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Collector of Dharwar, has endeavoured to ascertain the causes of this increase, and whether it is connected with the decline in the consumption of liquor and toddy. He reports that he can trace no connection between the two phenomena; that there has been a large increase in the consumption of ganja, which is to be attributed to the introduction of the railway bringing with it scores of ganja smokers and eaters; that there is no reason to suppose that the people of the district have generally taken to the use of the drug, though a number of individuals may have contracted the habit from foreigners; and that there is no export of the drug. He attaches a statement showing that the retail sales of 1892-93 amounted to 1,345 maunds, an increase of more than 200 maunds over the figures of 1891-92. It is impossible to suppose that this huge amount can have been consumed in the district. It is larger than the whole consumption of the Central Provinces with its Feudatory States and zamindaris. The only reasonable explanation is that the greater part of it leaves the district, and enters the surrounding foreign territory, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Goa. The Kanara district also may possibly get its supply from the Dharwar shops. The Dharwari ganja is not unknown, as the Commission found, in Mysore. This exaggeration in the Dharwar figures furnishes one more reason for distrusting those of other districts as an index of the local consumption.

394. On the point of general increase or decrease in the use of ganja, the responsible official witnesses, excepting the Collector of Bijapur, take the view that there is no perceptible change. On the other hand, there are witnesses of other classes who observe increase, and attribute it to the same economic and social causes as have been noticed in other provinces. But it may be noted that the high price of liquor does not take a prominent place among them, and many statements will be found to the effect that the hemp drugs are giving way to liquor. It cannot be said that there is a preponderance of the evidence either way or that there is any satisfactory basis for forming an opinion. The only causes of increase which can be assumed to have operated in the direction of increase are the increase of population and development of railways. The social causes would seem to tell both ways, education, however, being rather favourable to decrease of the habit than the reverse. The fact that the lower orders are addicted to liquor in the Bombay Presidency, and that their earnings are comparatively high and enable them to indulge this predilection, is a factor operating against increase of the hemp habit. Regarding bhang and charas, the tendency of the evidence is to show that the former is giving way to liquor; the use of the latter, practically confined to the City of Bombay and insignificant in extent, shows no sign of increase.

395. The extent of use described in the Presidency may be accepted as applicable to the Native States under the supervision of the Bombay Government. There are no materials to enable a more exact estimate to be formed. In the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country ganja must be the favourite form of the drug, and in the Gujarat States, Kathiawar, and Cutch it is to a great extent superseded by bhang.

396. The statistics show that about 40 maunds of ganja and 4 of bhang are consumed in Aden, of which the population is 42,734. This gives the high rate of ganja consumption of one maund to 1,000 of the population. The maximum price at which the contractor

is allowed to sell is one anna a tola, and there is no minimum. The average price is probably much the same as that of the shops in the Presidency proper. If the Bombay rate of 30 consumers to the maund be taken, the consumers are about 3 per cent. of the population, or one man out of every 8 or 10. Considering the character of the population, composed to a great extent of Indian sepoys and the followers of native regiments, the high figure is not surprising. There is reason to think that service abroad induces a more liberal consumption of the hemp drugs among native regiments and their followers.

397. The average production of bhang in Sind and Khairpur is about 4,000 ^{Sind and Khairpur.} maunds. The statistics give the average retail sale of ^{Total consumption estimated of} the British districts as 4,539 maunds, and this does not include the consumption of Karachi, for which district no figures of retail sale are given. The population and circumstances of Karachi compared with both those of Hyderabad justify the assumption that at least 500 maunds are consumed in the former. The figure of total consumption of the province must be raised by this amount, and by 1,000 according to the statistics for the State of Khairpur. But looking to the population of Khairpur, this consumption appears excessive, and the retail sale probably includes locally produced drug sold for consumption in other districts of Sind. So also it is probable that the retail sale of the Shikarpur district, where there is a considerable area of cultivation, includes the drug which has been exported. This district has not as high a figure of population as Hyderabad, and yet is credited with double the consumption. Hyderabad has but a trifling area of cultivation, and its figures of retail sale are probably a fairly accurate index of the consumption. They give one maund to 820 of the population, or say 800, allowing a few maunds for defective registration. This rate applied to the whole population of Sind with Khairpur, about 3,000,000, gives a total consumption of 3,750 maunds, which approximates to the estimate of production based on the area of cultivation. The statistics on a six years' average show that about 650 maunds of bhang are imported, mostly into the Shikarpur district. The estimated consumption, 3,750 maunds, therefore, only falls short of the total supply, 4,650 maunds, by 900 maunds, which is not an extravagant allowance for waste.

398. The average price of bhang is about Re. 1 a sér, and the average daily ^{Individual allowance.} allowance 1 tola or about 4 sérs per annum. A maund ^{Number of regular consumers of} therefore supplies about 20 regular moderate consumers. But the majority of the consumers take the drug only occasionally. The use in Sind—certainly in Upper Sind—is very like that of the Punjab and Northern India, where the beverage is drunk largely in the hot season, and to a comparatively small extent in the cold. It is probable that not more than one-third of the consumption can be credited to regular consumers, and that class would by this calculation number $1,250 \times 20 = 25,000$. The occasional consumers are very many times more numerous, and may not improbably amount to between 5 and 10 per cent. of the whole population. From this estimate the Thar and Parkar district is excluded, where the use of the drug is much less common than in the other districts of the province, its place being taken by opium.

399. The retail sale of charas, making an allowance of 5 maunds for Karachi, ^{Number of consumers of charas.} where there are no figures, is about 43 maunds. The import, however, averages 70 maunds. The consumption may be taken to be 50 maunds. The average daily allowance appears

to be about $\frac{1}{4}$ tola, or $\frac{1}{2}$ sér per annum. There would then be about 2,000 charas smokers in the province, and these are all regular consumers. The cost at the above rate is Rs. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum, which is reasonable. The district of Shikarpur would seem to contain nearly half of the charas smokers.

400. The consumption of ganja is about the same as that of charas. The former is, however, the cheaper drug; the individual consumption is probably therefore larger, and the smokers less numerous. The use is most prevalent in Kārachi and Hyderabad, and may be said not to exist in Shikarpur and the Upper Sind Frontier. Thar and Parkar consumes more ganja than charas, hardly any of the latter.

401. The statistics do not furnish any reliable index of the growth or decline the use of either of the drugs. The evidence indicates increase, except in the case of ganja, but not very decidedly. The Commissioner (Mr. James) bears testimony by personal observation to the increase of the different classes of ascetics who principally are addicted to the drugs. Their number by the census of 1891 was 18,594. He is also of opinion that the use has spread among the labouring classes, whose wages have greatly risen in recent years. The addition to the population during the last 20 years, which amounts to over 30 per cent., must in the natural course of things have caused an increase of the total consumption.

402. The memorandum of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts throws doubt on the figures of retail sale of ganja contained in column 44 of the statistical table. They show an average consumption in the last five years of some 800 maunds. They are fairly regular, and, but for the discredit thrown on them by the memorandum, seem fit to be accepted as an index of consumption. It is true that the local production and import together amount to 1,300 maunds. But the drug in this form contains a great deal of useless material, and it is probable that when sold retail 1,300 maunds get reduced to 800. This is not so large a proportion of waste as was found in the Central Provinces. The imported drug seems to come from Khandwa, and it is not likely that the local ganja is a more finished product than that imported. If the consumption of Berar is to be compared with that of the neighbouring Central Provinces, where the figures of retail sale represented the consumption of the cleaned drug, it certainly cannot be taken to be more than 800 maunds; and probably this is a high figure. In Berar the price of the drug is one-fourth of what it is in the Central Provinces. It is probable, therefore, that the individual allowance is very much higher. The evidence puts it at $\frac{1}{2}$ tola a day, or approximately 2 sérs per annum, which would cost Rs. 5. There would thus be 20 consumers to the maund and 16,000 in the province, giving a percentage of 55 on the total population. The result is not far different from that arrived at in the Central Provinces. As regards the result and individual cost, it appears to be reasonable. The evidence regarding increase and decrease of use is of the usual contradictory character. The statistics throw no light on the point, for they are not correct as regards the retail sales, and, as regards the imports, are not in a suitable form for the purpose. The preponderance of evidence is in favour of increase, but the direct observation of a witness like (31), who says that the younger men rarely smoke, must go for something. If the evidence of the majority be accepted, it is nevertheless certain that the increase is not very marked.

403. The reports and evidence from Ajmere-Merwara furnish no statistics to enable an estimate to be made of the extent of use of the hemp drugs. There was an increase of revenue in 1890-91 which was explained in the annual excise report to be due to competition at the auction of monopoly. There is no evidence of any increase or decrease of use.

404. In Coorg the import of ganja amounts to 21 maunds and registered consumption to 14. The population is 173,055. The retail price is 14 annas to 1 rupee for a sér of 24 tolas, or approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ anna per tola. Taking the minimum individual allowance at $\frac{1}{4}$ tola or $\frac{1}{6}$ anna per diem, the annual individual consumption comes to 90 tolas, and the cost to something less than Rs. 5. This is a reasonable allowance. The consumers would number about 1,000, or between '5 and '6 per cent. of the population. It is probable that the consumption tends to increase with the influx of coolies into coffee and cardamom estates.

405. There is no information of the quantity of hemp drugs consumed in any part of Baluchistan. Bhang and ganja appear to come from India, and charas and chur ganja from Afghanistan as well as India. The Deputy Commissioner of Thal Chotiali reports that the Baluchis and Pathans of that district are not addicted to the drugs; but there is information from other quarters that the Baluchis and Pathans generally do smoke. The drinking of bhang would appear to be confined to Pathans and Indians. It is said that the consumption of the drugs is decreasing as the Indian population, which was larger when military operations were going on, is being reduced. The average prices seem to be Re. 1 for bhang, Rs. 20 for charas, and Rs. 78 for ganja per sér.

406. It has been shown that the hemp drugs, or ganja at least, are smuggled into Burma in considerable quantity. But it is impossible to say to what extent the Indians manage to supply their wants, or with any accuracy the price they have to pay for the drug. There does not seem to be any use by the Burmans or people other than the natives of India. The inquiries made by the Commission tend to show that the quantity introduced into the country is increasing.

407. It is hardly worth while to examine in detail the statistics and evidence relating to the extent to which the hemp drugs are used in the great Native States and Agencies. These territories are surrounded and intermingled with British territories, regarding which the question has been fully discussed, with the result that the statistics were found in most cases to be far from an accurate index of consumption, and the evidence did not justify very precise conclusions. More definite results, or equally definite, will certainly not be obtained from the information supplied by Native States. The extent of use in each part of these territories may be taken to resemble that in the neighbouring British provinces. The use of ganja will be found to prevail over the States of the Central India Agency as it does in the North-Western Provinces, Bengal, and the Central Provinces. The use of bhang will be more common than that of the other drugs in Marwar and the north-western parts of Rajputana, and it will extend southwards towards the Bombay Presidency, and eastwards towards the States of Central India,

gradually meeting with more competition from ganja. A moderate use of charas will be found all over the States which are within easy reach of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. The extent of use of ganja in Hyderabad will be fairly well indicated by the estimates of Berar, the Bombay Presidency, and Madras as regards the parts of the State contiguous to those provinces, and a similar process of examination will give the consumption of Mysore. In these two States bhang as a separate form of the raw drug has practically disappeared, but charas finds a few consumers in Hyderabad. Baroda consumption is the same as that of the northern part of Bombay Presidency.

408. In Kashmir and Nepal the wild plant furnishes the whole, or a very large share, of the consumption—a fact which renders useless for present purposes the figure of production given in the Kashmir evidence, and of import from Bengal into Nepal which can be derived from the Bengal statistics.

409. The inquiries made in the army have elicited replies from 274 ^{Army.} regiments, batteries of artillery, and special corps ^{Real extent of the use of the hemp drugs not ascertained.} in the service of the British Government and Natives States. If commanding officers had found it possible to take an accurate and complete census of the consumers of the hemp drugs among the sepoys and other natives attached to their corps, the result would have been of the greatest service in determining the extent to which the hemp drugs are used among the various races and castes and the population generally. But the cases are few in which the inquiry has elicited information on the point which has the appearance of being complete. It would therefore be misleading to compile and tabulate the results in statistical form. Several enquiring officers report that their men will not admit the use of the hemp drugs, though it is certain that they are taken to some extent. And in many cases there are special reasons for this reticence in addition to the disrepute attaching to the habit in native society generally. In some regiments the use of the drugs is directly prohibited, and in others the commanding officers, though they may not have gone this length, regard the consumers with distrust. It must be the case also that in some regiments the consumers are held in greater disrepute among their comrades than in others. In many it is apparent that the inquiry was distasteful to the men, and in some that the commanding officers were not very insistent in pressing it. Keeping in view these reasons for distrusting the figures, it will not be prudent to do more than indicate a few general features of the hemp drug habit as it prevails in the native armies.

410. There are regiments in all three presidencies and in the Native States ^{Extent of use reported.} in which the hemp drugs in one form or other are shown to be used by 5 per cent. of the men and followers. Forty-nine out of the 274 corps come under this category, and the number evidently falls far short of the truth. In some corps the number of consumers is far higher than 5 per cent. In some corps the use, if the reports are to be taken literally, does not exist, or is quite infinitesimal, or is practically confined to the followers. The consumption in these corps is no doubt trifling in most cases, but it is difficult to accept it as fact as regards any regiment that the drugs are not used at all, especially in regiments of Sikhs, who are extremely partial to bhang.

411. As regards the character of the habit, the smokers are for the most part regular smokers, and the drinkers indulge occasionally, and principally in the hot weather. Little evidence of excessive use. In these respects the habit resembles that of the civil population. It is natural that excess should be comparatively uncommon in bodies of men living under strict discipline. It has been found that even in the police, where the men have more personal liberty, the use of hemp rarely obtrudes itself.

412. The habit of drinking bhang is more prevalent in the corps serving in the north-western part of India, but it cannot be said that smoking is more common in one part than another. Use of the different drugs. Charas is preferred in the comparatively small tract where it is cheap and easily procurable, and ganja is used elsewhere. Smoking is regarded as a protection against cold, and bhang drinking as a relief under the distress of very hot weather. The habit, therefore, varies according as regiments experience different conditions of climate, and it would seem that on service the number of smokers increases. The preparation of the drink, however, takes time, and requires certain ingredients which on service may not be obtainable. It is doubtful, therefore, if bhang drinking increases on service as smoking does, but the practice of chewing or eating the drug in a simpler form may very well take its place.

413. The Sikhs drink bhang and do not smoke; but it is reported of more than one Sikh regiment that the men do not use any of the drugs. Use among principal castes of sepoys. In one regiment they have given up bhang for the good rum which the canteen supplies. The Gurkhas also prefer liquor, and rarely use the hemp drugs. The habit would seem to be more prevalent in the Gurkha regiments serving in Assam than elsewhere, but uncommon even there. The Rajputs and Purbhias seem to be more given to the drugs than other castes. There is some strictness among the Muhammadans in some of the regiments of the north of India in regard to both smoking and drinking of hemp; but in Madras they appear to have the full proportion of smokers among them.

414. The very great majority of the replies state that the use of the drugs is decreasing, and among the 38 which take the opposite view, 13 do not refer to the troops, but to the civil population. Evidence indicates decrease of use in the army. Some replies also are not very definite. There are hardly more than 20 out of the 274 which can be said to be evidence on the side of increase. The actual facts on which increase is alleged are not often stated, but the commandant of a Bengal Cavalry regiment finds that 25 years ago not a man in the regiment used the drugs, while now some do, especially among the later enlisted men. The causes of increase, when they are stated, which is very rarely, are the cheapness of the drugs as compared with liquor, the speedy action and convenient form of charas, and the religious objection to the use of liquor. On the other hand, there is a strong body of evidence on the side of decrease. The cause which appears most prominently in the replies is the greater demand which service makes in these days on the time and intelligence of the sepoy. He cannot spare the time to indulge in the drugs, which involves the laborious preparation of bhang as drink, and the period of listlessness and incapacity which follows an ill-regulated dose either

as drink or smoke. And he is said to be conscious that the habit renders a man less fit for the things he has to do and learn. In many regiments the prohibition is credited with having had a decided effect in reducing the practice. In some it is said that the older men, who have the habit, are retiring, and making room for young men, who, entering the more intellectual school of soldiering, do not readily acquire it. This is in direct contrast with the evidence from a Bengal Cavalry regiment quoted above, and it is for this reason the quotation was made. Both opinions are apparently based on observation, and that in favour of decrease has a great number of adherents, while the officer who holds the other stands almost alone. The point is of general interest as touching on the quality of the modern recruit apart from the hemp question. The rise in the price of drugs is alleged in some quarters as a cause of decrease, and in others the cheapness of liquor. It is probable that liquor is competing with drugs in the army as it is doing among the better classes of the civil population.

415. Ganja issues from the Ganja Mahal of Bengal in three forms—flat, round, and chur. Their relative value arises from the

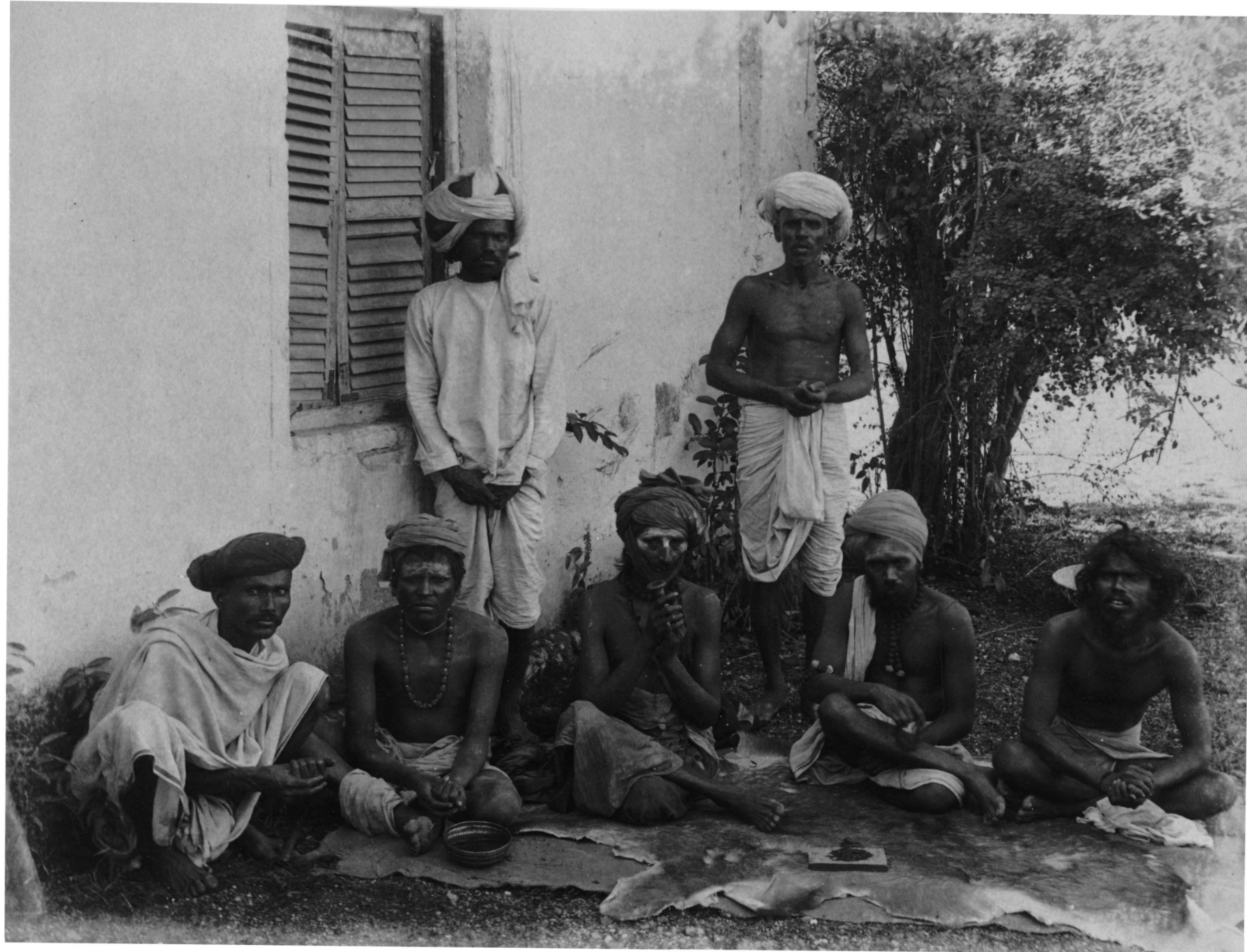
Varieties of ganja.

fact that round ganja is more free of useless stick and leaf than flat ganja, and chur is even more pure than round ganja. The first two kinds are reduced to chur or fragments as a necessary preliminary to smoking, but it is possible that a small amount of leaf always adheres to the lumps of compressed flowers even when they have been detached from the stick. Nevertheless in this reduced form the three kinds are practically the same, and many persons have no preference in regard to them. The evidence on this point is not, however, unanimous, and in Calcutta, the 24-Parganas, Nadia, and the Burdwan and Orissa Divisions round ganja alone is sold, while the flat kind is consumed throughout the rest of the province. It is doubtful if this distribution is caused by any choice of the consumers. The explanation is probably to be found in the convenience and profit of the dealers in respect of the avoidance of waste and economy of carriage. The recent sudden increase in the consumption of chur tends to confirm this view, for Mr. Gupta explains that it was caused by the discovery that this kind was more lightly taxed in proportion to the amount of narcotic matter present in it. As regards their general use, therefore, these three kinds of ganja do not need to be distinguished, and the names even are not current outside Bengal. It may be said that every presidency, province, and almost every Native State outside Bengal, has a certain amount—it may be very small—of home-grown ganja. This drug is of various qualities, from the produce of the wild plant in certain parts to that of the skilled and regular cultivation. There are local names for the drug, but it is essentially the same everywhere, varying in strength and flavour. Bengal ganja holds the first place in public favour. In Assam it is distinguished by the epithet *mohini*. Only a small quantity of it goes out of Bengal to the North-Western Provinces and the peninsula of India, but the fame of it is carried all over the country by the religious wanderers, and its name *baluchar* is very widely known.

416. Ganja is used principally for smoking,—almost wholly for that purpose in Bengal, where it is so expensive. The process of

Manner of smoking ganja.

preparing the drug for smoking, the kind of *chillum* or pipe that is used, and the manner of inhaling the smoke are the same all over India. A small quantity of ganja, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a tola, is kneaded in the



Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1894.

GROUP OF BAIRAGIS, PREPARING & SMOKING GANJA, KHANDESH.

palm of the left hand with the thumb of the right, a few drops of water being poured on it from time to time. When it ceases to part with any colour to the water, it is ready to be smoked. The *chillum* is a bowl with a short neck issuing straight from the bottom of it, all made of clay; the same that is commonly used for smoking tobacco. It is laid with a foundation of a small quantity of tobacco. On this is placed the washed ganja which has been chopped up and another thin layer of tobacco. A live coal is placed on the charged pipe, a damp cloth is generally wrapped round the neck of it and folded into the palm of the left hand, while the pipe is grasped by the neck between the thumb and first finger. The right hand is pressed, fingers upwards, against the cloth and neck of the pipe, and the draught is made through the space between the thumb and first finger of this hand. A few short breaths are blown and drawn to light up the pipe, and when this is accomplished one long deep draught is taken with the lungs. The pipe is then handed on to a companion, and so goes the round of the circle.

417. In Bengal charas is only used by people in good circumstances. It is in the Punjab and North-Western Provinces that most is to be learnt about the ordinary method of consuming it. It varies in quality and price, and is often very much adulterated. It is almost wholly used for smoking. A quantity, not larger than is usually put into the ganja pipe, is buried or kneaded up in two or three times the quantity of tobacco in the form (*gurakhu*) in which it is prepared for smoking with the *huka*. The *huka* is then smoked in the ordinary way, the draught being taken into the lungs. Dry tobacco may be used instead of the prepared tobacco, and the *chillum* instead of the *huka*.

418. Ganja also is sometimes smoked in the *huka*, and other implements and means of smoking are mentioned. Thus in Bombay and the Central Provinces epicures occasionally use a pipe made of sugarcane in preference to the *chillum*. There are also certain rude expedients in vogue amongst jungle people for the smoking of tobacco, which are no doubt resorted to in connection with the hemp drug, and some of which appear in the evidence. The pipe bowl may be constructed in the ground, and a reed used to communicate with the mouth. A pipe or cigarette may be made with leaves. The leaf cigarette containing a mixture of tobacco and hemp leaves is spoken of in the Madras Presidency. A green branch of the *Euphorbia neriifolia* can be readily fashioned into a pipe, and is commonly used on emergency in the Satpura Hills. And in connection with the smoking of charas, there appears to be a custom at religious gatherings in Upper India for religious mendicants to sling a huge *chillum* containing a *sér* or more of the drug to a tree so that all comers may partake of it. Bhang, *i.e.*, hemp leaves, or the very inferior kinds of ganja or ganja refuse, is only smoked under the compulsion of poverty or want of the better article.

419. The above are the simplest forms in which the drugs are smoked. But the well-to-do are fond of flavouring the pipe with spices. The mixture with tobacco has the effect of making the pipe burn properly and go further, and of diluting the smoke which is inhaled; but other explanations are given of the reason for using tobacco with the drugs. Spices give fragrance and flavour to the pipe, and possibly, some of them, pungency. Those commonly used are musk, mace, saffron,

cloves, cardamom, keori (the male flower of *Pandanus odoratissimus*), rose, leaves, attar, nutmeg, ginger, betel-nut, and betel-leaves.

420. Powerful and noxious drugs are occasionally introduced into the pipe ; but this practice is confined to excessive consumers, and among them to a mere proportion only, on whom hemp alone has ceased to produce the desired effect of exhilaration or stupefaction. The seeds of dhatu are by far the commonest ingredient of this class. The next place should probably be taken by opium, and then follow arsenic and nux vomica, aconite, and the root of *kanher* (*Nerium odorum* or *Thevetia neriifolia*, the latter of which is known among the natives as yellow *kanher*), and after these may be mentioned certain substances to which the consumers attribute poisonous or intoxicating properties, or at least the virtue of enhancing the potency of the hemp. Such are hemp seeds, the root of the cold-weather *jawari* (*sorghum* of the kind called *ringni* in the Central Provinces and *shalu* in Bombay), the root of rice, the juice of the *madar* (*Callotropis gigantea*), and the skins and poison of snakes ; and, lastly, cantharides is sometimes mixed for a special purpose. It is said that the *jawari* root is sometimes soaked in liquor to increase its potency. In describing these admixtures, distinction has not been made between charas and ganja smoking because the use of the ingredients is a matter of individual caprice, and they do not form part of any recognized preparation of the hemp drugs.

421. As with smoking, so in the case of drinking, there is a common and simple form, and also various compounds more or less elaborate. The simple form is merely to pound the drug very fine with a little black pepper, add water according to the strength of the drink desired, and filter the decoction through a cloth. This beverage is sometimes made with the bhang composed almost entirely of the leaves of the plant, and sometimes, most commonly outside Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab, of the flower heads or mixture of flower and leaves that has come away in the course of the manufacture of ganja. It goes by different names in various parts of India. In Bengal it is commonly called bhang or siddhi ; in the North-Western Provinces bhang, siddhi, or *thandai* ; in the Punjab, Bombay, and Central Provinces bhang or *ghota* ; and in Sind *ghota* and *panga* according to its strength. In Madras the simplest form of preparation seems to be very little used, but when it is, it is probably called bhang or subzi. The Madras preparation called *ramras* or *ramrasam* seems to correspond to the *dudhia* of Upper India. The common names may be taken to include all forms of beverage made from the hemp drugs, except those which have special names of their own.

422. There is next a class of beverages in which the hemp drug and pepper are supplemented by harmless perfumes and spices, the whole enriched, it may be, with sugar and milk or curds. Every bhang drinker who can afford it adds some or other of these ingredients. The spices most commonly used are anise, fennel, coriander, dill, *ajwan* (*Ptychotis*), cucumber and musk-melon seeds, almonds, rose leaves, cloves, saffron, and cardamom. But many others of the same class of innocent ingredients are mentioned, *viz.*, hemp and poppy seeds, mace, mint, cummin, endive, parsley, musk, betel-leaves, keori, attar, cinnamon, lotus seeds, the seed of hollyhock, the kernels of pistachio and *charoli* (*Buchanania*).



Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1894.

GROUP OF MARWADIS, OCCASIONAL MODERATE BHANG DRINKERS, KHANDESH.

latifolia), asafoetida, liquorice, cubebs, chillies, and senna leaves. The juices of fruits and trees are also employed in the concoction, such as that of the pomegranate, grape, mango, bael, cocoanuts, and date (not toddy).

423. The above ingredients are used by all moderate consumers according to their taste and means. There are others which by their potency, their uncommonness, or their quaintness are designed to meet the craving of consumers whom the compounds in ordinary use fail to satisfy. Here again dhatura takes the first place, and evidence is not wanting that the seeds of this plant are sometimes kept in stock by the grocers who supply the other ingredients, if not by the sellers of the drugs. Besides dhatura, opium, arsenic, strychnine, aconite, the oleander root, and seed of black henbane are mentioned as being introduced into hemp drinks. A mixture of two or three of these with the hemp drugs in one or two forms, and perhaps one or two other fanciful ingredients, goes by the cant name of *panchratna* (the five jewels), *panchrangi*, or *panjtul*. The name is apparently applied to this sort of compound, and sometimes even to more innocent ones, whether it is to be used for eating, drinking, or smoking. The poison of copper is sometimes utilized by making the decoction in a copper vessel, or putting copper coins into it while it is being prepared.

424. There is still another class of ingredients, which are used because they are believed to have a certain efficiency of their own, or to be instrumental in enhancing the power of the hemp drug. These are the roots of grass, of rice, and of jawar, the manna and rotten knots of bamboo, soot, cobwebs, decayed string, the juice of the *ak* (swallow wort), and the root of *mothk*. These are, of course, to be regarded as curiosities of the subject, though the mention of the *jawari* root is rather frequent. As in the case of smoking, cantharides is very rarely mentioned as an ingredient.

425. The hemp drugs are sometimes used to doctor alcoholic drinks. In the Punjab the name *lutki* is given to a concoction of this kind. In Baluchistan there is also said to be a drink called *mudra*, which is compounded of dhatura, bhang, alcohol, and opium. The drink is also known in the Punjab. In other quarters the hemp drugs are said to be smoked after drinking liquor to add to the intoxication. The evidence of the association of the hemp drugs with alcohol in these ways is fortunately scanty. The practice is probably rare, for it implies a recklessness in intemperance which is foreign to the Indian character.

426. There is a liquid preparation of ganja in use in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency which seems to be little known elsewhere. It is called *boja*, and its preparation is described by Bombay witnesses 25 and 47. The consumption is considerable, amounting in the year 1891-92 to 138,100 sérs. It appears to consist principally of a gruel made from *jawari*, and to contain a comparatively small proportion of hemp and a little nux vomica. After brewing, it has to be kept a day, when water is added, and it is drunk.

427. Bhang drink is kept for sale in Karachi. Witness 5 from Sind says that the refreshment is prepared and kept in readiness to be supplied gratuitously for the use of visitors.

and passers-by in almost all the places of worship. The same practice is indicated in the evidence of the manager of the *dharamsala* near Athari in the Punjab. Mr. Drummond describes a social custom of the same kind as prevailing among the Hindu Jats in the south-eastern districts of the Punjab.

428. Ganja and bhang are eaten as well as drunk. Charas, if medicinal uses be excepted, is very rarely consumed in any other way but in the form of smoke. The simplest form of eating ganja and bhang is to pound them up with such spices as were mentioned in the preparation of bhang, and to swallow the paste in the form of a bolus. The mass is sometimes compounded with molasses or *gur*. The leaves of the green plants are even chewed on occasion. It does not, however, appear to be a regular practice with any people in any part of India to consume the drugs in this manner. The habitual bhang drinker will do it when he has difficulty in preparing his drink. It is done on a journey. It would seem to be more common to eat the paste in the cold weather than the hot. A mass will sometimes be prepared and kept for use day by day. This paste is known in the Punjab, Berar, and Bombay as *fakki* or *funki*, and it seems to be used by the poor not uncommonly.

429. There is, however, a very considerable consumption of sweetmeats made with ganja or bhang, or even sometimes charas. They are all prepared in very much the same way, their various names and properties depending on the proportion of the hemp drugs and other ingredients that they contain. Their basis is sugar and milk, and the essence of the hemp drug is extracted by the aid of heat, and compounded with them with other drugs and spices or perfumes. The most common of them is *majum*, and the preparation is known by that name from one end of India to the other. It is largely used at certain Hindu feasts. It is evidently credited with aphrodisiacal qualities. Many people consume it habitually, either throughout the year or in the cold season, abandoning it in the hot in favour of the liquid preparations. The names of other similar preparations are *yakuti* (in general use from the Deccan northwards), *purnathi* (Madras), *gul-khand* (Bombay), *shrikhand* (Bombay), *halwa* (in general use), and many others. These preparations are all considered to be aphrodisiacal, some to such a degree that they should perhaps be regarded as medicinal forms rather than articles of ordinary consumption. It is stated that in preparing these mixtures copper vessels are sometimes used or copper coins immersed in the process, and doubtless the toxic and tonic drugs mentioned in connection with the preparation of drinks sometimes enter into them.

430. Hemp is sometimes compounded into cakes made of gram flour. It is used as a seasoning in the cooking of various dishes, those composed of meat as well as others. More than one witness in more than one province mentions this use at parties to make fun of the guests. A witness from the Punjab describes how powdered bhang is sometimes wrapped in dhatura leaves, the whole enclosed in a covering of clay and baked. It is not clear whether the cooked substance is eaten or drunk. It might be either. Witnesses, speaking of the northern part of the Bombay Presidency, state that gram and dates are sometimes charged with hemp. And in Calcutta the drug is occasionally used to flavour ice-cream.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS.

431. In the instructions issued to the Commission by the Government of India, reference is made to the use of hemp drugs among
Scope of this Chapter. fakirs and ascetics who are held in veneration by large classes of the people, and to the custom, which is believed to obtain to a large extent in Bengal, of offering an infusion of bhang to every guest and member of the family on the last day of the Durga Puja. The Commission were instructed to ascertain to what extent these and similar customs prevail in Bengal and other parts of India, and how far the use of hemp drugs forms a part of social, or possibly religious, ceremonial or observance. Questions 32 and 33 of the Commission's questions were intended to elicit information on these points.

432. In Bengal there is a considerable body of evidence dealing with these
Bengal. customs, and more particularly with the custom of offering an infusion of bhang on the last day of the Durga Puja. Some few witnesses, it is true, state either that no social or religious custom with which hemp drugs are connected exists, or that they are unaware of any such custom; but the great majority of the witnesses either give an account of them more or less full, or allude to them briefly as matters of common notoriety.

433. The custom of offering an infusion of the leaves of the hemp plant to
Durga Puja. every guest and member of the family on the Bijoya Dasami, or last day of the Durga Puja, is common in Bengal, and may almost be said to be universal. It is alluded to by many of the witnesses who refer to its use on this occasion as well as on other days of the Durga Puja festival. But, while there can be no doubt as to the existence of the custom, there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the true nature of it. The custom itself is a simple one. On the last day of this great festival the male members of the family go forth to consign the image to the waters, and on their return the whole family with their guests exchange greetings and embrace one another. During this rejoicing a cup containing an infusion of the leaves of the hemp plant is handed round, and all are expected to partake thereof, or at least to place it to the lips in token of acceptance. Sweetmeats containing hemp are also distributed. Opinion is almost equally divided as to whether the custom is a mere social observance, or whether it is an essential part of the religious ceremonial of the festival. There is difference of opinion among the witnesses as to whether there is any injunction in the *Shastras* rendering obligatory the consumption of hemp; but Tantric religious works sanction the use, and the custom, whatever be its origin, may now be said from immemorial usage to be regarded by many people as part of their religious observances. From the evidence of the witnesses it would appear that there is no specific direction in the *Shastras* of the manner in which the drug should be used, but from the references quoted it would appear that the use alluded to is that of bhang in the form of an infusion. Witnesses who can speak with authority on the subject, such as Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, testify to religious sanction for the use of bhang or siddhi, while many witnesses of high social position, well

acquainted with the habits of the people, as, for example, Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I., Maharaja Durga Charan Law, Raja Piari Mohan Mukharji, C.S.I., Rai Rajkumar Sarvadhikari Bahadur, Rai Bahadur Kanai Lall Dey, C.I.E., and others, speak to the prevalence of the custom, its intimate association with the religious devotions of the people, and the innocent harmlessness of the practice.

434. The custom described above, and which refers solely to bhang as distinguished from other preparations of the hemp plant, is the most important occasion on which bhang is used as a part of social or religious ceremonies ; but there is evidence to show that the drug in this form is used at other festivals. For example, at the Holi festival, which is observed more generally in Behar than in other parts of the Lower Provinces, bhang is commonly consumed ; and, according to many witnesses, at such festivals as the Diwali, Chait Sankranti, Pous Sankranti, Sripanchami, Sivachaturdasi, Ramnavami, and indeed on occasions of weddings and many other family festivities. But, so far as the evidence shows, the use on those occasions is a matter of social custom observed more generally in some parts of the province than in others, and, although no doubt there may be some who consider it essential to their devotions, partaking but little of the nature of general religious observance. In Orissa bhang is largely used by the attendants and worshippers at the temple of Jagannath at Puri ; and there appears also to exist a custom, somewhat similar to that of the Durga Puja in Bengal, of offering siddhi or bhang in the form of sweetmeats to the god Ganesh, which are then eaten by the worshippers and their friends and relatives. This festival, called the Ganesh Chaturthi, occurs in the month of Bhadro (August-September).

435. It is chiefly in connection with the worship of Siva, the Mahadeo or great god of the Hindu trinity, that the hemp plant, and more especially perhaps ganja, is associated. The hemp plant is popularly believed to have been a great favourite of Siva, and there is a great deal of evidence before the Commission to show that the drug in some form or other is now extensively used in the exercise of the religious practices connected with this form of worship. Reference to the almost universal use of hemp drugs by fakirs, jogis, sanyasis, and ascetics of all classes, and more particularly of those devoted to the worship of Siva, will be found in the paragraphs of this report dealing with the classes of the people who consume the drugs. These religious ascetics, who are regarded with great veneration by the people at large, believe that the hemp plant is a special attribute of the god Siva, and this belief is largely shared by the people. Hence the origin of many fond epithets ascribing to ganja the significance of a divine property, and the common practice of invoking the deity in terms of adoration before placing the *chillum* or pipe of ganja to the lips. There is evidence to show that on almost all occasions of the worship of this god, the hemp drugs in some form or other are used by certain classes of the people. It is established by the evidence of Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna and of other witnesses that siddhi is offered to the image of Siva at Benares, Baidynath, Tarakeswar, and elsewhere. At the Shivratri festival, and on almost all occasions on which this worship is practised, there is abundant evidence before the Commission which shows not only that ganja is offered to the god and consumed

by these classes of the worshippers, but that these customs are so intimately connected with their worship that they may be considered to form in some sense an integral part of it.

436. The special form of worship by the followers of Siva, called the Trinath or Tinnath Mela, in which the use of ganja is considered to be essential, is mentioned by many witnesses, and deserves more than a passing notice. A full account of this religious practice given by Babu Abhilas Chandra Mukharji will be found in Vol. III Appendices of this Report. The origin of the rite, which it is said sprang up first in Eastern Bengal, appears to be of recent date, about the year 1867. It appears to be observed at all times and at all seasons by Hindus and Muhammadans alike, the latter calling it Tinklakh Pir. When an object of special desire is fulfilled, or when a person recovers from illness, or a son is born, or a marriage or other ceremony is performed, the god Trinath, representing in one the Hindu trinity, is worshipped. Originally one pice worth of ganja, one pice worth of oil, and one pice worth of betel-nut was offered to the god. But now ganja—it may be in large quantities—is proffered, and during the incantations and the performance of the ritual it is incumbent on all present to smoke. This form of worship is shown to have spread extensively throughout Eastern Bengal and the Surma Valley of Assam, and, according to one witness, it has penetrated even to Orissa. On the other hand, there are a few witnesses who say that the practice is gradually dying out.

437. The use of hemp drugs is as a rule in no way connected with orthodox Muhammadans. Muhammadan observances, whether social or religious. The Muhammadan religion condemns such practices.

438. In Assam, where the use of hemp drugs is but little practised by the Assamese proper, there appear to be no indigenous customs connected with the drugs. But the customs prevailing in Bengal are also found in Assam. There is evidence as to the use of bhang or siddhi at the Durga Puja, and of ganja by the worshippers of Siva. In Sylhet the Trinath form of worship appears to prevail to a considerable extent. With reference to this practice, one witness (Prasanno Kumar Das) observes that “in the Surma Valley ganja is offered in the name of Pir (Muhammadan saint) for the benefit of the cattle.”

439. In the North-Western Provinces, where the celebration of the Durga Puja is not so generally observed as in Bengal, a considerable number of witnesses (some fifty in all) state that there are no customs, religious or social, with which these drugs are connected. But, on the other hand, there is overwhelming evidence to establish the almost universal use by the people of bhang at the Holi festival, and some evidence as to the common use of ganja by certain classes of the followers of Siva at their festivals and seasons of worship. Of the witnesses who speak to the use of ganja in connection with religious observances, 22 state that it is essential and 92 that it is not essential. As to whether the use of bhang should be regarded as a purely social custom or as essential to religious observance, the opinion of witnesses who speak on the point is about equally divided. It is sufficient

to say that the custom is now a general one, and that where the Holi festival is observed, there the practice of consuming bhang during its observance is common. On other occasions, such as the Diwali festival, marriages, and family festivities, there is evidence to show that among certain classes the consumption of bhang is common. Allusion is also frequently made to the habit of using bhang, to which, for example, the Chaubes of Mathra and Brindaban are notoriously addicted, but how far the habit is connected with the religious observances at the temples the evidence does not justify the formation of an opinion. A custom is mentioned by a Kumaon witness, Dharma Nand Joshi, who states that a class of people called *Kouls*, who worship spirits, meat, fish, etc., have the bhang plant as one of the objects of their worship.

440. In the Punjab there is evidence as to the general use of hemp by some of the followers of Siva, and especially of bhang, at the Holi, Dasehra, Diwali, and other festivals, and on the occasion of marriages and other family festivities. Among the Sikhs the use of bhang as a beverage appears to be common, and to be associated with their religious practices. The witnesses who refer to this use by the Sikhs appear to regard it as an essential part of their religious rites having the authority of the Granth or Sikh scripture. Witness Sodhi Iswar Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, says :—

“As far as I know, bhang is pounded by the Sikhs on the Dasehra day, and it is ordinarily binding upon every Sikh to drink it as a sacred draught by mixing water with it.

“*Legend*—Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru, the founder of the Sikh religion, was on the *gaddi* of Baba Nanak in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb. When the guru was at Anandpur, tahsil Una, Hoshiarpur district, engaged in battle with the Hill Rajas of the Simla, Kangra, and the Hoshiarpur districts, the Rajas sent an elephant, who was trained in attacking and slaying the forces of the enemy with a sword in his trunk and in breaking open the gates of forts, to attack and capture the Lohgarh fort near Anandpur. The guru gave one of his followers, Bachittar Singh, some bhang and a little of opium to eat, and directed him to face the said elephant. This brave man obeyed the word of command of his leader and attacked the elephant, who was intoxicated and had achieved victories in several battles before, with the result that the animal was overpowered and the Hill Rajas defeated. The use of bhang, therefore, on the Dasehra day is necessary as a sacred draught. It is customary among the Sikhs generally to drink bhang, so that Guru Gobind Singh has himself said the following poems in praise of bhang: ‘Give me, O Saki (butler), a cup of green colour (bhāng), as it is required by me at the time of battle’ (*vide* ‘Suraj Parkash,’ the Sikh religious book).

“Bhang is also used on the Chandas day, which is a festival of the god Sheoji Mahadeva. The Sikhs consider it binding to use it on the Dasehra day. The quantity then taken is too small to prove injurious.”

As Sikhs are absolutely prohibited by their religion from smoking, the use of ganja and charas in this form is not practised by them.

A unique custom of dispensing bhang at a religious charitable institution is that mentioned by witness Baba Kirpa Singh. The institution, as a relic

of old Sikh times, is annually permitted to collect without interference a boat load of bhang, which is afterwards distributed throughout the year to the sadhus and beggars who are supported by the *dharamsala*.

441. The evidence as to social or religious customs in the Central Provinces

Central Provinces.

is somewhat discrepant, but on the whole points to the existence of customs akin to those existing in the North-Western Provinces. The use of bhang at the Holi and Diwali festivals and at marriages and such occasions, and of ganja or bhang in connection with the worship of Siva, is frequently mentioned by the witnesses. A few local customs are also mentioned by some witnesses. Regarding a custom of the Chamar caste, the Rev. Mr. Jacob says: "At Chanda, the Chamars use ganja dust in the preparation of a beverage called *gulabpani*, which is drunk at a ceremony called *dadhi* (the first shaving of the beard), when no liquor is permitted." Among the Gonds, Cowasjee Nusserwanjec Hattidaru describes the following custom as existing: "In the funeral ceremony amongst the Gonds of these provinces, *kalli* or flat ganja is placed over the chest of the dead body of the Gond, and when the funeral party returns home, a little of the ganja is burnt in the house of the dead person, the smoke of which is supposed to reach the spirit of the dead." Another Satpura witness, Hosen Khan, mentions a custom of offering "a little ganja at the Chitarai Debis, or collections of stones with rags tied to some tree above. They offer either a cock or a cocoanut or some ganja. It is a custom among travellers. These Chitarai Debis are in the open, and the travellers have a smoke at the same time." One witness states that he has heard of the hemp plant being worshipped in the Berars, but this is not corroborated by any of the witnesses from these districts. Another has heard that the Gonds in their hill homes are worshippers of the plant.

442. In the Madras Presidency, where the use of hemp drugs is less common

Madras.

than in most other provinces, many witnesses assert that there are no customs, social or religious, with which they are connected, and the evidence as a whole fails to establish the prevalence of any customs so general as those connected with the Durga Puja and the worship of Siva in Bengal or the Holi festival in the North-Western Provinces. But there is evidence as to the existence of customs of a less general or widespread nature. In Ganjam, the witnesses speak to the common use of bhang on the *Mesha Sankranti* day in honour of Siva and Anjanayya, and also in the worship of Durga. Several also allude to a custom of offering a confection or draught containing bhang to the image at the temples of Hanuman. At the festival of Kama, the Indian cupid, bhang is freely made and drunk according to several witnesses. The Rajputs or Bondilis are particularly referred to in connection with this custom. On occasions of holidays or gala-days, and at the Mohurram, a number of witnesses say it is usual for Muhammadans as well as Hindus to take bhang. It is also said that various intoxicants, including ganja, are sometimes offered to the gods in worship, and then swallowed by those offering them. Witness M. Sundaram Iyer, Deputy Tahsildar (60), says: "Some of the lower orders make use of ganja as an offering, like cocoanut, plantains, liquor, and such other articles, for certain deities, such as Mathura-veeran, Muniappan, etc., according to the vow taken by each person. This

cannot be considered as essential, but is only a practice observed in very rare cases. Such practice is not followed by many people, and it is not injurious." Others allude to the offering of ganja to Karuppannam, Kali, Mathuraveeran, Muniappan, Karuannaswami, and Aiyaswami, more particularly in the south of the Presidency. Mr. Azizuddin, Sahib Bahadur, Deputy Collector, says: "Neither the Musalman nor the Hindu religion requires the use of these drugs on religious occasions. On the other hand, it is prohibited. Nevertheless, in the *maths* of bairagis, such as at Tripati, and of Muhammadan saints, such as at Nagore, Conjeveram, Arcot, and other places, the manager of the shrine distributes ganja to all the fakirs who assemble during the festival. In none of these places, religiously speaking, ganja should be distributed, but, according to custom among the fakirs, its distribution is essential." The Rev. Mr. Campbell says that ganja is used in connection with the funeral ceremonies observed by certain classes, but that the use is not essential. Mr. Merriman alludes to a custom of offering and consuming bhang at the funeral of bhang consumers.

443. An interesting note, entitled "The Religion of Hemp," by Mr. J. M.

Bombay. Campbell, C.I.E., will be found in Vol. III Appendices. In the Bombay Presidency the use of hemp in

connection with the worship of Siva, Mahadev or Shankar appears to be very common. It is referred to by many witnesses. The following description of this custom as prevailing in part of Gujarat, Kaira, and probably Ahmedabad has been furnished to the Excise Commissioner by Mr. B. E. Modi, Deputy Collector :—

"On the Shivratri day (the last day but one of the month of Magh), sacred to the god Mahadev or Shankar, bhang water is freely poured over the *lingam*. Mahadev is an ascetic, and is fond of bhang, and on this day it is considered a religious duty to offer him his favourite drink. From this day to the 11th day of Ashad, on which day gods go to sleep, water is kept constantly dripping upon the *lingam* of Mahadev from an earthen pot kept above it."

Somewhat similar accounts varying in detail are given by many witnesses coming from different parts of the province, of whom some also refer to the habit which ganja smokers have of invoking the deity before placing the pipe to their lips. Others also refer to hemp as required in the worship of Baldeo and to its use at the Shimga or Holi festival. The Marwaris and some other classes appear to use bhang at marriages and other festivities. Mr. Charles, Collector of Belgaum, says that among Musalmans and Marathas the ganja plant is offered to dead relatives who used it in their lifetime at the time of the anniversary ceremonies of their death. There appears to be no special custom of worshipping the hemp plant itself. R. K. Kothavale, of Satara district, says the hemp plant is worshipped by one sect only, namely, by people from Northern India and Nepal, while Mr. Lamb, Collector of Alibag, remarks that some of the Kunbis who make offerings to the local divinities of their fields at the harvest season include a small quantity of ganja in the offerings.

444. In Sind the customs, both religious and social, appear to be much the

Sind. same as in Bombay. In Karachi and some other places bhang is generally offered to all comers on

occasions of marriages, panchayats, and other gatherings; and the custom of

freely distributing bhang as a charity to all who care to partake is common both at temples and at other places of resort.

445. In Berar there is evidence as to the use both of ganja and bhang at the Shivratri and Holi festivals and at social gatherings. The hemp plant itself is not worshipped, but, according to one witness, when a consumer dies, the plant is kept near his corpse during the funeral ceremony.

Berar.

Ajmere-Merwara.

446. At the Holi and the Shivratri and at family festivities the drugs, especially bhang, are used.

447. Major Gaisford, Deputy Commissioner, states that among the Hindu sect called Bam Bargis the consumption of bhang is regarded as essential.

Baluchistan.

448. From Native States there is but little information regarding customs, either social or religious, with which these drugs are connected. No purely local or indigenous customs have been brought to the notice of the Commission, but there is sufficient information to show that practices similar to those existing in British provinces at the Holi and Shivratri festivals and on occasions of family rejoicings are observed by certain classes of the people in many Native States.

Native States.

449. The custom of worshipping the hemp plant, although not so prevalent as that of offering hemp to Siva and other deities of the Hindus, would nevertheless appear from the statements of the witnesses to exist to some extent in some provinces of India. The reason why this fact is not generally known may perhaps be gathered from such statements as that of Pandit Dharma Nand Joshi, who says that such worship is performed in secret. There may be another cause of the denial on the part of the large majority of Hindu witnesses of any knowledge of the existence of a custom of worshipping the hemp plant in that the educated Hindu will not admit that he worships the material object of his adoration, but the deity as represented by it. The custom of worshipping the hemp plant, though not confined to the Himalayan districts or the northern portions of India alone, where the use of the products of the hemp plant is more general among the people, is less known as we go south. Still even far south, in some of the hilly districts of the Madras Presidency and among the rural population, the hemp plant is looked upon with some sort of veneration. Mr. J. H. Merriman (witness No. 28, Madras) says: "I know of no custom of worshipping the hemp plant, but believe it is held in a certain sort of veneration by some classes." Mr. J. Sturrock, the Collector of Coimbatore (witness No. 2, Madras), says: "In some few localities there is a tradition of sanctity attached to the plant, but no regular worship." The Chairman of the Conjeveram Municipal Board, Mr. E. Subramana Iyer (witness No. 143, Madras), says: "There is no plant to be worshipped here, but it is generally used as sacrifices to some of the minor Hindu deities." There is a passage quoted from *Rudrayamal Danakand and Karmakand* in the report on the use of hemp drugs in the Baroda State, which also shows that the worship of the bhang plant is enjoined in the *Shastras*. It is thus stated: "The god Shiva says to Parvati—'Oh, goddess Parvati, hear the benefits derived from bhang. The worship of bhang raises one to my position,' etc."

Worship of the hemp plant.