



ASSAMESE DEMONOLOGY

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Glossary

(a) *Karsala Bam*—Karsala is a kind of grass. The possessed man is struck with this grass, duly enchanted. The spirit then makes his retreat.

(b) *Gubarua Ban*:—Literally a “beetle arrow.” Three beetles are killed and squeezed to powder, and are then mixed ceremonially with mustard oil and alkaline water. This mixture, sprinkled on the body; of the possessed man, expels the spirit.

(c) *Agni Ban*:—Literally “fire arrow.” A torch is prepared of *titabahak* twigs, the flame being held up. A of quantity mustard seed is thrown over the fire in such manner that sparks are let off and fall on the body of the possessed man, the usual incantations being repeated in the meantime.

(d) *Jal Ban*:—Literally “water arrow”. The rib of a dried plantain leaf is burnt, to ashes which are mixed with a quantity of hubble-bubble water. The mixture being sprinkled on the eyes of the possessed man with proper incantations makes the spirit retire.

(e) *Kharika Ban*:—Literally “arrow of thatching grass.” A quantity of thatching grass is enchanted and cast on the body of the possessed man, when the spirit runs away.

(f) *Bishnu Ban*:—Garlic, onion and certain other medicinal roots are pulverized, and mixed with mustard oil and water. The mixture is sprinkled on the body of the possessed man with proper incantations. The spirit then leaves the victim and repairs to his haunt.

(g) *Sariah Ban*: —Literally “mustard arrow.” The exorcist takes a quantity of mustard seeds in his mouth and blows them towards the possessed man through a sieve placed in front of him, uttering certain incantations meanwhile. The mustard falling on the possessed man causes a burning sensation. The spirit unable to bear the pain leaves his victim.

(h) *Kher Ban*:—Literally “straw arrow.” A quantity of straw duly enchanted is thrown at the possessed man. This, when it hits him, makes the spirit fly for life.

(i) *Rudra Ban*:—Mustard seeds, orris and certain other medicinal roots are pulverized and mixed diluted with mustard oil. The mixture when sprinkled on the man's eyes makes the spirit depart to the place from which it came.

(j) *Chakra Ban*:—The mode of exorcism is much the same as the above.

In time of emergency the exorcist uses only short incantations called *dikhas*. The following *dikhas* are in use:

Sani Dikha, Kal Dikha, Rudra Dikha, Nara Singha Dikhda and *Brahma Dikha*.

The following are some of the principal books of incantations, used to expel spirits: —

Adi Nara Singha, Chausasthi Nara Singha, Ajapa Nara Singha, Balia Nara Singha, Samudai, Pakshiraj, Garuri, Belahi Bejini, Garbha-Dharan, Kanchan, Kalap, Pani Bejini.

To expel a *khetar* from the body of a woman the following medicine is used, proper incantations being repeated during the preparation:—

(a) Water drawn from seven different ghats.

(b) Oil collected from seven different shops.

(c) Bent-grass.

(d) Rice prepared from paddy dried in the sun.

These are mixed together. A mystic thread is prepared and is dipped in the mixture. The woman drinks the mixture and wears the mystic thread on her neck.

In the event of the exorcist having to deal with a formidable spirit he employs the following method.

He puts a quantity of chilli seeds and mustard grain inside a *jika* fruit and by blowing it with his mouth forces them out. This makes the possessed man sneeze. The spirit then says through the mouth of the possessed man that he is ready to go if a *puja* is offered. This is done, and the spirit true to his word, leaves the man. Let me observe *en passant* that sneezing by the person operated on is, in this mode of exorcism, considered to be a sure

sign of possession. Another test of possession is that the man becomes restless when made to lie down on leaf of a *bar-kachu* plant duly enchanted. Possession is also indicated by a certain number of *bel* leaves pressed against the navel of the man engendering an amount of pain which he cannot bear.

Besides the Hindu spirits, *khaabish*, which is a Mussulman spirit, is also seen to possess a man, as said above. In that case, he is expelled by means of the ordinary Hindu, incantation with only this exception, that instead of a Hindu god the name of the Muhammadan divinity Allah occurs at the end of each verse.

When the mystic thread is prepared there are certain signs by which it can be known whether the possessed man will survive or succumb. If the mixture of oil and water with which the mystic thread is anointed turn white the man will come round; Should it however turn black the man will die. If the upper end of the mystic thread be found shorter than the lower end the victim is almost sure to die.

Besides the books of incantations referred to in another place, there is another book called "sleeping arrow" (*Nidra-Bdn.*) No particular mode of exorcism is described in it. It contains incantations, which, when repeated causes the possessed man to fall into a slumber during which the exorcist gains sufficient time to prepare for the spectral warfare.

In the case of pregnant woman possessed by *markuchia* the victim gets fever, burning sensation and looseness of bowels. The embryo is then spoilt. She recovers however when proper incantations, are repeated or a mystic thread is used. This spirit has to be expelled in the third or fifth month of pregnancy or else it is hard to save the children born from his fatal grip.

A whip being enchanted is allowed freedom of movements, a man holding it in his hand. He is a mere tool subservient to the command of the whip. The whip then goes and strikes the victim mercilessly until the spirit makes a clean breast and says who is he, why he is there and what he wants. . Proper offerings being provided he goes off and the man is himself again. The exorcist asks the spirit to show a visible sign by which all may be sure of his

departure. The spirit then breaks off a twig of the nearest tree or shows whatever sign the exorcist asks him to show.

When a spirit possesses a man a quantity of hair of his head is tied into a knot by any layman, who then addressing the spirit names the exorcist whom he intends to call. If the spirit knows him to be too powerful for him, he turns tail, grows restless and asks to have the exorcist brought in at once.



CHAPTER 3. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. The spirit fears the rifle. Hence in a case of ghostly phenomenon we hear of volleys of fire. It is known to all that elephant-keepers when out in the forest fire their rifles to scare away spirits.
2. Instances of domesticated ghosts are not rare. These live in the shape of common rats. When the master seeks to punish an enemy he summons them, puts them inside an earthen pot, stealthily walks into his enemy's house, and lets the rats loose unnoticed by anybody. The rats entering into the belly of the man, of course mystically, set themselves to eat into his vitals, leading him eventually into death.
3. When a *dot* lives in a bamboo clump and wants to frighten a passer-by, he shakes the bamboo as a strong blast would. But curiously enough not a single bamboo is blown down.
4. The *khetar* has long teeth like spikes. Sometimes he assumes horrible shapes, when the poor child, his victim, gets frightened and weeps. Sometimes he bursts into laughter, when the child takes the infection and laughs with him.
5. A mystic takes a number of duck eggs to a graveyard and there lays them in a cavity dug upon a grave on a Saturday or a Tuesday. After a period of three days the eggs are brought back and kept inside a cotton bale, where they are hatched in due course. The offspring are however rats, not ducklings. These rats must always be satisfied with suitable offerings of food and drink, or else the master runs the risk of being himself destroyed by his own proteges.
6. The *kandh* has two eyes set upon the breast which sparkle like the eyes of a fierce tiger. He wanders about dancing a hideous dance. Sometimes he is seen to dart off at full speed with outbursts of horrible laughter and unearthly shrieks.
7. The spectral bag of the *dot* is a round little thing made of net cloth.

8. Besides incantations the *dot* is afraid of weapons of iron. The rest of the spirits can be conquered by incantations only.

9. The *dot* and *bak* do not generally kill a man. They belabour him mercilessly and leave him alone to shift for himself as best he can. The *bhoot* assumes different shapes and enters into the body of the victim after frightening him. It is the *khetar* who is most skilled in the art of changing his shape.

The *chamon* and the *jakh* are not good at this, while *markuchia* is a moderate performer.

10. The spirits have dialect of their own, e.g., a *chdmom* has:

Ban-bhungka-uka for a dog.

Jerjerua-uka for a fowl.

Hemai-ai-uka for a pig.

When a *chamon* possessing a man is questioned by the exorcist as to what he means to do, he replies in his appropriate tongue.

11. The spirits have wives and children like men. They have no hierarchy of castes among them.

12. The *dot* and the *bak* visit stealthily the fishing traps set by men and eat the fish caught in them. They are sometimes seen to be so audacious as to eat silk cocoons out of a bag while it is being carried by a man. They also eat shells.

13. A *jakhini* dances and makes gestures. She does not sing.

14. Sometimes a male *khetar* visits a woman and a female *khetar* a man. They make illicit proposals. If the man or the woman as the case may be accepts the proposal, the spirit takes away in the act the life-blood of the victim who is led as a result into wreckage and ultimate death.

15. The spirits cast no shadow on the ground as men do.

16. A spirit has only one wife. A female spirit has only one husband. Adultery is not allowed.

17. In certain cases the spirit recites the very incantations which the exorcist is about to recite, and taunts, him in other ways.

18. A *dot* is sometimes seen to come to a market and make purchases in the shape of an ordinary man.

19. To propitiate the nymph *apechari* the women of the locality assemble and hold a service, offering a quantity of powdered rice and nine bunches of plantains.

20. The spirit kills the exorcist when his ill-luck would so have it. All exorcists have to live under constant fear of devils, who seek opportunity to injure them. A spirit has been heard to say to his exorcist:

"I am here to kill this man. Surely you meddle in an evil hour!"

21. The spirit who takes a woman away does not keep her always but sends her back to her home. She is in this way restored after being kidnapped.

22. Mayang is a mouza, lying in the district of Nowgong. It has been noted for witchcraft for years. The people keep *daini* and other spirits in their houses. They send them to any man whom they want to injure. They bring good things from other houses by sending a *daini*. This emissary is offered a *pooja*, and is sent out on her mission with these words: "Back when I bid you. Away with my enemy unless he calls on me and satisfies my demand." The people have places reserved in the dark secluded part of their houses for *pooja* to the ghosts.

I note below some of the preternatural doings of the Mayang people.

(a) The half-burnt wooden pegs on which the cooking pot is rested take root, and the rice is never done although the fire is full-fed.

(b) A man's seat sticks to him, and does not drop off until the mystic recites counter-incantations.

(c) A tree stands although cut through, and falls only when the enemy whom the mystic wishes to injure comes up to it.

(d) A cooked pigeon when eaten becomes alive inside the stomach, and flapping its wings incessantly kills the man.

(e) When a man eats rice and milk this is never digested but takes root in the stomach. He dies within six months.

(f) A rib of a plantain leaf is turned into a snake.

(g) The leaves of the *sura* tree are turned into *khaliha* and *kawai* fishes.

The mystic keeps a number of ghosts; These are constantly coming in and going out on their errands b\$ turns. The usual method of destruction by a *daini* is that the victim is subjected to an acute form of dysentery. The disease grows severer every day, and the man ultimately dies.

CHAPTER 4. STORIES

1. In Golaghat there is a family whose forefathers were reputed to be ghost-keepers. They are still known as the “house of ghosts.” The matron of the house had charge of them. The ghosts lived in a mango tree in the orchard, and when they came down from it, assumed the shape of rats or kindred small creatures, ate food offered by their mistress, all in a pell-mell fashion, and returned to their haunt.

2. Once a *daini* assuming the form of a woman met a traveller and bore him company, keeping behind him. She irresistibly felt the temptation of eating human flesh, so much so that her lips protruded. These however she advisedly reverted to their normal size by rubbing them against her arm. The man happened to look back and saw that it was a fiend that followed him. The *daini* perceiving that the cat was out of the bag disappeared.

3. A *chamon* was walking slowly in the shape of a Naga, heavily laden with a basket on his back. He accosted a man, and said:—“Tell my eldest brother his wife is dead.” He also gave the address of his brothers, said to be six in number, as a certain huge tree in a particular locality. The man could see no house in the place mentioned, but he shouted so as to be heard far and wide:—“The-wife of the eldest brother is dead. Know ye whomsoever it may concern.” Suddenly a blast shook the tree, and pitious wailings rent the sky. The traveller understood the import and hastened his way homeward.

4. There are twelve scores of *jakh* in the *Barpeta Bil* in Nowgong. A notable *bhakat* named Baloram Deori lived in the satra. For an offence against piety he became a *jakh* on his death, and proceeded to the *Barpeta Bil*. But the other *jakhs* dubbed him the blackest devil as having committed an offence against piety, and refused him admittance. Many *bhakats* seeing his pitiable position argued his cause, but to no purpose. The *gossain* himself came to the scene. The newly arrived *jakh* recounted the facts, and added that he was sentenced to live with *jakhs* for one year. Out of compassion the good *gossain* reduced the sentence to six months, and ordered the resident *jakhs* to allow him a place in the *bil*.

5. A man was calling his brother Banmali by name when suddenly a ghost appeared before him and began to laugh aloud. After a while he paused and said:—'Bandhamali! What a nice name! If this should ever reach the ear of my four brothers, whose names are

'the filth of a duck',

'the feather of a pigeton',

'the filth of an otter',

'a broken *jhampi*',

they will laugh and laugh till their sides split.'

6. A man once saw a *pisachani* sitting as a wretchedly-dressed gray-haired old woman absorbed in thought, with the palm of her hand pressed against her head.

7. A man once saw a *nautch* party held by five *alakhani*s. Three of them clapped their hands and the other two danced to the music.

8. A man was sleeping one night across his doorway. A *gharjeuti* came near in the shape of a baby of about two years and tried to pass over him but suddenly paused. In this way there was a continual process of attempt and pause until after a time the man awoke. He removed his bed from the doorway.

9. Two brothers were out in a boat fishing in a river. The younger brother held the net at the bow, while the elder sat at the helm. A *dot* came, killed the elder brother, himself assumed his shape and steered the boat as before, the younger brother having no knowledge whatever of the ghostly interference. Many fishes were caught by the younger brother and deposited in the boat, but these the *dot* kept on eating secretly all the while. The younger brother noticed the low level of the fish, and realised that something had happened to his brother. But he very prudently went on as if nothing had happened. The *dot* was outwitted. He took the man for a simpleton, and putting confidence in him handed over his spectral bag to him for custody. Taking the bag in his hand the younger brother said to the *dot*, "You are at my mercy, you miserable wretch!" The man thought

within himself that it would not be wise to give out the melancholy news of his brother's death, especially when he could manage to make the spirit pass for his brother. So he and the spirit went home together and lived peaceably as brothers, none else having the slightest inkling of what had taken place. The younger brother kept the spectral bag in a mustard barn. Time passed, and the spirit kept on trying all sorts of means to obtain the bag if possible. At last it so happened that the younger brother attended a *mel*, at a distance. The *dot* also started for the *mel*, but hurried back to the home and said to his victim's mother:—"The bag! The bag! The bag in the mustard barn. Plenty of coins in the *mel*. Well, where's the place for them." The simple mother took him at his word and gave him the bag. The *dot* took the bag, became himself again, and proceeded to the woods. The younger brother returned from the *mel*. His mother said, "Where is your brother? I gave him the bag that was in the mustard barn." Her son sighed a deep sigh and said "Know, poor mother, your eldest son died the moment you gave up the bag." So saying he recounted the sad incident of his brother's death from start to finish.

10. A *dot* visited a Brahmin girl in the form of her lover and eloped with her. In course of time she became the mother of two children by the *dot*. A little before the birth of the third child the woman asked him to procure her a fish from a certain distant place as she desired to eat one. The *dot* set out to get the fish, and meantime the woman with her sons, seizing this opportunity of her spirit-husband's absence, hastened to her parents' home. The *dot* returned with a fish but found no one in his house. He traced the woman to her parent's house, the fish still in his hand. He got on the roof, made an opening and dropped the fish through saying:—"Take it, inconstancy thy nature." Then he retraced his steps homewards. The limbs of this woman's sons were sluggish and bore long streaks all over like those of a spirit.

11. The *dot* fears a fish-hook. Once as a *dot* was trying to eat a fish out of a bag carried by a man on his back he got entangled in the fishing line and the hook pierced his belly. The *dot* being thus enslaved obtained release by abject entreaties.

12. A ghost assumed the shape of an old man and visited his house in his absence. He stood on the courtyard and asked the wife to wash his feet.

They were smooth, unlike those of her old husband which the wife knew to be rugged. She suspected something was wrong, looked up and saw a very tall figure. At once she entered the house on the pretext of bringing more water, bolted the door and screamed. The *dot* said:—"You are lucky, you are lucky;" and vanished into thin air.

13. A ghost appeared to a man in a dream and said "Keep your young daughter on the grass upon a cloth spread out. I shall come and take her away, and in exchange will put on the cloth plenty of riches for you." The man did not comply with this request, as was to be expected. The girl died in less than a week.

14. There was a commotion recently in Golaghat owing to the appearance of a ghost in the house of one Dewai Tekela in village Khangia, *mauza* Naharani. The ghost stayed in the house for three years. People from distant places visited the house, and after due enquiry were satisfied with the genuineness of this incident. The visitation of the ghost had particular reference to a married girl of sixteen. Her husband was living with her. Clods of earth used to be thrown at her by the ghost. She could actually see him although no one else did. She was never kidnapped by him, and he never molested her while she stayed at her father's house. Her father-in-law died a year before this incident. The ghost said to her:—"I am your father-in-law. I come to see you out of love."

The ghost occasionally played pranks. He concealed cups and plates and even valuable ornaments. But he was sometimes useful. He looked to the comfort of the guests and provided them with seats, *pan*, etc. But when any guest insulted him he scattered *bhat* over him. When *bhat* was served to a member of the family the ghost ate it up before curry arrived. The cook took the hint, reserved a dish specially for the ghost, and then all annoyance ceased. The *bhat* disappeared from the reserved dish in the sight of all men.

15. The Hindu god Siva lived in mount Kailas with his wife Parvati. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and the wife of Vishnu, paid a visit to Parvati when Siva was absent. During the course of conversation Lakshmi referred to Siva slightly, he being but a beggar after all. Parvati in reply expressed her contempt for Vishnu. Lakshmi came home and related to her husband what

had happened. Vishnu who knew well that Siva's poverty was the result of his unparalleled piety and absolute indifference to temporal possessions, said to Lakshmi, 'Let me devise a means by which Parvati will be humiliated. At the same time there will be plenty of harvest for men to eat on earth.' He commanded four *Siddhas* to visit Siva's house during the absence of the latter, and on some pretext to ask for a quantity of rice. These immediately hurried to Kailas and asked Parvati for some rice, so that they might refresh themselves after so tiresome a journey. Parvati finding not a grain of rice in her house gave them some fruits to eat. The guests departed, but Parvati felt humiliated. When Siva came home she asked him to procure the necessary implements of agriculture and to grow rice. She advised him to obtain a plot of land from Indra, a bag of rice seedlings from Kuvera, and a plough from Baloram. The rope of Varuna was to be his plough-rope, the Chakra of Vishnu his yoke, and the serpent Basuki his whip. He was instructed to get the buffalo of yama and yoke it with his own bullock. His trident was to be his plough-share. His son Kartik was to be his plough-boy. Parvati herself, was to cook the rice.

Siva was well pleased and accepted the suggestions of his wife. He collected all the implements of husbandry and began at cock-crow to cultivate his field. He was so absorbed in his new occupation that he ignored the calls of appetite. When it was past noon, Parvati created a body of mosquitoes and wasps and commanded them to invade the field so that Siva might leave the plough and come home. Siva seeing the fierce onset made a torch and whirled it violently so that the insects fled for their lives. Parvati finding that her object failed, created an army of earth-worms, leeches, rats, and crickets.

But Siva was too much engrossed in his business to mind such annoyances. Parvati now proceeded in person to find her husband. She found the field covered with all manner of crops in various stages of growth. But as soon as her indignant eyes fell upon the crops there came out from her mouth, a demon and a demoness named *Khob* and *Khubi*, who set the whole field in a blaze. Siva turned back, and seeing the couple of fiends wanted to kill them. They prayed for mercy, and added that as they were the offspring of his wife's mind it behoved him to spare their lives. Siva admitted this, but told

them to leave the field at once and take up their residence in the Dhedheya Hills. With regard to the question of food he said. “Be in the mouths of men born in inauspicious moments and eat your food there.” Siva and Parvati returned home.

Ages passed, and Kama’s faithful attendant Hanuman took the Dhedheya Hills among others to bridge the sea. *Khob* and *Khubi* who were in the Hills went with them. They entreated Rama, to allow them a country to live in and suitable food to subsist on. Rama directed them to live among men and to eat the food assigned to them by Siva. He gave them also something more. He said:—“Live with the bridegroom till the third day of marriage, when a service will take place in which eatables will be distributed among those assembled. Eat enough, and leave the couple to themselves.” The custom of holding the above service in which a Brahmin priest recounts the story of *Khob* and *Khubi* to the married couple is universal with the Assamese. The story of *Khob* and *Khubi* originally appeared in the Nandi Purana, from which it has been translated into Assamese. The crop, which was burnt by the appearance of *Khob* and *Khubi*, came to be known as *ahu*, the other being *sali* which is the staple crop of the Assamese.

16. There lived a king who had a beautiful wife named Kamala. His kingdom was visited by intense drought and many lives were lost. *Jalkoer* who was smitten with the beauty of the queen, appeared in a dream to the king, and said that he would send water if the king would part with his consort. The king at first refused, but when the drought continued and the people implored him to save their lives at any cost he yielded. The people excavated a tank and the queen proceeded to it in a magnificent procession, followed by the king and by immense crowds. The queen went down into the tank. The king stood on the bank, and as the water gradually rose the following conversation, ensued.

'How much water do you meet,

Say Kamala, my consort sweet.'

'Harken ye, my husband dear,

Water is now ankle near.'

'How much, water do you find,
Say Kamala, ever kind.'

'My beloved lord, list ye,
Water kisses now my knee.'

'How much water does now spring,
Say unto me, my darling.'

'My lord, on heart enthroned high.
Water has now reached my thigh.'

'My heart, Kamala, breaks for thee,
O, say, how much water you see.'

'My sweet master, shed not tear,
Water is now loin near.'

'Ah me! Hear my mournful lay,
How much water rushes, say.'

'Is not fate supreme yet found?
Water ties my breast around.'

'Be not sad, my queen of spring,
How much water does *jalkoer* bring.'

'All is o'er, I bow to thee!
Water encircles my neck, now see.'

Suddenly a golden barge appeared and the queen was taken on board and vanished from sight.

APPENDIX 1. SONG OF ALAKHANI

Tick, tick titapat.

It rains, there's mire.

Ah me! men will see.

But what may they say?

APPENDIX 2. INCANTATION USED IN WEAVING SPECTRAL THREAD

I Salute Thee, O Krishna.

One, I bind the eleven.

Two, I bind the two directions.

Three, I bind the triangular earth.

Four, I bind the four cardinal points.

Five, I bind the five demons.

Six, I bind the sixty-four gipsies.

Seven, I bind the hundred stars.

Eight, I bind the eight ghats.

Nine, I bind the nine stars.

Ten, I bind the lord of ten directions.

Eleven, I bind the eleven mothers.

Twelve, I bind the motley crowd.

Thirteen, I bind the thirteen celestial nymphs.

Fourteen, I bind fourteen phases of the moon.

Fifteen, I bind the fifteen stars.

Sixteen, I bind the sixteen ghats.

Seventeen, I bind the seventeen moons.

Eighteen, I bind the eighteen pathways.

Nineteen, I bind the nineteen ghats.

Twenty, I bind the ten gates.

Should none these avail,

I bind by the sixty-four incantations.

Siva himself on the east rampart,

The sun on the west rampart,

Death himself, out of compassion, on the south Durga on the north rampart.

Should my words come to grief,

The purity of the goddess will be dashed off.

By my adjuration, and my preceptor's command, Remain where I bind.



APPENDIX 3. PRINCIPAL HAUNTED PLACES

Nowgong.

1. Barpeta Bil.
2. Hahila Jalah.
3. Jamuna Jalah.
4. Silabandha Bil.
5. Malaha Bil.
6. Bamun Ghossain Than.
7. Barhampur, Pukhuri
8. Leli Bar.
9. Moamari Kurh

Jorhat.

1. Padumani Bil.
2. Hekera Kurh.
3. Barbarua Korokani.
4. Hizalguri Pukhuri.
5. Jagdooar.
6. Kaliapani.
7. Rangapani Pathai.
8. Charaipani Jan.
9. Barbheta Dopani.

10. Adhakhana Barpukhuri.
11. Phatkar Chiga pool.
12. Malow Pathar.
13. Kaliani Pathar.
14. Barmukali Pathar.

Mangaldai.

1. Burinagar Pukhuri.
2. Barhampur Pukhuri.
3. Gorakata Pukhuri.
4. Jaypal Pukhuri.
5. Bhurar Garli.
6. Deomara Nai Jar.

Gaukati.

1. Sandhya Jar.
2. Changchaki Pabar.
3. Kohora Garh.
4. Balilecha Pukhuri.
5. Kalagarh Pukhuri.

Barpeta.

1. Sundari Bil.

2. Engar Pora Kurh.
3. Baghar Parbat.
4. Chakutal Joa.
5. Pithakatia Pukhuri.
6. Panisala Pukhuri.

Golaghat.

1. Khecheng Bar.
2. Semetia Bar.
3. Kaliapani Bar.
4. Na-Bil.
5. Malar Chiga Barghuli.
6. Rahdhala Pukhuri.
7. Naga pota Bar.

Sibsagar.

1. Singi Bil.
2. Mitangar Dalang.
3. Sing-Duar.
4. Kuji-Bali.
5. Gar Gaon.
6. Phulpani Chiga.
7. Talatali Ghar.

8. Jai Sagar.
9. Gauri Sagar.
10. Athai Sagar.
11. Na-Pukhuri.

Dibrugarh.

1. Tapi Pool.
2. Aithan.
3. Raja Bheta Jan.
4. Merbil.
5. Sissimukh.

North Lakhimpur.

1. Nata Kana Bari Pukhuri.
2. Pitani Pukhuri.
3. Rahdhala Pukhuri.
4. Garia Jan,
5. Gharmarar Chola.
6. Khana Pukhuri.
7. Kandali Pukhuri.

Tezpur.

1. Molan Pukhuri.

2. Kini Pukhuri.
3. Uhani.
4. Naharlaga Jarani.
5. Kuari Pukhuri.
7. Baralimara Bil.
8. Syam Narayan Pukhuri.



APPENDIX 4. NOTABLE EXORCISTS

North Lakhimpur.

1. Jaduram Sarma.

Dibrugarh.

1. Khora Bez.
2. Bihua Bez.
3. Bhadram Sarma.

Jorhat.

1. Bapiram Sarma.
2. Dutiram Bardalai.
3. Bhabiram Barua.
4. Domai Koch.
5. Sambbu Nath Mahanta.
6. Ghana Kanta Sarma.
7. Sonaram Sarma.
8. Parapati Sarabjan.
9. Sonaram Mabari.
10. Bapiram Chutia.
11. Khetekeswar Sarma.

Barpeta.

1. Sukkna Khora.
2. Narayan Bamun.
3. Ghosaram.
4. Mihiram.
5. Gobindram.

Golaghat.

1. Bagidia Medhi.
2. Dutiram Gaonbura.
3. Katia Bez.
4. Mukund Chutia.
5. Barkathia Keot.
6. Datram Pandit.
7. Ramakanta Gagan
8. Bihua Sarma.
9. Gopinath Gohain.
10. Aniram Pandit.
11. Makara Bez.
12. Bharam Gaonbura.

Sibsagar.

1. Krishnaram Kalita.

2. Madhuram Ganak.
3. Kathak Bez.
4. Poali Bez.
5. Mukti Kalita.
6. Arjun Deodhai.
7. Haribar Kohar.
8. Mani Charingia.

Tezpur.

1. Bilai Kalita.
2. Mim Garia.
3. Jogeswar Barua.
4. Mani Pandit.
5. Kerkan Mandal.
6. Gopi Satola.
7. Maria Kalita.

Nowgong.

1. Kirtinath Sarma.
2. Phaguna Koch.
3. Manika Sarma Tamuli.
4. Bhumidhar Sarma Barua.
5. Chenaram Sarma Tamuli,

6. Rameswar Koch,

7. Gerela Keot.

8. Doyaram Koch.

Gauhati.

1. Ganeswar Sarma.



GLOSSARY

Ahu.—A species of early rice which is reaped at the end of the rainy season.

Bar.—The Indian fig tree.

Bar Kachu.—A species of arum.

Bel.—A kind of fruit with valuable medicinal properties.

Bhakat.—A disciple of a religious preceptor.

Bhat.—Boiled rice.

Bihu.—There are three well known Assamese festivals called Bihu. These are distinguished by prefixing the name of the month in which they occur, Magh Bihu, Chait or Baihag Bihu, and Kati Bihu. The Baihag Biliu is the Assamese new year.

Bil.—A lake or swamp.

Chakra.—The wheel of Vishnu.

Chiga.—A breach.

Dalang.—A bridge.

Garh.—An embankment.

Ghat.—Step- to approach a river or a tank.

Ghuli.—A pool.

Gossain.—A religious preceptor.

Jalah.—A large pool of water.

Jar.—A grove.

Jhampi.—An Assamese umbrella made of woven palm leaves.

Jika.—The cornered gourd. (*Luffa acutangula*.)

Karsala.—A long slender grass abundant in Assam.

Kawai.—A kind of fish.

Khaliha.—A kind of fish.

Korokani.—Undulating ground.

Kuril.—A spring.

Mel.—A village assembly.

Naga—Savage tribes inhabiting one frontier of Assam.

Nahar.—A kind of tree. (*Mesua ferrea*.)

Nautch.—A dance.

Pahar.—A hill.

Pan.—Betel leaf.

Parbat.—A mountain.

Pool.—A culvert

Puja.—Worship. Also an offering to a god or spirit. Pukhuri.—A tank.

Sali.—A species of rice reaped in the winter. It is transplanted, and is the staple crop in Assam.

Sam.—A kind of tree. (*Artocarpus chaplasha*.)

Satra.—The place where the adherents of a particular Gos-sain reside. Some of these orders are celibate, and some are not.

Saura.—A kind of tree.

Siddha.—An order of spiritual beings.

Taka.—A musical instrument made of bamboo used by rustic girls when they dance.

Than.—The place where a holy man is buried.

Tita Bahak.—A medicinal plant. (*Justicia granderussa*.)

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