absolute right in the properties and can debar any of the sons from inheritance if he is not satisfied with his son. Among the Muhammadans the daughter has as good a claim in her father's property as the son and there is a fixed ratio of the right of son and daughter.

Family Life, Marriage and Morals.

The old idea of joint family system among the Hindus is rapidly liquidating even in the villages. The shift of the more intelligent and the educated section from the rural areas to the towns is a contributory factor. Family life is becoming more and more integrated

and individualistic. Usually the branch of the family which earns more money slowly separates from the poorer branch. Family life in the villages is definitely disintegrating. This is also due to the fact that the chances of employment in the villages are small and the educated persons have got to shift to the urban areas. With the development of communications, expansion of block projects, cottage and rural industries there may, however, be some change in the near future. The abolition of zamindari has accelerated the shift to the urban areas.

The sacramental nature of the Hindu marriage is still not on the wane. But among the educated section civil marriages have not yet become common but definitely the ideas are percolating. Monogamy is generally practised but polygamy is not unknown. Polyandry is unknown in the district. Polygamy is practised generally when the first wife is either suffering from sterility or from any incurable disease. Marriage regulations are governed by the laws, long standing customs and traditions. In Hindu society the marriages between near relatives are held to be improper but not void.

Among the Muslims also law and tradition impose certain restriction on the marriages according to Muslim theology. The number of civil marriages and inter-caste marriages are very few in the district but the persons so married are accepted in the society. Education and status help this feature. Dowry system is not only still prevalent in some shape or the other but the demand is increasing and has percolated even to the backward communities. The Engineer and doctor grooms fetch the highest dowry. In middle class families the marriage of a daughter has become a problem due to the demand of dowry. The legal bar to the demand and acceptance of dowry is said to be commonly breached. Widow marriage is not held to be abnormal now although cases of widow marriage are not large. Working girls have no more difficulties to get married than the others. But it has got to be admitted that although theoretically women are held in high esteem and have equal franchise rights, etc., they are not given their proper position yet either in the rural or the urban areas. Still economically women are dependent on their husbands, fathers or sons or others due to the peculiar structure of the society and conventions. Independent earning by women is not very common. It is a fact that the women of lower castes or the working girls are economically better off owing to their earning status. The society has yet to give due honour to the working girls. It is unfortunate that the backwardness of women as a class is holding back a broad-based social upgrading. There are, however, distinct signs of a break and the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Indian National Congress, Bharat Sewak Samaj, All-India Women's Council, Social Service Board and various other voluntary social service organisations are actively engaged in broad-basing the

social structure where women will have their full share. Women are now holding seats in the Legislature on their own. Girl's education has been spreading quickly. The menfolk have been entirely responsible for the backwardness of the women. It is the backwardness of the womenfolk that has been pulling back the general social upgrading.

Prostitution.

It is gathered that prostitution has been in existence in this district from ancient times. In some families in this district the profession of prostitution is hereditary. It is peculiar that in this district prostitutes are found even in remote villages and till recently were accepted as almost a normal feature in the social life.*

Apart from the prostitutes there is a recognised class of dancing girls in this district. It is understood that some of the dancing girls of this district in the past could hold their own talents against those of Varanasi or Lucknow. Many of the dancing girls also follow, it is said, the profession of prostitution. Entertainments by dancing girls in functions like marriages, *tilak*, etc., were a very common feature till quite late. Fifty years back going out in phaetons with one's concubines or a famed dancing girl was not considered improper on the part of a *Rais*. The prostitutes of Arrah came to occupy or own pucca residential houses in the very heart of the town. There were a large number of them at *Gopalia Kuan* muhalla and other muhallas. Bhabua subdivision has some villages where dancing girls are regularly trained in their profession. It is understood that quite a few of the famous dancing girls of Varanasi were trained in Bhabua. It is also a notorious fact that keeping concubines was tacitly accepted in the society of the rich.

One Dharmanbibi, a Muslim lady was deeply attached to Baboo Kuar Singh and even followed him when he was moving from place to place waging fights against the British in 1857. As a matter of fact Dharmanbibi died in one of his expeditions. Kuar Singh's love for her made him endow a mosque in the heart of the town of Arrah which is still known as Dharman Masjid.

The virus of prostitution or concubinage had so much percolated that this is probably one of the few districts of Bihar which has or had a few prostitutes almost in every big villages. Apart from the professional class of prostitutes the *Nut* girls distributed throughout the district are also very low in their moral and colonies of *Nuts* are quite common. Some of the other low-caste women like Musaharins were also following the profession. Till recently there was a colony of Musahars adjoining Dehri Police thana and many of the Musaharin girls there used to carry on prostitution

* One entire *muhalla* of Sasaram town, viz. "*Jani-ka-Bazar*" derives its name from the prostitutes. "*Jani*" means prostitutes or dancing girls.

quite openly. Very few *barat* parties (parties following a bridegroom) of the richer section would be without some dancing girls. The *barat* parties of poorer section would take out *Nutin* girls. It is also a notorious fact that there used to be an immoral traffic in young girls of various castes of this district and the girls used to be sent mostly to the Punjab.

There are usually two classes among the prostitutes. One class feels insulted if they are described as prostitutes but the other class has no such feeling. The former claims to be the followers of the mythological Gandharva, famous for dancing and singing. Many belonging to this class are experts in dancing and their services are usually engaged in social functions like marriage, etc. It is not that some of these dancing women do not become concubines of the richer folk but they consider themselves as superior to those of the other class who earns a living by hiring themselves. In this district except very few all the prostitutes earn their livelihood by hiring themselves.

The number of these prostitutes was previously fairly large. But as reported their number is on the decline. The abolition of zamindari and the deterioration of the economic condition of the common man have affected these professionals very adversely.

At Arrah town there are about 60 families of this profession and 52 brothel keepers mostly confined at Chitratoli Road, Gola Mohalla and Tari Mohalla. There has been no segregation of this class into one particular area. These *mohallas* are in the heart of the town and quite close to the schools. These *mohallas* especially Chitratoli are the busy centres of the town. On both sides of the road the prostitutes live on the upper storeys of the houses. They used to sit on the balconies of their houses in the evenings and people used to visit them there. But after the enforcement of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act of 1956 in 1960, they do not sit openly on their balconies. They have now formed a group called *Nritya Kala Sangh*. A *Gayika Sangh* sign-board has been hung up at many houses. They claim that they are now singers and dancers and not prostitutes. But people still visit their houses for prostitution. Sometimes organised raids are organised in the areas inhabited by the prostitutes to check the prostitution in the town. In 1960 a raid was organised in Arrah town and 15 cases were detected under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 in which 7 cases were charge-sheeted out of which 2 cases ended in conviction and 5 acquitted. The total number of persons involved in all the 15 cases were 25 both males and females. Again in 1962, 3 cases were detected under the above Act and 2 cases were charge-sheeted. The raids have had some effect.

In Arrah town the following areas have been declared as public places where prostitution in any form is not to be allowed:—

- (1) Chitratoli road area which contains Arrah Town School and Kishore Dal Shishoo Bhawan, (2) Gola Mohalla which has in it Zila School Hostel and H. P. Jain School, (3) Tari Mohalla in which Wahidia Madrasa with Masjid, Dharman Chowk Masjid and Shahi Mosque are situated, and (4) Guru Nanak Gurudwara area in Babhwagali, Mahadeva road.

In Sadar subdivision besides Arrah town, prostitution is carried on at Bihea, Piro, Tarari and Hasan Bazar.

In Sasaram and Bhabua subdivisions there are some 120 families of prostitutes. These prostitutes are mostly *Nuts* by caste who live in their own houses and people visit them there. These prostitutes are found (1) in Sasaram subdivision—at Sasaram town and Agrer, Beda, Bareja, Buigla, Akorhi gola, Dehri, Bikramganj, Nasriganj and Nutwar villages, (2) in Bhabua subdivision—at Bhabua, town and Dhanecha, Kalyanpur, Jehanabad, Kudra, Ghuloon, Jakrabad and Sakri villages. At Sasaram in 1960, a raid under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act was organised by Government in which one case was detected and 28 persons were chargesheeted.

In Buxar subdivision, figures for Buxar Police-Station only is available. There are 20 families of prostitutes in this police-station.

Drinking and Gambling.

Shahabad district is not a prohibited area. Both country and foreign liquor are sold in the district.

The innumerable *tal* and *khajur* trees in this district have led to a craze for *tari*. The beverage of unfermented *tal* juice is said to have medicinal value. The *tari* of Sasaram town is said to be very tasty. Fermented *tal* juice or *tari* is the poor men's beer and any prohibition of the drinking of *tari* will deprive them of a source of joy. But it could be controlled. Sale of *tari* is controlled by the Excise Department but illegal tapping of *tal* trees for *tari* is difficult to check. There has been no proper census of *tal* trees in this district but the number must be many thousands. Sale of country liquor is also controlled by the Excise Department by enhancing the price of the liquor. There are licensed shops both in the towns as well as in the rural areas where country liquor of different grades is sold. There is a ban for the consumption of country liquor within the premises of the shop. This is mostly followed by breach. The original idea is that if there is a ban on the consumption of country liquor within the shop premises there will be a decline in the consumption of the liquor. It was thought that the people will hesitate to buy bottles of country liquor and take them home for drinking

just outside the shop. This expectation has not been fulfilled. Drinking is on the increase in all the strata of society. Sale of foreign liquor is also controlled. There are very few shops in the district for foreign liquor. The enormous rise in the price of foreign liquor stands as a check to its promiscuous consumption. The use of *nira* or unfermented *tari* has yet to become popular.

Certain types of criminal offences are usually associated with promiscuous drinking. One belongs to the category of sexual offences. Crime figures of such offences will be found in the relevant chapters but it is difficult to say what percentage of such figures could be said to be due to drinking. Another common offence associated with drinking is gambling. Gambling is quite common. It may be said that during *Diwali* festival gambling is very common. Gambling is also very common in the *melas* of the district. There are various modes of play which could be described as gambling. The most favourite mode is the play with dices and gambling with cards. Card games are popular in modern society. Such games are bridge, flush, rummy and *tin tasia*.

HOME LIFE.

Types of dwelling.

Regarding houses, the last District Gazetteer of Shahabad (1924) had mentioned as follows:—"The houses are divided, in almost all cases, into two principal divisions; one for males, and the other for females. A rich man has generally two courtyards (*angan*), each surrounded by verandahs, from which doors lead into the various rooms. The front door leads into the outer courtyard, on the left of which is a hall for the reception of guests, and on the right are two or three rooms, which are generally used as bedrooms for the males. Beyond this courtyard is another, surrounded by the female apartments. On one side are bed-rooms, and on the other the kitchen, store-house, and a latrine for females. There is also a sitting-room for the ladies of the household. The houses of the middle classes are smaller; but are constructed on much the same plan. The female division will only contain three or four rooms, besides the kitchen and store-room; one for the owner and his wife; another for the eldest son, if married; and the rest for unmarried girls and maid servants.

"Little or no attention is paid to ventilation, even in the better class of houses. All the rooms are jealously closed; and the windows, if there are any, are raised much above the height of a man, and are so small that scarcely any light can penetrate into the room. Among the poorer classes there will be only one room for all the females, and an outer verandah or shed for the reception of visitors. The kitchen is always attached to the female room; and when the family is very poor, the same room has to serve for both cooking

and sleeping in. Where houses are built with two or more storeys, the ground floor is used for kitchen, store-rooms, etc.; while the other storeys are divided into bed-rooms and sitting-rooms.”*

The above quotations still hold good to some extent for both the urban and rural areas of the district. For fear of burglars the inmates sleep in the upper floor if there is one.

Rural.

The impact of economic development, contact with the outside world and availability of building materials like cement, iron rods, etc., have brought in some changes in the types of houses in the rural areas. The houses of the people of the upper income group are being built on modern designs with iron rods, cement, brick, mortar, etc. Reinforced concrete buildings are getting common. The materials for building a house still continue to be mud, bamboos, reeds and tiles for the people of lower income group. The houses of the well-to-do cultivators have *pucca* roofs and some of them have a second storey which is known as *kotha*. Electricity is now available in some of the rural areas also but not commonly tapped because of the high charges.

In the villages the well-to-do people have their huts (*deras*) in their cultivation fields. These huts are of mud or brick surrounded by verandahs and containing generally one big hall. These huts serve the purpose of barn, the land in front of them being used for keeping harvested crop and threshing. The huts on the *diara* lands are very temporary affair and very flimsily made.

Most of the villages in the district have been divided into distinct parts. Each of these parts is called *tola* and a *tola* is generally inhabited by the people of a particular caste or community. There is no sewerage system within the villages, and consequently dirty water is allowed to accumulate. Cattle tied just in front of the houses cause a lot of filth and insanitation. Compost pits are maintained just in front of the houses and naturally lead to the breeding of flies and mosquitoes. There are very few houses in the villages with lavatories.

Urban.

Reinforced concrete houses built with iron rods, cement and mortar are becoming common in urban areas. The older *pucca* houses were constructed with mud, lime, mortar. They were mostly badly ventilated. The modern houses of the higher income group are better ventilated, spacious and usually provided with modern conveniences. The poorer sections have a variety of houses, large and small. There are slum areas in all the towns and the houses there are more of hovels. There is overcrowding in the houses generally.

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), pages 52-53.

Most of the houses both in the rural and urban areas have a separate section for the ladies. The modern type houses have the usual set of living rooms, drawing room, bath and lavatories. In some of the old type houses there is a quadrangular open space known as the *angan*. The houses of the richer folks may have a high gate wide enough to allow an elephant with riders to pass through, on the gate would be two small rooms known as *nakar khana* for locating *shahnai* parties during festivals or marriages. As Shahabad is notorious for thefts and dacoities many of the houses of the richer section in both rural and urban areas were built like forts and had very small openings to serve as windows at great height from the floor. Many of these mansions and sometimes even mud houses of the well-to-do are built on mounds.

Most of the towns are still rural in character and there is not much of a townscape. Towns have been allowed to develop in a rather lop-sided manner and the houses and housing conditions are also variegated. The oblique growth is hardly controlled by the municipalities and many living areas are growing out without proper roads or sanitation arrangements. The sanitary conditions are still far behind any modern standard. Congested *bazars*, narrow and ill-maintained roads, lanes, slums, etc., are common features. The very fact that the number of lavatories is far less the number of houses is very suggestive. Whatever be the reasons, municipal services for health, sanitation and supply of good water are meagre. There are no Improvement Trusts anywhere in the district. A more detailed description of the urbanisation of Arrah, the district headquarters has been given separately and will show the trends of urbanisation common to the district.

Furniture, Household Utensils and Decorations.

The last District Gazetteer of Shahabad has the following account regarding furniture and household utensils—"As regards furniture, a cultivator has none but the barest necessities—a few earthen cooking utensils, and receptacles for water, some pots and jars for keeping his oil, salt, grain, etc.; a small oven (*tawa*) for baking bread; a few brass utensils for eating and washing purposes; a light stone mill (*chakri*) for splitting grain, and a heavy one (*janta*) for grinding flour; two stones, one flat (*sil*) and the other like a roller (*lorha*), for grinding spices; a wooden mortar (*okhali*) and pestle (*musal*); one or two small bamboo receptacles (*petara*); mats made of palm leaves (*chatai*); a rough bed (*khatia* or *charpai*) constructed of coarse string with a bamboo or wooden framework; and one or two cocoanut shell pipes (*narikel*) for smoking. He has no chests or other receptacles for keeping ornaments or cash, which are commonly kept concealed under ground in the floor of his house, or in a jar or other utensil containing grain or the like. Grain is, however, generally stored in a circular receptacle (*kothi*), with mud

sides and a mud cover. There is usually a recess made in one of the walls, which is kept sacred for the household god; but the god himself is often unrepresented, except by a mark of red paint.”*

The utensils and furniture mentioned in the last District Gazetteer continue to be in vogue in the poorer classes. But the richer people have a better set of furniture. They have bedsteads, almirahs, chairs and tables.

Among cooking utensils both in the urban and rural areas mention may be made of metal cooking pots (*tasla*) usually of brass, pewter or copper, iron frying pan (*karahi*), iron baking pan (*tawa*), silver or other metal plates (*thalia*), etc. Crockery of China-clay and cutlery of modern type have come into vogue. Brass or copper pots (called *gagara*) or earthen pots (called *ghara*) are used for keeping drinking water. Copper pots, except for purposes of worship, are seldom used by the Hindus. These are generally used by Muslims. Crockeries of China-clay are becoming common.

The poorer classes use more of earthen utensils or metal utensils of cheaper material like aluminium. Aluminium utensils are mostly used by the Muslims and *Harijans*. Aluminium utensils came in vogue in the district since the last three decades. The types and number of furniture in a household depend on taste, and economic status of the family.

It is unfortunate that owing to economic condition most of the houses in the villages or in the towns of the lesser income group serve merely the purposes of a shelter and the expected features of a comfortable home are absent. Decorations are mostly absent. Some of the houses of the richer folk built one or two decades back are marked by clumsy overhanging small balconies, domes and minarets and useless cornices and want of proper lavatories. Architectural designs of houses are changing and plain houses with an eye to personal equation are slowly coming up. Individual gardening has still to develop and there is no lead given in the provision of proper parks and gardens or arboriculture by the Municipalities.

Dress.

The observations regarding dress in the last *Gazetteer* of *Shahabad* are as follows:—

“The dress of the people does not differ in any important respect from the costumes worn in the adjoining districts of Gaya and Patna. The better class of Hindus ordinarily wear a piece of cloth (*dhoti*) fastened round the loins and falling to the knee; and over this a long robe (*chapkan*) fastened on the right

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), page 53.

shoulder. On the head is placed a light skull-cap (*topi*), and the feet are encased in loose country-made shoes, with the toes curled upwards; sometimes, also, a white scarf (*chadar*) is thrown over the shoulders. The material of the dress differs with the weather. In the hot weather, the robe and cap will be of muslin or some light cloth; but in the cold season, stouter cloth is used for the robe, and the cap is made of velvet or some other warm material. A Muhammadan wears, instead of a dhoti, long drawers (*Paijama*) extending to the ankle, which are often loose, but sometimes very tight, and his robe is buttoned on the left shoulder; but in other respects, his dress resembles that of the Hindu.

"On State occasions, Hindus and Muhammadans dress alike. The head-dress now consists of a flat turban (*pagri*), or of one twisted round the head (*muretha*). Loose drawers take the place of the *dhoti*; and outside, a little above the waist, is twisted a long piece of cloth (*kamarband*). Shoes of English shape often take the place of the country slipper. The *kamarband* is frequently dispensed with; and in that case a loose open robe (*choga*), reaching nearly to the feet, is worn or sometimes a shorter but tighter coat, called an *eba*. A Hindu shopkeeper will wear a short jacket (*mirzai*) instead of *chapkan*, but in other respects his dress, though of cheaper materials, will resemble the one just described.

"A cultivator wears only a *dhoti* and a sort of plaid (*gamchha*), which is thrown sometimes round the body, sometimes over the shoulders, and often on the head with one end hanging down the back. A corner of this cloth is often knotted, and used as a sort of purse for keeping spare cash, receipts, etc. The better class of cultivators wear the cap and shoes, but the majority do without them. Inside the house, the poorer classes never wear shoes, but shopkeepers often use wooden sandals. The richer classes sometimes put on a loose coat (*kurta*) instead of the *chapkan*, when they are at home. As a protection against the cold, the richer classes wear shawls both when at home and abroad; but the middle classes who cannot afford shawls, envelope themselves in a sort of padded cloak (*dulai*).

"Among Hindu women the most important article of dress is the combined wrapper and veil known as the *sari*. This is a long piece of cotton or silk which is wrapped

round the middle, and contrived so as to fall in graceful folds below the ankle of one leg, while it shows a part of the other. The upper end crosses the breast, and is thrown forward again or over the head like a veil. The bodice (*kurta*), which fits tight to the shape, and covers but does not conceal the bust, is as indispensable a part of the dress as the outer garment. In some cases, where a shorter *sari* is worn, an under-garment (*tahband*) is used to cover the lower part of the figure. Musalman women wear drawers (*paijama*), which may be either loose or tight, the bodice (*kurta*) and a sheet (*chadar*), which is put on in the same way as the Hindu *sari*.*

There has been a material change in dress particularly among the urban population. Excepting in the case of the older people the proper Shahabadi dress with that typical big *pagri* almost covering one ear, the typical *kurta* or *mirzai* or *chapkan* and the pair of *chamarua* shoes are fast getting extinct. The long bamboo *lathi* which was almost a part of the dress is now confined to the unsophisticated villagers only.

Bush shirts have become very popular after the World War II among the urban people and particularly the educated section. Among the richer rural and urban people the use of *Kurta*, *dhoti* and a sort of buttoned-up short coat has become common. The stuff of the garment is usually mill-made. The Congress movement has brought in the *khaddar* or hand-spun and hand-woven cloth which is however more costly and more worn on principle. A kind of tight waist-coat commonly known as "*Jawahir Jacket*" has become common. Head-gear is going out of use. Western type of dress is coming back again. Youths in schools and colleges are fond of wearing English costumes or at least shirt and a pair of trousers. Drain-pipe trousers are slowly coming in. The white *khaddar* cap had become very prominent a decade back but is now seen more in meetings and conferences of the Congress Party.

Shoes and a sort of sandals known as *chappals* have become popular. The lower and middle class cultivators and the villagers still use the same pattern of shoes which is called *panhi*.

In the villages there has not been much change in the dress of the women excepting among the educated and upper income-tax group. The changes consist in using more of under-garments and modern type of blouses instead of the old type of *jhula*. In the urban areas the women use foot-wear and more of under-garments and modern cut blouses. Different modes of wearing the *sari* have come in particularly among the middle classes and the above, both

* *District Gazetteer of Shahabad*, 1924, pages 51-52.

in the rural and in the urban areas. In the villages, women of the poorer classes still use the same old type of coarse cloth and *jhula*. Brassiers, bodies and petticoats are becoming common among the women of the middle classes and the classes above.

A smart close-fitting outfit of *salwar*, *paijama* and *urhni* (a light cover for the upper part of the body) has become the favourite dress for the young girls particularly in schools and colleges. This dress is very well suited for undergoing physical training or drill.

Children wear frocks, romper, small shirts and shorts. There is an accent for the streamline in the dress of the children.

Ornaments.

The metals used for the ornaments are gold, silver, copper, brass, etc. The tribal folks still use coral ornaments.

The principal indigenous ornaments in the district are *tiara* and *mangtika* for the head, *mala*, *har* and *hansuli* for the neck, *jhumka*, *kanphool*, *bali*, *kanaili* for the ears, *nath*, *nakbesar*, *bulaki*, *nakphool* for the nose, *pahunchi*, *bala* for wrist, *anant* for the arms, *kamardhani* for the waist, *jhanj*, *payal*, *chhara*, *kara*, *panzeb* for the feet. Rings are common for the fingers. The poorer folks have ornaments of brass and copper too.

For the educated class people, these antique ornaments have not much use now. A few of them such as *tiara*, *bulaki*, *jhumka*, *bali*, *kanaili*, *hansuli*, *pahunchi*, *anant*, *nath*, *jhanj*, *panzeb*, *chhara*, *kara* have disappeared entirely. *Sautin*, an ornament for the second wife in memory of his predecessor has almost disappeared. *Mangtika*, *nath*, *payal*, *nakbesar*, *karanphool*, *nakphool* are also confined to a very few high caste uneducated people. On the other hand, they are still frequently used by the high caste and low caste folks. *Nath*, *mangtika* and an ornament for the neck called *Tak-pat-ka-dholna* is supposed to be auspicious for the Hindus. Some of the common modern ornaments include bracelets, armlets, chains and earrings. Nose ornaments are disappearing. Some time *matarmala* and *chandrahara* and various fashions of chains for the neck are popular. Lighter and less ornated ornaments are preferred.

Males in the urban areas do not normally have ornaments excepting rings, or chains and a wrist-watch. In rural areas the male folks still wear *kanaili*, *anant*, *kara*, and gold chains. Diamonds and a number of stones are used in the ornaments.

The use of pure gold or gold above 14 carats for ornaments will decline because of the Gold Control Order promulgated. At the present moment (March, 1963) there is a great furore over this order which has been promulgated to stop smuggling of gold and locking up money in gold ornaments. But the aim is very essential and there is no reason why there should not be changes in the present craze for gold ornaments.

Food.

The general diet of the common man is deficient in calories. Very little of protein food is available because of low economic incidence. Coal and fuel are mainly used for cooking. There is no gas cooking. Cooking by electricity is very rare.

Food in this district is almost the same as in the other districts of Bihar. Rice, *atta*, gram, *sattu*, millet, vegetables, lentils, fish, meat and egg are the common items. The cooking media are ghee, mustard oil, and the various edible oils which now include different brands of hydrogenated oils. As ghee is becoming more expensive, hydrogenated oils are in more use. The vegetables are ordinarily potato, gourds, cucurbita, brinjal, etc., and the other seasonal vegetables. The use of tomatoes and onions is becoming more popular.

Rice in different forms and *chapatis* (bread) of *atta*, *dal* and vegetables are the usual daily food for the average man. Various kinds of savoury food, preparations of meat, fish and eggs, sweets, curd and other milk products are usually meant for those who can afford. *Chura* and *dahi* are not so commonly used as in the Tirhut districts. More of *sattu* is consumed in this district. *Litti*, a sort of cake with *sattu* inside is a palatable indigenous item of food in this district.

Various kinds of condiments are commonly used. Shahabad had excellent Muslim cooks who could turn out very palatable dishes of meat, fish and eggs, more of Moglie type. Cooking as an art particularly the *muglai* dishes has declined.

A recent trend is seen in the growing number of wayside hotels and restaurants where cooked food is available. With the keen servant problem such establishments have a very good sale. Recently a number of Punjabi restaurants and Bengali sweetmeat shops have cropped up throughout the district. Filthy roadside eating places have also a remarkable sale.

Various kinds of food in packets or bottles are sold in the urban markets particularly. None of these processed food is checked medically. Casual visits to the different markets by our investigators disclosed that there was hardly any check on selling bad meat, fish and vegetables. Adulterated cooking media are also commonly sold. There is hardly any check to see if the ground or powdered condiments were adulterated or not.

AMUSEMENTS AND FESTIVITIES.

The indigenous sources of entertainment are, however, dying out. Songs and music have a great fascination for the rural people. The lyrics of ancient saints, *bhajans* or devotional songs accompanied with musical instruments like *jhal*, *dholak* and harmonium add to the attraction.

Apart from the devotional songs and music there is craze for particular types of songs in tune with seasons. In *Shravan* (July-August) month, *kajri* and *birha* songs are much in vogue. *Jatsari* songs are sung by the women folk while grinding the wheel to break the grains. *Sohar* and *Jhumar* songs are very popular. *Sohar* is to mark the birth of a child while *Jhumar* is a synthesis of music and dance. Pastoral songs are sung by the women labourers while transplanting paddy seedlings. At *Holi* time songs with an erotic slant are common. Many of the songs are rich in thought and are great specimens of a delicate web of words.

Dancing by boys in the garb of females is very common in the villages. This is a must in most *Barat* parties even if there are no dancing girls. *Chaita* which is accompanied by song and dance by such boys attract large crowds at nights in summer months.

The *melas* and fairs are common in the district. These *melas* serve a great trade purpose specially of cattle. Some *melas* have a religious or economic origin. There has been a touch of modernism to many of these *melas* and fairs. The songs and dances propagated by many of the artists, roving cinemas, social dramas, *ramlila* and *nautanki* plays are the usual features of the *melas* and fairs. The *melas* have a tremendous social and economic value in the district. They have a particular attraction for the ladies. Most of the *melas* have a religious background and are centred round temples.

Football matches and wrestling have also a great hold on the rural public. Regular theatres are not very common. But during some particular festivals like *Durgapuja* and *Holi*, a stage is often fixed up in the big villages and towns and dramas are performed. Such dramas always attract a crowd. In towns cinemas attract many people of both rural and urban areas. Hindi cinema songs have now entered into the villages of the district. The young generation pays more attention to the cinema hits than the *kirtans* and *bhajans*.

In the towns of the district there are better facilities for amusements and recreations but of a monotonous character. The student population which is increasing in the towns of the district has very little engagement in the evening time. The majority of the students either roam about or congregate near the tea shops, betel shops, or restaurants or visit cinema shows. The towns do not have adequate playing grounds, parks or centre of cheap amusement and recreations. There are hardly any permanent organisations for cultural shows or recreations. There are very few libraries.

It is a peculiar feature to find students travelling on the railways without ticket on festivals or where important conferences are held as a sort of amusement or recreation. Student indiscipline has found out other sources of evil amusements and recreations which need not be dwelt on here. The fact that police arrangements have to be made elaborately where women congregate is an indicator.

Festivals.

Festivals form a part of the daily life of the Hindus and the Muslims particularly in the rural areas. Urban life does not pay much heed towards the observation of the festivals. The importance of the festivals in the social life has been recognised by the very large number of holidays observed by both the Central and State Government offices. There are religious ceremonies, fastings and offering of prayers associated with most of the festivals. *Janmastami*, *Sivaratri*, *Ramnavami*, *Tij*, *Jitia*, *Chhath* besides *Durgapuja*, *Deepawali* and *Holi* are some of the important festivals for the Hindus. *Durgapuja* is celebrated in the month of *Asin* (October-November). The *puja* season starts from the first day of the bright of *Asin* month and completes on the tenth day. The goddess *Durga* is worshipped mainly but other gods and goddesses are also worshipped in certain areas during the season. *Deepawali* is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of *Kartik*. It is a festival of lights. Houses are decorated with small earthen lights or with electric lights now and *Lakshmipuja* is celebrated. Various mythological episodes are associated with the festivals of *Holi* which is celebrated at the beginning of the spring (March-April). *Holikadahan* is celebrated on the full moon day of *Phalgun* month. On the next day the colour festival is observed and people make merry by sprinkling coloured water on one another. There is a wave of indiscipline and a sort of goondaism during this time.

The Moharram processions in Arrah are taken out with great enthusiasm. They are a bigger event in Sasaram. In Sasaram the biggest *Tazia* is of Konar village. Nearly 30 processions are taken out and through Nawratan they go by Sher Shah Rowza and tank to Karbala. At Nawratan they present picturesque sight by passing in order one by one with their *Akharas*.

Muharram, *Shabe-barat*, *Ramzan*, *Id*, *Bakrid* and *Fatiha-duaz-dahum* are celebrated to commemorate the death of the grandson of the prophet Mohammad who was killed in the battle of Karbala in Arabia. The Shia Muslims particularly hold this festival with great sanctity. *Taziyas* are made and taken in processions in the memory of the departed soul. *Shabe-barat* is celebrated on the fourteenth day of *Shaban*. On this day Muslims visit the tombs of their ancestors and offer prayer. They offer prayer and read *Kuran*, the holy book of the Muslims on that very night. *Ramzan* is the month of fasting according to *Kuran*. There is a religious obligation on an adult Muslim to observe fast for one whole month. On the eve of breaking the fast each day after sunset they assemble in congregation in a mosque to offer prayer. *Id* is celebrated on the succeeding day of the last *Ramzan* or after seeing the moon. It is the day of rejoicing as it comes after a month's fasting. *Bakrid* is celebrated

in the memory of the prophet Ibrahim Khalil Ullah. *Fatiha-duax-dahum* is celebrated on the twelfth day of *Rabi-ul-aul*. On this day the birth anniversary of the prophet Mohammad is celebrated by the Muslims.

At the time of *Gopastmi* after Dewali big processions are taken out in Sasaram town. The main procession starts from Sasaram *Gaushala* where *Gopastmi mela* is also held.

The Jains and the Arya Samajists have their special festivals which are keenly observed. The Brahmos observe the 11th *Magh* for special congregational prayers. It is on this day that the Brahmo church was founded.

The Christians observe Christmas day, New Year, Easter, etc.

The Sikhs observe the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh as a festival day.

COMMUNAL LIFE.

In any discussion of communal life of Shahabad district the unfortunate outburst of communal differences from the second decade of this century cannot be ignored. It is particularly necessary to recall them because the district as a whole was not disturbed in the communal disturbances of 1946 following the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. This shows that the district is now apparently free from the virus that had broken out in 1917, 1926 and 1936. It had also been mentioned that a number of Muslims particularly from Sasaram subdivision had migrated to Pakistan.

Communal Differences.

Regarding the Hindu-Muhammadan riots of 1917 the last *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924) mentions as follows:—

“The agitation which had thus appeared in 1893 continued to show its effects from time to time, in strained feelings between Muhammadans and Hindus at the Bakr-Id festival, and in occasional raids on cattle intended, or believed to be intended, for the butchers of Dinapore. During the Great War, the feeling became intensified, until the time of the Bakr-Id festival in 1917, when it broke out in riots on an exceptionally large scale. The first disturbance occurred at Ibrahimpur near Piru on the morning of September the 28th, when a large body of Hindus from a distance attacked and looted the village, although there had been a compromise between local Muhammadans and Hindus on the question of the Bakr-Id sacrifice. These rioters dispersed as quickly

as they had appeared, and since the compromise had been in effect broken, the Muhammadans performed cow-sacrifice according to their custom. On the morning of the 30th a mob of Hindus which was estimated to number more than twenty-five thousand attacked Ibrahimpur, Piru and the neighbouring villages; and it was only dispersed after a hand-to-hand contest with the police, in the course of which much looting was done and the police-station attacked. Strong reinforcements of Military Police were hurried into the district, and for thirty-six hours, there was an outward calm. On October the 2nd, without further warning, rioting and looting broke out simultaneously over the greater part of the district. For six days law and order disappeared. Large mobs appeared everywhere, attacking Muhammadans, destroying their houses, and looting their property. In the south of the district Muhammadan villagers put up a plucky resistance; and desperate fights attended by bloodshed occurred at Mauna and Turkbigha. The mobs were in many cases led by small *zamindars*, who directed the proceedings from elephants or from horseback and contained a large element of the more influential Hindus of the countryside, including Brahmans, Rajputs, Babhans and Kayasthas. The strong detachments of troops which had reached Arrah had at first great difficulty in getting to close quarters across water-logged country with the numerous mobile bodies of rioters, who were well served by their spies; but resistance collapsed as soon as it became possible to establish mufassal military posts and connect them with patrols along the main roads."*

Regarding the communal disturbances in Sasaram between 1924-1936, the Superintendent of Police, Shahabad, has sent the following report†:-

"The communal situation in Sasaram town and in the neighbouring rural areas started deteriorating from 1924, ultimately resulting in a serious communal riot in 1926 when organised mobs of Hindus from neighbouring villages Belarhi, Shikaria, Senduar, Kathpurwa and Semri raided Sasaram Town at night in order to retaliate against the Muslims. Details of this communal riot have not yet become available.

* The *District Gazetteer of Shahabad* (1924), pages 45-46.

† Vide his letter no. 1146, dated the 5th June 1963.

- "2. After the communal riot in 1926, additional police of one Inspector, two S.-Is., four Head Constables and fifty Constables were quartered in Sasaram town from 15th May, 1926 to 31st July, 1927. The communal situation in Sasaram town even during the period when the additional police was quartered, was far from satisfactory. On many occasions clashes between the two communities were imminent and were prevented from developing into a major communal riot by the local magistracy and the police officers and the additional police with great strain. This tension and serious ill-will between the two communities continued from 1926 to 1936, a period of 10 years, culminating in a serious communal riot at Sasaram town on the night of 24th November, 1936. Absence of any responsible leader of high caste among the Hindu community and the frequent intervention by Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha people on religious occasions was the cause for provocation to the Muslims. The extreme bigotedness particularly among the lower strata of Muslims and outside influences coupled with distribution of anonymous and pseudonymous Urdu posters of objectionable character issued in the name of heads of religious institutions served as provocation to the Hindus. Many secret meetings were held by both the communities to evolve measures of retaliation against the other community for some act done or rumoured to have been done by them and thus setting a chain of reaction.
- "3. The communal riots of April, 1926, left a deep scar on the minds of both the communities and although the situation was brought under control, both the communities harboured a serious grievance and animosity against each other. As early as July, 1926, tensions began to be reported between the two communities. After this, a series of incidents took place between 1926 to 1936, particularly on the occasion of religious festivals of both the communities. Some of the causes which started off these repeated incidents were music before mosque particularly during prayer time; stray case of conversion which was publicised in order to whip up feelings, carrying of arms and giving demonstrations of sword-play by the Akharas during Muharram, Dasahara and Gopastami processions, differences over routes to be followed by the processionists. These causes frequently led to tensions between the two communities. Other frequent causes were difference over graveyard in any place, any piece

of stone resembling the Shiv-Lingam which happened to be found in the land owned by Muslims or any graveyard claimed to be Shivalaya by the Hindus. The Muslims would either claim it to be a "*Chirag Dan*" or proceed to uproot it or throw it away. This always brought the two communities to imminent clash which was averted with great difficulty.

- "4. Such tensions continued throughout 1926 to 1927. During this period sometime in 1927, a serious communal riot took place in Bettiah, district Champaran and this also aggravated the situation. In 1927, there were tensions on the occasion of Holi, Bakr-Id and Dasahara. After the withdrawal of the additional police in July 1927, the situation became worse. After the Bettiah riots a highly objectionable Urdu poster purported to be signed by Nizam Imarat Sahiv of Phulwarisharif enjoining the Muslims to observe Bettiah day on 16th July, 1927 by holding mammoth meetings at every mosque after Jumma prayers was circulated. This also made the situation worse at times.
- "5. In 1928, Hindu leaders issued a provocative leaflet in January*2, calling on the Hindus to stand up for the safety of the religious rites and the mother cow. This had its repercussions during the Muharram that year when an imminent clash was averted by the presence of the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and a strong armed force. Persons released in cases of communal riots of 1926 also added to the tension at that time. The trouble during Dasahara this year was created by the Hindus.
- "6. In 1929, there was a communal tension during Basant Panchami. In 1930, there was serious tension during Bakr-Id and over the repair of Karbala. In 1931 February, tension arose due to communal riots in Benares and both the communities began to feel that they had been victimised in the Benares riots and members of their community had been killed in larger numbers. During later portion of 1931, there was a lull in the communal disharmony due to the pre-occupation of both Muslims and Hindus in the Civil Disobedience Movement. From February, 1932, however, communal trouble again started and there was also tension during Holi that year. In 1933 there was trouble over a plot of land at village Ashiquepur and conversion of a Brahmin boy to Islam. In 1934, about five miles from Sasaram, a minor rioting took place between Muslims and Dusadhs and Koeries over

beating of drums during prayer time in village Amri. In 1934 also communal tension prevailed during Gopastami festival. Bakr-Id 1935 passed through a tense atmosphere.

- "7. On the night of 23rd November, 1936 during the passage of Gopastami procession, there was a sudden outbreak of serious communal riot. The Gopastami processionists were passing through Mohalla Madar Darwaja and Alamganj. Although the processions were due to be taken out on 22nd November, 1936, the Hindus refused to take out the procession because of the imposition of the condition in the license restricting music before mosque at prayer time. Eventually processions were taken out on the following day on the 23rd after the deletion of the condition from the license, but their imposition, all the same, in a separate undertaking. While the processions were passing a stray case of stabbing in a by-lane close to the Shahi Mosque in Mohalla Madar Darwaja and the pelting of some stones over the Singhasan of the processionists, threw a crowd of 15,000 Hindus taking part in the procession into red hot fury. As a consequence of the above two incidents they suddenly and wantonly began to batter Muslim houses, and mosques. A crowd of Muslims attempted to break through a by-lane near Alamganj mosque but was prevented from coming to a clash with the Hindus by the pluck, courage and resourcefulness of Shri P. C. Roy Chaudhury, the then Second Officer at Sasaram. With the greatest difficulty the handful of local police and officials managed to disperse the crowd. The communal riot took a toll of four lives—two Hindus and two Muslims. Thirty-four others were injured seriously which included both Hindus and Muslims. Three local officials also received minor injuries in dispersing the unruly mob. The crowd was dispersed and immediately section 144, Cr. P. C. was clamped in the town prohibiting carrying of lathies and weapons and congregation of more than five persons. For quite a few days after this riot, the whole town was in a state of great panic, shops remained closed and business was entirely suspended. Patrolling by the M. M. P. and armed police and other law and order measures were restored after 5-6 days. The Hindu processionists who had taken part in the rioting comprised of large number of people from the neighbouring villages wherefrom Singhasan had been brought to take part in the Gopastami procession."

Though there has been local tension at some places, the two communities have lived together peacefully. The communal riots of 1946 did not affect the district. The communal riots in East Pakistan or in Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Rourkela and other places in 1963-64 did not have repercussions in this district and though vigilance had to be kept.

PILGRIM CENTRES.

The pilgrim centres in the district are—

Sadar subdivision.

Aranya Devi Asthan in Arrah town.—The legend is that the Pandavas came to this place while they were in exile. The area was a great forest (*Aranya*-Jungle) and the Pandavas installed the idol of a goddess and worshipped her. Since the idol was installed in the forest, it was known as *Aranya Devi*. It is said that with the passage of time the word *Aranya* has been metamorphosed into Arrah. During *Ram Navmi* a *mela* is held when thousands of people congregate and worship the goddess. •

Bisram in Arrah town.—It is said that Lord Mahavira, the last Jain *Tirthankar*, took rest for some time at this place during his wanderings. Hence this place is called *Bisram* (rest). The Jains from every part of the country visit this place throughout the year. It contains an idol of the Lord Mahavira. For the accommodation of the Jain pilgrims there are two Jain *dharamshalas*.

There are about 45 Jain temples in Arrah.

Sidh Asthan in Arrah town.—It is said that in ancient time when the river Ganga used to flow by the side of the Arrah town, there lived a saint at the place where at present mohalla Bintoli is located. The saint had attained a high spiritual perfection and had his *samadhi* here. To perpetuate his memory, the people of the locality built a Shiva temple there and offered oblation. The other legend is that one Raja Bali had erected the temple.

A *mela* is held here every year on every *Sravan Sombari* day. About two to three thousand people congregate here to worship. It is said that austere and sincere worship will fulfil one's desire and that is why the place is called *Sidhsthan*, the place where one's desire is fulfilled.

Masar temples.—There is a Shiva temple at village Masar which is situated seven miles west from Arrah town and the nearest railway station of this place is Karisath on the main line of the Eastern Railway. The distance of this place from the railway station is one mile. A *mela* is held here every year on the occasion of *Makar Shankranti* in which thousands of people congregate and offer oblation. The *mela* lasts for about four days.

There is also a Jain temple in the village. The Jains attach a great importance to the said temple. Masar has been covered in the text "Places of Interest".

Sinha and Koilwar.—At village Sinha which is situated on the bank of the river Ganga, *melas* are held on the occasion of *Kartik Purnima*, *Baisakh Purnima* and on eclipse day when thousands of people visit and take their bath in the Ganga.

At Koilwar which is situated on the bank of the river Sone a big *mela* is held on the occasion of *Shankranti*. A large number of people take bath in the river.

Bihea.—There is a Mahthin Dai temple at Bihea. It is said that there used to be a famous Raja named Ran Pal Singh. He was a tyrant and used to take *dola* which means that he used to compel every newly married bride to pass her first night after marriage with him. There was a bride named Mahthin Dai who refused to obey him. This resulted into a severe clash with the tyrant and Mahthin Dai and her supporters. The tyrant Raja was killed. But, the bridegroom was also killed in the encounter and the bride observed *Sati* and burnt herself with her groom. Since then she is worshipped. A *mela* is held here on every Tuesday. About two to three thousand women congregate here.

Buxar subdivision. •

Barahampur.—There is a Shiva temple at this place. A *mela* is held here in February and April in which people from all parts of India congregate. There is a description in the text "Places of Interest".

Buxar.—Buxar had been the home of many saints and writers who composed Vedic hymns and the place was originally called Vedagarbha. It is said that during the *Treta Yuga*, Ramji incarnated and saved the Brahmans of this place from the atrocities committed by the demons and killed the demoness Taraka. There is a temple of Ramji here called Rameshwar Nath Mahadeva. A *mela* is held on the 14th January and 14th April every year and on eclipses when people from neighbouring districts congregate and take bath in the river Ganga and worship in the temple. Besides this, there is another temple (the temple of Gaurishankar) near which there is a tank called Baghsar from which the name of the town is said to have been derived. This temple of Gaurishankar is visited by the pilgrims when they come to the *mela*. There is a large number of temples in Buxar which are of local importance. *Ramrekha ghat* of this town in the river Ganga is considered to be a most sacred *ghat* for bathing as on this *ghat* the idol of Bhagwan Shankar was installed by Bhagwan Ramchandra. The temple still exists. People in large number take bath on this *ghat* on all important festivals. The description of Buxar in the text "Places of Interest" may be seen.

Ahirauli.—The temple of Ahalya Devi at Ahirauli village is situated two miles from Buxar town. It is said that Ahalya was the wife of the saint Gautam. She was turned into stone by the wrath of her husband, but she regained life when Shri Ramchandra came to this place and touched the stone with his feet. People regard it as a very sacred place and worship the idol. A *mela* is held here every year on the occasion *Khichari* festival when thousands of people congregate.

Sasaram subdivision.

Sasaram.—There is a temple of Mahavira (quite distinct from the Lord Mahavira of the Jains) in Sasaram town. The idol installed in it is called *Jagta* Mahavira. It is called *Jagta* because it is believed that any one who prays for anything before it, gets it. People congregate in the temple on every Tuesday throughout the year.

Sasaram has also *Gurudwara* for the Sikhs. The description of the place in the text "Places of Interest" may be seen.

Bhaluni.—It is said that the father of Parvati while performing a *Jagna* did not invite Shiva. The *Jagna* was destroyed and Parvati burnt herself as she found that Lord Shiva was insulted. There is a temple of Parvati at Bhaluni village near Bikramganj where a *mela* is held here in October and April. It attracts about ten thousand persons.

Gupta Mahadeo.—The temple of Gupta Mahadeo is situated in the caves of Gupteshwara (Kaimur hills). There is a legend that these hills were the abode of demons. A demon named Bhasmasura became very powerful as he had the assurance from Shiva that any person on whom he would put his hand would be reduced to ashes. Narad told the demon that he was deceived and should try his hand on Shiva's head. The demon chased Shiva up the hills and delayed till the latter reached and hid in Gupteshwara cave. Vishnu came to Shiva's rescue and accosted the demon. "If you doubt the truth of the boon, why do you not put your hand on your own head and try?" He did so and was immediately reduced to ashes.

Gupteshwara consists of two caves one followed by the other. The entrance to the main cave is through an arch way. The first cave is damp and slippery and ends in a steep descent. In the second cave there are numerous stalactites on one of which water continuously drips from the roof of the cave. This stalactite is worshipped as the god Mahadeo and attracts hundreds of pilgrims throughout the year. *Melas* are held here every year on the occasion of *Basant Panchami* and *Shivaratri* days. Thousands of people congregate here in the *mela*. It is a distance of about 10 miles from Sasaram.

There is a mosque nearby. Several persons go to worship in Tara Chandi temple. There is a Buddhist inscription on the hill nearby.

Bhabua Subdivision.

Chainpura.—This is a village seven miles west of Bhabua town. Within the ramparts of the Mahammadan fort at Chainpur, there is a small Hindu shrine where a piece of stone is worshipped under the name of Harshu Braham (Brahman or Brahmanical ghost). The story runs as follows:—Harshu Baba, a Kanaujia Brahman, was the family priest of Raja Salivahana of Chainpur. The Raja had two queens one of whom became jealous of the priest and wanted to destroy him. One night the queen and the Raja saw a light aloft in the sky from the upper storey of the house of the Brahman. The Rani told the Raja that the priest had design of ousting the king from his kingdom. The Raja thereupon demolished the house of the priest and confiscated all his lands. The Brahman thereupon did *dharna* that is, observed fast till he died at the palace gate. When they took his dead body for cremation to Banaras (Varanasi), they found Harshu standing in his wooden sandals on the steps of the burning *ghat*. He informed them that he had become a *Braham* or Brahman ghost. In *Ram Navami* a *mela* is held here in which people from all parts of India come. •

Mundeshwari.—The oldest Hindu temple in Bihar is the temple of Mundeshwari, which stands on the summit of an isolated hill, six hundred feet above the plain and close to the village Ramgarh, seven miles south-west of Bhabhua; Lord Shiva is worshipped here. There is a description of Mundeshwari temple elsewhere.

There are a large number of temples in the district of Shahabad where the local people congregate for oblation. Some of the more noteworthy of these temples are—

Kaster, Mahadeo Shiva temple, Bahri Mahadeo Shiva temple, the Shiva temple at village Bendu, P.-S. Rohtas, Tara-chandi temple at Sasaram, etc.

So far as the Muslim pilgrimage is concerned there is not a single place of pilgrimage in the district. However, there are several *mazars* of saints and *makhdums* scattered throughout the district where *urs* is held by the people of the locality which are not generally attended by outside pilgrims. There are *mazars* at Bihea, Sasaram, Bhabhua, Arrah, etc., where *urs* are held and *chadars* are placed on the *mazars*. Usually only the local people congregate and offer *fatiha* at these places.

The tomb of Sher Shah in Sasaram is an interesting archaeological relic which is visited nearly throughout the year by a few foreign and many Indian sight-seers.

The tomb of *Makhdum Sherfuddin Alaihe-Rahmat*, about 1½ miles north-east of Bihea, is also of great importance. It is said that the great *Makhdum Saheb* passed about 12 years of his life in the jungle of Bihea. One very interesting incident attributed to him runs as follows:—Once he felt hungry and while searching for something to eat, he came across a cowherd and requested him for some milk. The cowherd regretted that none of his herd was milch cow, upon which the unusual *fakir* made a suggestion to milk one of the heifers. The cowherd was amused with the suggestion and to prove that the suggestion was quite absurd, he started milking the heifer. But to his utter bewilderment, the heifer did yield milk.

RECREATION CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

Recreation clubs in the proper sense of the term normally exist only in the towns. They cater for men of leisure and who have some money to spend on their recreation. There are a few recreation clubs in the towns of Arrah, Buxar, Sasaram, Bhabhua and Dalmianagar. These clubs provide for indoor and outdoor games and are useful for the purposes of social get-together. The membership varies and depends on the importance of the towns. Most of these clubs are patronised by the Government officers, firm employees, lawyers and people from the other walks of life. It is, indeed, unfortunate that due to financial embarrassment most of these clubs have very little of outdoor games and mostly they are meant for gossip, playing of cards, or other indoor games and use of the books in the library.

Arrah Club appears to be the oldest of the recreation clubs in Shahabad district. It came into existence in 1891 by the amalgamation of the then three clubs, namely, (a) Lawn Tennis Club, (b) Racket and Billiards Club, and (c) Book Club. When the clubs were amalgamated the members were almost exclusively Europeans whether in Government or other services or in plantations. The Racket Court is still in existence as a remnant of the past. The club has a spacious building with a compound but the building is kept in bad repairs. There is a very small library and it was gathered that most of the books in the older clubs have disappeared. Very few people now play billiards or tennis although Bridge, Rummy and other card games appear to be very popular. The club has a very poor membership. In 1963 there are 31 members which is a poor record for a town of the importance of Arrah. Another club, namely, Shahabad Club was amalgamated with Arrah Club some time after 1947.

ROTARY CLUB.

The Rotary Club of Arrah was inaugurated on the 23rd November, 1957, and a charter was granted on the 27th December, 1957. It was started with 31 members. At present (1963) there are

20 members. The membership fee of the club is rupees ten per month. It is functioning in a private building at Arrah. This is a service club which meets on every week. The Rotary is a world organisation and the programme is to encourage and foster the "Ideal of Service" as a basis of worthy enterprise and in particular, to encourage and foster—

- (1) The development of acquaintance as an opportunity for service;
- (2) High ethical standards in business and professions; the recognition of the dignity of all useful occupations;
- (3) The application of the idea of service before self by every Rotarian to his personal, business and community life;
- (4) The advancement of international understanding, goodwill and peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men inspired by the same ideal.

The clubs at Buxar, Sasaram, Bhabua and Dalmianagar usually thrive if Government officers at the station take interest in them. The number of members in these clubs is small and the readership in club libraries is smaller. A few persons usually collect in the evening, discuss politics, current affairs, etc. and play cards. The Dalmianagar Club is on a better footing and enjoys the patronage of the Rohtas Industries. There is also a Rotary Club and a Lion's Club at Dalmianagar.

It may be mentioned that besides the clubs meant for the officers and the persons of somewhat leisurely means, there are also a few other modest clubs which cater for the people of smaller income group. These clubs also provide indoor games and a social get-together.

The industrial belt in Shahabad district has now a few important places such as Tilouthu, Banjari, Amjhor and Pipardih. Small clubs are growing up in these places where the supervisory staff usually meet.

It is rather unfortunate that most of the clubs cater only for menfolk. In some of the clubs in the industrial zones like Dalmianagar and in Arrah ladies do visit the clubs, but the number is extremely poor.

Recreation clubs do not exist as such in the villages. The Community Development Blocks, however, have attempted to sponsor some community centres which serve the purposes of a club to some extent. The labour welfare centre mentioned elsewhere also serves the purposes of a recreation club to a considerable extent. Every labour welfare centre including Dalmianagar has got one and has arrangements for indoor games, social get-together, newspapers, etc. Cinema shows are held which are very popular.

Sports.

For the advancement of the sports the Shahabad District Sports Association was established in 1941 with the District Magistrate as President and Subdivisional Officer of Sadar subdivision as Secretary. From 1950 the non-officials were elected as the Secretary of this Association. This Association is affiliated to Bihar Sports Association which is affiliated to All-India Sports Association. This Association had no playground of its own prior to 1961. In 1961 for the first time the Association got the playground and received a grant of Rs. 6,000 from Government. The Association receives financial help from the Government.

Besides the abovementioned clubs, there are 13 registered and two unregistered clubs in the district. They are: (1) Shahabad Heros Athletic Club, Arrah, (2) Shahabad Sporting Club, Arrah, (3) Arrah Electric Athletic Club, Arrah, (4) Shahabad United Police, Arrah, (5) Friends Eleven Football Club, Arrah, (6) Diamond Club, Koilwar, (7) Koilwar Football Club, Koilwar, (8) Dumraon Athletic Club, Dumraon, (9) Shri Kuar Singh Club, Buxar, (10) Dalmianagar Football Club, Dalmianagar, (11) Dehri Football Club, Dehri, (12) Kalyanpur Football Club, Banjari, and (13) Bhabua Sporting Club, Bhabua. Shershaah Football Club, Sasaram and Bhabua Football Club, Bhabua are unregistered Clubs.

The following are the registered tournaments of the district:— (1) League Championship Tournament, Arrah, (2) Durga Devi Football Tournament, Dalmianagar, (3) Heroes Challenge Cup Tournament, Arrah, (4) Dr. Raghubir Singh Memorial Football Tournament, Dumraon, (5) Kuar Singh Trophy Tournament, Buxar, and (6) Ansari Gold Cup Tournament, Dehri.

In addition to these well-known clubs and tournaments, there are a number of minor clubs not only in towns but also in remote villages.

There are quite a few popular games and sources of recreation in the countryside. The most popular of the games is card-playing. There are various types of card-play and some of them are played on stakes and some are akin to gambling. Chess is losing its hold due to the decline of the leisured class who could devote hours to this game. A number of games played with dice and board are very common and some of them are *Pachisi*, *Ramtir*, *Chausar*, *Bagh-Bakri*, *Naugotia*, etc. Among physical games *Kabaddi* and *Chika* are popular. Gymnastics used to have a larger hold on the young men in the villages a decade back. Fighting of rams used to be very popular and there used to be baits on the winner. Wrestling was more patronised before when the *ramindars* as a class supported the wrestlers. It was very common for the *zamindars* and the rich aristocrats to maintain one, two or more wrestlers who would also be

employed on the sly for terrorising the tenants and others. Wrestling has a tremendous hold on the mass mind even now although the wrestlers are on the decline. The decline of wrestling is also due to the high prices of foodstuff and the economic struggle that the average man is faced with. Abolition of *zamindari* has dealt a severe blow to the patronage of the wrestlers, singers, dancers and other types of artists. Pig-sticking and *shikar* of game birds and wild animals were more confined to the Europeans and to the richer Indians. Pig-sticking has completely died out and *shikar* is now almost prohibitive because of the very high prices of cartridges and the restrictions on wild life. It is also a fact that the game birds and the annual avifauna visitors which were prized by the average *shikari* have declined in number and variety.

Football has a great hold on the village boys and in the football season they rig out a team. In Shahabad district there is not much of hockey, cock-fighting and cricket. Expensive sports like tennis, cricket and hockey are losing their popularity in the countryside because of the initial expenditure such games involve. Polo, pig-sticking and golf have died out. Shahabad was once famous for its excellent horses and keen riders. It was a common sight two decades back to see rural litigants coming to the courts on their horses or travellers going from one village to another at a great distance on their horses. A Shahabadi Rajput of some means without his horse would almost have been an anathema two or three decades back.

The schools in the villages have encouraged football which as mentioned before has been taken up by non-school going children in the villages. The District Sports Association with headquarters at Arrah encourages various types of sporting activities like flat race, cycle race, javelin-throw, etc. But definitely the activities of the District Sports Association have not percolated to the village. Swimming was also a common sport once before. Kite-flying is not confined to the youngsters only.

It is unfortunate that most of the sources of recreation and amusement in the urban areas stand a great competition with the cinema houses. Boys of schools and colleges have imbibed a craze for seeing picture and this is mostly due to the fact that the schools and colleges do not provide sufficient recreation for them in the evening. Going round *Pan* shops and standing by them for hours, and idle gossips seem to have become almost a bane with them but this is mostly due to the existing circumstance where they have no recreation in their educational institutions. Itinerant cinema concerns go round the big villages and *melas* and attract a large crowd although the fare catered is of a very cheap type. *Nautanki* and *Mushairahs* (Poets' competition) had a great hold on the district. In the winter, circus parties occasionally visit the towns or big villages. Of late there has been a craze for organising exhibitions where various commodities are

sold but the chief attraction is in the game booths and dances which go by the name of carnivals. An investigation was made and it was found that the students form almost 50 per cent of the visitors at such carnivals while almost the other 50 per cent was made up by the rickshaw-pullers, labourers, *Pan-Biri* shopkeepers, etc.

The villages in this district do not as a rule have any institution like the *Bhagavat Ghar* as in Orissa or in Assam. In those regions usually the villagers or at least a large percentage of the elders meet at the *Bhagavat Ghar* in the evening and have religious discourses, social gossips and frequently hold *kirtan*. But the villagers in this district are very fond of hearing recital of Ramayana and other religious books (*kathas*) and attend communal Satnarayan *pujas*. The religious *melas* are a great source of relaxation and recreation particularly for the ladies. The *melas* and pilgrim centres have been covered elsewhere. The Muslims have *milads* and frequent religious discourses.

ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS AND CLASSES IN RELATION TO SOCIAL LIFE.

There has been a shift in the economic and professional groups and classes in relation to social life in the course of the last three or four decades. Till the Second World War, the people of this district had a more or less division into economic groups and each of this group played a particular role in the social life. Broadly speaking, the groups consisted of the *zamindars* and the aristocratic propertied classes, the professionals like lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc., who formed the brain trust of the district whether they were rich or not, the service-holders who commanded great respect (as a Government servant at that time meant a hallmark of prestige and even a man who could keep several employees on 100 rupees pay would accept a Government service fetching the same amount), the businessmen who were more tolerated than regarded, the teeming cultivators and the labourers including the landless ones and the other manual workers like the potters, blacksmiths, oilmen, etc. The hierarchy of the social ladder was like a pyramid. The cultivators and the labourers that formed the bulk of the population supplied the base while the aristocratic *zamindars* who could be counted by the finger were at the apex. Just before the Second World War industrialism was brought into Dehri area and a sugar mill and a cement factory were set up. Industrialists as a class did not exist although there were a few pioneers working the lime-stone quarries of the Kaimur Hills and the factories at Dehri and a sugar mill at Bikramganj.

In the pre-war years the administrative set up was rather totalitarian and the bureaucracy almost set the tune of the social groupings. The rich aristocrats, the titled persons, the Rajas and the big *zamindars*, the chairmen of the Local Bodies, Government Pleaders and Public Prosecutors and the *Darbaris* counted most and very little

thought was given to the common man. The philanthropy of the aristocratic class was mostly prompted by the bureaucracy and a tradesman or a rich cultivator would have willingly paid several thousands of rupees for getting the privilege of a five-minute interview with the Governor. The professional classes and the businessmen earn quite a lot although the producers did not reap much benefit out of their labours. The cultivators had practically no visible role in the society and it was almost taken for granted that their lot was to toil, to produce crops and often to suffer. The landless labourers and the craftsmen merely existed.

A clear picture of the economic and professional groups and classes in relation to social life could be had by drawing upon the arrangements of seats in a *Darbar* at the district headquarters. On the dias along with the Governor and the Commissioner of the Division would be seated the Rajas and the Maharajas and one or two titled persons. There would be groupings into A, B and C classes of different blocks and the distinction counted a lot to the invitees. If an invitee had once been put in the 'A' block near the Governor and gets a seat in a 'B' block far from the Governor in the second *Darbar*, he would take it an offence and probably he would write to the District Magistrate. After *Darbar* was over, the District Magistrate would distribute *pan* and *itar* to the Rajas and Maharajas and some of the titled persons, and some of his subordinates would distribute to other *Darbaris*. It is also a noteworthy feature that the bulk of the lawyers, teachers and doctors were seldom thought of for an invitation to the *Darbar*. A list of *Darbaris* used to be maintained in the District Magistrate's office and the additions and alterations to the list were his special responsibility. The District Magistrate or the Commissioner was a sort of depository of the social consciousness as it were, and they distributed the patronage based on what was thought of as reasonable. The common man had no place anywhere within the *Darbar*, and had to take his stand on the road to the *Darbar*. Usually some time before the *Darbar* was to start, the road to the *Darbar* hall would be closed to vehicular traffic. The police would be prominent at every nook and corner. The group of politicians belonging to the Congress and to bodies that worked against the British Government would of course be kept away from the *Darbar*.

This picture will give to some extent a view of the different groups and classes in relation to social life before the Second World War. On the one hand we have had the acts of generosity of *zamindars* like the Maharaja of Dumraon, Raja of Surajpura, the *zamindars* of Kulhaira, etc., in starting schools, colleges, hospitals, dispensaries, etc., we have also known of oppression by the landlords in certain pockets leading to *Kisan* agitation and other agrarian troubles. The middle classes supplied the brains, used to open the strings as liberally as they could and had sponsored many institutions throughout the district. The middle classes in this district had

supplied successions of great teachers, lawyers, statesmen and administrators. It is the middle classes again that had supplied thousands of personnel to the military and in the police. Shahabad district has always been a great recruiting ground for the defence services. The contribution of the district to culture has come from the middle and the aristocracy.

It may be mentioned that caste has played a great role in society. A Brahman, a Rajput, a Kayastha, irrespective of his monetary value or educational qualifications would have good command and a higher position in purely social functions than a richer Koeri or a richer Goala. Caste meant an accepted tradition with a social value just as occupations also meant a particular social standing. To the common man a clerk in the Government services getting 100 rupees per month had a bigger social value than a *mahajan* who kept *munshis* paying them 100 rupees a month. A Goala earning a good income by selling his milk and milk products would rather see his son as a clerk or even as a *chaprasi*. In 1936, in Dehri thana there used to be a *Dafadar*, who owned an elephant, working on Rs. 7 per month*. Apparently his estimate of contact with the police through the post of *Dafadar* was very high. The prevalence of names such as *Collector Singh*, *Daroga Prasad*, *Sipahi Singh*, *Pistol Singh*, *Mukhtiar Rai*, *Vakil Singh*, *Munshi Singh*, *Dafadar Singh*, *Jamadar Bhagat*, *Havildar Singh*, *Subedar Rai*, *Lat Singh*, etc., will indicate the social values attached to certain salaried posts under the Government.

If a Koeri's son became a *Daroga* or a Magistrate the position of the family would immediately go up very high. Thus there were three main factors that determined the relation of the economic and professional groups and classes to social life. They were the bureaucracy, caste and occupation.

Then came the Second World War and new forces were generated. Social values underwent a great change and many of the moorings of the society were shapped. A class of people came into prominence and made a good deal of money and many respectable families got into poverty. The working of the various restrictions on the distribution of essential commodities threw up a newly rich class of businessmen, profiteers and blackmarketeers. Prices soared high and political consciousness grew rapidly. The onslaught of the Congress, *Kisan Sabha*, and labour parties started weakening the grip of administration. The National War Front and the *Aman Sabha* meetings arranged by the bureaucracy and the loyalists used to be sparsely attended. The hold of the Congress on local politics became quite distinct.

The new factors gave a death blow to the social pyramid. The cultivators and the labourers who form the base and had allowed

* This has been a personal experience of the Editor.

the load of the pyramid to be put on them were shaken up and realised that they had been denied the basic social justice. Once the base was shaken the result was inevitable. The aristocracy at the apex received the most severe shake while the tiers also showed cracks. The classes forming the base were the most restless and started coming up in the forefront.

The political changes in the country from 1942 onwards were extremely rapid. The 1942 Movement followed by the 1946 events throughout the country and the withdrawal of the British followed by the Congress regime of the Government gave the finishing touches to the turmoil that had started decades earlier. Politics had never been nearer to the common man in India. The franchise was widened and for the first time, the downtrodden and the ignored masses were wooed to give their votes. The ruling party took politics to almost every village home and thereby setting motion a mighty factor—political consciousness in the masses. The Congress had come to power making certain pledges and one of the pledges was to bring in land reforms that would do away with landlordism. Landlordism was abolished in 1955 and even prior to the abolition there was a reorientation of the economic and professional groups and classes in relation to social life. The shift was clearly underlined by the abolition of *zamindari*. •

The most prominent feature of the post-abolition of *zamindari* period is the great premium attached to local politics and the local politicians have come into a very great prominence. This prominence is due to the incidence of backing he has from his electorate. Since independence there have been three elections to the Assembly and the Parliament and the results have shown that while some have been thrown up and have risen in the estimate of the public, a few have gone down not for any other ground but because they have lost the election. Factions within the party have had their impact. The man who gets elected has got to be heard in a Welfare State. Since the very character of the administration has been changed from a Police State to a Welfare State, the people's representative has his definite place in a society. In the present set-up when democracy has yet to be established, the politician has a glamour of his own and the people are more conscious of their rights than their obligations. The idea of democracy is often misunderstood and even the spirit of indiscipline is taken to be the spirit of democracy.

The aristocracy and the propertied *zamindars* have been affected very badly. With the abolition of *zamindari* they had a great slump in what was considered a social prestige apart from the decline in financial resources. Many of the ex-*zamindars* who lived in the villages had to leave their villages and urbanisation has had an acceleration. The flow of charity from them has stopped. Many of

them have turned to business. Some of them have become industrialists. It is curious that some of them have now taken leases for working the resources which once belonged to them. A few have entered into politics either as Congressmen or as oppositionists.

The middle classes have had an apparent temporary set-back in social prestige which is often deeply resented by them. The professionals like teachers, doctors and lawyers have had a general set-back in their income. A few of them have, however, come into prominence by taking part in politics. The businessmen and the industrialists have also come into bigger prominence, some by making a lot of money and some by taking part in politics or by pioneering industries.

But the real shift has been in the rural areas where the cultivators, the labourers, the factory hands and the quarry workers live. Politics has gone into the villages and the elections of *mukhiyas* and *sarpanches* are now very keenly fought. The landless labourers are no longer as helpless as they were, as there is no dearth of employment for them. The factory hands are fully alive to the fact that they can bring about strike and bring in a certain amount of turmoil at any time. The welfare measures for the Harijans, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes have unfortunately given them a peculiar caste consciousness and the different castes have started organising themselves on caste lines. Elections have often been decided on caste lines. The different prominent castes in the district, namely, Brahmans, Rajputs, Goalas and different sub-sections of the Harijans have their stronger alliances now and often combine with one another in elections. This emergence of casteism for political consciousness has been a disturbing element, the evil of which has been realised and every attempt has now been made to integrate the society into one unit.

In the post-war period the emergence of the industrialists and the factory labour has been another prominent feature. Industrialisation is more concentrated to the south of the district where the Kaimur Hills have a wonderful mineral and forest resources. The group of industries at Dalmianagar, namely, sugar, paper, cement, hydrogenated oil, chemicals and asbestos products, the group of cement and lime factories at Banjari, the exploitation of lime-stone at various places like Baulia, Pipradih, etc., the tappings of pyrites at Amjhore, the exploitation of bamboos and the other jungle products have come into more prominence. Thousands of labourers are engaged in these industries and labour troubles have become quite common. The industrialists and the State Government have made provision for a number of welfare measures for the labourers. The labourers, however, are peculiarly sensitive and they have allowed themselves to be exploited to some extent by different labour unions.

The impact of industrialisation has been remarkable on both the social and political life of the district. The standard of living has definitely gone up among the factory hands and labourers. A certain amount of unrest and dissatisfaction has crept into the society due to this industrialisation and particularly because it is complained that the employment chances of the children of the soil in these industrial concerns might have been better. The potential of the district both for large-scale and small-scale industries and cottage industries is great and it is expected that there will be more of industrialisation.

Another prominent feature of the present decade is that the State Government is now the biggest employer. Employment chances have been multiplied many a time than before but the rapid expansion of education has led to a massive strength of the educated unemployed. Government service has not lost all its charms although many of the best boys are now seeking employment in private sector. The expansion of Government machinery has meant the employment of a tremendous force of non-gazetted employees. A very recent tendency is to bring about trade unionism among the non-gazetted employees of the State Government. This new factor has not yet found its moorings and its impact on social life is yet to be felt.

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