

The Himalayan Gazetteer or

**The Himalayan Districts of the
North Western Province of India**

In 3 Vols. (6 Parts)

Edwin T Atkinson

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Part - 2

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P R E F A C E.

THE system of transliteration used is the same as in former volumes and need not be given here. With the exception of the alphabetical list of villages, towns and local sub-divisions in the Himálaya of the North-Western Provinces, this volume concludes all that I have undertaken to prepare. Since April, 1876, I have not been in charge of the North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, and what I have done has been accomplished in the few hours of leisure that I could secure for the task and without assistance of any kind. The present volume was prepared for printing during my absence on furlough in 1882-83, and had the disadvantage of being carried through the press in India whilst I was far away from any references. Still, it is hoped that its contents will be found suggestive to many, of the lines that they should take up, not only for the higher aim of aiding in the great work of diffusing a knowledge of India and its peoples, but for the personal aim of following out some study which may give to the student a fresh interest in life and help to dissipate the "general dissatisfaction" which an eternal round of hearing petty cases and going through drills and parades, added to climatic influences, is certain to effect. The materials lie around in abundance whichever way one's tastes may lie, and it has been my principal object in all that has been written, to suggest to the rising generation of officials what they can do, and help them on the way.

The chapter on Zoology is local as far as the Insectæ, but for that division my work reviews the major portion of what has been written regarding the insects of India, excluding British Burmah. It is an attempt for the first time in any European language to take stock, as a whole, of the species that have been described as occurring in India, and is necessarily full of omissions; for it is not in the power of any one to examine thoroughly the vast literature on the subject. Such as they are, these lists are offered as an aid to the student of our Indian fauna, and have been made more useful by a short introduction to each order and a reference to works where the subject will be found explained and illustrated more

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fully. A work of this kind is necessary to induce those with time and tastes for investigating our exceedingly rich fauna to proceed with their work, and it is hoped that the publication of these lists will induce many to take to the study of some particular branch of natural history the materials for which have been indicated by me. I am indebted to Mr. Greig, Conservator of Forests, North-Western Provinces, for his interesting notes on the mammalia ; to Major G. F. L. Marshall for the list of birds, and to Mr. Theobald for aid in compiling the list of reptiles and land and fresh-water shells. The authorities consulted in the remaining orders are fully noticed by me in the 'References' at foot of each, and the whole represents the outcome of notes made during the last twenty years. The history of the Khasiyas of Kumaon and its rulers up to the publication of this volume has no existence, and what I now give may be fairly taken as an example of what can be done by piecing together facts gathered here and there from writers in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Pursuing the Khasiyas or Khasas wherever they have been named by these writers, and all allusions to the Himálaya of the North-Western Provinces and the sacred world-famed shrines of Badarináth and Kedárnáth, we have a fairly-connected history of the people and the country from the very earliest times. The local inscriptions and the records of the neighbouring country of Nepál fill up many a gap and confirm or explain tradition. For tradition, I have had the valuable notes of the late Pradatta Pant, a learned Brahman of Almora, the results of whose inquiries were transmitted to me by Sir John Strachey. I also examined the records of all suits for revenue-free grants of land, chiefly decided by Mr. Traill, the first Commissioner of Kumaon, and from them obtained copies of the grants made by the earlier rulers, which afford a fair series from the fifteenth century onwards, and confirm in a great measure or correct the data arrived at from traditional sources. They also explain in many instances the reasons for the grants, and thus afford valuable materials for history, and with the local genealogies give a fairly exhaustive and accurate list of the rulers.

The travels of Hwen Thsang have been examined and confirmed, and the sites of Brahmapura and the Amazonian kingdom of the 'Queens of the East,' the *Strī Rājya* of the Purānas, have been ascertained. Tradition connected Kumaon with the celebrated

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Vikramáditya, but I have shown that the popular story of that Rája and his era cannot be accepted ; that the Saka era was really established in 79 A.D., to mark the consecration of the Buddhist Saka king Kanishka: but the Vikramáditya era was not used until the eighth century, though dating from 56 B. C., and was the invention of the anti-Buddhist faction. Neither of these eras is connected with the local history of Kumaon.

Another important bye-examination is the question of the connection between the Khasas and Katyúri rulers in Kumaon and the Kho people and Kator rulers in Kashkára at the western end of the Himálaya beyond Kashmír. This connection was suggested by the late Sir H. M. Elliot, and I have examined it so far as my materials allowed, and have afforded the inquirer, by references, means for judging for himself of the correctness or otherwise of the conclusions at which I have arrived (p. 438). One outcome of this digression is the conviction that the time has passed for attributing to the small Aryan immigration to which we owe the Vedas, the origin of all the races who are assumed to be of Aryan blood, and even for holding that all so-called Rajpúts are of Aryan descent. What Aryans were, and how to tribes of common origin the name has been denied, has been noticed ; and it would not be difficult to show that some of our oldest Rajpút tribes are of Baktrian, Parthian or Skythian origin. Indeed, no result of my researches is of more importance than this, that the Aryans of the Vedas were soon absorbed by the indigenous populations and the never-ceasing waves of immigrants, and have left behind them a language and a literature as their most lasting remains. The Khasiyas of Kumaon have as much right to be called an Aryan race in its widest sense as many others with a more established name, but the fact that they have not yet come up to their plains brethren in caste and religious observances still excludes them from the ranks of the twice-born. A close observer can still see amongst them the working of those laws which have in the course of centuries transmuted many a similarly-situated tribe into good Hindús. A prosperous Kumáoni Dom stonemason can command a wife from the lower Rajpút Khasiyas, and a successful Khasiya can buy a wife from a descendant of a family of pure plains pedigree. Year by year the Bráhmañising influence proceeds, and

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people are becoming more orthodox in their religious observances and the fanes of the *dii minores* are becoming somewhat neglected. No more powerful influence in this direction exists than the teachings of our educational department, strange as it may seem ; but with education comes a fitness for higher employment, and with us in Kumaon, higher emoluments means respectability, and this in turn ensures orthodoxy. The few prayers of the hard-worked cultivator are improved into the lengthened ostentatious services of the well-paid leisure-loving clerk or contractor.

The chapters on religion¹ open up a new survey of the subject. We commence with religion as it is, and work upwards. We have before us a census of nearly one thousand temples, and the analysis of the forms worshipped in them gives us an accurate grasp of the existing phenomena. This accomplished, the historic method is adopted and the history of each form, or rather class of forms, is traced with the result that we find that Buddhism, though nominally dead, yet lives and is still the faith of the masses ; for the existing ceremonies and services can be traced back as readily to corrupted Buddhism as to Sivaism. This explains the apparent disappearance of Buddhism in the tenth to the twelfth century, and answers the query which has often arisen in the mind of the thoughtful observer,—how did Buddhism disappear ; what were the influences at work which led to the downfall of a religion which for fifteen centuries occupied the thoughts and held the affections of a great section of the Indian people ? The answer is clearly, that Buddhism has been absorbed by Sivaism and that both have been influenced to such a degree by the polydæmonistic cults of the aboriginal tribes as to preserve little of their original structure. This mingling of the pre-Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Animistic conceptions has given us the existing Hinduism of the masses, and has had even a considerable influence in moulding the tenets of the more esoteric schools.

Our examination of the religious festivals observed in Kumaon supports these conclusions. The more popular of these are regulated by the solar calendar and the Saka year, and where held according to the luni-solar year, are by no means of Bráhma-
manical origin. They are the festivals at the two harvests ;

¹ These form, with considerable local additions, the substance of a paper read by me before the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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those in honor of the Nágas at the Jeth Dasahra and Nág-penchami, the great Saiva Sákta services of the first nine nights of Chait and Asoj, and the festivals in honor of the rural deities, Ghantakarn, Goril, Chaumu, &c. The sacrifice of kids is a part of almost all the ceremonies on these occasions, young male buffaloes are also offered, and in former times human sacrifices were not uncommon at the temples of the dark half of the consort of Siva. All these facts mark the non-Brahmanical origin of the more popular festivals of the mass of the people. An examination of the *sandhya* or daily prayers and of the services given in the *Dasakarmádi paddhati* or 'manual of the ten rites, &c.,' also shows that the solid portion of the ritual is borrowed from the Tantras, the acknowledged fifth Veda of both Saiva and Bauddha in the tenth century. Most of us have seen the natives of India at their daily devotions and have doubtless wondered what their meditations were, and what the curious movements of the hands within the prayer-bag (*gaumukh*) and muttered words intended. I am not aware that these have ever been the subject of inquiry, or that they have ever been recorded and explained, and now record the *práñdyám* and its prefaces after a lengthened practice of them myself. The other portions of the ritual have never been given in such detail, and without them the services cannot be either correctly appreciated or properly understood. Nearly all these ceremonies possess more or less ornate rituals which are full of those mystical formulæ, *dharanis*, *mantras*, *vijas* and *múdras* which appear to have been the fashion all over the world when the Tantras were written—for India has its dark middle ages quite as much as Europe. In nothing is the kinship of race more distinctly shown than in the history of thought in India and in Europe; almost every theory advanced by Greek and Roman thinkers has its parallel in India; and in the kaleidoscopic mass of beliefs to be studied in any considerable Indian town, we can find curious and startling analogies with the broad beliefs of the inhabitants of our European cities. Let this real union help us in our efforts to know each other, and to this end I offer this portion of my last contribution to our knowledge of the North-Western Provinces.

CALCUTTA; }
20th March, 1884. }

E. T. ATKINSON.

E R R A T A

Page.	Line from top of page.	For	Read
522	22,32 ...	Nalu	Nalu.
530	22 ...	Gorkhals ..	Gorkhals
541	25 ...	sir	sur.
548	12 ...	protion	portion.
555	17 ...	<i>faujads</i>	<i>faujars</i> .
561	last line ...	invoked	invoke.
585	1 ...	shall	should.
610	12 ...	which	an arrangement which.
...	26 .	Kathmandu ...	Kathmandu.
626	25 ...	description ...	disposition.
677	26 ...	Bradashaw ...	Bradshaw.
713	19 ...	though	through.
752	20 ..	<i>Prajna</i>	<i>Prajna</i> .
769	10 ...	after 'since' add ...	'then'.
780	27 ..	Udyat chandeswar	Udyotchandeswar.
795	1 .	gop	god.
801	last line	Naikrini	Naikuni.

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Whilst Kumaon was thus broken up into a number of petty kingdoms under rulers of different tribes, Rise of the Chands. Katyúri, Khasiya and others, a family established itself in the eastern pargana^h which succeeded, though after the lapse of many centuries, in reuniting the province under one ruler. The founder of this family was Som Chand, a Sombansi or Chandrabansi Rajpút. Two stories are told as to the manner in which he first obtained a footing in Kumaon. The first informs us that Brahm Deo¹ Katyúri on settling in Súi was opposed by the

¹ Another account gives the name as Balchhla Deva and makes him the ancestor of Dham Deo and Brahma or Bir Deo. The Bais Rájas were lords of Kanaúj in the seventh and perhaps also in the eighth century.

Ráwat Rájá of Domkot, who refused to render submission to one who was obliged to leave his own country and had not the power to enforce obedience to his authority. The people themselves were divided into factions, each under its own leader, who espoused sometimes the cause of one Rájá and sometimes that of the other according as interest or prejudice moved them. So matters remained for several years until there was no authority in the land and every one did that which seemed good in his own sight. The usual insecurity of person and property ensued and worn out by quarrels which were undertaken for the sake of a few all parties amongst the people agreed that the absence of any form of government was intolerable and that as it was impossible to reconcile the conflicting claims of the rival Rajas, the people themselves should send a deputation to the plains to seek out a cadet of some royal house to rule over them. The chief men of Kumaon, accordingly despatched a trusty messenger to visit the courts of northern India and select a Raja for them. In those days the lunar dynasty of Kanauj was famous throughout Upper India, and Som Chand, a member of that family, was found at Jhúsi an ancient town on the left bank of the Ganges opposite the Dáraganj suburb of the city of Allahabad. His horoscope was carefully examined and pronounced by the astrologers to contain all those conjunctions of the planets which foretold a prosperous future and fitness for the royal state and he was at once brought to Kumaon and installed at Champáwat. The second story makes Som Chand the brother of the reigning Raja of Kanauj and states that whilst on a pilgrimage to Badrináth he met Brahm Deo and so ingratiated himself with the feeble old man that he was invited to remain in Kumaon. Som Chand consented and received the daughter of Brahm Deo in marriage and with her as dowry fifteen *bhis* of land in Champáwat and considerable grants in the Bhábar and Taráí. There is much reason to doubt that such a person as Som Chand ever existed or at least that we can accept as history the stories told regarding him and his immediate successors in the local traditions. It seems better, however, to give this local history exactly as it exists and to state the reasons for distrusting portions of it in their proper place. There is no written history of Kumaon and the statements which are made in the course of this narrative are simply based on traditions

many of which were collected during the long and laborious life of the late Rudradatta Pant, a learned Brahman of Almora, and which were placed at my disposal by Sir John Strachey. Research has contributed very many additions and much corroborative matter and on the whole these traditions may be considered quite as fairly trustworthy in the earlier years as any other similar accounts in India, and in the later years they appear to be more accurate and complete than any other similar records with which we are acquainted. It ought not to be considered strange that there should be so few writings in existence relating to the times of the former Rajas of this country, if due regard be had to its history. In Garhwál few of the old families were left at the British occupation and the official records had been burned by the Gorkhális. In Kumaon, too, the successive revolutions led to a redistribution of property amongst the adherents of the party for the time being in power and all the old records were either destroyed or disappeared.

Accepting, however, Som Chand as an historical personage, the main features of the several stories regarding him may be resolved into the very probable and simple statement that he came to Kumaon as an adventurer and being of Rájput blood married the daughter of the petty Raja of Súi and in course of time supplanted his father-in-law. But before we proceed further we must examine the Chand chronology. ing him may be resolved into the very probable and simple statement that he came to Kumaon as an adventurer and being of Rájput blood married the daughter of the petty Raja of Súi and in course of time supplanted his father-in-law. But before we proceed further we must examine the Chand chronology more closely and endeavour to discover some approximately correct date to which we can assign their settlement in Kumaon. Two dates are commonly given for this immigration ; one is 742 or 757 V. S. corresponding to 685 or 700 A. D., and the other is 1235 V. Sanvat or 1178 A.D. Even amongst those who adhere to the former dates there are variations in the successions and lengths of reigns which are very troublesome and difficult to reconcile. We shall therefore place the reader in as good a position as ourselves for exercising a judgment in this matter by giving the three principal lists which for convenience we will call A, B, and C. The list A. was obtained from Rudradatta Pant already mentioned ; list B. from Bhima Sinha, titular Raja of Kumaon at Almora, and list C. from an official report made in 1849 A. D.

List of Chand princes.

Names.	DATE OF ACCESSION ACCORDING TO THE VIKRAMA SANYAT AND LENGTH OF REIGN.			
	A.		B. and C.	
	Accession.	Reign.	Accession.	Reign.
1. Soma Chand ...	757	21	742	21
2. Atma " ...	778	19	763	7
3. Purana " ...	797	18	779	18
4. Indra " ...	815	20	788	10
5. Sonsār " ...	835	35	798	18
6. Sudha " ...	870	29	816	10
7. Hammira " ...	890	23	826	17
8. Bina " ...	913-26	13	843-55	11
Khasiya interregnum ...	926-1122	196	855-1067	213
9. Bira Chand ...	1122	15	1067	13
10. Rūpa " ...	1137	13	1080	20
11. Lachhlmi " ...	1150	20	1100	8
12. Dharma " ...	1170	8	1108	19
13. Karma " ...	1178	19	1127	9
14. Kalyān " ...	1197	9	1136	21
15. Nirbhāya " ...	1206	21	1157	7
16. Nara " ...	1227	7	1164	18
17. Nānaki " ...	234	18	1182	31

It will be seen that the names in all three lists agree but there are differences in the length of the reigns of the pre-Khasiya Rajas and a transfer of the reigns of those who come afterwards which may well be due to the errors of copyists. For the next series all three copies differ in the length of the reigns and one gives a different order of succession :—

Names.	DATE OF ACCESSION ACCORDING TO THE VIKRAMA SANYAT AND LENGTH OF REIGN.					
	A.		B.		C.	
	Accession.	Reign.	Accession.	Reign.	Accession.	Reign.
18. Rāma Chand ...	1252	10	1213	7	1192	21
19. Bhikma " ...	1262	21	1220	19	1213	7
20. Megha " ...	1283	7	1239	9	1220	19
21. Dhyāna " ...	1210	19	1243	14	1239	1
22. Parbata " ...	1309	9	1262	21	1240	22
23. Thohar " ...	1318	14	1283	7	1262	21
24. Kalyān " ...	1332	21	1290	18	1283	7

The difference between the lists 'B' and 'C' is probably due to the copyist of list 'C' mistaking in some instances the date of decease for the date of accession. Both these lists make Garur Gyán Chand, the successor of Kalyán Chand differing in this respect from list A :—

Names.	A.		Names.	B		C.	
	Accession.	Reign.		Accession.	Reign.	Accession.	Reign.
25. Triloki Chand,	1353	7	Guru Gyan Chand	1308	10	1290	18
26. Damara "	1360	18	Udhyán "	1318	17	1308	10
27. Dharma "	1378	23	Atma "	1335	8	1318	17
28. Abháya "	1401	30	Triloki "	1343	7	1335	15
29. Garur Gyán "	1411	45	Damara "	1350	13	As in B.	As in B.
30. Harihar "	1476	1	Dharma "	1363	17		
31. Udhyán "	1477	1	Abháya "	1380	11		
32. Atma "	1478	1	Hari "	1391	19		
33. Hari "	1479	1	Vikrama "	1410	9		
34. Vikrama "	1480	14	Bharati "	1419	19		
35. Bháratí "	1494	24	Ratana "	1438	9		
36. Ratana "	1518	27	Kirti "	1447	18		
37. Kirati "	1545	15	Pratápa "	1465	10		
38. Partáb "	1560	14	Tára "	1475	17		
39. Tára "	1574	16	Mánik "	1492	11		
40. Mánik "	1590	9	Káli Kalyán "	1503	18		
41. Káli Kalyán "	1599	9	Fateh "	1521	5		
42. Puri or Pura "	1608	4	Bhikhma "	1526	26		
43. Bhikhma or Bhishma "	1612	5	Kalyán "	1552	25		
44. Baló Kalyán "	1617	8	Rudra "	1577	30		
45. Rudra "	1625	29					

We have several grants of Rudra Chand dating from 1489 Saka=1567 A.D. to 1518 Saka=1596 A.D. which agrees with the dates given in list A. viz. 1567 to 1597 A.D. and since as soon as we come to apply corroborative evidence we find it the most trustworthy of the three we may well accept it for all so far as it goes. We have an inscription of Vikrama Chand dated 1423 A.D. which also agrees with the date given to that prince in list A. and again an inscription of the Mankoti Raja.

Though accepting the later dates it seems impossible to retain

Earlier dates cannot be those given for the earlier members of the family. If we retain 700 A. D. as the

date of Som Chand's accession we shall have to crowd the coming of Sankara, the vast political revolutions consequent on the downfall of Buddhism, the reigns of the thirteen Katyúri Rajas known from inscriptions (three of whom ruled over twenty years

each) and the reigns of their successors into the sixty-six years between the visit of Hwen Thsang and the accession of Som Chand. We must confess, however, that there is nothing in the length of the reigns given in the lists which will admit of any considerable correction. The first eight reigns alone appear unusually long, yet they give an average of only twenty-one years, a by no means impossible chronology. Still we cannot accept the initial date and the only way open for reconciling the dates in the list with facts is either to reject Som Chand and his successors up to Thohar Chand as inventions of later-years or to accept them and revise their chronology. If we retain Som Chand and his successors as historical personages we must abandon the story of his marriage with the daughter of the last Katyúri prince of Káli Kumaon. Som Chand may, indeed, have married the daughter of a hill-prince but considering that the Katyúri family must have then been settled in Joshimath and their later seat Kárttikeyapura was yet unknown, the connection of their name with the bride of Som Chand must have been made many years after the marriage had taken place. If we abandon the connection between Som Chand and Brahm Deo there is little need for further adjustment, but if we retain the names and the story we must amend the chronology. The only suggestion that appears possible to me in this case is to omit altogether the Khasiya interregnum as an interruption in the Chand chronology. It is much more probable that the Khasiya dynasty was contemporary with that of the Chands and only came into collision with them when Sonpál Khasiya and Bíra Chand finally decided the question of the pretensions of their respective families to the tract along the Káli. In one of the lists and in an old tradition Bíra is made a grandson of Sonsár Chand and not a mere descendant and it seems unlikely that the descendants of Sonsár Chand should be so well known as at once to be selected to fill the throne if so many years had elapsed since his family occupied Champáwat. We might therefore fairly omit the reigns of the Khasiya Rajas as an interruption of the Chand chronology, and taking the more moderate reigns for this period given in the list B. we arrive at the date 1010 Sanvat or 953 A.D. for the accession of Som Chand.

There is much, however, to be said in favour of the suggestion that the Chand history commences at a much later date. The date 1235 Sanvat or 1178 A.D. would, if we retained the existing names, compel us to crowd into the period between 1178 A.D. and 1423 A.D., the well-ascertained date of Vikrama Chand, some thirty-four reigns, and thus allow only seven years to a reign, a very low and improbable average. From a memorandum, made for Government by Mr. W. Fraser in 1813, on a conversation which he had with the celebrated Kumaoni statesman Harakdeb Joshi, the early history of the Chands is thus given :—" The first Raja, a Rajpút by birth Thohar Chand, was taken from Jhúsi at the age of 16 or 17. His son, grandson and great-grandson succeeded when the line became extinct. On this event, a second person descended direct from the uncle of Thohar Chand by name Gyán Chand was brought from Jhúsi and placed on the throne." In the account of the succession to Thohar Chand one list makes Garur Gyán Chand sixth and the other makes him second in descent. According to the more correct list he ascended the *gaddi* in 1374 A.D. and Thohar Chand commenced to reign in 1261 A.D. The latter date is just thirty-eight years after the date on an inscription of the Dúlu Raja Kráchalla noticed hereafter, which shows us that some years previous to the accession of Thohar Chand there were Chandrabansis in Káli Kumaon. Of the three names given in the inscription not one agrees with any name in the lists, but unless we may suppose two or three families of the same clan of equal importance in the same tract these Chands of Kráchalla's inscription belong to the same family as the Chands of tradition, and therefore Thohar Chand can hardly have been the first of his race in Kumaon although he was probably the first to attain to other than very local importance. We gather this much, however, that in the first quarter of the thirteenth century at least three Chandrabansi chiefs held the position of *mandaliks* or heads of circles as the smaller fiscal sub-divisions were called and that they then owed fealty to the Raja of Doti and in no respect differed from the Ráwat Khasiya chiefs their neighbours. The latter alone have the title of Raja, and the inference follows that the power and influence which the later traditions assign to the earlier Chands,

if true at all, must be taken as referring only to the *mandal* or circle alone within which they exercised authority.

Sir H. M. Elliot¹ states that Som Chand was a Chandel and not a Chandrabansi and that he came from Sombansis of Jhúsi. Jhási, not Jhúsi; but there is no authority for either of these changes in the local account. Tradition is unanimous in representing the family as of the Sombansi clan, and the name Jhási was not known until its foundation by Bír Sinh Deo in the reign of Jahángír.² Jhúsi stands on the site of an ancient city called Pratishthana and contained a Rajput colony at a very early date. The Sombansis of Partábgarh in Oudh state that the original seat of their clan was Jhúsi; that Sukrama Sinh, one of their ancestors who lived there, had three sons, one of whom went to Nepál, the second to Hardui, and the third remained at Jhúsi. The son of the last was cursed by a Musalmán fakír and lost his kingdom in consequence. If we assign Som Chand to this family we shall have to place him much later than the date given by Elliot, 1178 A.D. This latter date, however, is clearly derived from Mr. J. H. Batten's notes³ quoted below and has no authority of its own. Like most of the dates given here it is founded on information received from some of the Kumaon Brahmans. From an old inscription dated in 1027 A.D., found at Jhúsi, it appears that a Rajpút family then held possession of the tract of country lying along the left bank of the Ganges near Prayág, an ancient name of Allahabad. The names given are 'Vijayapála, Adyapála and Trilochanapála, and this would

¹ Beames' Elliot, I, 73

² Gazetteer, I., 438.

³ Report on

Kumaon and Garhwál, page 164: Mr. Batten's note on this date is as follows:— "On a reference to contemporaneous history we find that the year 1194 A.D. is the date generally fixed for the conquest of Kanauj by the arms of Kutb-ud-din, the Lieutenant of Shaháb-ud-din, and also that 1195 A. D. saw him extend his victories across the Ganges to Budaun. It is I think extremely probable that an incorrect tradition may have anticipated the commencement of the Chand dynasty in Kumaon by 16 years, and that in the great revolution which transferred the empire of the Gangetic plain as far as Benares from the Rahtors to their Muhammadan victors, when the dispersion of numerous powerful Hindu tribes took place everywhere; among them the earliest Chand and his followers found their way to Kumaon. But, whether the elevation of this race in the hills preceded or followed the fall of the Kanauj kingdom, the shock of that fall may well be supposed to have reached to the foot of the Himálays, and hardly to have been arrested at Budaun and the lower parts of Katehir. The rule of the hill powers, whether Khasiya or Chand, if it had survived at all the decadence of the Katyura line, and the breaking of the Rajpúts petty chiefships, must have been rudely shaken at this period." ⁴ As. Res. XVII., 621: J. A. S. Ben., XXXI., 5.

show us that so late as the first quarter of the eleventh century a Rajpút colony existed at Jhúsi from which the Kumaon Chands might have come. Jhúsi is also traditionally connected with the kingdom known as Harbong ká ráj, where the cruel and foolish Rája Harbong lived. Elliot gives some account of his life and character, and it is to him that the Sombansi legend apparently refers when stating that the grandson of Sukrama Singh was cursed by a Musalmán fakír. The Musalmáns say that Harbongpur was destroyed and Jhúsi built and consecrated by Sayyid Ali Murtaza, who died as late as 1359 A.D., but this tradition is little to be trusted, for many acts are assigned to this saint which must have taken place long before the fourteenth century. The Hindus similarly ascribe the death of Harbong and the revolution in Jhúsi to Machchhíndra and Gorakhnáth, their great miracle-workers. The first is the great Buddhist patron saint of Nepál, Padmapáni-Aryá-valokiteswara-Machchhíndranátha. Gorakhnátha, according to the Nepál annals,¹ visited the valley in order to see the great Machchhíndra in the reign of Raja Bar-deva in the Kaligata year 3623 or 521 A.D. Now Bar-deva is seventh in descent from the Lichchhavi Ansu-Varma, who was Rája of Nepál shortly before Hwen Thsang visited the valley in 637 A.D., so that the Nepálese Machchhíndra may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. From other sources, however, we know that Gorakhnáth must have lived in the fifteenth century² and that he was fifth in spiritual descent from a Matsyendra or Machchhíndra, who therefore lived in the fourteenth century or about the same time as the Sayyid Ali Murtaza. We must, therefore, reject both traditions and refer to the Musalmán historians. Abul Fazl tells us that Mahmúd made two expeditions to Benares one in 1019 and another in 1022 A.D., but these are not mentioned by other historians and the inscription in 1027 A.D. shows that even if they took place Jhúsi was not affected. In 1033 A.D., however, we have an account³ of the conquest of Benares by Ahmad Núltigin, who crossed the Ganges and marching along the left bank "unexpectedly arrived at a city which is called Benares and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place," and this we would take as the date for the dispersion of the

¹ Wright's Nepál, 140.² Wilson, I., 213.³ Dowson's Elliot, II., 172.

Rajpút family who ruled in Jhúsi. Our adjusted date for Som Chand's accession is only fifty-eight years before the raid of Níaltigin.

The portion of Kumaon lying along the Káli has traditions¹ of its own regarding its early history which help to throw light on the state of the country at the time of the Chand immigration. The name 'Kumaon' had here its origin for Vishnu, in his tortoise incarnation, dwelt for three whole years on Kánadeo,² which ever afterwards was called Kúrmáchala and hence the modern name Kumaon. It was not until after the Chands had settled in Almora that the name Kumaon covered its present limits and Káli-Kumaon was restricted to its original signification. The people generally call themselves Kumái or Káli-Kumái, but in common conversation are known by the names of the fiscal sub-divisions in which they reside or are spoken of as Khasiyas by persons belonging to castes other than their own. The mythological tradition regarding Kumaon tells us that the Lohughát valley and its neighbourhood was, in the Satya ages, inhabited by the Devas, Daityas and Rákshasas. When Ráma slew the Rákshasa Kumbha-karna, he cut off the head of the demon and sent it to Kumaon by the hands of Hanumán, who cast it on the hill of Kúrmáchala. The skull filled with water and became a lake some four kos square, and many of the Daityas and Rákshasas perished in its waters. The lake remained during the Treta and Dwápara ages, and it was not until the incarnation of Vishnu as Krishna took place that any change occurred. Ghatotkacha, son of Bhímasena by the Rákshasi Hidimbí, invaded Kumaon and was slain by Kúrma, Raja of Angadesa. Bhímasena subsequently arrived and avenged the slaughter of his son and kinsmen and to commemorate the event erected and endowed two temples; one in honour of Ghatotkacha and the other in honour of his wife, the Rákshasi Hidimbí. The temple dedicated to Ghatotkacha, who is now known as Ghatkadabta, is situate on the hill above Phungar,³ one mile to the east of Champáwat, and the other is on the same hill a little lower down,

¹ The greater part of the local folk-lore and traditions contained in the following sketch of the history of kumaon are faithfully reproduced from the notes of the late Rudradatta Pant.

² A peak in Páti Chárái to the east of Champáwat. ³ Bhima is said to have chosen this site because the inhabitants were Rákshasas and of the same tribe as Hidimbí.

so that the blood of goats sacrificed to Ghatku is said to mingle with that of the offerings to Hidimbí. Bhímasena then broke the banks of the lake which were formed of the bony substance of the skull of Kumbha-karna and let out the waters which became the source of the Gandaki, now known as the Gidhiya river. The oldest seat of government in the tract was at Súi in the Lohughát valley, where the ruins of an ancient temple of the Sun exist amidst a clump of lofty *deodár* (Indian cedar). The capital was then transferred to Domkot or Donkot, whose ruler was a Khasiya Thákur of the Ráwat clan.¹ The oldest of the existing forts is that of Katolgarh.

When Som Chand came to Kumaon he built the first home of the Chands on the fifteen-acre plot received by him from his father-in-law and called it Ráj-búnga,² which subsequently gave place to the name Champá-wat. He found the country divided into a number of small pattis, in each of which was a semi-independent ruler. These again took part in the quarrels of the two great factions, the Máraś³ and the Phartiyáls. Perhaps in the entire history of India there is no record of such bitter and long-continued strife as has existed from time immemorial between these two parties. To their internecine strife is to be attributed the intrusion of the Chands in the tenth century, the downfall of the same family in the eighteenth century, the defeat of our levies under Hearsey in 1815 and the litigation in the Nain Singh case⁴ in 1867. In the year of grace 1883, the feeling is as strong as it was eight hundred years ago, and the difficulties encountered by an alien ruler like Som Chand may readily be understood under the light of modern experience. Som

¹ Remains consisting of old walls and chabútras are still to be seen on the site of Domkot, and persons who claim descent from the Ráwat Rajas survive in Gumes and village Súi in Chárál. Every male child born in the Ráwat's family use to have a mark on its neck by which it was known, but since royal power departed from them the mark has disappeared.

² (Or royal 'fort,' to distinguish it from the ordinary forts of the Khasiya chiefs. Similarly the word '*razd*,' for quilt was never used until the Gorkhálí invasion from its likeness in sound to the title "*Rája Rajá*," borne by the Kumaon princes, nor would the Dehli officials call the Garhiwall Rajas '*Sáh*' because of its being pronounced like '*Sháh*;' they always gave the affix '*Sinha*' instead.

³ The Máraś out of Káli Kumaon are known as Muhuras, but the Máraś of Súi state that the latter are merely the bearers of the Raja's dandi (*muhur*) or palanquin. The people of Ryúni, near Ránikhet, who were subsequently appointed to this office, were of the Muhura caste corresponding to the Káhirs of the plains. The word '*muhura*' may be accepted as the generic term, the word '*mára*' being peculiar to Káli Kumaon.

⁴ Nain Singh was a Mára.

Chand was, however, equal to the occasion. He first, with the assistance of the Tarági clan, subdued the Ráwat Raja and having brought his small territory into a semblance of order, invited the petty chiefs and the heads of the factions to attend his *darbár*. He treated each of the latter with equal honour and when he had ascertained their power and the number of their adherents, he made the head of one faction the chief adviser and minister in civil matters and the head of the other faction chief of his forces. The principal village of the Márás was Kot with the fort of the Katolgarh and the chief village of the Phartiyáls was Dungari near Sái, and the headmen of these villages were the first Díwán and Bakshi of the new state.¹ Som Chand next reviewed the village rights and constitution. He revived the ancient system of headmen in each village called *búrhas* and *sayánas*, who were responsible for the police and fiscal arrangements of their respective villages or groups of villages. This was so very old an institution in these hills that the *búrhas* of Chaukur and Phúngar declared to Som Chand that their office had come down to them in unbroken succession from the original Daitya rulers of Kumaon. The claim was allowed and permission was given to them to receive fees as representatives of the old rulers in all cases of trial by ordeal. The *kámdárs* or immediate courtiers of Som Chand were Joshis and Bishts and Muduliya Pándes of the Kanáujiya sub-division from the plains. The general civil and military administration was entrusted to the Joshis, whilst the Bishts and Pándes, who were Brahmans of a superior caste, held the offices of *guru*, *purohit*, *pauránik*, *baid* and *basoya*. These last were also called Chautara² Brahmans, or those who did the four quarters of the work of the Raja. Som Chand must have had considerable support to be able to reduce to submission the turbulent clans of his adopted country and hand over his small state intact to his son. At his death he possessed in right of his wife the southern half of the present parganah and by right of conquest the remainder. To this may be added Dhyánirau and parts of the Rangor and Sálam pattis of Chaugarkha. Som Chand, however, held all this tract, as many of his successors did, as feudatory of the Maharája of Doti, to whom he paid tribute, so that at this stage

¹ These two villages are still looked on as the head-quarters of the respective factions and are each inhabited by people of its own party.

² A term now used as a title, borne by the junior members of the Raja's family in Nepál.

of their fortunes the Chand family was little better off than the majority of the more important landholders in the province.

Som Chand was succeeded by his son Atma Chand, and though little remarkable or worth recording took place until the reign of Bina Chand, the tradition regarding him affords grounds for leading us to suppose that the work of consolidating the power and influence of the little state none the less progressed. We are told that the rulers of all the neighbouring petty states paid court to Atma Chand at Champawat. Some said that they did so because they feared lest they should be swallowed up in the process of extension which they had no doubt would be carried out as vigorously by his successors as had been done by Som Chand himself. Others excused themselves on the ground that Atma Chand was on his mother's side a Katyúri and therefore entitled to their allegiance. The solidity of the basis of the Chand power assumed for the family at this time by the local analysts may easily be gathered from these excuses for their submission made by those who were naturally opposed to the admission of strangers. Atma Chand was succeeded by his son Purana, of whom all that is known is that he was a great hunter and spent much of his time in the Bhábar engaged in hunting. He was followed by his son Indra Chand, who is said to have brought into Káli Kumaon the silk-worm and to have introduced the manufacture of silk which flourished with a certain amount of success until the industry perished during the Gorkháli usurpation. The silk-worm was brought from China into Tibet by the Chinese Queen of Srongtsan Ganpo in the seventh century, and through his Nepálese Queen it was introduced into Nepál and thence doubtless came into Kumaon. Of the immediate successors of Indra Chand, viz., Sonsár, Sudha, Hammira or Hari and Bina, nothing is known beyond their names. The last named died childless, and his death was the signal for a revolt of the Khasiya population.

Bina was a weak-minded ruler who allowed the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of unscrupulous servants, so that on his death without issue, "the Khasiyas lifted up their heads and established their ráj in Káli Kumaon." The Brahman and Kshatriya immigrants

and those who had grown wealthy under the Chands were made to feel the power of the Khasiya chiefs, "for," said they, "these have long tyrannised over us and our power has now come." So bitterly were the hopeless friends of the Chands persecuted that all the men of note who did not belong to the party now in power fled from the provinces or were expelled by force and filled the courts of the neighbouring states with complaints against the Khasiyas. The Katyúris, too, in western Kumaon were appealed to for assistance and invited to take back their old possessions, but they were too much occupied with their own affairs to be able to give any material aid and excused themselves on the ground that as "the *ráj* of Káli Kumaon had been given by them as a free gift to the Chands, it belonged to the Chands, who should reconquer the country if they wanted it, that they would not take it back." It would appear from this statement that the Khasiya revolution was the result of a national movement not only against the foreign dynasty but generally against all intruders from the plains. The names of fourteen of these Khasiya Rajas are given with the length of their reigns and they are stated to have ruled for nearly two hundred years over Káli Kumaon, acknowledging, however, the supremacy of the Raja of Doti as their Chand predecessors and successors are also said to have done. We have already considered the suggestion that the Khasiya revolution should not be allowed to interfere with the Chand chronology. It may fairly be assumed that after the death of Atma Chand the family of the Ráwats of Domkot who emigrated thence to Sáli began to lift up their heads and that in the reign of Bína Chand they actually seized on Champáwat near their old home. The names of these Khasiya Rajas may well be the names of those of the Domkot house, for they show no trace of lowland Rajpút origin. The names¹ are as follows with the length of their reigns :—

1. Bijar, 21.	6. Kalsu, 11.	11. Nágu, 19.
2. Jijur, 7.	7. Jahal, 20.	12. Bhágu, 11.
3. Jájar, 19.	8. Múli, 8.	13. Jaipál, 16.
4. Jár, 9.	9. Guna, 19.	14. Sonpál, 12.
5. Káliu, 17.	10. Bírha, 9.	15. Indra, 15.

¹ Compare some of the names of the similar Kiráti dynasty of Nepál given in Wright's Nepál, 312, and Prinsep, II., 268. We have the names Guna, Jigri, Nane Lak, Guja, Varma, Kesu, Suga, Shimbu, &c., in appearance of the same character as those given above.

The last name does not occur in list A. This was evidently a period of general discontent throughout the hills amongst the aboriginal tribes. We find from the Nepál chronicles that about this time the Vais Thákurs of Noákot raised the standard of revolt, and for 225 years Nepál was broken up into a number of petty principalities like Kumaon. To fix this date we have fortunately something more than mere conjecture. The Nepál annals as well as the Musalmán historians give the date 1324 A.D. for the emigration of Hara Sinha-deva from Simraun to Nepál, where he founded the dynasty which succeeded the Thákuri princes. If from this we take 225 years, the date 1099 A.D. will give us the first year of the Thákuri rebellion in Nepál. But we are also told that for seven or eight years previous there was no Raja in Nepál, because the last of the Karnátaka Rajas, Harideva, was subdued by Mukund Sena.¹ Now of this Mukunda Sena we have no certain information, but we know that the Senas established a separate dynasty in Magadha in the last decade of the eleventh century and that Múdhava Sena, the great-grandson of the founder of the line in Bengal, visited the Jageswar temple near Almora and bestowed lands on that institution. Prinsep² suggests the date 1123 for this prince, which would be twenty-five years later than the date of Mukunda Sena according to the Nepál annals.

According to the chronology we have followed an inscription found at Gopeswar in Garhwál belongs to this period. It records the erection by one of the Malla Rajas of a royal edifice in the year 1191 A.D. The translation of this inscription is as follows :—

Inscription from Gopeswara.

Om. Be it auspicious. The lord paramount and most venerable king of kings, the fire of whose valour has consumed the swords of his enemies, and the gems of whose nails are deeply tinged with the vermillion on the foreheads of the wives of inimical princes. Who in the depth (of his understanding) and extent of his renown was like the great ocean, and the splendour of the gems of whose footstool flashed on all sides with the collected rays of luminous

¹ Wright, 172.

² Prinsep, II., 272.

rubies on the heads of the assemblage of his allied and hostile princes. Who is as a lion amongst royal elephants and a ruler of the land of Dānavas¹ as Vikramāditya had been of Vetala. Who like Nārāyaṇa uses all princes as his eagles (*garuras*), and is endued with the three energies. Who is sprung from the family of Gauda and is a *tilaka* (signet of royalty) to the Vairātha Kula and a recent incarnation of Bodhisatva. This is the prosperous Aneka² Malla, the *tilaka* on the rulers of the earth, who with his encompassing forces has subdued Kedāra bhūmi, and having made his conquered territories as his own province, free of warfare, the lord of earth has erected thereupon his royal edifice of Śrī Padmapāda, which he has adorned with everything for his enjoyment, giving of gifts and feasts. In the year of the Saka king past 1113 by solar calculation * * * the number of days past is Ganapati 12, Friday, the 9th of moon * * * Written by * * * Malla Śrī Raja Malla, Śrī Iswari Deva, Pandita Śrī Ranjana Deva, and Śrī Chandrodaya Deva, in conjunction with the general and captain.

We have another record of this period in the inscription on the trident at Bārahāt in Tihri.³ The Bārahāt trident. base or pedestal of this trident is made of copper in size and shape like a common earthen pot; the shaft is of brass about twelve feet long, the two lower divisions decagonal and the upper one spiral. The forks of the trident are about six feet long, and from each of the lateral branches depends a chain to which formerly bells were attached. The local tradition concerning it is that it was created by some Tibetan Raja to whom this part of the country was formerly subject. A copy

¹ The original has here *dānava bhugala raja vetāla vikramāditya*, which should mean "as Vikramāditya rules over Vetāla, so he (Aneka) rules over Dānavas and Bhugalas." The 'bh' of *bhugala* may, however, be read as 'm' and so mean Mugala. The only tradition regarding the Mugals is that certain tombs lined with and covered by large tiles and stones have been found at Dwāra and Bāgaswar and are assigned to a Mughal tribe who are said to have held central Kumaon for twenty years. Harcourt notes that at different places in Lahūl old tombs have been found and the local traditions point to a people beyond Yār-kand as the builders of these tombs. Ten years is assigned as the period during which they remained in that valley, during which time the Lahūlis took refuge in the upper heights and there cultivated and resided Kooloo, &c., p. 127. In Hunza too there is a tradition of a Mongol invasion (Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindu Koosh, p. 3.) and the Maulai sectaries are called Minglee (p. 116). The earliest movement of the Mongols in force towards India took place in 1221 A.D. under Jingis Khān: see Howorth's *Mongols*, I, 50; Douglas' *Life of Jenghiz Khān*, London, 1877. Jingis Khān was born 1162, proclaimed chief of his horde in 1175 and died in 1227. It is not necessary, however, to connect these strangers with the Mongols of history as they may have belonged to the same race and I have had given them the name subsequently best known. ² The name may be read as Śrī Bhāneka Malla. ³ J. A. S. Ben., V., 347, 485, and As. Res., XI., 477.

of the inscription¹ was forwarded by Mr. Traill to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and was partly decyphered by Dr. W. H. Mill with the following result:—It opens with the invocation ‘*Seasti, Sri,*’ addressed apparently to a prince, and the first line contains the words ‘*yasya yatra harma yachchhringochchhritam díptam,*’ ‘whose and where is a palace which is on a lofty peak and splendidly magnificent.’ The second line of the inscription consists of a somewhat turgid verse which may be translated thus:—“His son whose ample condition was exalted by a numerous army, devouring the juices of the earth like the sun of summer, then arising sat on the throne, and even with his bow unbent, still ruled with sage counsels and that abandonment of all selfish passions. He was originally by name *Udárackarita* (the man of generous deed), being skilled in all holy duties, did even thus at once, as the best of the lords of power, reduce to fragments the army opposed to him, through crushing all other adversaries, chariots and all.” This is the whole of the second line. The third and the last which is in prose begins ‘*pútahpútasya,*’ “the beloved son of a beloved father,” and ends with the words:—‘*tilakam yávacdanke pidhatta táratkírttiḥ sukírtta yoruksharamatha tasyástu rájnaḥ sthiram*’—“as long as the sacred mark remains in the body, so long has the glory of these two illustrious ones (father and son) been concealed: but henceforward may the immortality of this king be unshaken.” The meaning is not very clear and the word ‘*sukírtta*’ for ‘illustrious’ is unusual, if not semibarbarous, in its formation.”

A second trident of iron stands in front of the Gopeswara temple having the ancient letters in copper soldered on in relief in the same way as that at Bárahát. The form of the letters shows them to be of the same age as those at Bárahát and they are accompanied by three or four short inscriptions in modern Nagri cut in the metal of the iron shaft.² Three of these are illegible or rather appear to be in some other language. Dr. Mill gives a

¹ Published as No. 2, plate IX., Vol V. of the Journal.

² During a recent visit to Gopeswar I examined these inscriptions and found them now utterly illegible—E. T. A.

translation of the fourth, which, though it contains many errors, is in Sanskrit. The opening verse is in the same metre as that of the Bārahāt inscription and records that :—" the illustrious prince Aneka Malla having extended his conquests on all sides, brought together (*quære*, humbled or made low) upon this holy spot sacred to Mahādeva, under the emblem of a pillar, the very sovereigns of the world whom his prowess had overcome"—" and thus having re-established this same pillar of victory, he acquired reputation. It is a pious act to raise up a worthy foe when he has been humbled." The figures taken from the plate given in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' show the shape of these tridents. A portion of the older inscription on that at Bārahāt has been translated above and the inscription relating to Aneka Malla found at B. on the Gopeswar trident can refer only to the Aneka Malla of the Gopeswar inscription for whom we have a date. The older letters corresponding to those on the Bārahāt trident must therefore be considerably earlier than the twelfth century and refer to an older dynasty than the Mallas.

It was evidently a custom of the hill rajas to erect tridents of metal in honor of Shiva as Pasupati. In the Nepāl annals¹ we read that Sankaradeva caused a *trisūl* or trident of iron to be made which weighed a maund, and this " he placed at the northern door of Pasupati's temple and dedicated it to him," and there it remains to the present day. From the same source we are able to fix the country of this Malla Raja, the invader of Garhwāl. The Malla Rajas of Nepal were descended from Ansu Varma, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, belonged to the Surajbansi family of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali near Patna. To one of them was born a son Abhaya, and on him the title 'Malla' or 'wrestler' was bestowed because his father was looking on at a wrestling match when the news of the boy's birth was brought to him. This Raja had two sons—Ananda Malla, who reigned in Bhaktapur,

¹ Wright's Nepāl, 123; the name 'Malla' is also a family name of a dynasty of kings in the southern Marāṭha country.

and Jaya Deva Malla, who ruled over Pátan and Kántipur. Both these princes were expelled by a Kárnataka (Carnatic) dynasty and fled to Tirhút. Some of the family must have remained in Nepál for after a few generations we find that Raja Malla Deva and Kathya Malla of Pátan founded the village of Chápágaon and another Malla resided in Kántipur. When the Kárnataka dynasty came to an end and Nepál was divided amongst a number of petty Thákuri chiefs, the dissolution of authority was preceded by a revolt of the ministers, people and troops at Pátan, an event referred to the year 1191 A.D. by the local historians. Hari-Deva, the Kárnataka Raja of the time, endeavoured to suppress the revolt in its beginning, but he and his Kathmándu troops "were defeated and pursued as far as Thambahíl" and he never afterwards recovered possession of Pátan. We may therefore reasonably assume that the family of Jaya Deva Malla was never extinct at Pátan and that the leader in the successful revolt against the intruding Kárnatakas belonged to the same family and that we have them again in the Garhwál inscriptions. The grant shows that Aneka Malla was a devout Buddhist and the Nepálese records also state that the Mallas were Buddhists. Aneka Malla was the conqueror of Garhwál and the sacred Kedár-bhúmi. He found the trident at Gopeswar and inscribed on it a record of his prowess. Gopeswar and Bárahát would appear to have been subject to the same dynasty whose principal town was Bárahát already known, as we have suggested, as the capital city of the kingdom of Brahmapura visited by Hwen Thsang in the seventh century. The sway of the Mallas in these parts can only have been of short duration, for with the exception of an old *chabútra* or masonry platform which formed their customs post at Joshimath and is still known as the Rainka's *chabútra*,¹ they have left neither trace nor tradition behind. It may be noticed also that in this record we have not the completeness of the older inscriptions either as to form or matter. Instead of having the heads of the civil and military departments and the chief of the scribes with their names and titles in full, the subscription is left to the nameless *Senápati* and *Senáni*, officers of an army in the field.

¹ The term 'Raika' or 'Rainka' is an old title in the Malla family and its branches to the present day.

On the reverse of the copper-plate grant to the Báleswar temple made by the Katyúri Raja Desata Deva we have a confirmation of the deed by Kráchalla Deva. Kráchalla of the Jijikula who is described as conqueror of the '*Vijaya rájya*,' the destroyer of the demolished city of Kántipura and a devout Buddhist. The grant is dated from Dúlú, in the year 1145 Saka, corresponding to 1223 A.D. Now the Nepál annals tells us that when the Vais Thákur Rájas began to reign there were Rajas in every *tol* or quarter of the town in Lalitpátan; "in Kántipur (Kathmándu) there were twelve Rajas who were called *Jhinimathakula*." Further, it is said that these Thákuras "left numerous Bauddha temples with lands assigned for their maintenance." The facts, the name of the family who conquered Kántipura and the date all corroborate the inscription, of which the following is a translation made by a Calcutta pandit:—

Translation of the inscription on the back of a copper-plate in the Báleswar temple in Sái.

Be this auspicious. The prosperous state of Bharauta.

The splendid Sirá ruling in heaven, ever strengthened by her victorious lord, having embraced the goddess of victory resplendent with her precious pearls, dropping from the skulls of her elephantine foes, who were dragged to battle, and killed and felled by the spears of her warriors, vincible only by the lord of heaven, a protectress and benefactress of cows and Brahmanas. Her son was the great hero and king, Kráchalla, the most excellent, and chief of all who bear arms or are versed in the sciences, and who was ever inclined to (acts of) piety and charity. By his combat with elephants of newly sprouting tusks, with lance, sword, and ropes, Kráchalla, the lord of earth, became equally marvellous with the Pándavas. He was a devout *Saugata* (Buddhist), and shone like the sun on the lotus of the Jini-kula.¹ He was fierce in the strength of his arms, of marked valour, and entitled the most venerable, the lord supreme, and great king of kings, the prosperous Kráchalla Deva, lord of men, who, in the *Vijaya rájya* (realm of victory), now in his possession, has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his own arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kántipura, (Kárttikeyapura) and established our right therein, inspected the lands bequeathed by its former kings, all of which, with their revenues, are all now made over to the highly deserving of homage Sri Báleswara, the sole Rudra

* * * Bhatta Náráyana, a Bengali Brahmana (bangaja) * * * *jagthebhyam* by means of this grant. Here is a couplet of the king's sister:—"The clouds with abundance of rain fill the mountains and rivers, but fame, the necklace of the world, stretches over the three worlds." The (following) is another couplet of the great queen:—"The quality of charity and other virtues is excellent, but more

¹ It may be read Jijarkula.

so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord, for time is known to have a devouring head." The great king in council with his principal courtiers, viz. :—

Srī Yāhad Deva Mandalika,	Srī Vādya Chandra Mandalika,
Srī Sri Chandra Deva Mandalika,	Srī Jaya Sinha Mandalika,
Srī Hari Raja Rāutta Raja,	Srī Jihala Deva Mandalika,
Srī Anilāditya Rāutta Raja,	Srī Vallāla Deva Mandalika,
Srī Vinaya Chandra Mandalika,	Srī Musā Deva Mandalika,

having determined with his friends and ministers and well considered the matter as in duty bound, has given the aforesaid grant to the logician, tantrika, counsellor, saintly, forbearing, prudent, renowned in compositions of prose, verse, and poetry in this age of Kāti, the poet, connoisseur of the purport of works (books), skilled in the calculation of horoscopes and the like, the son of Nanda, conversant in augury, and renowned in the world. The limits and boundaries thereof being Svahāragādi on the east, as far as Kahudakota on the south; as far as Talakota on the west; and as far as Ladhāul on the north. This spot thus bounded on the four sides, and situated in the Sri Kona Desa (corner land), with the mines, valleys and jungles, together with all products thereof, are given over by me by means of this grant, and for its continuance coeval with that of the sun and moon.

(Verses.)

All the mighty (princes) who from time to time shall be born in my race, let them as well as other masters of land preserve this (for ever). The donor of lands gains (the favours) of Aditya, Varuna, Brahma and Vishnu, as also of Soma, Hutāsana, and the god holding the trident in his hand. When the lands (possessed by) Dilīpa, Nripa and Nahusha have been left behind, they shall never accompany any other monarch (on his demise). Lands have been bequeathed by various kings, beginning with Sāgara. Whoever becomes master of land at any time, he reaps the produce thereof. He who receives lands as well as he who grants the same both become meritorious and both in heaven remain. Whoso resumes lands, whether given by himself or another,

As a filthy worm for sixty thousand years doth pother ;
Whoever steals a gold coin, resumes a villa, or an inch of ground,
Shall dwell in hell as long as offerings are drowned.
No gift is equal to the grant of land, no wealth equal to gift,
No virtues greater than truth, nor sin than falsehood's shift.
The king, one's life, strength and gods deserve most to be regarded by all.

So long as the possessor of the place where the lotus loves to exist of the auspicious Krāchalla-deva wanders on the earth, so long may the lotus-abode of the chief of the Kirāntis¹ (flourish)—(*Srīmat Krāchallidevasya yāvat ambhya-jinīpati viharatu bhuvī tīvat kīrttirasya nripakumudakara*).

¹ The text of this passage is doubtful and seems to read तावत्कीर्तिरस्य नृपकुमुदाकर There is one 'i' too much, but the reading to be preferred seems to be that given in the text. Kirttira perhaps could refer to himself as lord of Kirttipura.

And long as the lord of stars spins on the head of the god holding the Pináka bow, and his dreadful braids of hair are moistened by Ganga's stream.

What was the holder of the Gándiva bow—merely possessed of valour? What was the son of Dharma? What is the lord of wealth? What was Rámabhadra the mighty, and what was Kudarpa too before him? No, never were they such, neither in this manner nor in that, as the famed Kráchalla, who is as a gem on the crowns of all the rulers of earth.

In beauty he resembled the moon and Ratipati.

To the indigent he was the Kalpa-tree.

In valour he was in quality like the gem of Raghu.

In the assemblage of all the qualities he was Bhavánipati.

In bowmanship he was a Ráma or Bhíshma himself.

In justice he was as if born of Dharma.

Kráchalla was a destroyer of his elephantine enemies in the Káliyuga.

Let our allies, abiding in firm amity, meet with prosperity,

And let the rulers of earth govern her with justice throughout the year.

Let the four articles of polity remain steady with you as a new-married bride.

And let the god having the semi-bow as a gem on his crest confer good fortune on mankind. Dated 1145 of the year of the Sika king, the 2nd day of the waning moon of Pausha, Monday, asterism of Pushya. The moon in Cancer, and the sun in Sagittarius; and Saturn following him; Mars in Virgo; Jupiter and Mercury in Scorpio; Venus in Aquarius; the ascending node in Arles; and the descending node in south-east. Written in the prosperous city near Dúlá. Welfare to all worlds!

This inscription throws valuable light on the period to which it relates. Kráchalla was a member of the Jina family who belonged to the hill Rajpút race and who conquered and held the town of Kántipura in Nepal. He was a devout Buddhist, as the name of his family would alone show, the word '*jina*' being a generic term applied to a Buddha or chief saint of the Bauddha sect in the same manner as to a Jaina saint; still he was liberal enough, as Buddhists generally were, to confirm the grant to the temple of the local deity Bálesvar. The names of the Mandalikas or local chiefs contain those of two Ráwat Rajas evidently of the same clan as the chief of Domkot, and the names Jíhala and Jaya may be compared with the names of the Khasiya Rajas Jáhala and Jaya. It is worthy of note that three of the Mandalikas have the tribal affix Chandra, the same as that borne by Som Chand's family. It would also appear that the Tantras, those marvellous combinations of the ritual of the worship of the female energies, necromancy and mysticism, were held in high repute.

The donee is praised for his skill in these matters and his proficiency in literature in general. The identification, in the verse, of Kráchalla with the chief of the Kirántis has a shade of doubt about it owing to the error in the copy which prevents its being made a subject of speculation. The identification, however, is neither impossible nor improbable. Dúlu is a district in the west of Nepál and was in the last century the seat of an independent kingdom.

At the outbreak of the revolution the surviving members of the Chand family retired to the Mal or Malás as the present Taráí was then called. Chand restoration. When wearied with the new order of things the people resolved on obtaining a king to rule over them, Bira Chand was put forward by one Saun Kharáyat as a relative of Sonsár Chand. The exiled Brahmans and Rajpúts and all who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Ráwats and Mandalikas rallied round the young Chand and joined him in an attack upon Káli Kumaon in which they were completely successful. The Khasiya Raja Sonpál was slain and Bira established himself at Champáwat. He is said to have rearranged the relations of the Máras and Phartiyáls and to have recalled the Joshis to office as a reward for the aid that they gave in his restoration. From Bira to Garur Gyán Chand the local traditions throw no light on the history of the country and merely furnish a bare list of names and the single remark that Triloki Chand annexed Chhakháta to Kumaon and built a fort at Bhím Tál to protect the frontiers towards Páli and Bárahmandal, where the Kúthis and Katyúris still held independent sway. We have collected some forty inscriptions relating to this period, but in some of them the dates are wanting and in others the names, whilst the barbarous Sanskrit in which they are written and the numerous *lacunæ* render them of little service to our purpose. They consist chiefly of inscriptions on temples and wells and rest-houses, but from them the following facts may be gathered. A branch of the Katyúri dynasty still ruled in the Dánpur parganah and their capital was at Baijnáth (Vaidyanáth) still called Kárttikeyapura in the inscriptions. Two of these of considerable length are found on a *dhára* or masonry well much worn, however, by the trickling of

water over the stones on which they are inscribed. They furnish us with the names Udayapála Deva, Charunapála Deva, and fragments of other names record the grants of certain quantities of grain from Chandoli and other villages for the service of the temple of Vaidyanáth. The names Agapara Deva, Jhakátha (Ijkátha) Deva and Mahípála may also be read, but the date has unfortunately been obliterated. A copper-plate in the possession of Haridatta Tripáthí of Darimthauk in Patti Talla Katyúr records the grant by Indra Deva Rajbár in the year 1202 A.D. of certain lands which were registered before Badrináth, the temple of that name at Bageswar. Rajbár was the name given to the heir-apparent amongst the Katyúris. On an image of Vishnu in one of the old temples at Baijnáth occur the names Sri Jahála, son of Thaupála, and in another temple the words "the Rawal of Kakarála" with the date 1499 A.D., and again on an image of Ganesha, the name Kadáru Parasiyo with the date 1322 A.D., and the date 1203 A.D. also occurs elsewhere. From these inscriptions we may infer that the valley continued to be inhabited during the period and that the Katyúris still resided there. Another branch of the same family occupied Dwára and held possession of the valley of the Rám-ganga. We have an inscription from the temple of Goril near Ganai dated in 1219 A.D. apparently inscribed by one Thapuwa Ráwat. On the Dunagiri hill above Dwára there is another dated in 1181 A.D., and in Dwára itself one of Ananta Pála Deva on the image of Kálíka dated in 1122 A.D. Another inscription on a *naula* or well at Dwára records its construction in 1214 A.D. by Asadhata Tripáthi. Beyond these few dates and names the inscriptions collected afford no information, and they are given here merely in the hope that future researches may throw some light on what is at present an unconnected series of dates and doubtful names.

On turning to the Musalmán historians we find very little more assistance, for their geography is so vague
 Musalmán historians. regarding countries with which they had little intercourse that it is often difficult to discover what is intended. The earliest express mention of Kumaon that we have been able to discover is given by Yahya bin Ahmad,¹ who records that when

¹ Dowson's Elliot, IV., 15 : VI., 229.

Khargu, the Katehiri chief who murdered Sayyid Muhammad of Budaun, fled before the arms of Sultán Firoz Tughlak in 1380 A.D., he took refuge in the mountains of Kumaon in the country of the Mahtas, who were attacked and defeated by the Sultan. The name Mahtas probably refers to the Mewatis who occupied the Tarái along the foot of the Kumaon hills. The annual raids of the Musalmán governors against the Hindus of Katehir must have sometimes brought both parties in contact with the hill-tribes, but of this little record remains.¹ The same writer relates² that in 1418 A.D. Khizr Khán sent a considerable force across the Ganges to invade Katehir and chastise the rebel Raja Hari Singh. The latter after an ineffectual resistance fled towards the mountains of Kumaon, pursued by twenty thousand horse, who crossed the Raheb (Rám-ganga) and followed the enemy into the mountains. Hari Singh pressed forward towards the snows and on the fifth day the royal forces, disheartened by the difficulties of the country, retired after having secured great spoil. It is also recorded³ that in 1424 A.D. Sayyid Mubárah Sháh proceeded to Katehir and on reaching the Ganges was met by Hari Singh, who paid his respects. The royal army then crossed the Ganges and, having chastised the recusants of the neighbourhood, proceeded to the hills of Kumaon. There they stayed for a time, and when the weather became hot marched homewards by the banks of the Raheb. From these casual notices, however, we may gather that the Hindus of Katehir⁴ were gradually giving way before the Musalmáns and pressing back towards the hills must have encroached upon the possessions of the hill-men.

This suggestion is supported by the statement in the local traditions which informs us that at this time the plains had entirely passed away from the Chands, and that Gyán Chand on his accession to the throne deemed it to be his first duty to proceed to Dehli and to petition the Emperor for the grant of the tract along the foot of the hills which had of old belonged to the Katyúri Rajas. He was received with much honor and, being permitted to accompany the Emperor whilst hunting, was one day fortunate enough to shoot

¹ For an account of these raids, see the history of the Bareilly District in *Gaz.*, V., 640. ² Elliot, *l. c.*, 50. ³ *Ibid.*, 61. ⁴ Now restricted to the tract lying between the Rám-ganga, Sárda and Khanaut rivers.

a large bird which he saw flying away with something in its talons. The bird proved to be a vulture, the *garur* or *garuda*, the bird and carrier of Vishnu, which had been carrying away a great snake. The Emperor was so pleased with the Raja's skill that he not only granted his petition to have and to hold the land lying along the foot of the hills as far as the Ganges, but directed him henceforth to assume the name of Garur Gyán Chand. The Raja returned to Kumaon and took possession of the present Bhábar and Taráí. As this Raja reigned from 1374 to 1419 A.D. he may have met either Mahmud Tughlak when he came on a hunting expedition to the foot of the hills in 1410 or 1412, or Daulat Khan Lodi, who paid a similar visit in the following year. However this may be, the Madhawa-ke-mal, corresponding to the Tallades Bhábar, was shortly afterwards seized and occupied by the Musalman governor of Sambhal. Gyán Chand despatched a force against the intruders under his favourite officer Nalu Kathúyat, who expelled the Musalmans and recovered the entire tract. Gyán Chand recognized the services of Nalu by presenting him with a dress of honor (*kumáya siropo*) and a *sanad* conferring on him the possession of several villages in the Bhábar and twelve *jyálas* of land in Dhyánirau in tenure of *rot*,² besides carving a tablet to be inscribed and set up in Nálu's own (*thát*) village of Kápraoli commemorating his success and ability in the campaign against the Mlechchhas.

These unusual honors gave offence to one Jassa of Kamlekh, a favorite servant of the Raja, and he took means to poison the mind of his master against Nalu. The first consequence was that Nalu was ordered to proceed to the Bhábar and reside there as governor. The climate was then as now malarious in the extreme and unfit for a prolonged residence, and Nalu without putting on his dress of honor resolved to seek an interview with the Raja and protest against his being sent to the Mal. Jassa saw him coming and told the Raja that Nálu was intentionally disrespectful in coming to the interview

¹Dowson's Elliot, IV., 45, 44.

²The term '*rot*' was applied to land granted by the Raja to the families of persons who had perished in his service, and when given to a living man was held to express the Raj's opinion that the man had done such deeds of bravery that it was wonderful that he survived. Consequently the grant of land in '*rot*' was considered one of the most honourable rewards that a man could receive. The ordinary form of grant in reward for services was in *jagir*.

without permission and without wearing the dress that had been given him and so aroused the Raja's anger that an audience was refused and Nalu was sent away in disgrace. His wife, a Mára lady of Sirmola, thereon sent her two sons Súju and Baru to induce their uncle, the chief of the Múras at 'Champáwat, to make peace between Nalu and the Raja, but the lads missed their way and fell into the hands of Jassa, who induced the Raja to believe that they had arrived with the intention of murdering him. The Raja ordered the boys to be thrown into prison and there blinded them. When news of this event came to Nalu's ears he roused the Múras throughout the country and attacking the Raja, captured Jassa, whom he slew. He then sacked Jassa's village and fort of Kamlekh, the ruins of which exist to the present day. The Raja was spared by the conqueror but ill requited their generosity by causing the death of Nalu, some time afterwards. This episode of Nalu shows that the rivalry of the several factions had not diminished and that it was dangerous for even the Raja to offend the chiefs of the parties. Gyán Chand died in 1419 A.D. after a reign of 45 years and was succeeded for a few months by his son Harihar Chand. It is now time that we should take some notice of Garhwál and the Dún.

Garhwál and the Dún have no written history of their own and the traditions preserved regarding them are of the most meagre and unsatisfactory nature. We have been able to gather little more

Early history of Garhwál and the Dún. than a list of names with a few dates for the earlier history of Garhwál. The eastern Dún appears to have been settled at a very early period, at least that portion of it which adjoins the Tihri frontier near Tapuban. All along the foot of the inner range westwards are traces of Banjára colonies and the names Banjárawála, Fatehpur Tándá and the like must doubtless be referred to them. Until we come to the later Musalmán historians we have nothing to say about this tract, and even then the information is scant and uninteresting. Garhwál from an early period would seem to have been broken up into numerous petty states. We have seen that the Malla Raja Añeka Malla visited Gopeswar and Bárahát in 1191 A.D., and in 1209 A.D. Sonapála¹

¹ He was the ninth Raja before Ajai Pála, but the original of his inscription is not forthcoming, nor could my informant, a Brahman of Srinagar, tell me where it was to be found.

was Raja of the Bhilang valley, but how far his authority extended is not known. Ajaipála transferred the seat of government from Chandpur to Dewalgarh in the fourteenth century and is held to be the first who attempted to bring the scattered states "under one umbrella." Much error has arisen from assuming that the name 'Siwálik' used by the Musalmán historians must necessarily refer to the outer range of the Dún which separates it from the plains, and a brief consideration of its signification in the earlier histories will not be out of place here.

The name Siwálik hills seems to have been assigned to different tracts at different times by the Musalmán historians. We learn that in 1119 A.D. Báhalím built the

Siwálik hills.

fort of Nagor in the Siwálik hills, in the vicinity of Bera, which leads us to about sixty miles north-west of Ajmer. One of the results of the defeat and death of Prithvíráj was that his "capital Ajmír and all the Siwálik hills, Húnsi, Sarsuti and other districts" fell into the hands of the Musalmáns (1192 A.D.) The fort of "Mandúr (Jodpur) in the Siwálik hills" was captured by Shamsuddín in 1227 A.D., and in 1225 we find Ulugh Khán hastening to Húnsi in order to assemble the forces of the Siwálik hills that were under his orders and refit the army of Mewát and the Koh-páya (hills). Here the name is clearly applied to the Aravalli range and Koh-páya to the foot of the hills towards the Himálaya. Shortly afterwards we hear of Ulugh Khán ravaging "the villages in the district of Hariána, the Siwálik hills and Bayána," a statement which further corroborates our determination of the hills south-west of Dehli as the tract at this time indicated.¹ The first mention of the Siwálik hills in connection with the Dún is in Tímúr's account² of his campaign in India. He fought several

Tímúr, 1398 A.D.

battles near Hardwár³ and the Cháudi hill and then invaded the country of Raja

Bahrúz which lay in a valley between the Ganges and the Jumna. After crossing the Ganges from the Bijnor district, Tímúr marched 'several kos' and then halted. The following day he marched six kos, and whilst resting during the heat of the day heard that an immense number of Hindus had collected in the Siwálik hills,

¹ Dowson's Elliot, II., 279, 297, 325, 375.

² *Ibid.*, III., 461, 513.

³ For some account of these battles, see Gaz., II., 246. Bahrúz is subsequently said to be inferior in rank and power to Ratan Sen, Raja of Sirmor.

When he received this information he gave orders for his entire forces to proceed at once towards the Siwálíks. Marching during the same evening and night, the troops accomplished five *kos* and encamped in the hills. Here Tímúr held a council of war and having disposed of the objections of those who wished to dissuade him from his purpose, despatched a body of horse to call in the detachments that had been sent to plunder the towns along the Jumna and directed every one to prepare for the expedition. The troops from the Jumna joined the head-quarters next day and on the following day all marched towards the Siwálíks. The distance travelled from the Ganges and the description given of the country point to the Mohan pass as the route taken by Tímúr in his invasion of the Dún. Tímúr himself informs us that from his inquiries he learned that the people of Hindustán computed this mountain region at one and a quarter lakh and that it had narrow and strong valleys. "In one of these valleys (*darra*) was a *Rái* named Bahrúz, the number of whose forces and whose lofty, rugged, narrow and strong position made him superior to all the chiefs of the hills and, indeed, of most of Hindustán. At the present time especially he, having heard of my approach, had done his best to strengthen his position and all the malignant *ráis* of the country had gathered around him. Proud of the number of his men and soldiers, the height of his *darra* and abode, he stood firm, resolved upon fighting." Having marshalled his army and directed the drums to be beaten and the instruments to be sounded as it approached the valley Tímúr proceeded to the mouth of the *darra*, where he alighted from his horse and sent on his officers and men. "They all dismounted and girding up their loins marched forward to the conflict full of resolution and courage. The demon-like Hindus were lurking in places of ambush and attacked my soldiers, but these retaliated with showers of arrows and falling upon them with the sword forced their way into the valley. There they closed with them and fighting most bravely they slaughtered the enemy with sword, knife and dagger." The Hindús fled, some hid themselves in holes and caves and others were taken prisoners. An immense spoil in money, goods, cows, buffaloes, women and children fell into the hands of the victors, who returned to their former encampment the same night. The next day they marched about

five *kos* to Bahrah and thence, the following day, to Sarsáwah. Tímúr can hardly have penetrated beyond the head of the pass near Shorepur, where tradition places an old town and fort, and certainly not farther than Kiligarh (Kaulágarh), which was the capital in 1654 A.D., or Nawáda, the old capital on the Nágsidh hill some five miles south-east of Dehra. The name Hurdíz occurs in Musalmán histories for Hardat or Haridatta and the name Bahrúz may well stand for Brahmdat, and was probably that of some local chief like the name Chhatarbhuj which occurs hereafter and neither of which are found in the Garhwál lists. Local tradition assigns to a Ráni Karnávati and Abju Kunwar several works in the Dún of ancient date and amongst them the Rájpur canal. Their palace was at Nawáda,¹ and to them are assigned what were then important villages, *viz.*, Ajabpur, Karnápur, Kaulaghar, Kyárkuli, Bhátbír and Bhogpur. Other towns that have a reputation for an existence of at least two hundred years are Sahanspur, Prithipur, Kalyánpur, Nágai, Rájpur, Bhagwantpur and Tháno. Prithipur especially contains remains of a fort, temples and *sati* monuments betokening former importance and is said to have been the residence of Chanda or Jhanda Miyán.

On a previous page we have given a list of the Garhwál Rajas and the dates which we have been able to assign to them from existing records. The earliest reign thus dated is that of Man Sáh, of whom we possess a grant inscribed in 1547 A.D. The local traditions say that Ajaya Pál was the first to leave the family home in Chándpur and settle in Dewalgarh, whence the capital was transferred to Srinagar by Mahipati Sáh, of whom we have an inscription on the monastery of Kesho Rái in Srinagar itself dated in 1625 A.D. General Cunningham² assigns the founding of Chándpur to the year 1159 A.D. and the founding of Srinagar to 1358 A.D. Other local accounts place Ajaiya Pála in 1359, 1376 and 1389 A.D. Taking the date 1358 as having quite as much authority as any of the other three we have fourteen reigns between him and Mán Sáh and 189 years, and deducting fifteen years for the concluding portion of Ajaiya Pála's reign and the opening years of Mán Sáh's reign we have an average of twelve years for each reign, a fair result for the time

¹ Williams' Memoir, 94.

² Anc. Geogh., p. 356.

and country. Up to the time of Ajaiya Pála, Garhwál was divided amongst a number of petty Rajas. Every glen or hill, as formerly was the case in the highlands of Scotland, was subject to its own chiefs who have left no record behind except the moss-covered walls of their strongholds. And although Ajaya Pála is credited with having reduced fifty-two of these petty chiefs under his own rule, we may well suppose that he was only the first of his line to aim at more than a local supremacy, and that to his successors is due the extension of the Garhwál power over the Dún, Bisahir and the tract now known as Tihri or foreign Garhwál. Indeed, Mahípati Sáh, the founder of Srinagar, is often said to be the first Raja of the line who attained to any real independence. It is not therefore necessary that the Bahrúz or Brahmdat of Tímúr's narrative should have any connection with the line of Garhwál Rajas. We have a grant of Dularám Sáh dated in 1580 A.D., and he was the immediate predecessor of Mahípati Sáh, and from his time the dates are ascertained by the aid of contemporary records.

We shall now return to the Chands of Káli Kumaon. Udyán Udyán Chand, 1420—21 A.D. Chand succeeded his father Harihar in 1420 A.D., and impressed with the heinousness of his grand-father's crimes sought every opportunity to appease the wrath of the gods. He restored the great temple of Báleswar dedicated to Mahádeo and invited a Gujráthi Brahman to consecrate it, whose descendants afterwards helped to people the new capital at Almora. He also remitted a full year's dues from the land and relieved the poor whenever they came before him. Not satisfied with this, he set his troops in motion and captured successively the forts held by the Padyár Raja of Chaugarkha, the Raja of Mahryúri and the Raja of Bisaud. His possessions therefore extended from the Sarju on the north to the Tarái on the south and from the Káli westwards to the Kosi and Súwál. To the north of the Sarju lay the estates of the Maukotí Raja of Gangoli, and the Mahárajá of Doti held Síra, Sor, Askot and the Bhotiya valleys of Juhár and Dárma. The Raja of Jumla ruled over Byáns and Chaudáns, and Katyúri Rajas were established in Katyúr, Syúnara and Lakhanpur of Páli. A Káthi Rajpút still held Phal-dakot and a Khasiya family ruled in Rámgar and Kota. Udyán

Chand reigned only one year and was succeeded by his son Atma and grandson Hari, each of whom reigned but one year.

Vikrama Chand succeeded his father Hari in 1423 A.D. and Vikrama Chand, 1423— carried out the restoration of the Báleswar 1437 A.D. temple commenced by Udyán Chand. The same grant that records the devotion by the Katyúris to that temple and the confirmation by Kráchalla Deva bears a further record that in 1345 Saka, corresponding to 1423 A.D., Vikrama Chand confirmed the grants of his predecessors. The record is brief and may be thus translated:—

Inscription on the Báleswar copper-plate grant.

Om May it be auspicious. In the Saka year 1345, on the lunar day of Vishnu of the bright fortnight, in the asterism of Deva, in the month of Ashárhá, in the day of Vishnu's repose (*sayane*) in the north. The lord of earth and gem of crowns, observant of a vow, hath given the land in * * Champíwat in the district called Kúrma to Kunjesarmma Brahmin and Máyáseri * * * The lord of the earth Vikrama Chandra is a true Kalpa-druma, whose sword has brought a train of the rulers of men into his service, who has bestowed all the lands given by Kráchalla on the indigent and is resolved to repair the ruins as Hari delivered the earth from the abode of snakes (the sea). The witnesses here are Madhu, Sejyála, Parbhú, Vishnu, Jadumadgani, Vira Sigha Ganbhári, and Jailu Bathyál. Written in the *Patnavasi*¹ office by Rudra Sarmana. May it be well. Raichu * * Rámpántani made this deed.

The date agrees with that assigned to Vikrama Chandra in the lists, and it would appear that he carried out the intentions of Udyán Chand in regard to Báleswar which was undertaken in expiation of the crime committed by Gyán Chand. We have another grant of this prince assigning a village to Kulomani Pánde in 1424 A. D. Towards the close of his reign he neglected the affairs of the state and gave an opportunity to his nephew Bháratí to raise the standard of revolt and draw to himself the Khasiya population. The leader of the Khasiyas was one Shor, a man of bold and determined character, who expelled Vikrama Chand and raised Bháratí Chand to the throne, and received the village of Malasgaon in reward for his services.

Bháratí Chand must himself have been a man of considerable force of character, for during his short reign Bháratí Chand, 1437— he continued the series of encroachments 1450 A.D.

¹ The existence of this word shows an imitation of Muhammadan procedure which indicates a more intimate connection with the plains than the records disclose. The word for office, '*chárathán*,' would also justify a similar remark.

which Gyán Chand commenced and which ended in the consolidation of the entire province under the Chand rule. The Rainka Raja of Doti of the Malla family had for generations been acknowledged as suzerain of the Káli Kumaon district, and a younger branch of the same family with the title of Bam Sâhi¹ held almost independent control of Sira and Sor on the left bank of the Sarju. It was against them that Bháratí Chand first directed his arms. Raised to power, as it were, by the popular will, he was enabled to collect a large and serviceable body of followers with whom he invaded Doti every year and, fixing his camp at a place called Báli Chaukúr, conducted plundering operations over all the neighbouring territory. Never before had a Kumaoni force remained so long in the field, and the soldiery unable to return to their homes contracted temporary alliances with the women of the place, a practice formerly unknown and hitherto deemed contrary to the usages of the Hindus. These women were called Khatakwáli and eventually gave rise to a separate caste and to such a degradation of the military caste in Hindu eyes that the hill Rajpút is now considered a mere Khasiya though he may have been descended from settlers from the plains of pure lineage. When the war had lasted for twelve years, Ratan Chand, the son of Bháratí Chand, who had been left in charge of Káli Kumaon, having received aid from the Raja of Káteshir, collected a large reinforcement and joined his father in time to take part in a general action in which the Rainka Raja was defeated. Doti was plundered and the Rainka agreed to relinquish all pretensions to any claim over the Chand possessions. Bháratí Chand was so pleased with his son's energy and valour that he gave him pargana Chaugarkha as an appanage in *rot*² and eventually abdicated in his favor in 1450 A.D. There is a deed of this prince in the Almora archives recording a grant of land to one Rámakanth Kuleta in 1445 A.D. Bháratí Chand died in 1461 A.D.

Ratan Chand succeeded his father under very favorable conditions. He found the little *ráj* of Káli Kumaon respected by its neighbours, and

Ratan Chand, 1450—
1488 A.D.

¹ The term Malla Sâhi was given to the junior members of the reigning family in Doti, the head of which was known as the Rainka Raja, and he allowed the petty princes who paid him tribute to bear the title of Raja. Thus the Chands were Rajas of Champawat and called their fortress Ráj-búnja, but allowed no one subordinate to them to call themselves Raja.

² See page ; footnote.

believing that much of this good fortune was due to the protecting power of the great deity of Jageswar, he, while visiting his fief of Chaugarkha, paid his devotions at the temple and endowed it with several villages. He then made a tour through the outlying parts of his *rāj* and formed a settlement with the resident cultivators and so arranged his affairs that, it is said, the first real attempt at administration should date from his reign.¹ His father died in 1461 A.D., and about this time the Rainka Raja again made an effort to reassert his supremacy over Káli Kumaon. Ratan Chand, however, was prepared for the emergency and assembling an overwhelming force invaded Doti. The reigning Raja was Nága Malla, who had overthrown the Sáhi dynasty, and the followers of the old family who had fled for protection to Champáwat now assisted the invaders. Ratan Chand defeated and slew Nága Malla in battle and restored the country to the Sáhi Raja. Taking advantage of his position he penetrated as far as Jumla, Buján² and Thal, then held by Jagarnáth Bhat, Kharku Singh Muhara and Shor Singh Muhara respectively, and compelled each of them to tender his submission and agree to pay an annual tribute of one pod of musk, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, a hawk and a horse to the Raja of Káli Kumaon. This arrangement was faithfully carried out until the absorption of those states by the Gorkhals in the middle of the eighteenth century. On returning from Doti, Ratan Chand invaded Sor, then held by the Bam Raja of the Doti family, residing in Udepur near Pithoragarh and also at Bilorkot in the cold weather. Ratan Chand was again successful and Sor was for a time annexed to Káli Kumaon.

The Doti family give the following pedigree which will be of

Pedigree of the Doti family and their branches.

use for comparison with other sources of information.

Pedigree of the Doti family.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sáliváhana deva. | 6. Vikramáditya deva. | 11. Sumura Sinha deva. |
| 2. Shaktiváhana deva. | 7. Dharmapála deva. | 12. Ashala deva. |
| 3. Harivarma deva. | 8. Nilopalá deva. | 13. Sárangya deva. |
| 4. Srí Brahma deva. | 9. Munjarája deva. | 14. Nakula deva. |
| 5. Vajra deva. | 10. Bhoja deva. | 15. Jai Sinha deva. |

¹ Ratan Chand introduced the five Rajpút clans known as Páñch Purbiya into Doti, viz.,—Surari, Deopa, Púrchúni, Paderu and Chárái. ² The names of the following Rajas of Buján are recorded:—Uttam Singh, Raghunáth Singh, Núráj Singh, Indra Singh, Ratan Singh, Mahendra Singh, and Gajráj Singh, who was alive in 1850.

Pedigree of the Doti family—(concluded.)

16. Anijala deva.	39. Siya Malla deva.	42. Rama Sâhi.
17. Vidyarâja deva.	30. Ilrâj deva.	43. Pabar Sâhi.
18. Prithivesvar deva.	31. Nîlrâj deva.	44. Rudra Sâhi.
19. Chunapâla deva.	32. Phatak Silrâja deva.	45. Vikrama Sâhi.
20. Asanti deva.	33. Pithiyarâja deva.	46. Mandhâta Sâhi.
21. Bâsanti deva.	34. Dhân deva.	47. Raghunâth Sâhi.
22. Katâr Malla deva.	35. Brahm deva.	48. Hari Sâhi.
23. Sinha Malla deva.	36. Trilokpâla deva.	49. Krishna Sâhi.
24. Phani Malla deva.	37. Niranjana deva.	50. Dîpa Sâhi.
25. Nîphi Malla deva.	38. Nâga Malla deva.	51. Vishnu Sâhi.
26. Nîlaya Râi deva.	39. Arjuna Sâhi.	52. Pradîpa Sâhi.
27. Vajrabahu deva.	40. Bhupati Sâhi.	53. Hansadhvaia Sah
28. Gauraga deva.	41. Hari Sâhi	

The Sâhi dynasty are descendants of Arjuna Sâhi, who was a contemporary of Ratan Chand For the Askot pedigree we have a list from the present Rajbâr of Askot recounting his descent in 221 generations from Srî Uttapannapatra, the founder of the solar dynasty, through Brahma, Mrachî (*sic*), Kasyapa, &c. Opposite the name Sâlivâhan is the note that he came from Ayodhya and established himself in Katyûr. Commencing with him the following names are recorded :—

Pedigree of the Askot family.

1. Sâlivâhana deva.	27. Krâsididhya.	53. Bhûpâla.
2. Sanjaya	28. Vidhirâja.	81. Ratnapâla.
3. Kumâra	29. Prithiveswar.	82. Sankhapâ a.
4. Harivriha.	30. Balakadeva.	83. Syâmapâla.
5. Brahma deva	31. Asanti.	84. Sûpâla.
6. Saka.	32. Bâsanti.	85. Sujanpâla.
7. Vajra deva.	33. Katâr Malla.	86. Bhujayapâla.
8. Vranajava.	34. Sotadeva.	87. Bhartapâla.
9. Vikramâjita.	35. Sindha.	88. Sutatipâla.
10. Dharmapâla.	36. Kîna.	89. Achhapâla.
11. Sârangadhara.	37. Ranakîna.	90. Tilokapâla.
12. Nilapâla.	38. Nîla Rai.	91. Surapâla.
13. Bhojarâja.	39. Vajravahu.	92. Jagatipâla.
14. Vinaipâla.	40. Gaura.	93. Pirojapâla.
15. Bhujanra deva.	41. Sadila.	94. Râpâla.
16. Samarasi.	42. Itinrâja.	95. Mahendrapâla.
17. Asala.	43. Tilangarâja.	96. Jaintapâla.
18. Asauka.	44. Udakasila.	97. Bîrbalpâla.
19. Saranga.	45. Pritama.	98. Amarasipâla.
20. Naja.	46. Dhâm.	99. Bhramaipâla.
21. Kamajaya	47. Brahm deva.	100. Uchchharapâla.
22. Sâlinakula.	48. Trilokpâla.	101. Vijaipâla.
23. Granapati.	49. Abhayapâla.	102. Mahendrapâla.
24. Jaisinha deva.	50. Nirbhaipâla.	103. Bahâdupâla.
25. Sankasvara.	51. Bhâtipâla.	104. Pushkarapâla.
26. Sanesvara.	52. Bhairanpâla.	

Opposite (49) Abhayapâla is the note that he left Katyûr for Askot in 1279 A D. and after (53) Bhupâla the note that twenty-eight generations, regarding whom there is no record available, intervene between him and Ratanapâla. Rudradatta gives a list

from (46) Dhám deva, which will assist in applying the necessary corrections to the Rajbár's list:—

1. Dhám deva.	11. Suraj pála.	21. Mahendra pála.
2. Brahm deva.	12. Bhoj pála.	22. Jaintha pála.
3. Asana deva.	13. Bhadra pála.	23. Birbala pála.
4. Abhaya deva.	14. Siuratan pála.	24. Amara Sinha pála.
5. Nirbhaya pála.	15. Aclha pála.	25. Abhaya pála.
6. Bháratí pála.	16. Trailokya pála.	26. Uchchhava pála.
7. Bhairava pála.	17. Sundara pála.	27. Vijaya pála.
8. Ratana pála.	18. Jagati pála.	28. Mahendra pála.
9. Syáma pála.	19. Piroja pála.	29. Himmat pála.
10. Sahl pála.	20. Rai pála.	30. Daljit pála.

Next follows Bahádurpála as in the previous list. There is nothing to lead one to suppose that there should be such a large interpolation as 28 generations necessary in this list. The title Rajbár was, as we have already suggested, that of the junior princes of the Katyúri family, and we have seen that it was early used, for in 1202 A.D. there is a grant by Indradeva Rajbár of lands in the Katyúr valley. Abhaya deva was the first to leave the valley for Askot, and the date fits in well with the time of uncertainty and revolution which marked the decline of the Katyúri power. He changed his title from '*deva*' to '*pála*' because the first belonged to the branch ruling in Katyúr. The title Rajbár now belongs solely to the head of the Askot house, whilst the eldest son is called Lala and the younger son Gosáin.

The Bam Rajas of Sor, though nominally subject, were gradually founding an hereditary kingdom when interrupted by Ratan Chand. A curious story is told of one Jainda Kiral, who was settlement officer to one of these princes. Jainda measured the cultivated and culturable land and assessed each according to its value and recorded the demand against every cultivator in a series of volumes which were placed in the record-room of the Raja. The people therefore disliked him exceedingly, and when once he was sent to a distant part of the country to reduce some refractory villages to submission, his enemies resolved to do something that would vex him terribly. The plan which was adopted was to feign that Jainda had died in battle and so induce his widow to burn herself as a *sati*. The report was duly made to the wife of Jainda and was supported by corroborative evidence and she believed it, and inconsolable for her loss declared her determination to sacrifice herself. In

this resolve she was encouraged by all around her, who further suggested that she should ascend the funeral pyre with all the precious records that her husband had collected and so laboriously compiled and thus perform an act not only meritorious in itself, but one that would be specially pleasing to the spirit of her husband, who would thus in the next world possess all that he held most precious in this world. To this the infatuated woman consented, and thus the settlement records of the Sor *rāj* fed the funeral pyre of the wife of their author. Hence the proverb still current :—

*“Mari gayo Jaina jaldi hata bai,
Jusi Jusi Suryal haune tusi tusi bhai.”*

‘Jaina died and his records (*hala*) were burned and everything turned out as the Sor folk said.’ The names of the following Rajas of this family are recorded :—Karākil, Kākil, Chandra bam, Harka bam, Ani bam, Sagti bam, Vijaya bam and Hari bam, and their officials were drawn from the Pātani, Punetha, Bhat, Upādhyā, Joshi, Upreti, and Pānde subdivisions.

Ratan Chand died in 1488 A.D. and was succeeded by his son
 Kīrati Chand, 1488-1503 A.D. Kīrati Chand, who bears as warlike a reputation as his father. He was constantly engaged in drilling and exercising his soldiers and preparing for some expedition or another. The Doti Raja again threw off his allegiance, and while Kīrati Chand was calling in his men from the detached posts which the insecure state of his frontier obliged him to maintain, the Dautiyals invaded Kumaon in force. Connected with this invasion we have another of those episodes so characteristic of the people and the times and indeed of the traditions themselves that no apology need be made for giving it here, leaving the reader to judge the value which can be assigned to it. In some cases these stories cover actual facts; in others they give a poetical explanation of facts, and to attribute to the influence of a deity or a holy man success or defeat is a practice not unknown in Europe. The story informs us that while Kīrati Chand was preparing to march against the Doti forces with the troops at his command, he heard of the arrival of a holy man by name Nāgnāth and turned to him for counsel in the existing difficulty. Nāgnāth said : “Your place is at Champāwat, send your general to the war.

Here is a whip with which he will scourge the Rainka as a man doth scourge a vicious horse." The advice was not palatable, for Kíratí Chand was a brave prince and wished to lead his forces in person, but yielding to the urgent entreaties of his courtiers did as he was directed. The result was that the Doti army was almost annihilated and for a long time dared not appear again in force in Káli Kumaon. Nágnáth naturally acquired great influence and became the principal adviser of the Raja. He urged that now was a fortunate time to undertake still further operations and that if the Raja undertook an expedition towards Garhwál, he should meet the guru Satyanáth, who would instruct him as to what further he was to do.

Some seventy years previous, when Udyán Chand was Raja of Champáwat, a prince of the Katyúri family called Bír Sinha Deva occupied the fort of Bisaud to the east of Bandani Devi near Almora and owned the country as far as the Suwál river, whilst on the other side of the river another Katyúri prince held and occupied the Khagmara fort on the Almora hill. In an inscription on a ruined temple near the Suwál and on the boundaries of the two governments we find the name Arjuna Deva and the date 1307 A.D., and on an old stone discovered on the Almora hill when making some repairs the name Nirayapála with the date 1348 A.D., names which doubtless belong to some of these Katyúri princes. We are told that Udyán Chand was at this time busy in repairing the temple of Báleswar and preparing it for the reception of the image. Srí Chand, a Brahman of the Gujráthi division, had settled with his son Sukhdeo in Champáwat, and the Raja asked the latter to conduct the installation service at the temple. Srí Chand was so annoyed at the preference shown to his son that he abandoned Champáwat and set out for Bárahmandal. On his way he visited the Bisaud Raja, who received him with much courtesy and accompanied him to the Suwál, regretting his inability to proceed further, as the country beyond belonged to another Raja. They separated and Srí Chand passed on by the gardens of the Khagmara Raja, where a gardener presented him with a *bijaura* or lemon to make sherbet with and refresh himself after his journey. Srí Chand refused the gift, giving as his reason that there was another lemon

within the fruit. The lemon was cut in two and the Brahman's statement was found correct. The matter was reported to the Raja, who sent for Sñi Chand and desired an explanation of the portent. The Brahman informed him that his kingdom should certainly pass away into other hands and that he should be prepared, for the day was not distant when the teaching of the omen should be fulfilled. In order to anticipate whatever evils might be in store for him the Raja gave over Khagmara to Sñi Chand and fled to Syúnara. The Bisaud Raja then took possession of the country dependant on Khagmara, but lost his own lands on the left bank of the Suwál which were conquered by the Chands.

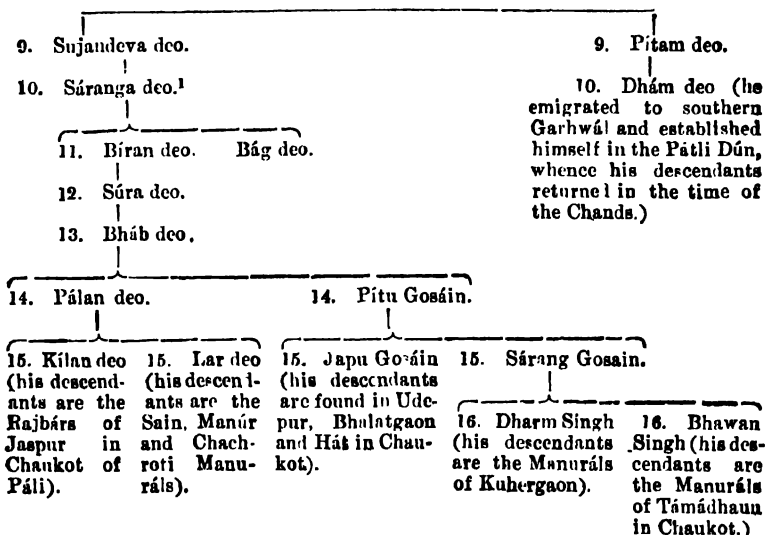
The relations between the Chands and Katyúris remained unchanged until Kirati Chand's time, who now resolved to seize upon the remainder of the Bisaud Raja's possessions. He entered Bárahmandal with a veteran army and laid siege to and captured Khagmara-kot and expelled the Raja. He next occupied Syúnara-kot and drove the Raja of that Patti to Borárau, where the Katyúri troops made a stand and by a night attack on the enemy's camp nearly exterminated the advanced guard of Kírti Chand's forces. Still the progress of the Chand Raja was little hindered; he eventually occupied the entire country lying between the Kosi and the Gagás and ordered the slaughter of all the inhabitants of the tract now known as Pattis Kairárau and Borárau. He then divided the land amongst his Káli Kumaon followers of the Kaira and Bora castes, who have given their name to the lands thus occupied to the present day. Páli was then attacked and the Katyúri Raja of Lakhanpur gave up his fort without resistance, simply stipulating for his people that no damage should be done to the country and that the Chands should regard the inhabitants as their own subjects. The Katyúris retired to Sult and built themselves a fort at Mánil, where they and other members of the conquered Katyúri families were for a long time allowed to live in peace.

The pedigree of these Páli Katyúris has been preserved and

Pedigree of Páli Katyúris.

deserves a place here: when compared with that of the Askot and Doti families, the variations are unimportant:—

1. Asanti deva.
2. Bāsanti deva.
3. Gauranga deva.
4. Siya Malla deva.
5. Phenava Rai.
6. Keshava Rai.
7. Ajaya Rai.
8. Gajava Rai.



In the pedigree there are none of the names of the Katyúri Rajas of the copper-plates and they probably contain only the names of the branch, and these only when they became of some importance. The two first names are clearly those alluded to in the memorial verse regarding Lakhanpur already noticed. The change of title in the case of Pítu from '*deva*' to '*gosáin*,' is similar to that which took place in Askot and is doubtless due to the same cause.

The conquest of Phaldakot was next undertaken and proved a more difficult task. It was at this time held by a Raja of the Káthi tribe of Rájputs, and though he perished in one of the first contests, his people held out in his name and defied the utmost endeavours of the Chand troops. Kírti Chand called for reinforcements and on

¹ An inscription on the temple of the Kuladevi or household goddess at Tāmādhann in Chaukot records the name Śāranga deva and the date Śaka 1342 = 1420 A.D., and may refer either to this Śāranga or to Śāranga Gossin, whose descendants are still found in Tāmādhann.

their arrival attacked the Káthis with redoubled vigour, ordering their total destruction. So well were his orders carried out that he was able in a short time to parcel out the lands amongst his Mára, Kharáyat and Dhek followers, on whom also he bestowed the fiscal offices of Kamín and Sayána. He next took possession of Kota and Kotali and returned to Champáwat by Dhyánirau, consolidating his conquests by the appointment of administrative officers as he went. His next expedition was towards the Mal or low country, where he established a post near Jaspur and called it after his own name Kíratipur. He now held Kumaon as it exists at the present day with the exception of Katyúr, which was held by a Katyúra Raja, Dánpur, the Bhot Maháls Askot, Síra, Sor and the Mankoti ráj of Gangoli. The death of Satyanúth prevented his pushing his conquests into Garhwál, but taking all his acquisitions; Kíratí Chand must be regarded as the most active and successful prince of his family. He died in 1503 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Partáp Chand.

Partáp Chand appears to have occupied himself with the work of administration and we hear of no new conquests made by him. We have a grant of his bearing date in 1510 A.D. and we also know that he succeeded in keeping possession of the parganahs bequeathed to him by his father. He died in 1517 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Tára Chand, who after an interval of sixteen years was followed by Mánik Chand in 1533 A.D.

Manik Chand reigned from 1533 to 1542 A.D., and during his time an event occurred which is not recorded in the local traditions. From the *Turíkh-i-Dáúdi* of Abdulla we learn that in the year 1541 A.D. Khawás Khán, the opponent of Islám Sháh, made the skirt of the

Kumaon hills his home, whence he ravaged the royal territories which lay in their vicinity. He, however, joined the Níázís before the battle of Umbala and on the day of action deserted them on the plea of their wishing to exclude any man of the Sur family from the succession to the empire. His subsequent movements appear to have been extraordinary, for instead of joining Islam Shah, to whom he had communicated his intentions, he again returned to his haunts under the hills and finally sought the

protection of the Raja of Kumaon. He entered Kumaon by the pass of Dabar and fixed his residence at Alhahí and received from the Raja some villages for his support as well as a daily allowance of cash. When intelligence of this reached Islám Sháh he directed Táj Khán Kiráni, who held the *súbah* of Sambhal and owed his preferment to Khawás Khán, to use every possible means to get the refugee into his power. "If his hand could not reach there, he was to do it by message, promising royal benefactions, such as the imperial districts at the foot of the hills, which could be made over to him. By holding out hopes such as these Táj Khán might be able to send him in chains to Court. Several messages were despatched at the same time to the Raja, who indignantly replied: "How can I throw into fetters a man who has sought my protection? As long as I have breath in my body, I can never be guilty of such baseness." Islám Sháh himself then wrote to Khawás Khán to say that he forgave him, and wished that what had passed should all be forgotten between them; that the Rana of Udepur had again raised his head and plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and children of Musalmáns; that none of the nobles had succeeded in their measures against him, and that all their hopes were now centered in Khawás Khán. "All this is asserted with all the sincerity that can attach to an oath before God, and after that, an engagement and guarantee was engrossed on saffron-cloth and despatched. And Táj Khán was at the same time instructed to use every kind of cajolery and flattery in order to lull that bird into security and entice him into the net; for the wounds which his conduct had implanted in the king's breast could not be healed but by the salve of his murder." On the receipt of these missives Khawás Khán's immediate impulse was to obey them, but he was strongly dissuaded by his adherents and the Raja, who represented that the king was perfidious, that he had destroyed most of his nobles, and how then could he allow Khawás Khán to escape, who had been ten times opposed to him in battle? These remonstrances, however, were of no avail, and notwithstanding the warnings of his friend, Khawás Khán gave himself up, when by orders of Islám Sháh he was beheaded and his body stuffed in straw was sent to Dehli.¹ The magnanimity shown by

¹ Dowson's Elliot, IV., 484, 350.

the Kumaon Raja is a bright spot in the annals of the Chands and is recognized even by the Musalmán historian. Mánik Chand was succeeded by his son Kalyán, nicknamed Kuli Kalyán on account of his ungovernable temper. He weakened his authority by a lavish use of his power of punishment and caused much discontent throughout the province. After a short reign of nine years he died and was succeeded by Puni or Puran Chand, who was followed by Bhíshma Chand.

Bhíshma or Bhikam Chand, who began to rule in 1555 A.D., had no son and therefore adopted a son of Tára Chand named Kalyán, who was nicknamed Bálo Kalyán Chand and is known by

Bhíshma, 1555—1560 that name in all the traditions. Disturbances again arose in Doti and Bálo Kalyán

was sent to quell them; but during his absence the old Raja was troubled by news of a rising in Páli and Syúnara and left himself to visit the west. Convinced that the growth of his dominions required a more central capital than Champáwat, the Raja looked about for a site and at last resolved to settle near the old fort of Khagmara and make it his new capital. He had hardly made known his intentions when a plot was set on foot to counteract them. Away on the southern face of the Gágar range near Ramgarh was an old fort held by a semi-independent chief of the Khasiyas, named Gajawa, who in some way had escaped the bands of Kíratí Chand when his troops laid waste the pargana. Gajawa thought that the Khasiyas might now enjoy some revenge for all their sufferings as well as freedom in the future. He assembled a large number of his castemen and came unawares upon the old Raja as he tranquilly slept in the Khagmara fort and slew him and his followers. The triumph of the Khasiya chief however was very short lived, for no sooner did Bálo Kalyán Chand hear the news than he patched up a peace with the Dautiyals and hastening to Ramgarh and Khagmara took exemplary vengeance on all the Khasiyas in the neighbourhood. This event occurred in 1560 A.D.

Bálo Kalyán Chand peacefully ascended the *gaddi* of the

Bálo Kalyán, 1560 A.D. Chands. He accepted the choice of Bhíshma and made the Khagmara hill his capital

under the name Almora. He separated the lands which had been given to Srí Chand by the last Katyúri Raja and taking the

remainder for himself, built his own residence near the Nail-ke-pokhar in 1563 A.D. He then gave land to all the members of his household near his own residence and also to the Joshis who accompanied him. The Chautara Brahmans, however, remained in Káli Kumaon and ceased henceforward to fill the high offices that they had hitherto monopolised. Hardly had the darbár settled down in Almora than fresh occupation was found for the troops of the Raja. To the north-east of Almora, in the tract between the Sarju and eastern Rám-ganga, an independent kingdom had existed for several generations under Rajas of the Chandrabansi line who from the place of their residence were known as the Mankoti Rajas of Gangoli. Karm Chand, the first of this line who attained to any eminence, made himself obnoxious to his Upreti *kámdár* or minister, and in consequence was slain by the minister's followers when out hunting. The Upreti sent word to the Ráni of Karm Chand that the Raja had been killed by a tiger and that his general obsequies had been duly performed. The Ráni suspected that all was not right and calling for some Brahmans of the Pant tribe in whom she placed great confidence, intrusted to them her son to bring him up and protect him from his Upreti enemies. She then prepared herself to become a *sati* and when dying cursed the country, saying "since the Raja has been killed by a tiger, men shall ever be killed by tigers in Gangoli," and from that day until very recently Gangoli was the most noted haunt of tigers in Kumaon. The Pantis fulfilled their trust and established Sítal Chand, the son of Karm Chand, on the *gaddi* at Mankot and received the lands of the Upretis as their reward. Sítal Chand was succeeded by Brahm Chand, Hingúl Chand, Puníp Chand, Ani Chand and Náráyan Chand. We have an inscription on an old well called the Jáhnavi Naula at Gangoli Hát bearing date 1264 A.D., which is attributed to the Gangola Rajas, in which the name Somati occurs, but the other names are not decypherable. In Baijnáth also there is an inscription of these Rajas in the ancient temple of Lakshmináráyan which records that in 1352 A.D. the Gangola Rajas, Hamíra deva, Lingarája deva, and Dhárala deu regilt the spire (*kalasa*) of the temple. A second record in the same place inscribed on the image of Gaurimahesvari in the Bhogmandir relates that in 1365 A.D. one Subhadra, wife of Kalhana Pandit, in the kingdom of Hamíra

deva, fulfilled a vow. Mention is also made in a petition in the case of Ratan Chaudhri of Gangoli (tried by Mr. Traill) of a grant by Ani Chand in 1311 Saka, corresponding to 1389 A.D., but as the original was never produced it may well be regarded as a forgery or at least that the petitioner was mistaken in the date, for Ani Chand was predecessor of Náráyan Chand, the contemporary of Bálo Kalyán. Another Mankoti grant is alluded to in the file of the grants made to the Bageswar temple as bearing the date 1305 Saka or 1383 A.D., but the original is not forthcoming. It was Náráyan Chand who gave offence to Bálo Kalyán and induced him to invade Gangoli, which he quickly overran and annexed to his own possessions.

Kalyán's great desire now was to make the Káli his eastern boundary, and whilst at Gangoli-Hát he
 Acquisition of Sor. looked with longing eyes on the fair country between him and that river which had been recovered by the Bam dynasty from Ratan Chand and was still in their possession. Kalyán had married a daughter of Hari Malla and sister of the reigning Rainka Raja of Doti and urged her to beg from her brother the pargana of Síra as dowry, as he hoped by this means to obtain a footing in the Doti territory. The entire tract to the east of the Ramganga¹ was then recognized as belonging to the Raja of Doti, and Kalyán Chand hoped thus gradually to approach the Káli. The Rainka replied that Síra was the chief possession (*śr*) of Doti and was therefore as dear to him as his own head; that he would never give up Síra, but that Kalyán might have Sor. The Kumaonis accordingly took possession of Sor, but were so unsuccessful in an attempt to lay hands upon Síra also that they returned in haste to Almora, leaving only a small garrison behind them. Kalyán Chand next turned his attention towards Dánpur on the upper waters of the Sarju, which had long been independent under its Khasiya Rajas, but had of late years been broken up into numerous petty districts. Practically the landholders in each village acknowledged no other authority than their own and thus fell an easy prey to the Chands. It may well be supposed that there were many cadets of the reigning family anxious to join in the plunder of the conquered tracts and carve out an appanage for

¹ Rámanga-par is still called Doti.

themselves. These junior members of the Chand house were called Rāotelas, and to them was generally intrusted the management of the frontier parganahs with considerable grants of land for their own support. In this way a landed gentry, as it were, connected by ties of blood and interest with the ruling power were gradually spread over the land and contributed more than any other measure to the strengthening of the Chand influence in the newly-acquired tracts. Bālo Kalyān ended his busy career in 1565 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Rudra Chand.

Rudra Chand was very young when he succeeded his father and was much under the influence of the women of his father's female apartments and the priests who were attached to the court. One of the earliest acts of his long reign was the re-establishment of the worship of Mahādeo at Bāleswar in Kāli Kumaon in this wise. A Sanyāsi named Rāmadatta told the young Raja that his kingdom was buried in the ground with Mahādeo near the temple of Bāleswar. The Raja paid a visit to the temple and dug where he was desired by the Sanyāsi and discovered a great ling of stone which was set up in the temple and endowed with a *nāli* of grain from each village at each harvest. Rāmadatta was appointed guardian of the temple and built his mausoleum (*samādhi*) near it.¹ Shortly after the accession of Rudra Chand, the Tarāi and Bhābar were occupied by the Musalmān governor of Kānt-o-golah (Shāhjahānpur), who was probably Husain Khān Tukriyah. From Firishta we learn that at this time an impression of the great wealth of Kumaon was generally prevalent amongst the Musalmāns. At the conclusion of his work in speaking of the princes of India he writes:—"Of these princes there are five principal Rajas on the north and five others on the south, each of whom has numerous tributary Rajas dependent on him. * * The five former Rajas are the Rajas of Kooch, Jammu, Nagrakot, Kumaon and Bhimbar." Again he writes:—"The Raja of Kumaon also possesses an extensive dominion, and a considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing the earth

¹ This verse commemorating Rudra's gift is still well-known:—

Jau Rudra Chand ke dāi tau Rāmadatta ke nāli."

The descendants of Rāmadatta still reside in the monastery (*math*) at Ganānāth.

mounds in his country, which also contains copper mines. His territory stretches to the north as far as Tibet and on the south reaches to Sambhal, which is included in India. He retains in pay an army of 80,000 men both in cavalry and infantry and commands great respect from the emperors of Dehli. His treasures too are vast. It is a rule among the kings of Kumaon not to encroach on the hoards of their ancestors, for it is a saying amongst them that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use will become mean and beggarly in spirit;¹ so that at the present day fifty-six distinct treasures exist which have been left by the Rajas of Kumaon, each of which has the owner's seal upon it. The sources of the Jamna and the Ganges are both to be found within the Kumaon territory." This description² of Firishta would appear to be more correct of Garhwál than of Kumaon, for the former country has been celebrated from the earliest times for its mines of copper and lead and the gold-washings in the Alaknanda and Bhágirathi valleys and along the Sona Nadi in the Pátli Dúu. It also contains the sources of the two rivers. The number of princes would also lead us to imagine that Garhwál was intended, and if we assume that Firishta completed his history by 1623 A.D., for which we have the authority of Mohl,³ the Raja ruling in Garhwál at the time will be Garbhabhanjan Mahípati Sáh, its first really independent prince and who is fifty-fourth on the list of Rajas already given. From this we may suppose that Firishta had a similar list before him when writing the conclusion to his great work.

Husain Khán Kashmíri, the Bayard of Akbar's court, but at the same time a bigoted, cruel and merciless fanatic, received the name Tukríyah on account of his tyranny towards the Hindús. He was once governor of Lahore and meeting a man with a flowing beard, saluted him, believing that he was a Musalmán. On discovering that the man was a Hindu, he issued an order that in future all Hindus should wear a distinguishing mark on their shoulders, which being called in Hindi '*tukri*' obtained for him the nickname of 'Tukríyah.' He was governor of Lucknow in 1569 A.D., and being

¹ There is little doubt that Firishta here refers to the precatory verses usually attached to a grant of land by a Hindu Raja and to which he has given a wider significance than they possess: see *ante* p. 547, 549.

² Dowson's Elliot, VI., 309.

³ Brigg's Firishta, IV.,

deprived of his charge resolved to lead a crescentade against the hills, from which he expected much spiritual profit from slaying infidels and disfiguring their idols and much temporal benefit from the plunder of the famous treasury of the Rajas of Kumaon. He accordingly set forth from Lucknow with (according to Badauni)¹ "the design of breaking down the idols and of demolishing the idol temples. For he had heard that their bricks were made of gold and silver and other false reports of their unbounded treasures had come to his ears. He proceeded through Oudh towards the Siwálik hills. The hill-men as is their custom abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance and fled for security to a higher elevation, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khán arrived at last at the place where Sultán Mahmúd, nephew of Pir Muhammad Khán, was slain. He read the *Fátíha* for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the kasbah of Wajráil in the country of Raja Ranka, a powerful zamíndár, and from that town to Ajmer, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musks and all the productions of Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey; when on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses and the sound of the kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect and so much rain fell that neither corn nor grass was to be procured. Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men and existed their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city and the country in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution and he was compelled to retreat. On their retreat the Káfirs who were in possession of the passes showered down stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones upon them. They also blocked up the way and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom. Many of the wounded who escaped at the time died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison. Thus ended the first expedition of Husain Khán. The title Ranka Raja is that of the Raja of Doti at this time, and we may identify the name

¹ Dowson's *Elliot*, V., 468 496 : Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 372.

Wajráíl with either Júrál or Dipáíl, the cold-weather residence of the Doti Raja on the Seti river at the foot of the hills. His principal fort was Ajmergarh near Dandoldhúra, where the Chauntara or governor now resides. The insalubrity of the Doti Tarái is notorious even to the present day, and the allusion to Husain Khán's being within two days' journey of Tibet is doubtless referrible to the mart of Barmdeo, which was then as now the great emporium for Tibetan produce. To the west in Garhwál there is a patti called Ajmer which is now confined to the lower hills between the Málini and Khoh rivers, but at one time included the whole of paraganah Ganga Salán, but this tract was at this time in the possession of the Sáh rulers of Garhwál.

On his return from this expedition Husain Khan asked for and received Kánt-o-Golah in *jágír* in lieu of one previously held by him. "Several times he made excursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition now felt the malarious influence of the climate and died off, but not in battle. After some years Husain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final struggle to get possession of the hills." This was in 1575 A.D., and all his efforts were now devoted to gain possession of Basantpur, a town of considerable importance and reputed wealth in the Eastern Dún. This expedition was solely actuated by his religious zeal and a love of plunder, and after breaking the idols, defiling the temples and laying waste the country, Husain Khán returned to his estate with much plunder and, moreover, a bullet in his side. Akbar had already received many complaints of the exacting behaviour of Husain Khán towards the Hindús, and on being informed of this unprovoked attack on a friendly town, recalled the Gházi to Dehli, where he died shortly afterwards of his wounds. There is nothing to show that Husain Khán ever penetrated into Kumaon, though he held the Kumaon Tarái which lay not far to the north of his *jágír*. Sultán Ibráhím of Anba, another of Akbar's grandees, is credited with the conquest of Kumaon and the Dáman-i-koh, as the tract lying along the foot of the hills is called by the Musalmán historians.

The hill tradition is that shortly after the death of Husain Khán, when Rudra Chand had arrived at Visit to the Emperor. years of discretion, he assembled a force which he led in person into the Taráí and expelled the Musalmán officials. Complaints were sent to Dehli and a strong reinforcement was sent to aid the governor of Katehir. Rightly believing that he could not withstand the enemy in the open field, Rudra Chand proposed that the claim to the Taráí should be decided by a single combat between the champions of the respective forces. After some preliminary negotiation this form of the trial by ordeal was agreed to. Rudra Chand fought on the part of the Hindús and a Mughal officer on the part of the Musalmáns and after a long and severe contest the Hindú champion was declared victor. This little piece of boasting is pardonable in the local traditions when we have the acknowledgment that the Mughals were never able to enter the hills. It is further recorded that Akbar was so pleased with the conduct of the Kumaon prince that he invited Rudra Chand to Lahore, where he then was, and sent him and his followers to aid in the siege of Nagor, where the hill-troops so distinguished themselves that, on their return, Akbar conferred on their leader a formal grant of the *Chaurási-Mal* parganahs and further excused Rudra Chand from personal attendance at court during the remainder of his life. Rudra Chand, moreover, made Bírbal, the celebrated minister of Akbar, his purohit, and up to the close of the Chand rule, the descendants of Bírbal used to visit Almora to collect the customary dues. This visit of Rudra Chand is not so highly spoken of by the Musalmán historians. Abdul Kádir Budáúni relates¹ that "in 1588 A.D. the Raja of Kumaon arrived at Lahore from the Siwálik hills for the purpose of paying his respects. Neither he nor his ancestors (the curse of God on them !) could ever have expected to speak face to face with an emperor. He brought several rare presents and amongst them a Tibet cow (yak) and a musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), which latter died on the road from the effect of the heat. I saw it with my own eyes and it had the appearance of a fox. Two small tusks projected from its mouth and instead of horns it had a slight elevation or bump. As the hind-quarters of

¹ Elliot, V., 541. *Ibid.*, VI., 332.

the animal were enveloped in a cloth I could not examine the whole body. They said that there were men in those hills who had feathers and wings and could fly, and they spoke of a mango tree in that country which yields fruit all the year round." Well did the author add to this account :—"God knows whether it is true!" Jahángír in his memoirs expressly states that the father of Lakshmi Chand, "at the time of waiting upon the late king, sent a petition asking that the son of Raja Todar Mal might lead him to the royal presence, and his request was complied with," so we must abandon the local tradition of the combat and its consequences.

The tract lying along the foot of the hills, has, as we have seen, been gradually growing in importance with
 Taráí and Bhábar. the Kumaon rulers. From the Musalmán historians and the traditions of the plains' tribes we gather that in the eleventh century this tract was covered with dense forests interspersed with patches of grazing and cultivation.¹ The people were chiefly occupied in pasturing cattle, the scant cultivation being barely sufficient for their wants. Rude temporary dwelling-places were the rule, but here and there were forts to which the graziers could fly in times of danger. It was not till a hundred years later that the Kshatriya clans entered Katehir and gave it their name. These in turn harassed by the Musalmáns crossed the Rámanga into the forest country and brought much of it under the plough. In the thirteenth century these tribes suffered cruelly at the hands of Nasír-ud-din Mahmúd and Ghiyás-ud-din Balban. Again, Fíroz Sháh, in revenge for the murder of his Sayyid friends, sent an army into Katehir every year "to commit every kind of ravage and devastation and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer (who had taken refuge amidst the ravines and precipices of Kumaon) was given up. For six years not an inhabitant was allowed to live in the plains country bordering on the Rámanga and not a single acre of land was cultivated. This state of affairs lasted until 1385 A.D., and at that time the frontier outpost of the Musalmáns was a stronghold in Bisauli about fourteen *kos* from Budaun, called in mockery by the people the fort of Akhirínpur. The Taráí belt was wilder still and

¹ See further *Gaz., V., Bareilly District, History.*

was even then occupied by the Mahtas or Mewátis, whom we find there at the conquest by the British. Although early in the fifteenth century Garur Gyán Chand and his son Udyán Chand are said to have claimed an ancient right over this territory, it is clear from all that has been recorded regarding them that this assertion had the faintest possible foundation in fact.

The inhabitants of the lower Pattis, from the earliest times, undoubtedly had recourse to the Bhábar, as at present, for grazing purposes, but these very Pattis did not come into the possession of the Chands until the conquests of Ratan Chand and Kíratí Chand and the transfer of the seat of government to Almora in the middle of the sixteenth century. The southern portion of the lowland tract or the Taráí proper was first permanently taken possession of and annexed to the hill state by Rudra Chand, who was also the first to take measures to ensure the obedience of the nomad and semi-barbarous inhabitants to the central authority.

In the *Aín-i-Akbari* we find the following distribution of Kumaon in the *Aín-i-Akbari* the territory comprised in Akbar's Sarkár Kumaon. The entire Sarkár contained twenty-one maháls assessed at 4,04,37,700 *dáms*, which, taken at the rate of twenty double *dáms* for the rupee, are equivalent to Rs. 20,21,885. Five maháls yielded no revenue and the entire Sarkár was supposed to furnish a quota of 3,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry :—

Name of mahál.	Revenue in <i>dáms</i> .	Name of mahál.	Revenue in <i>dáms</i> .	Name of mahál.	Revenue in <i>dáms</i> .
	Rs				
1. Aodan ...	4,00,000	8. Bhúrl ...	<i>Nil</i> .	16. Gazarpur...	<i>Nil</i> .
2. Bhúkasi } ...	4,00,000	9. Ratilá ...	10,25,000	17. Dwárákot...	<i>Nil</i> .
3. Bhákasá } ...	4,00,000	10. Chattki...	4,00,000	18. Malwárah...	25,00,000
4. Bastarah ...	2,00,000	11. Jakráam ...	5,00,000	19. Malachor...	50,37,700
5. Panchotar ...	4,00,000	12. Jardah ...	3,00,000	20. Sítachor ...	
6. Bhakaínde-war.	2,00,000	13. Jáon ...	25,000	21. Kamús ...	
7. Bhakti ...	11,00,000	14. Choll ...	<i>Nil</i> .		
		15. Sahajgar,	<i>Nil</i> .		

It is very difficult indeed to trace these names to existing appellations. Aodan would appear to represent the Taráí of Kheri; Bhúkasi to represent Bhuksár now known as Rudrapur and Kilpuri; Sahajgar is the old name of Jaspur; Gazarpur is the same as Gadarpur; Malwárah is the Mal or Tarai country; Sítachor,

Malachor and Kamús parts of the Bhábar; Bhakti may probably be Bakshi, the old name of Nánakmatha, and the others, names of parts of the country below the hills as Dwáarakot is Thákurdwára. The entire enumeration is apparently confined to the tract along the foot of the hills, for not a single name can be identified with any tract within the hills. This exemption of the hill parganahs from Akbar's statements is supported by the following story which, upon the authority of the 'Raja's historians,' General Hardwicke gives regarding the position of the Garhwál Raja in the time of Akbar: "In the reign of Akbar that prince demanded of the Raja of Srinagar an account of the revenues of his *rāj* and a chart of his country. The Raja, being then at court, repaired to the presence the following day, and in obedience to the commands of the King presented a true statement of his finances, and for the chart of his country humorously introduced a lean camel, saying, 'this is a faithful picture of the territory I possess; up and down (*úñcha nícha*), and very poor.' The King smiled at the ingenuity of the thought, and told him that from the revenues of a country realized with so much labor and in amount so small he had nothing to demand."

The portion of the Tarái that came into the possession of Rudra Chand was called the chaurási or 'Tarái. Naulakhiya Mál. The former name was given because it was supposed to be 84 kos in length and the latter name from the revenue of nine lakhs said to have been assessed upon it. It was bounded on the east by the Súrda river, on the west by the Pila Nadi, on the north by the Bhábar, and on the south by certain well-known limits separating it from the plains parganahs, and contained the following fiscal sub-divisions:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Sahajgir, now known as Jaspur. | 5. Bhuksár, now known as Rudrapur and Kilpuri. |
| 2. Kota " " Káshipur. | Bakshi, now known as Nánakmatha |
| 3. Mundiya " " Bázipur. | Chhínki " " Sarbu. |
| 4. Gadarpur " " Gadarpur. | |

Rudra Chand himself founded Rudrapur and established governors throughout the different parganahs. It was one of these, Káshináth Adhikári by name, that founded Káshipur, which now gives its name to a tract that was formerly included in the old parganah of Kota. On his return to Almora, Rudra Chand built the

fort which is now used for the public offices, also a residence for himself on the site of the old fort temples to Devi and Bhairava, on the place where his father's palace stood. Rudra Chand was an intelligent and learned prince and during his reign he so encouraged the study of Sanskrit that his pandits were said to have rivalled those of Benares and Kashmír. He initiated many important measures regarding the settlement of the land-revenue, and in this he was ably aided by his blind son Sakti Singh Gosháin. His principal officers were members of the Sílakhola Joshi family, Ratgalli and Adhikári Bishts and Sáhús from Dwára Hát, who were hereditary record-keepers. There are now no descendants of the old Ratgallis and Sáhús in Almora, where their place has been taken chiefly by the Chaudhris from Jwálamukhi. The salaries of the officials were discharged by orders on the royal villages and not by regular money payments. Some of these orders were due to circumstances entirely unconnected with the administration. Thus it is said that when Rudra Chand returned from Dehli he used the utmost speed to regain Almora and was riding in the dark along one of the mountain paths when his bridle broke. The groom in the dark picked up a snake and with it mended the bridle, and when daylight broke the Rája saw what had happened and cheered by the omen ordered that the groom (*bukhuriya*) should receive certain dues (*dastúr*) from all the villages in the country at the two harvests. We have a grant of land of this Raja in favor of the family of Dēbidatta Chaudhri, dated in 1565 A.D., and another in favour of the Briddh Kedár temple¹ in 1568 A.D. Also one in favour of Anand Pánde in 1575 A.D. and in favour of the Pándes of Chámi in 1594 A.D. In 1596 A.D. he assigned lands to the family of Krishnanand Joshi and in the same year gave a village to the Badrináth temple, so that there are ample records whereby to fix the date and length of his reign.

The mother of Rudra Chand was the Doti princess who asked for Sira from her brother and was refused.

Attempt on Sira.

Dissatisfied with the refusal she resolved not to become a *sati* on the death of her husband, saying:—"My work is not finished; when my son takes Sira garh, then will I join my lord." Ever since his return from the plains Rudra Chand

¹ At the confluence of the Rámgaṅga and Bina rivers.

was urged by his mother to take up arms against Sîra. She told him that it was his father's last command that Sîra should be united to Kumaon and that she longed to join her husband, but could not do so until his desire had been accomplished. Rudra Chand proceeded to Sîra, but was utterly defeated by the Rainka Raja Hari Malla and fled with the remains of his army to Gangoli. Fatigued by the rapidity of his flight and deserted by most of his retainers, the Râja lay down to rest beneath a tree, and looking upwards saw a spider spinning its web and trying to unite one point with another. Six times the spider failed, but the seventh time it succeeded and completing its web began to eat the flies that were caught in it. The Raja, like the great Bruce, reflected that if an insect could thus by perseverance attain its object, surely a man of tried courage and fixity of purpose like himself ought to succeed. He returned to Almora and summoning his courtiers related what had occurred. They unanimously accepted the dream as a good omen and advised him to discover first the strength of the enemy and then the character of the defences of their stronghold of Sîragarh. At that time there was a Bichrâl Brahman in Sîra whose sister's son, Purushottama or Parkhu Pant, was in Gangoli and was known everywhere as a man of influence and great resource and in possession of much of the treasure that once belonged to the Mankoti Raja. Rudra Chand sent for Parkhu, who excused himself on various pretences, so that the Raja again sent a message fining him a lakh of rupees for his disobedience and threatening him with condign punishment should he make any further delay. Parkhu came and with clasped hands made the great obeisance and said: "I have no money; I am a poor man; dispose of my life if you desire, and if this is not your object I will ransom it by procuring for you the forts of Sîragarh and Bâdhangarh and the countries belonging thereto." Parkhu's proposal was accepted and he was placed in command of an army which again invaded Sîra.

The forces of Rudra Chand made three attempts to reach the fort of Sîra and were each time repulsed with great loss, and Hari Malla followed up his success by pursuing the fugitives right across the eastern Râmganga. The leaders were separated and Parkhu like Rudra Chand, on a former occasion, paused in his flight to take refuge

Parkha Pant.

under a tree and there saw a dung-beetle trying to move a large mass of cow-dung to its hole. Four times the ball rolled down, but the fifth time the insect was successful. A similar consoling reflection occurred to Parkhu, and he at once called for food, which was brought him in the shape of rice boiled in milk (*khtra*), which was served on a plantain leaf. He lost much of the rice while eating, and an old woman who was looking on said: "You are as great a fool as Parkhu; he cannot take Sira and you cannot eat *khtra*; begin from the edge and work into the middle of the platter and you will lose no rice, and if Parkhu began from the outside and stopped the supplies from Juhár and the underground way to the river, the garrison of Sira would soon yield." Parkhu without betraying his identity departed and again assembling his forces invested the fort and following the advice of the old woman cut off the supplies from the Juhár and the adit or *súrang* at Chunpátha by which the garrison obtained water, so that in a short time Hari Malla abandoned the fort and fled to Doti and henceforth Sira belonged to Kumaon. Rudra Chand bestowed several villages on Parkhu and recorded his gift on a copper-plate now in the possession of a descendant of Parkhu residing in Gangoli. It relates how that "in the year 1581 A.D. in the month of Bhadra and ninth day of the bright fortnight in the presence of Jagisa,¹ on a Saturday." Then follow the verses:—

1. Whose manly valour parched the partizans of his enemies, by the conquest of whose cities he acquired reputation. Renowed as Sákara worshipper of the goddess of the full moon in the family of the lord of the lotus, he became the gem of the rulers of earth, being called Kalyána Chandra.

2. Every stroke of his dreadful sword held in his strong arm severed the skulls of elated monarchs, which caused their mourning widows to shed showers of big pearls on their bosoms.

3. Whose white lotus feet were colourless and received the impressions of people's hearts in them, in consequence of which the needy grew rich by begging elsewhere also?

4. His son, the defeater of the races of his adversaries, is the famous Rudra Chandra, who is devoted to the feet of Rudra, and the source of victory in the conquest of fort Sira. It is this possessor of the earth by whom the grant of this land is made.

5. To the conqueror of lands for the royal estate, the ablest and most excellent of counsellors, queller of the haughtiness of the Raja of Doti, the lion overpowering the enemy, the most learned of scholars, Purushottama."

¹ Jagaswar near Almora.

From another source we have the following pedigree of the Rainka Rajas of Sira, who were sometimes Rajas of Sira. apparently one with the Rainka Rajas of Doti and sometimes cadets of the same house :—

Pedigree of the Rainka Rajas of Sira.

1. Adhi Ráwat.	9. Bháratí Malla.	17. Bali Náráyan Malla.
2. Bhishma Ráwat.	10. Dáta Malla.	18. Dungara Basera.
3. Bhakti Ráwat.	11. Ananda Malla	19. Madan Singh Basera.
4. Dhíra Malla.	12. Ráj Malla.	20. Rái Singh Basera.
5. Jagati Malla.	13. Kalyán Malla.	21. Sobha Malla.
6. Kuru Pála.	14. Jarbán Malla	22. Hari Malla, who lost Sira.
7. Ripu Malla.	15. Arjuna Malla.	
8. Bhupati Malla.	16. Nága Malla.	

Bali Náráyana Malla was expelled by a Khasiya chief whose family ruled for three generations. The descendants of Hari Malla are said to be still found in one of the villages in the east of Doti. With Sira the remainder of the *cis-Káli* possessions of the Raja of Doti fell into the hands of Rudra Chand, who, doubting the loyalty of the inhabitants, expelled all the families of note that were bound by interest to the Doti Raja and distributed the lands of Sira amongst his Ráotelas and their followers. The Ráni of Kalyán Chand was satisfied with the result of her son's victories and taking her husband's weapons in her arms cheerfully ascended the funeral pyre and became a *sati*. Rudra Chand took possession of Askot, Dárma and Juhár, but allowed the Rajbár of Askot to retain his patrimony as zamíndár, and to the present day this is the only estate in Kumaon held in pure zamíndári and to which the rule of descent through the eldest son is attached. Kuru Gosáin, a junior member of the Askot family, was from his local knowledge appointed to settle the revenues of Dárma and Juhár, whilst Byáns and Chaudáns still remained with Jumla.

Rudra Chand now called on Parkhu to carry out his promise to capture Badhángarh in the valley of the Pindar, a part of the territory of the Raja of Garhwál. The route to the Pindar lay through Someswar and the Katyúr valley, which was then held by Sukhal Deo, the last reigning Raja of the ancient family. Dularám Sáh was Raja of Garhwál and promised his protection if Sukhal Deo would aid him, and sending a force towards Gwáldam

Attempt on Badhángarh and conquest of Katyúr.

and one towards Ganai, occupied the passes towards Badhángarh. Parkhu with his small but veteran army proceeded through Katyúr to the valley of the Pindar, but soon found his supplies cut off by the Katyúri Raja and shortly afterwards lost his life in an action near Gwáldam at the hands of a Padyár Rajpút. The Garhwál Raja had promised a grant of land at every day's march to any one who would bring him the head of Parkhu, and the Padyár accordingly took the head of the slain general and carried it to the Raja of Garhwál, at Srinagar, where he received the promised reward. The Kumaonis fled to Almora and Rudra Chand in person then undertook the preparations for a new expedition against Garhwál, but first resolved to punish the Raja of Katyúr. He speedily overran the valley and captured the Raja with all his family, for the Garhwális were forgetful of their promise to send assistance. When Rudra Chand was about to issue orders for the punishment of the Katyúri Raja, one Ratu, a Burha or headman of a village, came forward and remonstrated with him that there was neither honour nor profit to be gained from throwing the Katyúris into prison, that he was willing to stand security for the good behaviour of Sukhal Deo and would produce him at the end of six months, to be dealt with in such way as the Raja might direct. This Ratu, though a subject of Rudra Chand, was a secret friend of Sukhal Deo, and on obtaining the Raja's consent took Sukhal Deo to his own country and refused to deliver him up when called upon to do so. Rudra Chand therefore again invaded the valley and in a battle fought near Baijnáth slew Sukhal Deo and banished his family and then laid waste the entire valley.¹

¹ A long story is told about this matter of Ratu which may well be relegated to a foot-note. Tradition says that Ratu promised Rudra Chand that if he should be accepted as surety, he would guarantee that Sukhal Deo should make no further pretensions to Katyúr, or in default he (Ratu) would pay a fine of 19,000 takas (two-one pice) or bring in 243 prisoners from Katyúr. At the expiry of the six months Rudra Chand demanded the production of Sukhal Deo, and Ratu went to the Katyúri prince and showed him the order, at the same time advising the Raja to dismiss him with shame and insult. Sukhal Deo did so and Ratu came and represented the matter to Rudra Chand, who only ordered him to fulfil his contract. Ratu threatened that if the Chand Raja persisted he would sit in *dharna* on him and took away his daughter ostensibly to kill her before the Raja or a temple and thus fasten the sin on him. On the way to the great temple of Haijnáth he concealed his daughter and made up a dummy, which he brought to the temple and sprinkling it with the blood of a recently-killed goat, pretended that it was his daughter, and burying it before the door of the temple invoked the wrath of the gods against Rudra Chand, who had caused him to commit this cruel act. The Raja, however, saw through the fraud and invading Katyúr, slew both Ratu and Sukhal Deo.

Rudra Chand died in 1597 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Lakshmi or Lachhmi Chand. The elder son Sakti Gosáin was blind, but still took no mean part in the administration. He was a holy man of great energy and religious feeling and made many pilgrimages to various temples and continually mortified himself by prayer and fasting, so that the gods, in their mercy, might restore him to sight. It is said that through the favour of the great goddess of Jwálamukhi he received in lieu of sight such intense powers of touch and hearing as well made up for the loss of one sense. At all events to him is attributed the carrying out of his father's views in the elaboration of a complete settlement record of the land, the establishment of the *bási* as the standard of measure, the mapping out of the entire cultivation, and the regular arrangement of the Raja's household and civil and military establishment on a stable footing. He distributed the officers into three classes, the *sardárs*, *faujádars* and *negts*. To the first class was intrusted the management of important districts and posts, whilst the second class held command of levies, and the third class (from *neg* = *lustár* or due) formed the subordinate officers of the army as well as of the civil administration. Instead of obliging each village to supply a portion of the expenses of the royal table and the salaries of the royal servants, he set apart specified villages for the support of particular departments of the Raja's service, known as *bátkara* villages, and also planted gardens in various places to supply the royal table with fruit. The Lachhmína and Kapína gardens near Almora were of this class and were cultivated by predial slaves of the Dom caste known as Bariya. A line of villages stretching from the snows to Almora was set apart for supplying the royal table with snow under the name Hiunpál. The long-continued wars had given rise to a body of professional soldiers who sought as their reward grants of land in the conquered districts; these were now for the first time administered on a fixed system and regular assignments of land were made for the support of troops in camp and garrison under the name of *bisi bandúk*. So minute was the supervision that it is said the practice of growing grain and fruit on the tops of the houses dates from the settlement of Sakti Gosáin, because these were

the only places left by him untaxed. There is no doubt but that regularity either in the fiscal arrangements or in the general administration would be distasteful to men who for centuries had enjoyed the utmost license, and it may have been impolitic to impose heavy burdens on a newly-conquered people; but taken as a whole the measures introduced in this reign were highly beneficial to the people as well as to the treasury of the Raja and enabled succeeding rulers to advance still further in the path of progress.

Lakshmi Chand, the titular ruler of Kumaon, was less successful in his portion of the administration.

Invasion of Garhwál.

Desirous of carrying out his father's policy, he seven times invaded Garhwál, but was each time repulsed with considerable loss, and to this day the Garhwáls point out with pride the ruins of the petty fort called Siyál Búnga (jackal's fort) which withstood the might of the great Chand Raja of Kumaon. Lakshmi Chand was so hard pressed in his last expedition that he was obliged to conceal himself in a litter (*doka*) under a heap of soiled clothes, and in this ignominious manner made his entry into his capital. While his bearers rested on the way, he overheard one of them say to the other that the cause of the Raja's defeat was his lax observance of his religious duties. The conscience-stricken Raja immediately applied to his spiritual adviser for assistance and told him that the *mantra* or spell received from him had been of no avail in his wars and threatened further to become a religious mendicant and give up worldly affairs for the future. The guru, frightened at the possible loss of his position, besought the Raja to wait for one year, whilst he sought diligently throughout the whole country for spells of might and consulted the pandits of Nadiya in Bengal. The guru returned in time with a new *mantra*, and thus armed the Raja resolved again to try the chance of war. To render assurance doubly sure he built the Lachhmeswar temples at Bágeswar and Almora and made grants to the other great temples, and we have his original grant of a village to Jageswar bearing date in the year 1602 A.D., and one bearing date in the following year confirms no less than eight grants made by him in favor of the Bágeswar temple, which he also completely restored.¹ He

¹ We have also a grant bearing date 1605 A.D. in favour of the family of Debidatta Chaudhri, friends of the minister Bádeo Pant, and one bearing date in 1616 A.D. in favor of the family of Mahádeo Joshi.

frequently encamped at the confluence of the Gomati and the Sarju near Bágeswar during his expeditions to Garhwál, and it was there that he paid his devotions to the gods before commencing his eighth expedition. In this, his last attempt, he was more successful in that he was able to plunder the frontier parganas of Garhwál and retire in safety to Almora, but he made no permanent impression on the country, and his only other work was to settle the boundaries of Dárma and its trade with Tibet. Lakshmi Chand, like his father, desired to visit the imperial court, and Jahángri in his memoirs¹ records that Lakshmi Chand begged him to order the son of Itimád-ud-daulah to conduct him to court, and to meet his wishes Sháhpur was sent to bring him into the presence. "The hill-prince brought a great number of the valuable rarities of his mountains for my acceptance. Amongst them were beautiful strong ponies called *gúnlhs*, several hawks and falcons, numerous pods of musk and whole skins of the musk-deer with the musk in them. He also presented me with various swords which were called *khandah* and *kattára*. This Raja is the richest hill-chief, and it is said there is a gold mine in his territory." Lakshmi Chand died in 1621 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Dhalíp Chand.

Dhalíp Chand reigned for three years and might be passed

Dhalíp Chand, 1621-24 over without notice were it not that his A.D. name is connected with a story which quaintly illustrates the Indian belief in metempsychosis. It will be remembered that in the time of the Mankoti Rajas of Gangoli a quarrel arose between the Upretis and the Panta, and that the latter expelled the Upretis and succeeded to the chief administration of the State. One of the Upretis determined to have revenge on the enemies of his family, and for this purpose prayed to the gods that he might be born again as a Raja of Kumaon. He visited all the great places of pilgrimage from Jwálamukhí to Dwáraka, from Dwáraka to Ceylon, and thence round by Jagannáth and Benares to Prayág (Allahabad). Here at the confluence of the sacred rivers was the celebrated fig-tree. Whoever committed

¹ Dowson's Elliot, VI., 322. The rarities noted are chiefly from the Bhotiya parganahs. The *katar* was a short dagger, the form of which was copied in their sign-manual by the Chand Rajas. The word '*khandah*' should probably be '*khanjar*,' the name of another similar form of dagger. It is said that the imperial troops visited the lowlands in this reign, and their places of encampment are pointed out at Tándá and Pípalháta, near which is a grove called the Bád-sháhi Bágh.

suicide by throwing himself from that tree into the holy waters was certain to attain his desires. The Upreti performed '*kurol*,' as this form of committing suicide is called in the hills, and was born again as Dhalíp Chand. His enmity towards the Pants first showed itself by his seizing one Jait Rám Pant of Gangoli, who had committed no offence. The man, however, was condemned, executed and burned in the Raja's presence, but the smoke of the funeral pyre so filled the Raja's palace that he fell sick and died in seven days. It must be remembered that this version of the story of Dhalíp Chand and the Upreti has been communicated by a descendant of these very Pants who were always, and I suppose always will be, distinguished by their talent for intrigue. It was this spirit of intrigue that led the Pant party in Gangoli to so disturb the peace of the country in their efforts to destroy the Upretis that the Raja was obliged to interfere. He had already dismissed Basdeo Pant, who had been his father's minister, and proclaimed that whichever party be found marauding in future should be severely punished, be he Pant or Upreti, and it so happened that Jait Rám Pánde, a Pant leader, was taken red-handed whilst plundering his enemy's village and was executed by orders of the Raja. In revenge for this bold assertion of the right of the head of the State, the Pants have ever afterwards handed down the Raja as a kind of demon possessed by the evil spirit of one of the hereditary enemies of their tribe, the Upretis. The Raja died in 1624 A.D., and of his twenty-one sons Bijaya Chand succeeded him.

Bijaya Chand was young when he succeeded to the throne, and the entire power of the State became vested
 Bijaya Chand, 1625 A.D. in the hands of three men of Sor, named Sukhrám Kharku, Píru Gosáin, and Bináyak Bhat. This Raja reigned but one year, and of this year we have a grant of his, giving lands to the family of Dámu Pánde, and dated in 1547 Saka, corresponding to 1625 A.D. He married a daughter of the great Badgujar house of Anúpshahr in the Bulandshahr district,¹ and his ministers, resolved on keeping the power in their own hands, shut up the young Raja in the women's apartments of his palace, which they took care to fill with attractions which made him oblivious, for the time, of the outer world. One member of

¹ Gaz., III., 63.

the royal family, Níl Gosáin, a son of Lakshmi Chand, protested against this treatment of the head of the State. Him they seized and blinded with the concurrence of the Raja and then proceeded to exterminate all the near male relations of Bijaya Chand. Trimal Chand, another son of Lakshmi Chand, succeeded in escaping to Garhwál, while Náráyan Chand, his brother, found a safe asylum in the Mal of Doti, and the son of Níl Gosáin, afterwards known as Báz Bahádúr Chand, through the good offices of a palace slave, was taken care of by a Tiwári woman, the wife of his purohit. The Raja of Garhwál offered to aid Trimal Chand if he agreed in writing to consider the western Rámghanga to be for ever the boundary of the two kingdoms, but after consultation with the Joshis of Galli and Jhijár, Trimal Chand refused, for they said from his horoscope it was certain that he would become Raja of Kumaon and it was wrong for him to trammel his future action by an engagement of this sort. He then went to Barhapur at the foot of the Garhwál hills and commenced to levy a force. Bijaya Chand in the meantime continued to amuse himself with his women, and the only noteworthy act of his reign was the building of the entrance gate to the fort of Almora. Even this slight attempt at exercising authority was resented by his ministers, who resolved to kill him and place some younger member of the family on the throne. Sukhrám Kharku found means to enter the palace through the good offices of one of the female slaves (*ráj-cheli*)¹ and slew the Raja while, intoxicated with bhang, he slept in the inner apartment. This event occurred in 1625 A.D. Sukhrám then gave notice that the Raja had died suddenly and that he should continue to be chief of the administration until a proper successor to the Raja could be found. This conduct, however, was more than the people could bear. Both Márás and Phartiyáls resolved to act in the crisis; the former sent for Trimal Chand and the latter applied to Náráyan Chand, and each faction proclaimed its own favourite as Raja. The Márás with Trimal Chand first reached Almora, and though several of the Joshis who were not of his party counselled delay, as the constellations were not propitious, the full ceremony of

¹ The *ráj chelis* or female slaves were usually of Garhwáli origin, as having no connection with either the Márás or Phartiyáls. They were particularly enjoined not to leave the palace or carry on intrigues with any one outside its walls. Those who acted as carriers of supplies from the royal stores to the kitchen were called *Malda-páñl chelis*. The old name is *Ráj-cheri*, which has the same meaning as *Ráj-chokri*.

installation was proceeded with and not too soon, for almost before its conclusion Náriyan Chand and the Phartiyáls reached the ford across the Suwál below China Khán. Náriyan Chand there received the news of the success of the Máraś and at once fled back to the Mal of Doti, whilst his followers dispersed to their homes.

Trimal Chand, though hardly guiltless of participation in the murder of his relative Bijaya Chand, resolved to gain some popularity by the punishment of the actual murderers. Sukhrám Kharku was taken and killed; Bináyak Bhat was blinded and his property was given over to one Mádhav Pánde; but Píru Gosáin was allowed to proceed to Allahabad on condition that he committed suicide there beneath the sacred fig-tree. Trimal Chand, while an exile in Garhwál, had written to Píru and promised him protection and advancement if he caused the death of Bijaya Chand and so prepared the way to the throne, and on this account Píru was allowed to retire to Prayág and die there, where suicide was lawful. The Joshis Narotam Jhijár and Dinkar Galli were appointed respectively Wazír and Chaudhri and Bitthal Gosáin became Diwán. The Sábhus and Ratgallis continued in charge of the records as usual and a descendant of Nalu Katháyat became darogha or chamberlain¹ of

¹ The following enumeration of the duties of darogha or chamberlain will give some idea of the arrangements of the royal household : —

1. He should see that the cook did his duty conscientiously and well.
2. He should have no dealings with either Máraś or Phartiyáls.
3. He should tell the Raja everything he saw or heard.
4. Should not tell lies.
5. Should not repeat anything concerning what he might hear or see in the palace.
6. Should taste everything used for the Raja's food.
7. Should never allow the cook to be out of his sight.
8. Constantly to move about and threaten the servants, whether there was cause or not, so that no one might become careless.
9. Never to allow other than the regular servants on the establishment to have anything to do with the Raja's food.
10. Not to allow these servants to perform any other duty.
11. Only to enter the darbár at the prescribed times and not to go in and out as if it were an assembly in a private house.
12. Never to speak of poison, opium or bhung, nor to ever touch them.
13. To remain with the Raja at his meals and always treat him with due respect and no familiarity, watching his countenance for any signs indicating his wishes.
14. Should never on any occasions hold friendly converse with the people of Káli Kumaon or Sor or members of the Katyúri family or junior members of the reigning family, nor enter their houses.
15. Should only address the women of the palace with the greatest respect, and when duty leads him towards the female apartments should always proceed with downcast eyes and speak in a low voice.
16. Should never speak of spells (*mantras*), as they are only used for evil purposes, nor cut his nails nor shave within the limits of the palace.

the palace. We have a grant of Trimal Chand to the temple of Kedárnáth which was subsequently confirmed by Díp Chand, and but little else is recorded of him. He had no son, and unwilling to permit his rival of the Phartiyál faction to succeed him, he searched everywhere for other members of the Chand family and heard that one of them, Báz or Bája, son of Níl Gosáin, had been saved by a Tiwári woman. A deputation was sent to inquire where the young child was, which returned saying that the woman denied all knowledge of the child's existence. The Raja himself then went to the Tiwári's house and declaring that he had naught but good intentions and intended to make the boy his heir. Báz was produced and brought to court, where he was formally adopted as heir to the Raja with the title of Kunwar. One account is that the young Chand was concealed to avoid the general persecution of all members of the royal family begun by Sukhrám, and another story relates that when Níl Gosáin was blinded, the women of his female apartments were taken over by Bijaya Chand, and that a jealous concubine of the Raja stole the child and threw him over a precipice, where he was found uninjured by the wife of a Tiwári of Chausar, who brought him up as her own child. Another tradition again says that Báz Bahádur was a son of the Tiwári and no Chand at all. However this may be, he succeeded his adoptive father in 1638 A.D.

During part of this period the Tarái is said to have attained to great prosperity and to have actually yielded the nine lakhs of rupees which gave it the name of Naulakhia Mal. This prosperity, however, excited the envy of the Hindus of Katehir, who with the connivance of their Mughal rulers gradually occupied the border villages of the Tarái. In this design they were much aided by the weakness of the Almora government during the previous twenty years. From the time of Lakshmi Chand, the Chands were occupied by internal quarrels and had neither the time nor the means to interfere with the Katehiris in their gradual encroachments on the lowlands. Alarmed at the progress that had been made by the Hindu chiefs of the plains and remembering the success which attended the personal suit of his predecessors, Báz Bahádur resolved to proceed to Dehli and invoked the aid of the Emperor Sháhjahán.

On his arrival he obtained an audience and presented his petition supported by many valuable presents, and was told to join the army then (1654-55 A.D.) proceeding against Garhwál. The Raja obeyed and in this expedition so distinguished himself that on his return to Dehli he was honoured by many signal marks of imperial favour and received the title of Bahádur and the right of having the great drum (*nakkára*) beaten before him. But not content with obtaining empty titles he is said to have adhered to the original object of his visit and procured the full recognition of his right to the Chaurási Mal, together with an order¹ addressed to the governor of the province for effectual aid against the Katehir chiefs. In this order Báiz Bahádur was styled zamíndár of Kumaon. Rustam Khán, the founder of Moradabad and representative of the Emperor, aided the Raja, who succeeded in expelling his enemies and regaining possession of the Tarái. He then founded the town of Bázipur and appointed governors and a regular establishment to carry on the administration.

An account of Báiz Bahádur's visit is told at some length by Ináyat Khán, the author of the *Sháhjahán-námah*. He tells us that in 1654-55 A.D. Khalílullah Khán was despatched with eight

Invasion of Garhwál.

thousand men for the purpose of coercing the zamíndár of Srinagar and was joined on his way by the zamíndár of Sirmor, Raja Sabhák Prakás. They proceeded through the Dún, and leaving a guard in an entrenched position near Kílaghar reached Bahádur Khánpur, "a place belonging to the Dún and lying between the Ganges and Jumna." The peasantry of the neighbourhood took refuge in the hills and forests and ravines, and refused to appear: so the troops were despatched against them to coerce them and inflicted "suitable chastisement." A number of them fell by the sword, others were taken prisoners and the remainder surrendered themselves, whilst immense herds of cattle fell into the hands of the victors. A second entrenchment was thrown up here, and leaving a sufficient guard the main body approached the town of Basantpur, which was also a depen-

¹ It is strange that not one of these *farmáns* has survived nor has any European ever been able to see even a copy of one. It is very unlikely that they were ever granted or, for that matter, asked for, as the zamíndárs of Kumaon held not only their hill but also their plains' possessions, independent of any title from Dehli by the right of occupancy of a tract of little value to any one

dency of the Dún, and halted half way up the hill.¹ Opposite the town a third redoubt was constructed and garrisoned, whilst Khalílullah moved on to Sahijpur,² a place abounding in streams and fountains and clothed with flowers and verdure." Here he formed a fourth post and erected "a fort on the top of an embankment measuring a thousand yards in circumference and fifteen in height, that had in former times been crowned by a stronghold, inasmuch as some traces of the ancient works were still visible." On reaching the banks of the Ganges, a detachment of the royal artillery was sent across the river to take possession of the tháná of Chándi, which then belonged to Srinagar. Meanwhile Bahádur Chand, zamíndár of Kumaon, joined the imperial forces, and as soon as this fact was known at court, through the good offices of Khalílullah, a conciliatory *farmán* and a *khillat* set with jewels were sent to Bahádur Chand. The Dún was taken possession of, and the rains were about to commence, so an order was sent forbidding any further operations for the present. The Dún was then handed over to Chhatarbhúj, "who had expressed an ardent desire for it," and the tháná of Chándi was given to Nágár Dás, the chief of Hardwár. The Raja of Garhwál at this time was Prithi Sáh, of whom we have a grant dated in 1640 A.D., and who shortly afterwards became notorious for his conduct towards the unfortunate prince Sulaimán Shikoh. The expedition passed through the Western Dún to Dehra, and thence along the foot of the inner range to Basantpur, and thence to the Ganges near the usual crossing at Lachchhmanjhúla. There is no allusion to any grant of land to the Kumaon prince, and the conciliatory *farmán* that was really addressed to Bahádur Chand has done good service in the hill traditions as an actual grant to their reigning prince of the low country.

The episode of Sulaimán Shikoh, alluded to above, may be noticed as told by Káfi Khán.³ The story of this unfortunate prince belongs to general

¹ The supply of ice for the royal use was obtained in the mountains of Tibri, whence it was despatched by porters to Damrás on the Jumna, a distance of sixteen kos. From Damrás it was packed in boxes and carried by raft on the Jumna for sixteen kos to Daryápur, one of the dependencies of pargunah Khizrabad and thence reached Delhi in three days and nights. Dowson's Elliot, VII., 106.

² Basantpur and Sahijpur both gave their names to separate parganahs in the Eastern Dún up to the last settlement and Kilággar may be identified with Kaulaghar near Dehra.

³ Dowson's Elliot, VII., 230; see also *Ibid.* 131, 245.

history and need not be dwelt upon here. In his attempt to reach his father he had arrived at Hardwár; but, learning that a force had been despatched to intercept him, he turned off to the mountains of Srinagar. Here he neither obtained assistance nor shelter, and was deserted by several of his adherents. He then made for Allahabad, where he had the misfortune to lose more of his followers, and was obliged again to trust to the tender mercies of the Garhwális. Attended by Muhammad Sháh Koka and a few followers, he levied a contribution on the estate of the Kadsiya Begam and entered the hills for the last time. "The zamíndár of Srinagar coveted the money and jewels that he had with him and kept him as a sort of prisoner in his fort," and eventually delivered him up to an agent of the implacable Aurangzeb. Prithi Singh was certainly ordered by the Hindu minister, Raja Rám-rúp, to deliver up the fugitive or stand the consequences; and his narrow escape some short time previously must have rendered him fully alive to what that might mean. Tarbiyat Khán was even sent to overrun his country, and it was then that Prithi Singh wrote through the medium of Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences and offering to give up Sulaimán Shikoh. Kunwar Rái Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, was sent to fetch the royal prisoner, and safely lodged him in the fort of Gwalior, where he was assassinated by the orders of Aurangzeb in December, 1660 A.D. The treatment of Sulaimán by Prithi Singh, Raja of Garhwál, will doubtless be compared with the courtesy and hospitality¹ shown to Khawás Khán by Mánik Chand, Raja of Kumaon, but the difference in the time and the circumstances of the two cases should be allowed to weigh against any harsh judgment on the Garhwáli prince. The latter was more exposed to the much more formidable power of Aurangzeb than the former was to the comparatively

¹ The Chand tradition is that Sulaimán applied first to Bahádur Chand, but when the Raja discovered that the prince was at enmity with the Emperor, he dismissed him loaded with presents to Garhwál; but in the meantime, it having become known that Sulaimán was in Kumaon, Aurangzeb sent an army which took possession of the low country and prepared to advance on Almora. One of the Raja's Mewáti guards stole the clothes of the leader of the Musalmán army while he slept at night, and brought them to the Raja, who returned them to the Mughal with a message that he had not harboured the fugitive prince; that he did not wish in any way to oppose the will of the Emperor; and that if he desired he could have killed the leader of the Imperial army as easily as he had stolen his clothes. Before this affair could be reported to Delhi the unfortunate prince had been surrendered to Aurangzeb, and the Mughal troops accordingly withdrew.

innocuous influence of Islám Sháh, who would not have had recourse to intrigue to demand the surrender of Khawás Khán had he been able to accomplish his designs by force. The Srinagar Raja was owner of a poor country, with few fighting men at his command, and had no means whereby he could withstand even a moderate force if sent into his country. Besides, he was not under such obligations to any of the Musalmán rulers as to lead him to consider it his duty to venture life and kingdom in support of their quarrels. All he desired was to live in peace with his powerful neighbours, who had already succeeded in making the aggressive and hated Raja of Kumaon their ally, and with an army at his very doors there was nothing left for him to do but to deliver up his unbidden guest.

Báz Bahádúr's orders regarding the administration of the Taráí Administration. were carefully executed by his officers. They were directed to make Rudrpur and Bázipur their residence during the cold season and Barakheri and Kota, on the spurs of the outer range of hills, their head-quarters during the hot weather and the rains. It is said that "every bígha and biswánsi was cultivated under his rule"; and Batten¹ notices that "at Kota, Barakheri and elsewhere in the lower hills are remains of forts and residences and mango groves which go far to show that the climate at those sites was not in former times so insalubrious as at present, when few men in power would confine their retreat from the Taráí heat to such low elevations in the mountains as these. Kota indeed is stated to have been the capital for all the western portion of the Chaurási Mal and to have given its name to the lower parganahs, and not only as now to the sub-montane region." Having perfected his arrangements in the plains, the Raja returned to Almora and there introduced the customs and fashions that he had seen in the camp of his friend Khalíl-ullah Khán. He brought with him a considerable Musalmán following, some of whom he employed as drummers (*nakkárchí*), others as javelin-men (*chobdárs*), and others as actors and mimics (*bahurúpiya*). Amongst them were certain Hairis whom he settled in the Taráí as guards, and gave them land and the right to certain dues in lieu of a fixed salary. These were the ancestors of the thieving tribe of the same name who gave so much trouble to

¹ Rep. Kumaon, 168.

the administrators of the Taráí down to very recent times. He appointed a confectioner (*halwái*) for the palace and arranged the duties of all his household, for whose support he carried out the suggestion of Sakti Gosáin and assigned the revenues of specified villages and irrigated (*étrá*) lands instead of a general tax on the whole country to supply the royal stores. Thus the villages whose revenues were applied to support the inmates of the female apartments (*deori*) were known as '*pál*.' The revenues of both Darketiya and Silkaniya villages were appropriated to the support of the powder manufactory, and to a number of outlying villages known under the name of parganah Mahryúri was assigned the duty of carrying ammunition in time of war. Being desirous of standing well with the Dehli Court, Báẓ Bahádur introduced a poll-tax in 1672 A.D., the proceeds of which were regularly remitted as tribute to the Emperor.

The good fortune of Báẓ Bahádur continued with him in all his expeditions. When he desired to wipe out the disgrace that had hitherto attended the Kumaon arms in their contest with Garhwál, he attacked at the same time both Badhán in the Pindar valley and Lobha, and was succesful enough to seize the important fort of Juniyagarh. To commemorate his victory he carried away with him the image of the goddess Nanda, which he established in the temple in the old fort of Almora with a proper train of flower-girls and female slaves, and which was subsequently removed to its present site by Mr. Traill. Báẓ Bahádur did not neglect his duty towards the gods, nor indeed was he forgetful of men of any degree who served him well. We have as many as sixteen separate grants¹ of

¹ The grants in the order of date are as follows :—

Date A.D.	In favor of—	Date A.D.	In favor of—
1640	Trinet temple in Lakhanpur.	1665.	Family of Kamala Joshi.
1643.	Badrináth temple.	1666.	Bridh Kedar temple.
"	Ditto.	1670.	Family of the Tiwári.
1648.	Someswar temple.	"	Jageswar temple.
1654.	Pinnáth temple in Borárau.	1671.	Bágeswar temple.
1659.	Family of the Tiwári.	"	Family of Krishnanand Joshi.
1662.	Ditto.	1673.	Eligims to Mánasarowar.
1664.	Baleswar temple, Champawat.	1675.	Family of Kulomani Pánde.

He roofed the temple of Jageswar with copper plates and built many wells (*naulas*) and temples, including those at Bhím Tal and Pinnáth. These grants were called *Katárdár*, or more correctly *Khanjardár*, from the dagger-shaped mark made by the Raja at the head. The *katár* and *khanjar* are two sorts of daggers. The Raja never signed his name to a grant, but in lieu thereof drew a rude figure of a dagger, the name and title being written in the body of the grant itself.

his dating from 1640 to 1675 A.D. Amongst them are three in favor of the family of Náráyan Tiwári, who brought him up as a child, and who is also said to have been a descendant of that Sri Chand Tiwári who received a portion of the Almora hill from the last Katyúri possessor. Báz Bahádur's religious feelings were continually wounded by the frequent complaints brought to him of the harsh and cruel conduct of the Húnyas towards pilgrims to the holy lake of Mánasarowar and Kailás, the abode of the gods. Having some leisure from more pressing occupations, he equipped an expedition which he led by the Juhár pass into Tibet, and besieged and captured the fort of Taklakhar, and it

1670 A.D.

is said that the breach in the walls which by 'the extraordinary good fortune' of the Raja had been effected without difficulty remains unrepaired to the present day. He wrested the control over all the passes from the Húnyas and obliged them to promise to allow pilgrims to pass free to Mánasarowar. The Bhotiya traders used to pay a sort of tribute for permission to trade to the Tibetan authorities, and at first the Raja refused to allow this semblance of submission to continue, but finally it was agreed that so long as the Tibetan authorities threw no obstacles in the way of free communication, whether for the purposes of trade or of religion, the dues might be collected, as had been the case when Bhot belonged to Hundes. He also set apart the revenue of five villages near the passes (Páncu, &c.) for the purpose of providing pilgrims going to and returning from Mánasarowar with food, clothing, and lodging. He also investigated the tenure of the Rajbár of Askot and confirmed the orders made by his predecessors.

On his return to Almora, Báz Bahádur found that his enemies

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had been at work during his absence and

had poisoned the mind of his eldest son,

Udyot Chand, who was more than suspected of having designs on the throne. Udyot Chand was accordingly sent to Gangoli to Sarju-pár, to take charge of all the districts beyond the Sarju. Jhijár Joshis continued to monopolise all the chief offices in the State, and even the Chaudhris, Sábhus and Ratgallis, who were appointed to check and dispose of the grain collected as revenue, are said to have recognised these Joshis as their patrons and to have paid them dues. During Báz Bahádur's absence in Bhot the Garhwál

Raja had been maturing his preparations, and now by a rapid march surprised the Kumaon garrisons and recovered his territory. Báz Bahádur, however, quickly took the field, and sending a force into the Pindar valley under an experienced leader, himself took the route through the valley of the Rám-ganga and Lobha. The people of the Garhwál Pattis of Sábali and Bangársyún aided the Kumaonis, who, after some slight skirmishing, drove the Garhwáls back to Srinagar itself. Here a hasty peace was patched up, to which the ignominy of its being signed in the enemy's capital gave no additional assurance. On his return from Garhwál, Báz Bahádur brought with him several Bisht families from Sábali and several Bangáras or Ráwats from Bangársyún, to whom he gave the office of heads (*sayánachari*) of the villages of Timli and Bharsoli respectively. The immigration of the Garhwáli Aswáls and Dungarwáls is also attributed to this time. It has already been mentioned that when Kirati Chand conquered Páli, the Katyúris were allowed to retire to Mánil and there they remained until this time; but Báz Bahádur, suspecting that they had given aid to the Garhwáls in his late campaign, attacked their principal fort, which he captured and banished the inhabitants. Thus perished the last surviving remnant of Katyúri power in these hills. In 1672 A.D., the Raja led a force into the plains with which he ravaged the villages lying along the foot of the hills and is even said to have plundered Nagína in the Bijnor district.

Affairs in the east again attracted his attention and led him to make a tour through his eastern parganahs. He had an interview with the Rain-
 Eastern Kumaon. ka Raja of Doti in Sor, and thence marched down by the Káli to Barmdeo. Here he found that the Raja of Chitona had built a fort at Kála Ghát on the ridge above Barmdeo and had advanced some pretensions to independence. Báz Bahádur promptly attacked the Raja, seized his fort and hanged him on the nearest tree, thus effectually securing the peace of the neighbourhood. The next year saw the Raja again in Gangoli, whence he invaded and annexed Byáns, making the same arrangements with the Tibetans that he had before done with regard to Juhár. He allowed the Bhotiyas to pay the usual dues (*sirti*) to the Hániyas, reserving to himself gold-dust (*phatang*), the pods of the musk-deer and

salt as revenue. Now comes the darker side of the picture, for now the Raja, at the instigation of an evil-minded Brahman, persecuted many innocent people. This Brahman persuaded the Raja that he could show him how to discover his friends from his enemies, and by his lying mummeries caused Báz Bahádúr to put out the eyes of many good men. The Raja, however, discovered the deception that had been practised on him and punished the Brahman, and used every means in his power to remedy the evil that had been done by giving lands and pensions to the injured persons and their heirs. Hence the proverb still current in Kumaon:—

"baras bhaya usi budh gayi nasi,"

which means that with old age he lost his good sense and good fortune. In consequence of these acts the people became suspicious of the Raja and even doubted his repentance to be genuine: hence the proverb:—

*"Jaiko bap ríkhali kháyo
Ukála khura dekhe dara."*

"He whose father the black bear hath eaten is frightened at a piece of charred wood," which corresponds with the English proverb that "a burned child dreads the fire." During the last year of his reign the Raja utterly broke down. Suspicious always of his son, whom he had banished to Gangoli, he also drove away all his old servants who, he said, were longing for his death, and died miserably alone and uncared for in Almora in the year 1678 A.D.

Udyot Chand was at once recalled from Gangoli and ascended

Udyot Chand, 1678-98 the throne without opposition and amid A.D. the general rejoicing of the people, who were glad that the gloomy old tyrant had ceased to exist. Like his predecessor he was a great friend of the priests and built and endowed many temples. We have sixteen grants¹ of

¹ The grants are in existence in the Almora archives and are as follows:—

<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>In favor of—</i>	<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>In favor of—</i>
1678.	Family of Dehl Datta Páthak.	1691.	Pinnáth temple in Boráran.
1682	Rámeswar temple in Bel.	1692.	Briddh Jageswar temple in Dárún.
"	Family of Shiusankar Tíwári.	1693.	Kalika temple in Gangoli Hát.
1684.	Jágeswar temple.	"	Ditto ditto
"	Ditto.	"	Bhaunáditya temple in Bel.
1686.	Baleswar Thal temple.	1695.	Rámeswar temple in Bel.
1689.	Family of Krishnanand Joshi.	1697.	Family of Bhábdeo Pánde.
1690.	Dipchandewar temple.	1690.	Nágarjun temple in Dwára.

his dating from the year of his accession to the year 1697 A.D. Dissatisfied with the conduct of the Garhwál Raja, Udyot Chand ravaged Badhán in 1678 A.D., but suffered the loss of his principal and favourite officer, Maisi Sáhu. He was more successful in the following year, when he entered Garhwál by Ganai and penetrated by Lobha to Chandpur, which he captured and plundered. The Garhwál Raja now sought aid elsewhere and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rainka Raja of Doti, under which (in 1680 A.D.) Kumaon was attacked on the east by the Doti Raja, who occupied Champáwat, and on the west by the Garhwál Raja, who again took possession of Dunagiri and Dwára. The war raged for two whole years, but in the end the Kumaonis were victorious against both their enemies. Henceforward garri-
sons were established in Dunagiri and Dwára on the west and in Sor, Champáwat, and Barmdeo along the Káli. The Raja, affected by the great and un hoped-for success of his efforts, gave due thanks to the gods and vowed a pilgrimage to the sacred Ganges at Dáranagar, but had hardly performed his ablutions and commenced his return journey when news was brought him that war had again broken out with Doti. Deo Pála was then Rainka, and taking advantage of the absence of Udyot Chand had invaded Káli Kumaon ; but his success was very short-lived, for the Kumaonis drove the Dautiyáls across the Káli and in 1685 A.D. captured Ajmergarh near Dundoldhúra, the summer residence of the Raja and the place where the Chauntra now resides. The Rainka fled from Ajmer to Dipáil on the Seti river at the foot of the hills, where was his usual winter residence ; but two years afterwards he was driven thence and compelled to take refuge in Khairágarh, the capital of the plains district of the same name in the province of Oudh. Udyot Chand captured Khairágarh in 1688 and the Rainka yielded and agreed to pay in future a tribute to the Kumaon Raja. These victories were celebrated with great pomp at Almora and were commemorated by the building of the new palace on the site now occupied by the Mission School at Almora and the erection of temples to Tripuri-sundari, Udyotchandeswar and Párbateswar close by, as well as the tank in the Raja's compound. In 1696 A.D. the Doti Raja repudiating the treaty of Khairágarh refused to pay the tribute that had been agreed upon and Udyot

Chand was obliged to lead in person his troops ~~across~~ the Káli. A battle was fought at Juráil between Dundoldhúra and the Kumaon frontier and with such ill success on the part of the Kumáonis that the Raja was obliged to hand over the command of his troops to Manorath and Siromani, Joshis of the Jhijár clan, whilst he himself returned to Almora for reinforcements. Shortly afterwards Siromani was murdered by the Dantiyáls and his troops dispersed and the Raja eventually recalled the remainder. Like his predecessor, Rudra Chand, Udyot Chand is celebrated for his patronage of learning and the encouragement he gave to wise and pious men to come and settle in Kumaon. He took great interest in the management of his possessions along the foot of the hills and to him are attributed the numerous groves of mangoes in the Kota Bhábar. Feeling his end approaching he devoted the last few months of his life to religious meditation and prayer and died in the year 1698 A.D., leaving his kingdom to his son Gyán Chand.

As in former times every Raja commenced his reign by an invasion of Doti, so now every successor to Gyán Chand, 1698-1703
A.D. the throne of the Chands considered it to be his first duty to invade Garhwál. Gyán Chand began his reign by crossing into the valley of the Pindar and laying waste its fertile villages as far as Tharáli. The next year he crossed the Rámanga and plundered Sábali, Khátali and Saindhár in parganah Malla Salán, an attention which was returned in 1701 A.D. by the Garhwáls, who overran Giwár and Chaukot in parganah Páli of Kumaon. Every year, one side or the other made marauding expeditions which served little except to render the lands near the borders of the two countries desolate. No one knew who should reap what had been sown, so that the more industrious part of the population abandoned the frontier tracts which in many places again became covered with jungle. In 1703, the Kumaonis were successful against the Garhwáls in a battle fought at Duduli just above Mahalchauri. In the following year Gyán Chand sent his forces into the Bhábar and laid waste the low country belonging to Doti, but not without considerable loss from fever, the ill effects of which were long visible in those who recovered. In 1707, another great expedition was undertaken towards Garhwál, and this time

the Kumáoni forces took possession of Juniagarh in Patti Bichhla Chaukot, and again passing the Panuwakhál and Diwáli Khál passes penetrated as far as Chandpur near Khál on the Bhararigár and razed the old fort to the ground. Gyán Chand has also left us grants of his which by their dates corroborate the local chronicles.¹ We have, one dated in 1701 A.D. granting lands to the family of Kulomani Pánde and another dated in 1703 A.D. giving lands to the family of Krishnanand Joshi. He also rebuilt the temples of Ganesh at Almora, Badrináth at Bágeswar and Baijnáth in Katyúr shortly before his death in 1708 A. D.

Jagat Chand, said by some to be of spurious birth, succeeded Gyán Chand and also commenced his reign by an invasion of Garhwál; he plundered Lohba and took the fort of Lohbagarh at the head of the Panuwakhál pass, where he established a garrison. In the following year he pushed in by both Badhán and Lohba and uniting his forces at Simli, in the valley of the Pindar, proceeded by the Alaknanda to Srinagar, which he captured. The Garhwál Raja fled to Dehra Dún and Jagat Chand formally bestowed the town of Srinagar on a Brahman and divided the spoil he took in this expedition amongst his followers and the poor, reserving, however, a portion as a present for Muhammad Sháh, who was then Emperor of Dehli. He subsequently imposed a tax on gambling (*bachh*), which he also assigned as a *nazar* to the Dehli court. The name of Jagat Chand is still highly esteemed as that of a Raja who gained and held the affectionate remembrances of his subjects. He was kind to high and low alike and closely looked after the administration. In his days, the revenue of the Tarái is again mentioned as having been nine lakhs of rupees, but after this epoch, intestine disturbances became utterly destructive of all prosperity both in the highlands and lowlands. We have six grants of land² made by him dating from 1710 to 1718 A.D. He died of small-pox in 1720 A.D. and was succeeded by Debi Chand who, according to some, was an illegitimate son of Jagat Chand,

¹ The *naula* at Háwalbágh, now in ruins, was also built by him.
grants in order of date are as follows :—

² These

Date A.D. In favour of—

1710. Purnagiri temple in Tallades.

1710. Family of Debidatta Pánde.

1712. Bhramari temple in Katyúr.

Date A.D. In favour of—

1713. Baijnáth temple.

1716. Nágnáth temple in Chárái.

1718. Bhuvaneswar temple in Gangoll.

Before proceeding further we must make such a survey of Garhwál history to the Gorkhálí conquest as the scanty materials at our disposal will permit.

From the local records of the Dún and the Saháranpur district Garhwál. Fateh Sáh, we have the means of filling up broadly 1684-1716 A.D. the history of lower Garhwál. On a previous page we left the Dún in the possession of Chhatarbhúj, whoever he may be, with the Hardwár chief at Chándi and Prithi Sáh in Garhwál. The last named was succeeded by Medini Sáh and he again by Fateh Sáh, who may, perhaps, be identified with the Fateh Singh who in 1692 A.D. led a memorable raid from the Dún into Saháranpur, whence he was with difficulty expelled by Sayyid Ali, the Imperial general. Fateh Sáh is also credited with the extension of his power into Tibet, and a hat, coat, sword and matchlock said to have belonged to him are still kept in the temple at Daba in Hundes. We have grants of this prince dated in 1685, 1706, 1710 and 1716 A.D., in which he is styled Phatepat Sáh. The war with Kumaon commenced in the reign of Prithi Sáh and was vigorously carried on by his successors. Fateh Sáh was a contemporary of Udyot, Gyán and Jagat Chand, Rajas of Kumaon, and was as often victor in the border fights as his opponents. On several occasions, he was able to hold a portion of the Kumaon territory for a considerable time and in 1710 A.D. addressed an order to the officer in command of the Badhán frontier, telling him to remember that the village of Garsár near Baijnáth in Patti Katyúr of Kumaon had been granted by him to the temple of Badrináth, and to see that it was not harried by either his troops or those of the enemy. Whether this was intended as a piece of bravado or not the fact remains that Fateh Sáh's donation was acted on and his deed has been produced in evidence in our courts to support the claim to hold the village free of revenue. During the reign of his predecessor, the Sikh Guru Rám Rái had taken up his residence at Dehra, and there he remained during the reign of Fateh Sáh. Guru Har Rái died in 1661, leaving two sons, Rám Rái and Harkishan, the former about fifteen years of age and the latter about six. Both claimed the succession, and as Rám Rái was the son of a handmaiden and not of a wife of

¹ Hamilton's Gazetteer, II., 636.

equal rank with the mother of Harkishan, so the latter was chosen to succeed their father. Rám Rái refused to abide by the election and disputes ran so high that it was agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Aurangzeb, who confirmed the election and sent Rám Rái away disappointed and resolved not to abandon his pretensions to the spiritual leadership of his sect. Harkishan died at Dehli in 1664 of small-pox and was succeeded by his uncle Tegh Bahádur, son of the great Guru Har Govind. Rám Rái recommenced his agitation and threatened not only the supremacy but the life of Tegh Bahádur, but the latter remained Guru of the Sikhs until his arrest and execution in 1675 A.D.¹ Aurangzeb was resolved to put down a sect the leaders of which were found to aspire to worldly as well as spiritual domination and who called themselves the '*Sachcha Pádsháh*,' the veritable kings. It was by his orders that Tegh Bahádur was executed, and at the same time he directed Rám Rái to retire to the wilderness of the Dún and to refrain from meddling in public affairs, or he should meet with a similar fate. Rám Rái obeyed the emperor's command and came to the Dún, and when, some twenty years later, Govind, the son of Tegh Bahádur, succeeded his father as Guru, the personal following of Rám Rái had dwindled to a few retainers and the adherents to his apostleship had declined into a mere sect of dissenters. Rám Rái resided a short time at Kándli on the Tons and then settled down in Khúrbura, now included in the town of Dehra. He built his temple at the village of Dhámúwála, around which grew up the town of Gurudwára, which with Khúrbura formed the nucleus of the modern town of Dehra. Fateh Sáh and his successors confirmed the possession of several villages for the support of the Mahant's retinue and the service of the temple and also erected and endowed a similar institution dedicated to Guru Rám Rái in Srinagar itself.

Fateh Sáh was succeeded by his son Dhalíp in 1717, of whom Pradíp Sáh, 1717-72 we have a grant of his dated in the same A.D. year. He could only have reigned for a few months when he was succeeded by his brother Upendra Sáh for a period of nine months, and he by his nephew Pradsípt Sáh, son of Dhalíp. The last prince ruled Garhwál for over half a century,

¹ Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 62.

for we have grants¹ made by him ranging from the year 1717 to the year 1772. During the latter part of his grandfather's reign and the earlier part of his own the Dún and Garhwál enjoyed a season of exceptional prosperity. Numbers of Rajpút and Gújar settlers reclaimed the waste land of the Dún and villages sprang up on all sides, so that in 1729 the gross revenue from some four hundred villages amounted to close upon Rs. 95,000. In 1747 we find the Dún assessed at Rs. 97,465, of which Rs. 42,845 were assigned away in revenue-free grants to religious establishments and individuals. This prosperity soon attracted the attention of Najíb-ud-daula, better known as Najíb Khán, the Rohilla chief of Saháranpur.² By the end of 1754, Najíb Khán had reduced the upper part of the Saháranpur district under his sway, and Chait Singh of Bahsúma, the last of the local chiefs who opposed, was forced to submit. In 1757, the Rohilla led his first expedition into the Dún and after a very feeble resistance on the part of the Garhwál Raja established his authority there.³ The people speak of his rule with admiration and say that he protected the residents of the district, encouraged all classes alike to settle in the valley and provided them with land, fostered trade, dug canals, built wells and raised the revenue to a lakh and a quarter rupees without over-assessing the people. Mr. Williams⁴ tells us that:—"the numerous mango topes and remains of tanks frequently found in the midst of what now seems a primeval forest warrant the statement that at this happy period there were five hundred estates in the Dún all under cultivation;" but it would be safer to assign these remains as well as those all along the border of the hills from the Ganges to the Sárda to an earlier and more primitive civilisation. He adds:—"Trade kept pace with agriculture and the term Hátnála (or pass by a market) still applied to Nágál, Rájpur, Bhagwantpur, Thánu and Bhárápur, preserves the recollection of the course taken by the stream of traffic to and from the hills. Najíb Khán died in 1770 and with him disappeared the

¹ I have grants of this Raja to Jilvesvar Mahádeo at Jilásu in 1725; to Kapila Muni at Srinagar in 1734; to Murlí Manohar at Chandrapuri in 1745, and to Kanaleswar at Srinagar in 1753, taken from the records relating to revenue-free holdings decided by Traill in 1818. Some hundreds of these cases have been examined, but though older grants are mentioned, it is said that the originals were destroyed by the Gorkhális.

² See Gaz., II., 250, for an account of the rise and fall of the Rohilla power in the Duáb.

³ Mr. Shore to Government: 26th January, 1824.

⁴ Memoir, 97.

prosperity of the Dún. Pradípt Sáh was now an old man and little inclined to undertake the task of gathering up the scattered threads of government thus suddenly placed within his reach. He died in 1772 and was succeeded by his son Lalat or Lalsta Sáh.

Of Lalat Sáh we possess a grant dated in 1779 bestowing lands on the temple of Nanda at Krúr in Dasoli Lalat Sáh, 1772-80 A.D. and another in the following year in favor of the Bhairava of Langúgarh. He also took little notice of Dún affairs, which rapidly proceeded from bad to worse, so that from his inattention or as others say from his oppression of the Musalmán peasantry, the Dún again became a wilderness. The influence of the Mahant of the Sikh temple became supreme and the seat of government was changed from Nawáda to the little town around the temple which now received and retained henceforth the name of Dehra. For many years now the Dún became the happy hunting-grounds of Gújar and Sikh marauders. In 1775, and again in 1783, the Sikhs swept through the valley, plundering, murdering and burning as they went. They never attempted to settle in the valley and in the latter year spared not even the houses clustering around the Gurudwára, though respecting the temple itself in which the inhabitants had stored their valuables for protection. The Garhwál Raja was unable to afford the people protection or at least never appears to have tried to restrain the inroads of the marauders, and at last bought them off by an annual payment of Rs. 4,000 to their principal sardárs. Forster¹ the traveller happened to be present when two Sikh tax-collectors appeared to receive the customary tribute. They foddered their horses with green barley torn from the standing crops, and so astonished was the Englishman with the awe in which they were held that he records the following characteristic note:—"From the manner in which these men were treated or rather treated themselves I frequently wished for the power of migrating into the body of a Sikh for a few weeks." Mr. Williams writes² of this period:—"The raids of the Rajpúts and Gújars from Saháranpur did more mischief than the Sikh incursions. They were not petty enterprises of no greater dignity than common gang-robberies but regular invasions on a small scale, organised by men

¹ Travels, I., 199, quoted by Mr. Williams in Memoir, 100.

² *Ibid.*

of consequence who were able to lead into the field miniature armies composed of horse and foot in due proportion. These were days when a Rajpút or Gújar chieftain could, at a pinch, muster one thousand fighting men. Against such a force the people of the Dún were helpless, although they occasionally attempted reprisals * * * The banditti plied their trade through the two passes most used in the present century for purposes of peaceful traffic—those of Timli and Mohan. The defiles of Kánsrao and Hardwár were at first less frequented, but when the Khúbar Gújars gained strength at the expense of the Pundírs, Raja Rámdayál Singh of Landhaura appropriated these two gorges to his own use and began to exercise his hereditary profession of robbery in the intervals between his graver occupations in the capacity of talukadár. The Garhwál Raja far too weak to attempt resistance submitted to the necessity of handing over a few villages to each of the offending chiefs in *jágr*, on condition of their guarding each pass against marauders belonging to their own or other clans. In this manner Guláb Singh, the Pundír Rána, obtained twelve villages with the hand of Lalat Sáh's daughter in marriage, and his son Bahádúr Singh actually got the fiscal management of the Dún in 1787." Two villages alone remain to his descendant Pitambar Singh. Rámdayál Singh obtained five villages and others were divided amongst the Ráos of Kheri, Sakhrauda and Ráipur in the Saháranpur district.¹

The fights of the Garhwális with the Kumaonis are noticed elsewhere, and on the murder of Díp Chand
 Jayakrit Sáh, 1780- elsewhere, and on the murder of Díp Chand
 85 A.D. the friends of his family applied to Lalat Sáh for assistance and after some hesitation he consented to interfere in Kumaon affairs. He defeated the troops of the usurper Mohan Singh at Bágwáli Pokhar in 1779 and permitted his son-Pradhuman to become Raja of Kumaon. Lalat Sáh had four sons—Jayakrit, Pradhuman, Parákram and Pritam. Jayakrit Sáh succeeded his father in 1780, and of him we have grants dating from
 Pradhuman Sáh, 1785- 1780 to 1785. In the latter year the invasion
 1804 A.D. celebrated as "the Joshiyána" took place, in which the Kumaonis swept through the country and occupied

¹ Most of these were confirmed by the Gorkhális, but were resumed by the British after the conquest.

Srinagar itself, and Jayakrit Sáh was murdered or according to others died of chagrin and fatigue. His brother Pradhuman united for a whole year the two countries under his personal sway, but harassed on the one hand by the pretensions of his brother Pará-kram and on the other by the attacks of the party favourable to Mohan Singh, he abandoned Kumaon altogether in 1786 and took up his residence permanently at Srinagar. Here there was plenty of work to occupy his talents and energy had he possessed any.

The notorious Ghulám Kádir succeeded¹ his father Zábíta Khán in 1785, and desirous of emulating Ghulám Kádir.

the successes of his grandfather Najíb Khán undertook the reduction of the chiefs that lay between him and the Siwaliks, who had taken the opportunity afforded by the recent troubles to declare their independence. In 1786, he invaded the Dún and reannexed it to his possessions. Mr. Williams describes this second Rohilla inroad thus:—"Accompanied by his Hindu adviser Raja Muniyár Singh, Ghulám Kádir entered the valley from Hardwár about the middle of the year. Fire and bloodshed marked his onward progress. Not content with sacking Dehra, he gutted the Gurudwára. Cow's blood profaned Rám Rái's holy shrine and the conqueror, it is said, otherwise expressed his contempt for superstition in an extravagant fashion, smashing the Mahant's cithern and reclining disdainfully on the couch where the saint breathed his last. It is an article of faith with many orthodox Hindús that God, as a punishment, smote the sacriligious Nawáb with the madness which drove him to destruction. He nevertheless gave evidence of sound judgment by entrusting the administration of his easy conquest to a Hindu deputy named Umed Singh, who served him most faithfully to the day of his death (1789) * * *. After the death of

Umed Singh.

Ghulám Kádir, Umed Singh courted the friendship of Pradhuman Sáh, to whom the district once more became nominally subject, but about three years later he betrayed his new master to the Raja of Sirmor, who proclaimed his own government in the Dún and, it is alleged, deputed a representative to live at Pirthipur. Pradhuman Sáh had recourse to an alliance with the Maráthas, who glad of an opportunity for plunder

¹ Gas., II., 251.

hastened to his assistance, but merely amused him and retired after a few skirmishes with the Sirmor troops, without effecting anything decisive. Umed Singh was thus enabled to maintain the authority of his new patron several years longer until the Garhwál Raja again won him over to his side, giving him the hand of his daughter in marriage." The result of this was a retransfer of the Dún to Srinagar about the commencement of the present century. Umed Singh was again preparing to prove a traitor when the Gorkhális stepped in and seized the Dún amongst their conquests.

The valley all this time belonged to any one bold enough to enter it and strong enough to encounter the little opposition that could be made. Mr. Williams, writes:—"The Sikh incursions

Sikhs, Gájars.

continued while the hungry Rajpúts and Gújars of Saháranpur emulated the activity

of the Singhs. Whenever any delay occurred about the payment of blackmail, fifty or a hundred Panjábi troopers generally sufficed to sweep the country clear. The operations of the others were, as already noticed, sometimes conducted in a more ambitious style. Whatever slipped through the fingers of the professional spoiler fell into the hands of the official harpy. The *amil*, for the time being, was his own master and collected booty with all possible expedition, not knowing the moment when he might suddenly fall a prey to some other more influential or cunning than himself. The original owners retained few villages and almost all records of right perished." Amongst the more notorious of these oppressors of the country the names of Hari Singh of Guler and son-in-law of Pradhuman Sáh and that of Rámdayál Singh of Landhaura stand out prominently, and between them the annual revenue was reduced as low as Rs. 8,000 a year. In 1801 a Marátha invasion destroyed what little had been left and paved the way for the Gorkháli invasion two years afterwards. Captain Hardwicke visited Garhwál in 1796 and gives some account of the district in a description¹ of his journey from Khohdwára to Srinagar. His impressions of the people and country do not give one a high idea either of their condition or character. The smallness of the

¹ Memoir, 102; based on Mr. Shore's Report, dated 28th January, 1824.

² A. S. Res., I., 309, 8vo. ed.

villages that he saw along the road is remarked by him ; they seldom consisted of more than five or six huts, and he adds that a collection of ten huts would be considered a large village, but what chiefly struck him in the villages themselves was "the appearance of uncleanness, indolence and poverty." Then as now the upper story of the house contained the sleeping and living apartments, whilst the lower story was occupied by the cattle. The standing forces of the Raja consisted of some five thousand men, of whom one thousand were stationed at Srinagar and the remainder throughout the several parganas, to assist in the collection of the revenue and to garrison the frontier posts along the Rám-ganga. The troops were armed with matchlocks or bows and arrows or with sword and shield, which last were evidently the established and favourite weapons of the country. There was no attempt at uniformity in dress or discipline and pay was seldom regularly distributed. The pay of the troops at Srinagar as well as that of many of the servants connected with the palace was met by orders on the different parganas, and Hardwicke notes that he met several dancing-girls and musicians "travelling perhaps twenty or thirty *kos* with an order on some zamindár for three or four months' arrears of pay." Having brought the local history of Garhwál down to the Gorkháli conquest, we may now return to Kumaon affairs.

The decline of the Chand power commences from the accession of Debi Chand, for although like his predecessors he made the usual military promenade into Garhwál, the Garhwális recovered their possessions in Badhán and Lohba and even invaded the Baijnáth valley. A battle was fought near Ranchúla above the Baijnáth temple, in which the Kumáonis were successful ; Debi Chand then demanded back Srinagar, from the Brahman to whom it had been given by his father, and on the Brahman refusing to return the gift, attempted to take the town, but was repulsed and driven back across the frontier. Debi Chand was a weak and irresolute prince and altogether in the hands of the advisers in power for the time being. In connection with his unsuccessful expedition against Srinagar, it is related that, like the king of France in the fable, he spread a quantity of carpets over a hill near his encampment and calling the summit Srinagar marched with his army to the attack, and in

commemoration of his bloodless victory called the place Fathpur, 'The place of victory'! The treasury of the Chands is said to have contained at this time three and a half krors of rupees, or taking the rupee nominally as worth eighteen pence over two and a half millions sterling. The Raja's fingers burned to dispense the savings of his ancestors, and urged by his Brahman advisers, he resolved to make a name for himself which would last for ever by paying off the debts of all his subjects and then founding a new era when all were at ease and no one was in debt, to be called 'the golden era.' In this senseless undertaking he expended a kror of rupees without gaining his object and without improving the resources of his unthrifty subjects.¹ The greater portion of the money found its way into the coffers of the Brahman money-lenders, who thus found themselves possessed of the only thing wanting to complete their preparations for the struggle for power which soon commenced. At this time the Gaira Bishts, Mánik and his son Puran Mall of Garhwáli origin were the principal advisers of the Raja, and through their influence he was induced to take a part in the political struggles going on in the plains. He was led to believe that the Raja of Kumaon was one of the greatest princes in the world, and taking the Afghán Dáúd Khán into his service, supported one Sábir Sháh,² in opposition to the Emperor. Azmat-ul-lah Khán was sent from Dehli to take possession of Rudrpur and Káshipur and Debi Chand marched with his troops from Almora to aid Dáúd Khán, who commanded the levies that held the plains parganas.³ The Raja proclaimed his partisan Emperor of Dehli and met the imperial forces near Nagína with the intention of offering battle, but his wily Afghán general had received a bribe from Azmat-ul-lah Khán and before the battle commenced deserted the Raja with all his forces. The Kumáonis

¹ See p. 516, referring to the reputed treasures of the hill Rajas. The Nepál annals record that it was through a similar paying off of all the debts of the people that Vikramáditya established his era: p. 418.

² Rustam Ali in the *Tárikh-i-Hindi* tells us that in 1726 A.D. "a person having assumed the name of Sábir Sháh went to Kumaon and represented to the Raja of that place, whose name was Debi Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Timúr, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Káshipur and Rudrpur to the effect that they should give him a red tent, such as is usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect they collected no less than 40,000 Rohillas." Shaikh Azmat-ul-lah Khán, who was then governor of Moradabad and Sambhal, was sent to quell the insurrection and in a single battle overthrew the Rohillas. Douson's Elliott, VIII., 46.

³ Life of Hafiz Rahmat, p. 10: Hamilton's Rohillas, p. 36.

were accordingly defeated and Dáúd Khán not satisfied with mere treachery actually made an attempt to seize the person of his master as a hostage for the payment of the arrears due to the troops, but in this attempt he failed. The Raja retreated to Thákurdwára and pretending ignorance of Dáúd's treachery invited him to attend to receive his arrears of pay. Dáúd obeyed and was seized with all his followers and put to a cruel death, whilst the Kumáonis fled to Almora. Debi Chand next found himself attacked on the east by Doti and on the west by Garhwál. He made peace with Doti and entrusting the conduct of the war with Garhwál to his generals retired to the village of Debipur in Kota, where he had built himself a pleasure-house. Here, whatever happened, he remained during a portion of the cold-weather months of the last three years of his reign to indulge in the delights afforded by the female apartments, and here in the year 1726 A.D. he was murdered by Ranjit Patoliya at the instigation of his treacherous ministers. Mánik Bisht gave out that the Raja had died suddenly of snake-bite, and in the absence of heirs assumed the entire control of the administration. The wives of the Raja became *sati* and the Bishts believed that they had now little to do except to enjoy the power which they had so criminally acquired. In reviewing the events of the reign of Debi Chand the most charitable conclusion to arrive at is that he became insane at certain seasons, and that he should, therefore, not always be held morally responsible for his actions. Like his immediate predecessors he was exceedingly liberal to the temples and the priests. We have five grants of land made by him during his short reign, two of which bearing date in 1722 and 1726 A.D. respectively were in favour of the Jageswar temple; one dated in 1726 in favour of the Bhrámari temple; another dated in 1724 in favour of the Nar Singh temple in Tikhúá, and a fifth in favour of the family of Prem Ballabh Pant dated in 1725 A.D.

The Bishts then set themselves to search for some one having some connection with the Chand family; Ajit Chand, 1726-29 A.D. whom they might place on the throne and thus rule through him as nominal Raja. Narpát Singh, Raja of Katehir, lived at Pipali and had married a daughter of Gyán Chand, of whom there was issue Ajit Singh, now grown to man's

estate. The choice of the Bishts fell on the young Thákur, who was called to Almora and installed as Raja under the name of Ajít Chand. The Bishts now gave themselves up to the full enjoyment of their ill-gotten power: they plundered the people under the name of the Rája, and taking to themselves Bírghadra Joshi as kámdár strictly kept the exercise of every semblance of power in their own hands. We have but one grant made by Ajít Chand, and that is only for a small parcel of land in favour of the Srinátheswar temple in Giwár in 1729 A.D. The female apartments of the Raja even were not safe from the licentious Bishts. Puran Mall formed an intrigue with a female slave of the inner apartments by whom he had a son, and to cover his crime brought a present to the Rája in honour of the child's birth. But the Raja was not deceived and denied his paternity and refused the present. Alarmed lest the Raja had discovered the real facts of the case, the Bishts took counsel together and determined on his death, a resolution which was at once carried into action. The self-same night they were introduced by a confederate into the inner apartments and there murdered the unfortunate Ajít Chand and gave out that he had died suddenly from natural causes. This event occurred in the beginning of the year 1729 A.D. The murderers again looked out for a puppet to place upon the throne and were bold enough to ask the Kátehir chief, Narpát Singh, for a second son, but the old Rája knew that his elder son had been murdered and refused the proffered dignity, saying, "My children are not goats that they should be sacrificed in this manner," alluding to the practice of sacrificing kids at all festive and religious assemblies in the hills. In default of the Kátehiri prince, the Bishts had the hardihood to place the bastard son of the female slave on the throne as a son of Ajít Chand and with the name of Bálo Kalyán Chand, although he was only eighteen days old. They proclaimed themselves as previously regents of the kingdom during the minority of the young Raja, and in the insolence of their power issued grants in his name. Their triumph was short-lived. The Márás and Phartiyáls for once united and sent messengers to the Mal of Doti to search for any of the members of Náráyan Chand's family who had settled there. They discovered one Kal-yán of that family living in great poverty and reduced almost to

till the ground with his own hands for a subsistence, and him they brought to Almora and installed as Raja under the name of Kalyán Chand.

Kalyán Chand became Raja in 1730 A.D., and as was natural set himself to punish the Bishts. Both Kalyán Chand, 1730-47 A.D. Mánik and Puran were killed with all their families. The wife of Puran was given to a Búrha or head-man and was pregnant at the time and subsequently gave birth to a son Bairisál, who long afterwards received back his father's possessions from Sib Deo Joshi. The poor little Raja Bálo Kalyán was given as a slave to a Musalmán javelin-man who was attached to the court, and so ended the Bisht interregnum. But the poor man now grown rich had tasted blood and to secure himself from rivals sent executioners throughout the land to slay all who had any pretensions to bear the name or be of the family of the Chands. From Dánpur to Kota and from Páli to Káli Kumáon there was wailing throughout the land, for families who had only the bare reputation of being of Chand descent were killed or exiled equally with the few families of genuine Ráotela origin. The Raja's spies were present in every village and every house and family found enemies amongst those of their own household. The informer was rewarded with the lands of those he betrayed, and like in the old days of Musalmán rule in the plains, when a contest occurred between Hindu brethren of the same family it was only necessary for one to apostatise to win his suit: so in Kumaon "in their good old days" it was only necessary for one brother to denounce the other, to obtain the whole inheritance. Worse than Rudra Chand in his old age, Kalyán felt himself unfitted by education and experience for the position he filled, and with the low cunning bred of ignorance and suffering believed his system of espionage the highest effort of political sagacity. But the chiefs of his spies were in reality his masters and used him solely as the means for satisfying private vengeance, lust or cupidity. Plots existed without doubt, but many more were fabricated and the *parvenu* Raja of doubtful origin scarcely dared to breathe much less to eat or drink without the exercise of precautions which must have made his life a burden to him. One day he learned from his chief of police that a great Brahman conspiracy threatened his life and

in a paroxysm of fear ordered that all concerned shall be blinded and their Khasiya adherents should be executed. The result was, it is said, that seven earthen vessels filled with the eyes of Brahmans were brought before him, whilst the bodies of scores of Khasiyas filled the ravines of the Suwál and afforded food for many days to the jackals and the vultures. Bhawáni Pati Pánde of Bairti near Dwára is recorded as the leader in these persecutions.

Kalyán next turned to the priests for assistance, and we have Cruelty to Himmat upwards of twenty grants¹ made by him Gosáin. during his reign to them or to temples. His favourite country residence was Binsar, where he built a temple to Mahádeo, but he had little time for leisure, for the officers of Nawáb Mansúr Ali Khán took possession of Sarbna and Bilhari and threatened the remainder of the Taráí. Kalyán Chand appointed Sib Deo Joshi his viceroy in the plains, and for some time this able officer made arrangements which put an end to the encroachments of the Oudh Darbár. During the Rátela persecution in the earlier years of the reign of Kalyán Chand, one Himmat Gosáin,² blinded and otherwise injured, fled to the plains and now assembled a force of plainsmen and Kumáonis to attack the Raja. Kalyán Chand marched against them and defeated them near Káshipur and Himmat Gosáin retired to the court of Ali Muhammad Khán Rohilla at Aonla. Ali Muhammad did not forget the murder of his patron Dáúd Khán, and when Himmat begged for assistance gladly promised his aid. Kalyán heard of this and feeling that his tyrannical conduct had created many enemies tried to reform his administration. He began by dismissing his old advisers and gave full power to Sib Deo Joshi of Jijhár in the

¹ The following are the grants made by this Raja in order of date and which are still in existence in the Almora records:—

<i>Date, A.D. In favour of—</i>	<i>Date, A.D. In favour of—</i>
1731. Jageswar temple.	1734. Nágnáth temple in Cháráí.
" Ditto.	" Kshetrpái temple in Borárau.
" Ditto.	" Bhuvaneswar temple in Gangoli.
" Briddh Kedár temple.	1735. Purnagiri in Tallades.
" Ganesh temple, Almora.	1736. Ghatotkacha temple.
" Ghatotkacha temple in Bisang.	1737. Sitala Devi temple in Baraun.
1732. Family of Gangadatta Joshi.	1740. Kálíka Sitala temple in Dwára.
1733. Baleswar temple, Champáwat.	1744. Badrináth in Garhwál.
" Family of Kulomani Pande.	1745. Kedárnáth in Garhwál.
" Family of Bishnadatta Joshi.	1746. Family of Debidatta Chaudhri.

² Called Dull Chand by the Rohilla historians.

Tarái, to Rámadatta Adhikári in the Kota Bhábar and to Hari Rám Joshi in Almora. He also bestowed lands on the families of his victims and endeavoured in every way to blot out the remembrance of his cruelties. His position was now critical, having the forces of Oudh and Ali Muhammad Khán opposed to him on his southern frontier; he had also to protect his eastern frontier, where the Doti Raja resented the exaltation of his former subject. Cunning and cruel, Kalyán despatched assassins into the Rohilla camp who murdered Himmat Gosáin and his family, but this act of his had an opposite effect to that intended.

Ali Muhammad Khán was enraged at the murder of a guest within his own camp and in 1743-44 A.D. sent a force of ten thousand men under the command of Háfiz Rahmat Khan, Páinda Khán and Bakshi Sirdár Khán to invade Kumáon. Previously Ali Muhammad made all arrangements for his plains possession during the absence of the force; he also forbade any one to join the army that was not enrolled and collected stores and carriage of all descriptions at Kashipur for the use of the expedition. On his side everything was done that could conduce to success, while on the other side, although Rám Datta Adhikári sent timely notice to his master and Sib Deo asked for money and promised that if he got it, the Rohillas should not invade Kumaon, nothing was done by the miserly prince. Kalyán Chand was persuaded that Sib Deo wanted the money only to pay off his own debts, and though he made some feeble attempts to fortify the hill passes by stockades and broke down the few bridges that existed, he sent no assistance to his officers. The Rohillas defeated Sib Deo at Rudrpur and obliged him to take refuge in the fort of Barakheri, and Háfiz Rahmat, leaving a governor in Rudrpur, pursued the Kumáonis and occupied Bijipur in pargana Chhakháta on the outer range of hills below Bhím Tál. The Raja alarmed at the success of the invaders at length sent a force to support Sib Deo and attack the Rohillas in Bijipur, but without a blow almost the Kumáonis fled at the first charge of the enemy and were pursued by Rámgarh and Piura to the Suwál river below Almora. Bakshi Sirdár Khán being of advanced age remained in command of a party in the

Barakheri fort which commands the route from the plains by Bhím Tál, while Háfiz Rahmat proceeded to Almora, which he occupied without opposition. Kalyán Chand fled to Gairsen near Lohba and entreated the protection of the Garhwál Raja, with whom he was now at peace.

The Musalmáns then destroyed all the idols in the temples, which they also defiled by the slaughter of cows, sprinkling the blood on the altars. All the gold and silver idols and their ornaments were melted down and plundering expeditions were sent into the neighbouring parganas for the same purpose; the noseless idols in Lakhanpur, Dwára, Katármal, Bhím Tál and Almora to the present day attest the iconoclastic proclivities of the Rohillás.¹ Ali Muhammad Khán was delighted at the successful result of this expedition and sent splendid presents to Háfiz Rahmat. During this time the old records were destroyed or lost and the few that remained were preserved in private families in distant portions of the province, so that on these alone have we been able to rely in drawing up this sketch of Kumaon history. Many of the Rohillas sickened and died from the effects of the climate, and though Ali Muhammad Khán himself came and distributed largesses to his troops, they were utterly disgusted at their position and longed to return to the plains.

Sib Deo brought up a force from Sarbna and occupied Kairá-
 Treaty with the Rohil- rau for a time, but eventually withdrew
 las. to his master at Gairsen. After some time the Raja of Garhwál agreed to assist the Kumáonis and the united forces marched eastwards and occupied Dúnagiri and Dwára. The Rohillas were in force in Kairárau and attacking the Hindus, utterly defeated them and plundered their camp. They then threatened to seize Srinagar itself and thus brought the Raja to terms by which he agreed to pay down three lakhs of rupees on the part of Kalyán Chand, and the Rohillas consented to abandon the country. The terms of the agreement² were carried out and

¹ The great temple of Jageswar is said to have escaped owing to the Rohillas having been attacked by great swarms of bees. ² In the life of Háfiz Rahmat, the terms are said to be a tribute of Rs. 60,000 a year and an engagement not to assist Kalyán Chand, instead of whom another Raja was to be installed at Almora, p. 19.

after a stay of seven months the Rohillas, leaving a small garrison in Barakheri, returned to the plains, much to the chagrin and disgust of Ali Muhammad Khán, who wished to make a permanent occupation of the hill country, as he thought that it would afford him a safe asylum should anything go wrong with him in the plains. Kalyán Chand was escorted by Pradípt Sáh, Raja of Garhwál, to Almora and at once set about repairing the damages committed during the Rohilla occupation. Three months afterwards, whilst pressed by the troops of Muhammad Sháh, the Rohillas under Najíb Khán strengthened the garrison of Barakheri and sent a small detachment by the Kosi and the Káli to penetrate into the interior and form a basis of support should the Afghán forces be obliged to retire to the hills for protection. In the beginning of the year 1745 A.D. Sib Deo attacked the main body of the Rohillas under Rajab Khán close to the Barakheri fort, and after an obstinate struggle compelled them to retire to the plains, and on hearing of this the other parties of Rohillas also retreated. The Hindus of Katehir at this time made complaints to the Emperor Muhammad Sháh of the tyranny under which they suffered at the hands of the Afgháns and Kalyán Chand also sent an envoy to Dehli for the same purpose. The Emperor promised redress and further urged by the Oudh Nawáb, assembled a large army for the expulsion of the Afgháns from Katehir and encamped at Sambhal. Kalyán Chand hearing of this event resolved to plead his cause in person, and as he had no money he borrowed the jewels of the Jageswar temple to offer as a present and set out for the plains. At Rámna-gar he met Sib Deo on his way back from Barakheri and took him in his train, which was increased at Káshipur by a guard of honor sent him by the Vazír Kumr-ud-dín. The Raja was admitted to an interview,¹ and though the extraordinary power of the Rohillas at this time was sufficient to awaken the jealousy and secure the intervention of the Imperial court, the representations of the Raja received further weight from the presence of twenty-two descendants of the old Hindu Rajas of Katehir, who headed by the aged chief of Thákurdwára demanded justice on their oppressors. Muhammad Sháh granted all that was asked for and is said

¹ The first interview was near Sambhal and the second at Garhmuktesar.

to have given to Kalyán Chand a fresh *sanad* for his plains possessions.

On his way back to Almora, Kalyán Chand had an interview with the Vazír Kumr-ud-dín near Garhmuktesar and thanked him for his good offices ; unfortunately, however, the Oudh Nawáb was encamped close by, and as he was personally hostile to the Vazír, the Rajá thought it politic not to pay a formal visit and merely sent his respects by an agent, an act which Mansúr Ali never forgave. Sib Deo was again invested with full authority in the plains and was about to repair the ravages which had been committed during his absence, but had not got so far as Sarbna when that pargana was occupied by the Oudh forces under the express orders of Mansúr Ali Khán himself. Sib Deo wrote to the Nawáb, representing that this tract had always formed an integral portion of the Kumaon territory and was also included in the *sanad* just granted by Muhammad Sháh ; but without effect. He then had recourse to arms, and in a battle fought with Teju Gaur the Oudh chakladár was wounded and taken prisoner and remained for a whole year a captive in Oudh. Kalyán Chand complained to the Emperor, who induced the Oudh Nawáb to restore Sarbna and release Sib Deo, who again assumed control of the administration and, to strengthen his frontier, built forts at Rudrpur and Káshipur and placed considerable garrisons in them, each under a separate governor. Sarbna, Bilhari and Dhaner were given in zamíndári to a Barwaik family and the Tallades Bhábar was handed over to the Lúls of Káli Kumaon, both of whom exercised the police functions held elsewhere by the Heris and Mewátis. Kalyán Chand now became blind, a judgment of the gods, it was said, for his cruelty in blinding so many Brahmans, and finding his end approaching summoned Sib Deo to Almora and formally placed him in charge of his young son, who was installed as Raja of Kumaon under the name of Díp Chand, with Sib Deo as regent at the close of the year 1747 A.D.

Kalyán Chand died early in 1748 A.D., and the same year saw the decease of both Muhammad Sháh and Ali Muhammad Khán. With his dying

Death of Kalyán Chand.

breath the old Raja again committed to Sib Deo his son and family, entrusting to him all power and authority to be used and exercised on behalf of Díp Chand, and well was the trust fulfilled. Sib Deo gave eight villages to Jageswar in lieu of the money borrowed by Kalyán Chand and, so far as was possible, restored all property which had been unjustly confiscated by that Raja. He appointed his own son Jaikishan as his deputy in Almora and again proceeded to the Taráí, where he made his cousin Hari Rám Joshi governor of Káshipur, whilst he took up his quarters in Rudrpur, and on Hari Rám neglecting his duties exchanged the offices and appointed Siromani Das, a Brahman of Bázipur, his deputy in Káshipur. At this time the Emperor called on all his subjects to send contingents to assist him against the Maráthas, and Hari Rám and Bírbal Negi were sent with a force of four thousand men to the Emperor's support and took part in the battle of Pánipat (January, 1761 A.D.) Sib Deo also sent his son Harakdeo Joshi to hold Najíbabad, while Najíb-ud-daula was absent at Pánipat and there protected the Afghán's household from the attacks of foraging parties of Marátha horse. At Pánipat the Kumaonis were brigaded with their ancient enemies the Rohillas under Háfiz Rahmat, but both fought bravely together and the hill-men did good service, especially in the use of rockets and hand-grenades, with which they were familiar. After the battle the Emperor wished to see the Kumáoni leader and sent for him, but Háfiz Rahmat, being desirous that the interview should not take place, had previously sent off Hari Rám with presents as if from the Emperor, and in addition his own turban to exchange with Díp Chand and excused the absence of the hill-men to the Emperor, on the ground that he had advised them to return home, as they could not stand the heat of the plains.

Little has been said of Díp Chand himself hitherto and little can be said of him ; he was a man of mild, Díp Chand, 1748-77 A.D. weak temperament, generous and kind to a fault and beloved by all that came in contact with him. He was entirely in the hands of the priests, and we have more memorials of his reign in the shape of grants of land to temples and to favourites than of any of his predecessors. Thirty-six of these

grants¹ exist in the Almora records alone and date from 1749 to 1774 A.D. In the earlier years of his reign, he had ministers on whom he could rely, but when these failed him he was helpless. In the year 1762 peace and prosperity reigned throughout his dominions. The lowlands were in a flourishing state and the Kumaoni governors cultivated friendly relations with Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Najíb-ud-daula and the Imperial governor of Moradabad. Sib Deo and Hari Rám remained in the plains and kept up a standing army there, consisting for the most part of mercenaries from Jammu, Nagarkot, Guler and Barhepura, who so protected the people that numerous immigrants sought the shelter of the Kumaon authority in the Taráí. At this time the principal cultivators were the Thárus, Bhuksas, and Barwaiks, with a considerable admixture of settlers from the south both Hindu and Musalmán. The only tax imposed was one-sixth of the produce and in unfavourable seasons even this was remitted. Hari Rám was obliged to leave Rudrpur during the rains, but Sib Deo remained all the year round at Káshipur. The Márás had now a long season of power and the Phartiyáls resolved in some way or another to make a bold attempt for a share, as the Raja was practically ruled by whichever party should succeed in obtaining the nominal office of Diwán. They put forward Amar Singh Rátela as a competitor for the throne, but this nascent rebellion was quelled with a strong hand by Sib Deo. This brave old man had now to

¹ The following is a list of these grants arranged in order of date and each will be found in Traill's record of the investigation into the case to which it refers in the Almora records:—

Date, A.D. In favour of—

- 1749. Badrináth temple.
- 1752. Kedárnáth temple.
Jageswar temple.
Ditto.
- 1753. Bágewar temple.
- 1754. Family of Bishandatta Joshi.
- 1755. Badrináth temple.
Bridh Jageswar temple
Gananáth temple in Boráran.
- 1756. Family of Benirám Upreti.
Bridh Jageswar temple.
- 1757. Náráyan temple in Lakhanpur.
Jageswar temple.
Family of Bishandatta Joshi.
- 1758. Jageswar temple.
Punagiri temple in Tallades.
- „ Pinnáth temple in Boráran.
- 1759. Jageswar temple.

Date, A.D. In favour of—

- 1759. Nágnañh temple.
- „ Kalika Devi in Gangoli.
- 1760. Kedárnáth temple.
Udeswar temple in Sálam.
- „ Family of Debidatta Tiwari.
- 1763. Family of Jairám.
- 1764. Kálíka Sitala temple in Dwára.
- 1765. Jageswar temple.
- 1766. Ditto.
- 1767. Bhímewar temple at Bhím Táí.
- 1768. Family of Gangadatta Joshi.
- 1769. Family of Krishnanand Joshi.
- 1770. Family of Kádhapati Bhandári.
- 1771. Family of Rewadhur Joshi.
- 1772. Family of Shivasankar Tewári.
- „ Kálíka temple in Gangoli.
- 1773. Bhalneswar temple in Boráran.
- 1774. Family of Kamalapati Upreti.

feel the ingratitude of his own near relations, for Jaikishan Joshi, himself a Mára, joined by a number of Phartiyáls, went to the Garhwál Raja, Pradípt Sáh, and induced him to invade Kumaon. Pradípt Sáh came to Jhuniyagarh, which was then in his possession, and Sib Deo with the Rája occupied Naithána in Patti Dora Palla close by. Sib Deo left Díp Chand at Naithána and with the greater part of his force advanced and occupied Jaspur on the Mási road, above the confluence of the Bino and the Ramganga. He then sent an envoy to the Garhwál Raja demanding the cause of his thus disturbing the peace of Kumaon. Pradípt Sáh replied that Kalyán Chand was his brother and he looked on Díp Chand as his nephew, and that if Díp Chand wrote to him in the terms of such a relationship he would retire. This was practically asking that the Raja of Kumaon should acknowledge the supremacy of Garhwál. Pradípt Sáh also demanded that the Rám-ganga should henceforth be considered the boundary between Kumaon and Garhwál and threatened that if this were not granted he would seize the whole of Kumaon. Sib Deo agreed to the second proposal alone, but the Garhwál Raja and his advisers were prepared for war and a battle was fought at Tanba Dhond, the hill above Udepur on the Mási road in Patti Bichhla Chaukot, with the result that the Garhwáls lost some four hundred men and amongst the prisoners was Jaikishan. The Garhwál Raja fled to Srinagar and eventually peace was concluded on such satisfactory terms that Pradípt Sáh exchanged turbans with both Díp Chand and Sib Deo.¹

No sooner was the quarrel with Garhwál settled than internal commotions arose in Kumaon itself which ended in the assassination of the principal actors, and gave some excuse for the invasion of the Gorkhális in 1790 when Kumaon ceased for ever to be independent. Hari Rám Joshi was always jealous of Sib Deo's reputation and power. When first appointed to the command of the fort of Káshipur, he neglected his duty and permitted a low Musalmán adventurer to administer the district in his name and plunder the people as he liked. In consequence of this, Sib Deo exchanged offices with

¹ One of the Brahmans whose eyes had been put out by Kalyán Chand, by name Kantu Joshi, fled to Garhwál and died there. His son Jayanand was now called back by Sib Deo and restored to the family estates.

Hari Rám, but the latter never forgot the slight put upon him by his cousin, and now took up arms against him. It is said that the cousins fought seven great battles, in two of which only Sib Deo claimed the victory. The seventh battle took place near the confluence of the Gagás and the Dosándhgár at Báns-ke-sira, and here Jairám, son of Hari Rám, and the principal mover in the quarrel, with 1,500 men, lost their lives. Hari Rám at once gave himself up to Sib Deo and both agreed to refer their quarrel to the arbitration of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who obliged Hari Rám to give Sib Deo a bond that he would ever afterwards faithfully obey him. Sib Deo was now, once more, *de facto* ruler of Kumaon; but he had many active and unscrupulous enemies who continually plotted against him, so that he was at length obliged to have recourse to measures of repression, which only increased the number of his enemies without ensuring his own safety. Foremost amongst the conspirators were the Phartiyáls of Káli Kumaon. One of these, named Rai Mall, the Búrha or head-man of the village of Choki in Káli Kumaon, wrote to a friend in Káshipur, telling him that should he organise a conspiracy against Sib Deo he might feel himself certain of the support of the entire faction in Káli Kumaon. The letter, however, miscarried, and the plot was discovered. Sib Deo believed that there were others concerned in these plots, and hastening to Almora instituted inquiries which resulted in the detection of a second conspiracy in which the Duniya Joshis were concerned. He seized the ringleaders, and after a somewhat perfunctory trial condemned them to death. The mode of execution adopted was singular and well calculated to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. He caused the prisoners to be brought to Bálighát above Bágeswar on the Sarju, and there tied them up in sacks and hurled them alive into the seething whirlpool below the cliff. The news of this affair spread quickly throughout the province, checking for a time any overt act of disaffection, but as surely increasing the efforts of those who worked in secret. Some remorse seems to have visited Sib Deo, for he released all the minor actors in the plots and sought to secure their allegiance by restoring their property to them. Rái Mall Búrha fled to Doti, and his prominent partisans disappeared for a time.

Notwithstanding these plots, the power of Sib Deo seems to have been as great as ever, and village after village was granted to him by his grateful sovereign. Besides his estates in the Tarái, he held Gangola-Kotuli in Malla Syúnara, several villages in Bárāhmandal and small grants elsewhere. He now rearranged the administration at Almora and set out for the plains which required his presence as he had heard that the mercenaries from Nagarkot and elsewhere, who formed the garrisons of the forts in the Bhábar and Tarái, were at the instigation of the Phartiyáls clamouring for increased pay. Sib Deo advanced by forced marches to Káshipur, and there summoned those whom he felt would support him, but before any one arrived the soldiery rose in revolt and murdered Sib Deo and two of his sons. This event happened in the cold weather of 1764 (11th of Pús, 1821 Sambat), and was followed soon afterwards by the death of Hari Rám. From this date the dependence of the plains on the Hill State may be said to have ceased and determined, and from this period, too, internal commotions so distracted the highlands that there also merely the semblance of a stable government remained. Jaikishan succeeded his father as prime minister and viceroy, and continued to hold the reins of government for some two years and a half when a son was born to Díp Chand. The mother of the boy, the Ráni Sringár-Manjari, then acquired great influence over the Raja, and considering that in consequence of her being the mother of the heir to the throne she should have a share in the government, intrigued with Háfiz Rahmat Khán Rohilla to oust Jaikishan. It is said that Háfiz Rahmat, at the instigation of Jodha Singh Katehri, his favourite servant, and whose son was betrothed to a daughter of the Raja Díp Chand and therefore belonged to the Ráni's faction, wrote to Jaikishan and advised him to submit to the Ráni. The result was that Jaikishan threw up all his offices, and disgusted and disappointed left Almora to the Ráni and her friends.

Mohan Singh, whom Batten calls "the spuriously descended cousin of Díp Chand," and for whom the chroniclers of his own party can give no higher origin than that he was descended from a Rátela family of obscure descent who had settled at Simalkha on the Kosi, became

bakshi or head of the army. Kishan Singh, the Raja's bastard brother, became prime minister, whilst Parmanand Bisht, the paramour of the Ráni, was appointed viceroy, and Jodha Singh obtained the government of Káshipur.¹ Thus the Ráni's party was completely successful, but had hardly enjoyed their position for a year when the intrigues of Parmanand deprived Mohan Singh of his appointment. Mohan Singh fled to Rohilkhand, and his place was taken for a time by Parmanand and then by Jaikishan and Harak Deb. In the meantime Mohan Singh, through the assistance of Dúndi Khán, of Bisauli, who was jealous of the power and influence exercised by Háfiz Rahmat Khán in Kumaon affairs, assembled a force of Rohillas and hillmen, and, eight months after the expulsion of Mohan Singh, captured Almora and the persons of the Raja and Ráni. According to other accounts, Mohan Singh was invited to Almora by the sons of Sib Deb, and the Ráni once more entrusted to him the office of bakshi on his swearing fidelity to Díp Chand and his family.² However this may be, Mohan Singh so firmly established himself as head of the government that he was able to put to death his enemy Parmanand Bisht with impunity. Emboldened by this success, and believing that the Ráni was still plotting against him, he shortly afterwards entered the women's apartments and seizing her by the hair of her head flung her out of the window and killed her. Thus, like Jezebel of old, the Ráni Sringár-Munjari perished a victim to her own self-indulgence and desire for power.

Háfiz Rahmat Khán hearing of the state of affairs in Kumaon, and finding that his old friend Díp Chand
 Harak Deb Joshi. was now only a puppet in the hands of designing adventurers, sent for the sons of Sib Deb and counselled them to make some attempt to recover the power once exercised by their family. Aided also by Kishan Singh, who had fled from Almora on the murder of his friend the Ráni, the Joshis enlisted a numerous following with which they invaded Kumaon and expelled Mohan Singh, who sought safety at first with Zúbita Khán and then with the Oudh Nawáb. Díp Chand was so pleased with

¹ See report of Mr. W. Fraser in the records of the Commissioner of Kumaon; Government to the Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 22nd November, 1814.

² This account is hardly correct, as the interests of the sons of Sib Deb were then and ever afterwards opposed to those of Mohan Singh.

the change that he desired to confer the two principal posts in the administration on the Joshi brothers with Kishan Singh as viceroy, but Jaikishan refused to serve with Kishan Singh, and thus it became necessary again to place the two offices of prime minister and head of the forces in the charge of one person. Harak Deb accepted this position and appointed as his deputies a Bisht of Chapuwa and Lakshmipati Joshi. The Bázpur Brahman Siromani Dás, now Diwán Siromani Dás, who had aided in the attack on Mohan Singh, was confirmed in his appointment of governor of Káshipur, with a grant of eight villages as well as the confiscated *jágír* of Mohan Singh. Manorath Joshi, son of Hari Rám, was made sardár of Rudrpur, and once more a certain semblance of order and good government began to make itself manifest in the administration of public affairs both in the plains and the hills. Shortly afterwards Siromani Dás died and was succeeded by his son Nandráam, who, with his brother Har Gobind, was resolved, should an opportunity occur in the present unsettled state of affairs, to carve out for themselves, as their neighbours on all sides were doing, an estate which they might, perhaps, be able to transmit to their children. They called for still more recruits from Nagarkot, and also enlisted a large number of the roving mercenary bands which the wars in the plains had created, and who were only too glad to accept service where fighting and plunder might be expected.

At this time Mohan Singh wrote to both Jaikishan and Harak Deb asking for forgiveness and begging them to allow him once more to return to Kumaon. He had, moreover, induced many of the more influential men, disgusted as they were by the conduct of Kishan Singh, to join in asking for his recall, and though Harak Deb merely sent a courteous but evasive reply, Jaikishan was imprudent enough to invite this arch dissembler back to Kumaon. On his way to the hills, Mohan Singh visited Nandráam at Káshipur and promised, in return for his assistance, to confirm that traitor in the government of the plains. On arriving at Almora, Mohan Singh almost at once assumed control of the administration, apparently with the consent of both Jaikishan and Harak Deb, who remained in office and assisted by their counsel

in the management of affairs. In the course of these consultations Jaikishan proposed that the Tarái should again be brought under the rule of Kumaon, and that an effort should be made to expel Nandrá, and in this resolution he was apparently warmly supported by Mohan Singh who offered to supply him with men and money for the expedition. Mohan Singh, however, wrote secretly to Nandrá, advising him to hold out and promising his aid should it be required, so that when Jaikishan reached the plains he found a strong force ready to oppose him posted at Halduwa between Chilkiya and Káshipur. In the fight that took place Jaikishan was worsted with the loss of the brother of Díp Chand who had accompanied the royal forces. Mohan Singh gained many advantages by this movement. The Joshi brothers were now separated, and means were found to make Almora so uncomfortable for Harak Deb that he was glad to take refuge in Páli. The unfortunate Raja himself was now alone and helpless in the hand of his gaoler, who sent him with his two sons, Udai Chand and Suján Singh Gosáin, to the State prison of Sirakot. Mohan Singh believed that the time had come when he might throw off all semblance of submission and loyalty and look after his personal aggrandisement alone, but resolved first of all to secure his position at Almora. For this purpose it was necessary to paralyse the influence of the Joshi brothers, and this could best be effected by the death of one or both. Mohan Singh accordingly proceeded to Kumkhet, a village on the southern face of the Gágar range in parganah Kota, and, under pretence of concerting a common attack on Nandrá and the rebels in the plains, invited Jaikishan to attend him. The Joshi at first refused, but overcome by the violent entreaties and protestations of Mohan Singh,

Murder of Jaikishan and
Díp Chand.

at last yielded and came to Kumkhet. Mohan Singh invited the unsuspecting victim into his tent and engaged him in an interesting and apparently friendly conversation, in the midst of which, at a prearranged signal, assassins entered and murdered Jaikishan. Mohan Singh then proceeded to Almora and seized Harak Deb, who had incautiously returned there, and would have murdered him also had not Lál Singh, Mohan Singh's own brother, interposed and induced him to commute the order to one of perpetual

imprisonment. Dīp Chand and his two sons now died suddenly in confinement at Sirakot, and there can be little doubt but that their murder also must be added to the catalogue of crimes committed by the usurper. The tradition runs that the food supplied to the unfortunate prisoners was so bad in quality and so insufficient in quantity that they died of starvation, though violence also is said to have been resorted to. This event took place at the close of the year 1777 A. D.

Mohan Singh now proclaimed himself Raja under the title of Mohan Singh (Chand) of Mohan Chand and assumed all the insignia of a rightful ruler at his installation. We have ten grants of land made by him during the years 1777-78 A.D., which show that he was as anxious as any of his predecessors to purchase the protection of the gods.¹ He appointed his brother Lāl Singh and Madhusudan Pānde of Patiya to the chief offices of the state and wrote to Nandrām in the terms of their agreement that "now the hills are mine and the lowlands of Káshipur are yours, let Gularghāti be our boundary." But Nandrām sought for some better authority than that of an usurper and proceeded to Lukhnow and offered the whole of the low country to the Nawáb, agreeing to hold from him as lessee (*ijráradār*) and to pay a considerable sum as revenue. The Nawáb nothing loth accepted the gift and directed his officers on the frontiers to assist Nandrām in all his undertakings and further appointed him his Amil for all the low country. Being thus supported Nandrām resolved to extend his possessions and instigated Mohan Singh to demand from Manorath Joshi, who still held Rudrpur, his entire submission to the *de facto* ruler of the Hill State. The Joshi indignantly refused and prepared to attack both Mohan Singh and his ally Nandrām, but was persuaded by the latter that he was in fact a secret enemy of Mohan Singh, and that if they joined their interests their united forces could easily overpower the usurper; and now that all the Chands were dead, the Joshis

¹ These grants in the order of date are as follows:—

Date A. D.	In favor of—	Date A. D.	In favor of—
Do.	Do. temple.	1777.	Bhuvaneawar temple in Gangoli.
Do.	Do.	1778.	Nágnáth temple in Chárál.
Do.	Sitala Debi temple in Atháguli.	Do.	Kapileawar temple in Dúg.
Do.	Family of Radhapati Bhandári.	Do.	Kalika temple in Gangoli
Do.	Family of Hussain Baksh.	Do.	Bhatnawar temple in Boráran.

might succeed to the throne of Kumaon. Manorath was credulous enough to trust these statements, and with a slight escort proceeded to Bázipur to meet Nandrá́m, where he was treacherously murdered with all his followers, and Nandrá́m took possession of Rudrpur in the name of the Nawáb. Thus passed away for ever even the nominal authority of the Hill State over the plains parganas. Nánakmatha and Bilhari were at this time supposed to be mortgaged to the Patháns of Bareilly and with Sarbna also fell into the hands of the Oudh Nawáb,¹ who remained suzerain of the Taráí until the British occupation in 1802 A. D., when Sib Lál, nephew of Nandrá́m and son of Har Gobind, was found in possession as farmer. Kilpuri alone remained for a time in the hands of Kumaoni landholders, but this also had to be yielded up to the Nawáb's agents.

No matter of general interest belongs to the local history of the Taráí during the period between the accession of Nandrá́m to the management and the British occupation. Mr. Batten's account of the administration of the Taráí during this time partially explains the causes of its diminished prosperity in modern times, of which some account will be given under the District notice. Mr. Batten considers that on the whole the rule of the Oudh Nawáb in the Taráí was beneficial, but chiefly from a negative point of view. He goes on to say—"The bad government of districts naturally more adapted

Native administration of the Taráí. for culture and habitation drove large colonies of people from the south to a region where the back-ground of the forest and the hills could always afford a shelter against open oppression; where the nature of the climate was not such as to invite thereto the oppressors into whose hands a whole fertile and salubrious land had fallen, and where also on this very account the rulers who did exist found it their interest to conciliate and attract all new-comers. The management of the territory in question by Nandrá́m and Sib Lál is generally well spoken of, except in the matter of police, but even in this latter respect the mismanagement was not more injurious to society than the state of affairs in regard to the forest banditti became in times not far distant from our own. I believe that it may be confidently stated that, at the commencement of the British rule in Rohilkhand,

¹ These changes never affected the upper part known as the Bhabar.

there existed in the Tarāi a greater number of inhabited spots than there existed 30 years afterwards in the same tract ; that more and more careful cultivation was visible in every direction ; that the prairie, if not the forest, had retreated to a greater distance ; that the *gūls* or canals for irrigation were more frequent and better made ; that more attention was paid to the construction and management of the embankments on the several streams ; and that, finally, on account of all these circumstances, the naturally bad climate, now again deteriorated had somewhat improved. While recording this statement, I must not omit to add that I myself possess no positive separate proofs that my assertions are correct ; but that I write under the influence of almost universal oral testimony supported, nevertheless, by this circumstance, *viz.*, that the revenue statistics of the tract under discussion shew a descending scale in regard to the income of the State, a product which, under general rules, bears an approximately regular proportion to the prosperity of a country."

"I must not omit to mention the fact that the Bhuksa and Thāru tribes are extremely migratory in their habits, and are peculiar in requiring at their several locations more land for their periodical tillage, than they can shew under cultivation at one time or in one year. To these tribes is in a great measure now left the occupation of the Tarāi territory ; so that now (1844) for every deserted village, there may be perhaps found a corresponding newly cultivated one, within the same area, and large spaces of waste may intervene, where under the present system no room for contemporaneous cultivation is supposed to exist, the periodical waste or fallow also, in that peculiar climate presenting as wild and jungly an appearance as the untouched prairie. In the times, on the contrary, which I have advantageously compared with our own, the fickle and unthrifty races whom I have named were not the sole occupants of the soil ; all the number of contemporaneous settlements was therefore greater, and the extent of land required for each was less. I therefore come round in due course to the next fact (the obverse of that first stated) that as bad government in the ordinarily habitable parts of the country introduced an extraordinary number of ploughs into the borders of the forest-tract, so the

Effect of earlier settlements.

accession of the British rule, by affording a good government to Rohilkhand, re-attracted the agricultural resources to that quarter, and proportionately reduced the means of tillage in the Taráí. Such is my general position, but local circumstances also added to the deterioration, and amongst these an allusion on my part is all that is necessary or proper, to the hasty and perfunctory mode of settlement adopted in the earlier years of the British rule; to the disputes, in and out of Court, concerning zamindári rights, between Sib Lal and Lal Singh; and, again, between the latter and his nephew Mahendra Singh's family; to the continued bad police management; and perhaps more than all to the neglect and indifference of the English revenue officers, who were scared away from the tract by the bad reputation of its climate, and only occasionally attracted thither by its facilities for sport. In fact, the sum of the whole matter is in my opinion this: that, even long neglect in other quarters can by a change of system be speedily remedied; but that, in the peculiar region of which we are treating, a very brief period of neglect or bad management is sufficient to ruin the country."

Mohan Singh, as might be expected, signalised his accession by the persecution of all the friends and relations of Sib Deb, and obliged them to abandon Kumaon and fly to the plains. Lakshmipati Joshi, once a deputy of Harak Deb, was murdered at the *deodár* tree near Almora whilst on his way to pay his respects at the palace, and a complete reign of terror ensued. Both the Raja of Doti and the Raja of Garhwál were unwilling to allow this state of things to continue, and entered into correspondence with Harak Deb, who was still in prison, and the discontented generally in Kumaon. Lalat Sáh, who was then Raja of Garhwál, first took the field and advanced by Lohba to Dwára with a considerable force under the command of Prempati Kumariya. Mohan Singh, distrusting his own influence with the troops, sent his brother Lal Singh to meet the Garhwáls, and calling Harak Deb before him begged him to go and fight against the ancient enemy of their country and that he should in reward be restored to his offices and lands. Harak Deb gave a seeming acquiescence, but had hardly time to prepare himself when intelligence was received of the utter defeat of the Kumáonis at Bágwáli Pokhar (1779 A.D.) Mohan Singh on

hearing the news resolved on flight and desired Harak Deb to accompany him, but the latter refused and the usurper fled alone by Gangoli and the Káli to Lucknow and thence to Faizullah Khán of Rámpur, where he was eventually joined by Lál Singh and others of his adherents. Lalat Sáh sent for Harak Deb, and owing to his counsels placed a son of his own named Pradhman on the throne of the Chands under the title of Pradhman Chand.¹

Pradhman Chand appointed Harak Deb, Jayanand and Gadhadar Joshis to the principal offices and Pradhman, 1779-86 A.D. would, doubtless, have made a permanent impression on the country had the people really desired a stable government, but they were now too much accustomed to revolutions to believe that any efforts of theirs could establish a firm peace. Lalat Sáh died and was succeeded by his eldest son Jayakrit or Jaikarat Sáh on the throne of Garhwál, and between the two brothers quarrels soon arose. The Garhwál Raja demanded an acknowledgment of his seniority by right of birth, which the Kumaon Raja refused to give, on the ground that Kumaon had never acknowledged the supremacy of Garhwál, and that he was bound to support the dignity of the throne to which he had succeeded. In the meantime, Harak Deb wrote to Faizullah Khán and begged him not to assist Mohan Singh in his designs, and received an assurance that the Patháns would not connive at any attempts on Kumaon. The Nawáb also promised not to afford any aid or countenance, but desired that some means of subsistence should be provided for the exiled family, a request which was at once complied with, but as promptly declined. Mohan Singh, despairing of success, then went on a pilgrimage, and at Allahabad met the leader of a fighting body of religious mendicants known as Nágas, and promised him the plunder of Almora if they assisted in the invasion of Kumaon. The Nága leader consented and with 1,400 men under four Mahants proceeded to the hills. They entered Kumaon by the Kosi, and, under pretence of being pilgrims on their way to Badrináth, got as far as the confluence of the Suwál and the Kosi before their real character was discovered. Harak Deb then

¹ We have three grants made by Pradhman Chand during his short reign in Kumaon:—One dated in 1781 A.D., in favour of the family of Krishnanand Joshi; another dated in 1782 A.D., in favour of the family of Benirám Upreti, and a third dated in 1784 A.D., in favour of the family of Rewadhar and Báki-shah Joshis.

posted his forces at Charalekh, and sending a present of money to the Nágas asked them to retire, but urged by Mohan Singh they attacked the Kumáoni forces and were totally defeated, leaving seven hundred of their dead in the ravines of the Kosi.¹

The episode in no wise allayed the jealousy that existed between the two Rajas: and now the elder brother, urged by his advisers, considered that he had claims to the entire sovereignty of the two kingdoms, and even intrigued with the exile, Mohan Singh. Harak Deb saw the evils that would certainly accrue from this estrangement and went with a strong escort towards Garhwál and requested that Jayakrit Sáh would grant him an interview with the object of settling the questions in dispute. The Garhwál Raja declined the interview and would not believe in the sincerity of Harak Deb and, perhaps, he was right, for when he attacked Harak Deb, hoping to surprise him, he found himself opposed to a force which defeated his troops and obliged him to seek safety in flight. So hardly pressed were the Garhwális in the pursuit that the Raja sickened and died;² and the Kumáoni troops, plundering and burning every village on their way and even the sacred temple of Dewalgarh, entered and took possession of the capital, Srinagar. To the present day, this raid into Garhwál is known as "the Joshiyána." Parákram Sáh, another brother of Pradhaman, had previously proclaimed himself Raja of Garhwál, and though Pradhaman at first played him off as a possible rival to Jaikarat, he now resolved to enter Garhwál and assume possession of the throne. He at first wished to leave Parákram in Kumaon, but the latter declined, preferring Garhwál, but was easily reduced to obedience, for the whole country was against him,³ but remained too long away for his interests in Kumaon. Although Harak Deb did everything that man could do to strengthen his position, the natural enemies of his

¹ Hence the proverb:—

Jogi ka babú ko katak (funj) hya dhariso chhgo.

Meaning, what business had the jogi's (mendicant) father in the army? A proverb now often applied to those that meddle in other people's affairs.

² Some say that he was assassinated by the express orders of Harak Deb.

³ The following rhyme was applied to the weak attempts of Parákram Sáh to obtain possession of Garhwál:—

*"Ko láta kátha barta o sun kála tu
Anula le gar má-ho daur duna tu."*

Meaning, "speak, O dumb one, listen deaf one thou; the blind hath stolen the store, seek the guard you."

race were too powerful for him. From the south came Nandráam, from the eastern districts, Mohan Singh and Lál Singh, and a Garhwáli contingent was added by Parákram Sáh, and all united near the Naithána fort in Patti Dora Talla of Páli where Harak Deb lay awaiting reinforcements. None came, however, and many of his followers deserted him, as they did not care to fight for a Raja who was a Garhwáli in heart and cared more for Srinagar than for Almora. Harak Deb was defeated and fled to the plains and thus ended the Garhwáli domination in 1786 A.D.

Mohan Singh was again supreme¹ at Almora, and being hard pressed for money to pay his levies, plundered the country all round. In Káli Kumaon he is said to have extracted four lakhs of rupees from Márás and Phartiyáls alike. Hence the proverb :—

"Charo khái gaya chakúra. Jehala pura mush bhaya kúra."

"The chakúr eat up the food, but both he and the wagtail were caught in the trap."

Harak Deb applied in vain for assistance from Garhwál and was answered only by empty promises. In fact, it is doubtful whether at this time Pradhaman Sáh held the reins of government in Garhwál, for Mohan Singh is said to have now formed an alliance with Parákram Sáh by which both agreed to rule in their respective kingdoms, of which the boundaries were defined, and that Pradhaman Sáh retired into private life. Relying on his own resources Harak Deb recruited a force in Barhepur in the plains and invaded Kumaon again. He reached Háwalbágh and met the forces of Mohan Singh in battle between Sitoli and Raikot, with the result that the usurper was defeated and taken prisoner with his brother Lál Singh, whilst his eldest son, Bishan Singh, was killed. Lál Singh was released and pardoned, but the conqueror took Mohan Singh to a small dharmasála near the temple of Náráyan Tiwári below Haridungari, and there slew him in expiation of his numerous crimes. This event occurred in the year 1788 A.D. Mohan Singh's

¹ We have eight grants of land made by Mohan Singh during this period :—

Date, A. D.	In favour of—	Date, A. D.	In favour of—
1786.	Bágeswar temple.	1788.	Bhairab temple in Almora.
1787.	Ditto.	"	Raghunáth temple in Almora.
1787.	Bhairab temple in Almora.	"	Burináth temple.
1788.	Bágeswar temple.	"	Pabaneswar temple in Sálam.

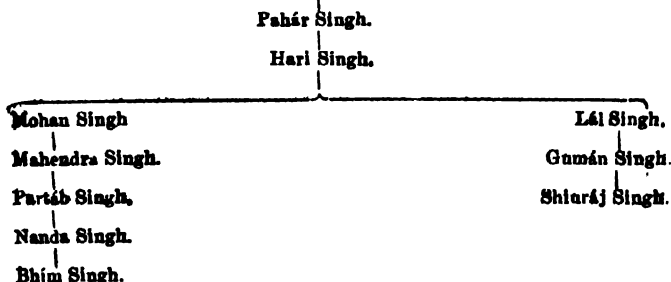
son, Mahendra Singh, fled to Rámpur and Harak Deb again entered Almora as master. He at once wrote to Pradhman Chand, iuviting him to come to Kumaon and take possession of the vacant throne ; but mindful of his sufferings and the uncertain tenure by which he held the country before, the Raja wisely enough refused to comply, and thus Kumaon was for a time without a master.

This state of things did not last long, for Harak Deb knew well that though he might rule in the name of Sib Singh (Chand), 1788 A.D. some Chand, he could never hope to found a dynasty himself. He, therefore, sent for one Sib Singh, a Rátela said to be descended from Udyot Chand, and installed him as Raja under the name of Sib Chand. From the accession of Pradhman Chand up to the conquest by the Gorkhális the entire power of the State was vested in the hands of the Joshis and their adherents and is known amongst the people as "the Joshyál," but this time, however, they had not an opportunity for establishing their government firmly in Almora before Lál Singh with the asistance of Faizullah Khán of Rámpur invaded the hills. A battle was fought at the Dharmasila village near Bhím Tál in which Gadadhar, the Joshi leader, was slain and his forces were routed. They all then fled towards Garhwál for assistance, and Lál Singh, passing through Almora, pursued the retreating Joshis as far as Ulkagarh in Garhwál, where Harak Deb made a successful stand and again assuming the offensive, drove his enemies to Chukám on the Kosi. In this action he was aided by a Garhwáli contingent sent by Pradhman Sáh. But, on the other hand, a second Garhwáli contingent, sent by the Raja's brother Parákram Sáh, now assisted Lál Singh, who was thus enabled to take the field once more. Harak Deb retired with Sib Singh to Srinagar, where Pradhman Sáh resided whilst Parákram Sáh, always obstinate, unsteady and unreasonable, supported the pretensions of Lál Singh's party and agreed to place the son of Mohan Singh on the throne of Kumaon in return for a subsidy of one and a half lakh of rupees, thus apparently acting in direct opposition to his brother's policy. It is very difficult indeed to understand Garhwáli politics at this time. We see the brothers Pradhman and Parákram arrayed as partisans on opposite sides and sometimes living in amity together at Srinagar and sometimes in arms against each other ; and

now whilst Pradhman Sáh gave shelter to the exiled Joshis, Parákram accompanied their enemies to Almora and assisted in the installation of Mahendra Singh, the son of Mohan Singh,¹ as Raja of Kumaon under the title of Mahendra Chand in 1788 A.D.

Lál Singh took the place of Harak Deb and united in his own Mahendra Singh (Chand), person all the chief offices of the State. 1788-90 A.D. He took an active part in the persecution of the Joshis and drove many of them into exile, others were imprisoned and some of the prominent members were executed for real or fancied offences. Parákram Sáh, too, so used his influence in Garhwál that Harak Deb fled to the plains and sought the protection of Mirza Mehndi Ali Beg, Subahdár of Bareilly, on behalf of the Nawáb, but Lál Singh anticipated the result of the Joshi intrigues in that quarter by presenting himself in person (1789) before the Nawáb of Oudh whilst he was hunting in the jungles at Khera near Haldwáni and claimed the protection of the Oudh darbár for Mahendra Singh, who he said had always been their ally and had willingly acknowledged Oudh as owner of the Taráí. Before, however, proceeding further we must turn to Nepál and briefly trace the rise of the Gorkháli power there.

¹ As so much has been said about this family, we shall now give the genealogical tree. Mr. Batten calls Mohan Singh "the spuriously descended cousin of Dín Chand" and Mr. Fraser in his report to Government, in 1814 traces the descent of the family from Pahár Singh, the offspring of Báí Bahádúr Chand by a dancing woman: to whose son, Hari Singh, were legal issue Mohan Singh and Lál Singh. Under the quasi caste name of Rátela are included both the legitimate and illegitimate junior members of the Chand family, and but little distinction was ever made in the hills between the lawful and illegitimate members of a family. Even Harak Deb allowed Mohan Singh to be a descendant "though illegally and basely" of the royal line, and as such it appears to me that he would, according to the hill custom, be considered a Rátela, or one sprung from the royal stock. Báí Bahádúr Chand.



The elder branch is represented by the Government pensioner at Almora, and the younger branch by Shíuráj Singh now of Káshipur and created a Raja by the British Government. The claims of both were definitely dismissed in Board of Government No. 35, dated May 4th, 1821.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY—(*concl'd.*)

CONTENTS.

The Gorkhális. Ram Bahádúr invades Kumaon. Invasion of Garhwál. Chinese attack Nepál. Attempts by the family of Lál Singh to recover Kumaon. Gorkháli administration of Kumaon. Ran Bahádúr retires to Benares. Harak Deb. Ran Bahádúr returns to Nepál. Garhwál and the Dún under the Gorkhális; their punishment on defeat. Gorkhális in Kumaon, their forces and the administration of justice. Causes of the Nepál war. Aggressions on the Gorakhpur frontier. Fruitless negotiations. Bútwal. Opening operations of the war. Invasion of the Dún. Kalanga. From the fall of Kalanga to the invasion of Kumaon. Mr. Gardner appointed to political charge. Annexation determined on. Preparations for the invasion of Kumaon. Disposition of the forces. Advance on Ránikhet. Gorkhális occupy Kumpur. British occupy Siyáhi Devl. Gorkhális retire to Almora. British occupy Katármal. Captain Hearsey's operations in eastern Kumaon, is defeated at Khilpatí and taken prisoner. Action at Gananáth. Capture of Almora. Bam Sáh and the Gorkhális retire to Dotá. Mr. Gardner in civil charge with Mr. Traill as assistant. Long negotiations regarding peace with Nepál. At length peace is concluded. Garhwál affairs. British administration under Traill, Batten and Ramsay.

We have now reached the time when the Chand dynasty that had so long ruled in Kumaon was to cease to exist. The blow was as sudden as it was unexpected and was delivered by the Gorkhális who first appear in history towards the middle of the last century. At that time Nepál was broken up into a number of petty states; in the valley and its neighbourhood, were Bhátgáon, Banepa, Lalitpátan and Kántipur or Káthmándu, to the west were the Vaisya Rajas and Dúlu, Doti, Jumla and Achán, and to the east were the petty chiefs of the Kirántis. To the north, the hills were also divided amongst a number of petty Rajas each of whom claimed independence of Nepál and of each other, and amongst them was Narbhupála Sáh, the ruler of the small state of Gorkha, which lay about eight days journey to the north of Nepál. The Gorkháli Raja seeing the defenceless condition of the valley, divided as it was amongst a number of families each of whom was at feud with the other, and anxious to enlarge his narrow dominions which

ill afforded sustenance to its rapidly increasing population, led a force towards Nepál and laid claim to the throne. He was, however, met by the Vaisya Rajas of Noákot and obliged to retire across the Trisúl Ganga¹ to his own country. Finding that his forces were insufficient and his information regarding the resources of the valley chiefs was imperfect, Narbhupála Sáh resolved to await a better opportunity and in the meantime to correct the errors in his calculations which experience had made manifest. For this purpose his son Prithináráyana was sent, when quite a child, to be brought up at the court of Bhátgáon where he managed to acquire that intimate knowledge of the factions and feuds and resources of each country which shortly afterwards served his purpose so well. Prithináráyana succeeded his father in 1742 A.D. and commenced his career of conquest by the annexation of Nuwákot and the hill country to the westward. In addition to great natural abilities and considerable talent as a commander he was also a master of intrigue and by his agents found means to foment disturbances between the independent princes in his neighbourhood and to induce them to apply to him for aid and support. His troops were constantly exercised and the wealth already brought to Gorkha by many of them, attracted to his side the best fighting clans in the hills. When he thought the time was ripe for a decisive blow, he descended with an overwhelming force and took possession of Noákot, Kirtipur, Banepa, and Bhátgáon and in 1768 A.D. occupied Káthmándu which henceforth became his principal residence. The Gorkhális did not gain the country without a long and severe struggle during which strange and fearful cruelties are said to have been perpetrated by the invaders. Prithináráyana Sáh died in 1775 and was succeeded by his son Sinha Partáp Sáh who during his short reign was able to add only the country on the east as far as Sum-bheswara to the Gorkháli possessions. Ran Bahádur Sáh succeeded his father in 1778 with the Ráni Indur Lachhmi as regent.² She was a woman of a determined character verging on cruelty and under her the work of conquest went rapidly on. Lamjung

¹ Wright, 147.

² In 1779 the Ráni Regent was put to death by Bahádur Sáh, uncle of the young king who assumed the reins of government and carried out the aggressive policy of his predecessor. It was he that completed the conquest of Achám, Jumla and Doti whence he expelled the reigning Raja Prithipati Sáh. It was he also who conceived and carried out the invasion of Kumaon.

and Tanhan were the first to fall, then followed the country of the Chaubisi Rájas up to the Káli, including Kashka, Parbat, Prísingh, Satún, Isniya, Maskot, Darkot, Uрга, Gutima, Jumla, Raghan, Dárma, Juhár, Pyuthána, Dhani, Jaserkot, Cháli, Golám, Achám, Dhulek, Dálu and Doti.

The Nepálese darbár were well acquainted with the state of affairs in Kumaon and resolving to add it to their conquests, wrote to Harak Deb desiring his assistance and co-operation. There is some reason to believe that this was at least promised, for we find him join the Gorkhális on their entering into Almora and also named as their representative should the Gorkháli troops have been obliged to leave Kumaon to defend their own territory against the Chinese, a matter which will be noticed hereafter. For this conduct there can be no excuse and no matter how much he may have suffered at the hands of the Phartiyáls, the alliance of Harak Deb with the Gorkhális cannot but be looked on as selfish and unpatriotic. The Gorkháli army destined for the invasion of Kumaon set out from Doti early in 1790 under the command of Chauturiya Bahádur Sáh, Kázi Jagjít Pánde, Amar Singh Thápa and Surbír Thápa. One division crossed the Káli into Sor and a second was sent to occupy the patti of Bisung. When news of this invasion arrived at Almora all was confusion and despair. Mahendra Singh summoned the entire fighting population and with part of his regular troops took the field in Gangoli whilst Lál Singh with a like force advanced through Káli Kumaon. Amar Singh marched against the Kumáonis, but was defeated by Mahendra Singh and obliged to retreat towards Káli Kumaon. Here, however, the Gorkhális were successful for at the village of Gatera near Katolgarh, they succeeded in surprising Lál Singh and drove him with the loss of two hundred men towards the plains. Mahendra Singh was on his way to assist his uncle when the news of this disaster reached him and abandoning all hope of saving his capital, fled to Kota where he was soon afterwards joined by Lál Singh from Rudr̥pur. The Gorkhális finding the way thus opened retraced their steps and after some slight resistance at Háwalbágh, took possession of Almora in the early part (Chait) of the year 1790.

In the following year we find Harak Deb at Almora and great preparations made for the invasion of Garhwál. The Gorkhális, however, never penetrated beyond Langurgarh which for a whole year defied their efforts to reduce it and in the midst of their arrangements for a more determined attack on the fort, news arrived that the Chinese had invaded the Gorkháli possessions and that all the troops should return to Nepál, giving over to Harak Deb the conquered territory to the west of the Káli. The Gorkháli leaders had, however, so impressed Pradhaman Sáh with a sense of their power that he agreed¹ to pay a yearly tribute of Rs. 25,000 to the Nepálese government and send an agent to the darbár which for the next twelve years preserved some appearance of amity between the two governments. The Gorkháli annals simply state that the Chinese invasion of Nepálese 'cut the Chinese army into pieces and obtained great glory.' But M. Imbault-huart gives us a very different account of the Chinese invasion of Nepál from official sources.² The Panchan Láma of Tashilonpo died in 1781 during a visit to Peking and his eldest brother Hutu Kotu Tchongpa seized on his treasures and refused to give any to the younger brother Cho-ma-eul-pa, the Schamerpa of Kirkpatrick and Syámarpa Láma of the Nepálese. The latter fled to Nepál and invited the Gorkhális to invade Tibet. They were, however, bought off by a secret treaty by which the Lámás promised them 15,000 taels or £4,800 per annum. Not receiving this, the Gorkhális crossed the frontier and sacked Tasbilonpo in 1791. In the following year the Chinese not only expelled the Gorkhális from Tibet but penetrated close to Yang-pu or Wáthmándu, where a treaty was signed by which the plunder was restored and recompense was made for the cost of the war. The Chinese troops returned, but left a garrison of 3,000 men in Lhása, and this was the first time that they made a permanent stay in Tibet. From this time, too, the Nepálese have always sent tribute to China. It was owing to this invasion that the Gorkhális were obliged to raise the siege of Langurgarh in Garhwál and return to Almora. They intended to take Harak Deb with them to Nepál as their arrangements

¹ As. Res., I, 343 (Hardwicke, 1796): Baper in 1808 says Rs. 9,000 and to keep a wakil of the Gorkhális at his court. As. Res., XI, 500. ² History of the conquest of Nepál in 1792 translated from the Chinese: J. A. Paris 7th Ser., XL, 343 (1878).

with the Garhwál Raja did not now admit of his succeeding them in Kumaon, but dreading the future in store for him, Harak Deb managed to escape on the way and fled to Juhár. In the meantime news of the peace with China arrived and the Gorkhális returned to Almora, so that Harak Deb was unable to proceed there and stir up his ancient allies in Páli and Bárahmandal. The Juháris who had attached themselves to the Phartiyál faction now seized Harak Deb and kept him a close prisoner, sending information of the event to Lál Singh and Mahendra Singh. The latter sent a relative named Padam Singh, the Márás say, to murder Harak Deb, but as he was not killed, we may venture to hope that it was only to bring him in custody to the plains. The prisoner, however, took means to bring round his jailors to his own side by promising his aid to any attempt that Padam Singh might make to secure the throne of Kumaon for himself; all he cared for was that neither Mahendra Singh nor Lál Singh should ever occupy Almora. The Gorkhális of the Thápa party, too, he now hated as bitterly as the rest and with Padam Singh, as his escort set out for the court of the Garhwál Raja to ascertain what assistance they might expect from him. Pradhuman Sáb declared that he would never again interfere in the affairs of Kumaon and his recent bitter experience of the Gorkhális did not encourage him to embroil himself again with them. Padam Singh returned with his friends to the plains, but Harak Deb remained at Srinagar and long continued to be the animating spirit of the prolonged defence made by that country.

During this time Mahendra Singh had not been idle, he attempted to pass by Bhím Tál to Almora, but was attacked by the garrison of the Barakheri fort and obliged to return to Kilpuri in the Tarái which he had made his head-quarters. A second expedition towards Káli Kumaon was equally unsuccessful for he found himself opposed not only to the Gorkhális but to the great mass of the Márás, who together with Harak Deb had again become fast friends of the intruders. In 1794 A.D. Muhammad Ali Khán of Rámpur was murdered by his brother Ghulám Muhammad Khán, and though the Nawáb was inclined to condone the offence in consideration of a bribe, a British force under General Abercrombie advanced

from Fatehgarh to Bareilly to depose the usurper. There they awaited the arrival of the Oudh Nawáb and Mr. Cherry before commencing hostilities.¹ The Rohillas, however, determined to attack the British before the Nawáb's troops could join them and were completely defeated in a severe action fought at the bridge across the Sanka river near the village of Bithaura.² Ghulám Muhammad fled with his forces to Fatehchaur in the low hills below Garhwál, but was eventually obliged to yield himself prisoner and was at once deported to Benares. So soon as the British and Oudh troops left Rámpur, Mahendra Singh began to levy the disbanded followers of Ghulám Muhammad for an attempt on Kumaon, but wearied with these repeated attacks, Amar Singh Thápa marched on Kilpuri and thus deprived the Kumáonis of their only rallying point. Mahendra Singh and his partizans deprived of every acre of land that they could lay claim to fled to the Oudh Subahdar and represented that the tract from which the Gorkhális had ousted them really formed a part of the Tarái which of right belonged to the Nawáb and requested his aid in recovering it from the Gorkhális. Atabeg Khán and Raja Sambhunáth were instructed to take measures to protect the interests of the Oudh darbár and apparently these would have taken the form of a war with Nepál had not the good offices of Mr. Cherry promoted an understanding by which the Gorkhális agreed to yield up all pretensions to the low country and the Nawáb, on the other hand, promised to respect the position of the *de facto* rulers of Kumaon. At the same time provision was made for the retention by the exiled family on some doubtful tenure of a portion of the Tarái for their subsistence and which so far as any *jágír* was concerned was subsequently exchanged by the British for the grant of Chachait in the Pilibhít district.

During the years³ 1791-92 Joga Malla Subah managed the Gorkháli administration affairs of Kumaon and introduced the first settlement of the land revenue. He imposed a tax of one rupee on every *bísí*⁴ of cultivated land and one rupee per head (adult male) of the population besides Re. 1-2-6 per village to meet the expenses of his own office. He was succeeded

¹ Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, 135 : Gaz., V.
north-west of Bareilly.

² These dates are chiefly taken from official proceedings in which the names appear.

³ Fatehganj seven miles

⁴ Nearly a British acre.

in 1793 by Kázi Nar Sáhi and his Deputy Rámadatta Sáhi in charge of the civil administration and Kálu Pánde as commandant. The administration of Nar Sáhi was marked by great cruelties and excesses. Mercenaries from Nagarkot and the western hills had of late years been more extensively employed by both factions in Kumaon and many of them had intermarried with the hill people and formed scattered colonies in Páli, Bárahmandal and Sor. Nar Sáhi doubting their loyalty and determined on their destruction gave orders that an accurate census should be taken of their numbers and the localities in which they resided. He then arranged that on a night agreed on and at a given signal they should be slaughtered without mercy. His instructions were carried out and the people, to the present day, recal the *mangal ki rát* (Tuesday night), or the '*Nar Sáhi ká pálá*', when they wish to express their horror of any villainy or treachery. Nar Sáhi was recalled and was succeeded by Ajab Singh Khawás Thápa and his deputy Sreshta Thápa with Jaswant Bhandári as commandant. Events now occurred at Kathmándu which had some considerable influence over Kumaon affairs. Bahádur Sáh, who had succeeded in holding office since 1779, was deposed by his subordinate Prabal Rána in 1795 and died miserably in prison. Two factions had now arisen in the state and for a long time their quarrels and jealousies retarded all active union for aggressive purposes. The one was known as the Chauntara¹ or Chautariya party, from the titles of their principal leaders who were either sons or nephews of the royal house, and the other the Thápa party sprung from the commonalty of the Gorkháli state and raised to power by its military successes,

¹ A writer in the *Calcutta Review* (Jan., 1877, p. 141) gives two derivations for this word. The one is from *Chautara* or *Chabutra*, a platform of masonry, by which the houses of the chiefs of the Gorkháli were distinguished from those of their clansmen. "Hence the chief became styled amongst his people the Chautara sáhib or master of the platform. In time the eldest son of the chief was called Sábhib Ji and the younger ones Chautara Sábhibs, and thence the corruption Chauntara or Chautariya. The other explanation is that the word is derived from *chau* (=four) and *tri* to cross over the ocean. In the *Rajmúti*, there are four things essential to the man who is entrusted with the management of state affairs; to wit, conciliation, presents, chastisement and the power of causing misunderstanding amongst the members of the enemy's party. The eldest son, who inherited the throne, was not to trouble himself with any affair of state and hence the management devolved on his younger brothers, who acted as ministers. With such duties a knowledge of politics was incumbent on them, and hence they were called Chauntariyas, that is those who have crossed the four oceans of the essentials named above." We have seen the name applied to the earlier advisers of Som Chand, and in Kumaon the term is interpreted as meaning those who transacted the affairs of the four quarters, that is all duties.

which, in the first instance, were entirely due to them. At this time, the Chauntara party was still in power, but met its first reverse in the disgrace and death of Bahádur Sáh. As a consequence of this change of parties we find Amar Singh with his deputy Gobind Upádhyā in charge of the civil administration and Bhaktī Thápa commandant of Kumaon in 1795. The former gave place to Prabal Rána and his deputy Jaikrishna Thápa in the following year. In 1797 the intrigues at court brought the Chauntara party once more into temporary power and Bam Sáh with his brother Rudrbír Sáh as deputy supplanted the Thápa faction in the civil administration at Almora. Their short tenure of office is said to have been signalised by the imposition of a new tax of five rupees per *jhálu*¹ of cultivated land held by Brahmans which had hitherto been exempt from the payment of revenue, but as this tax was very seldom collected, it may be held to have been merely a measure intended to keep the more refractory and intriguing members of that caste in order. So long as they gave no trouble to the authorities it was not levied, but if the Brahman landholders were suspected of paying more attention to political affairs than to the cultivation of their holdings, the tax with arrears was at once demanded. Ajab Singh and Sreshta Thápa, who had previously held office in 1794, relieved Bam Sáh and his brother, but were themselves succeeded in a few months by Dhaukal Singh Bashnyát and his deputy Major Ganapati Upádhyā. Dhaukal Singh was a man of violent temper and possessed of little tact in the management of his troops, so that in a dispute which he had with them regarding their pay he attempted to cut down one of his men, but was himself killed in the fray.

In 1800, Ran Bahádur, in a feeble way, attempted to assert his position as head of the state and wished to dismiss his Thápa ministers, but they uniting with the Máhina (second) Ráni compelled the Rája to abdicate in favour of his son, who was raised to the throne under the name Gírbán-juddha Vikram Sáh with the Ráni as nominal regent. Ran Bahádur assumed the garb of a mendicant and the name of Nirgunánanda Swámi and went to live in Devapátan, and then in Lalitpur, where he so conducted himself as to give offence to the

¹From six to thirteen acres according to the custom of the place.

religious feelings of the entire people. It is said that when one of his women was ill and notwithstanding a liberal expenditure on offerings to the deity, Taleju,¹ the favorite, did not improve, Ran Bahádur directed that the image should be defiled and broken and the physicians who attended the lady should be executed. Owing to similar excesses he was at length forced to retire to Benares, where he received protection and assistance at the hands of the English Resident. In 1802, Rudrbír Sáh succeeded Dhaukal Singh in Kumaon for a few months, and in 1803 Káji Gajkesar Pánde with his deputy Krishnanand Subahdár assumed charge of the civil administration.

The year 1803 is remarkable for the great and successful effort made by the Thápa party to reduce Garhwál. Ever since the siege of Langúrgarh was raised in 1792, small parties of Gorkhális had periodically plundered the border parganahs, which they were taught to look upon as their lawful prey. The prisoners made in these expeditions were sold into slavery, the villages were burned and the country made desolate. Still the Garhwális did not always allow these raids to pass unpunished. Reprisals were made and a border warfare ensued, characterised as all such wars are by deeds of wanton cruelty and blood-thirsty revenge. Several fresh attempts had been made to capture Langúrgarh, but all had proved fruitless, and now the Gorkháli leaders, Amar Singh Thápa, Hastidal Chautariya, Bam Sák Chautariya, and others, at the head of a numerous and well-equipped veteran army invaded Garhwál. In Hardwicke's narrative² we have a description of Pradhuman Sáh and his brothers in 1796, which we may make use of here. The Raja appeared then "to be about twenty-seven years of age, in stature something under the middle size, of slender make, regular features, but effeminate." His brother Parákram Sah was a stouter and more manly person, and Pritam Sáh, then about nineteen years of age, is described as bearing a strong likeness to the Raja in make, features and voice. All wore plain muslin *jámahs* with coloured turbans and waist-bands, without jewels or other decorations. Pradhuman Sáh's appearance did not belie his character; mild and effeminate to a degree he did not grasp the nature of

¹ Wright, 262.

² As. Res., I., 334.

the danger to which he was exposed and portents had already paralysed his superstitious mind and warned him that his hour had come. The priests of Paliyagadh at the sacred sources of the Jumna had foretold¹ the Gorkháli conquest and the death of Pradhuman Sáh at Dehra, and his capital itself had been visited by an earthquake,² which rendered his palace uninhabitable; frequent shocks took place for several months, and it is said that many ancient streams ran dry, whilst new springs appeared in other places. No real resistance was offered and the Raja and his family fled by Bárahát to the Dún closely pursued by the victorious Gorkhális who occupied Gurudwára or Dehra in the cold-weather (October, of 1803.³) Pradhuman Sáh then took refuge in the plains and through the good offices of the Gujar Raja Ramdayál Singh of Landhaura was enabled to collect a force of some twelve thousand men, with whom he entered the Dún, resolved to make one attempt to recover his kingdom. In this he was unsuccessful, and in an action fought at Khúrbura near Dehra perished with most of his Garhwáli retainers (January, 1804). Prítam Sáh, the brother of Pradhuman Sáh, was taken prisoner and sent in custody to Nepál, but Sudarshan or Sukhdarshan Sáh, the eldest son of the deceased Raja, escaped to British territory, and Parákram Sáh, who had so long been a trouble to his brother, took refuge with Sonsár Chand in Kangra. Amar Singh, with his son Ranjor Thápa as deputy, held the administration of both Kumaon and the newly-annexed territory in their own hands during 1804, whilst preparations were being made to extend the Gorkháli conquests westward. In 1805, we find Rítudhvaja Thápa, Bijai Singh Sáhi and Hardatta Singh Ojha in Kumaon engaged in a revision of the settlement of the land-revenue, but in the following year Rítudhvaj was recalled and for some crime was executed in Doti. He was replaced by Chautariya Bam Sáh, who retained the administration of the affairs of Kumaon in his own hands until the British conquest in 1815. This change from the Thápa to the Chauntara faction was again due to the intrigues at Kathmándu.

We must now return to Harak Deb, who was left in Garhwál after his unsuccessful application to Pradhuman Sáh for aid against Kumaon. He

¹ Himála Mountain, 409.

² The date given is Bhádon Anant 14th, San 1860.

³ It is not a little remarkable that the Gorkhális entered the Dún as conquerors in the same month that the British first occupied Saháranpur. See Gazetteer, II., 252.

seems to have held some office there, for in 1794 we find his name connected with an application made to the Garhwál darbár to expel the adherents of the Rohilla Ghulám Muhammad, who had taken refuge in the Pátli Dún. Harak Deb was much disappointed at the arrangements made by the Oudh darbár with the Gorkhális relative to Kumaon affairs and went in person to plead the cause of the oppressed Garhwális before the Nawáb. Asaph-ud-daula referred him to Mr. Cherry, who had then gone as Resident to Benares, saying that as it was through the advice and intervention of his friend Mr. Cherry that the agreement with the Gorkhális had been concluded, no alteration could be effected without his consent. In 1797, Harak Deb, then fifty years of age, presented himself as a vakíl on the part of the Garhwál Raja at Benares, before the British Resident, and some correspondence actually took place with Mr. Graham relative to the Gorkháli position and the real or fancied wrongs of their subjects in the hills, which was only interrupted by the murder of Mr. Cherry in 1799. Harak Deb then went to the Court of Sonsár Chaud of Kangra in quest of aid and applied to the Sikh ruler and also to Lord Lake, but obtained nothing more than sympathy. About this time Ran Bahádur came to Benares, and hearing of Harak Deb and his well-known hostility to the Thápa faction sent a messenger to him at Kankhal and invited him to visit Benares. The result of the interview was that Harak Deb offered to espouse the cause of the Raja and aid him in any attempt that he chose to make on Nepál, and as a preliminary movement despatched his son Jainaráyan to make his way with a small force through Garhwál and Juhár to Jumla, where they knew that there were many adherents of the Raja's party. Jainaráyan got as far as Lilam in Juhár, where he was detained quite as much by the disaffection and indeed exhaustion of his own people as by the active opposition of the Juháris, who had broken down a bridge to stop his way. In the meantime the Juháris amused the Garhwális with promises of aid, whilst in reality fleet messengers conveyed information of their presence and condition to the nearest Gorkháli post, the result being that Jainaráyan and his party were captured and the former was sent prisoner to Nepál, where he remained until the British conquest. This untoward result was soon followed by the death of Pradhuman Sáh, and

in disgust Harak Deb retired again to Kankhal, vowing never to take any active part in politics again. But here he was in the centre of the Nepálese traffic in Garhwáli slaves and was the only one that the poor and oppressed could now look up to for any alleviation of their miseries. Accordingly we find numerous letters of his to Mr. Fraser, our Resident at Dehli, complaining of the atrocities committed by the Gorkhális on the hill people, whilst his connections with Nepál still enabled him to be of use to Ran Bahádur, with whom also he held frequent communications.

When Ran Bahádur left Nepál, the reins of office were held by Damodar Pánde and Kirtimán Sinha Bashnyát, but gradually Sher Bahádur Sáh, said by some to be the son of Partáb Sinha by a Newari woman, became the head of one faction and Bhímasena Thápa the head of another, as well as secret and confidential adviser of the exiled Raja. Neither trusted the other and at length the Thápa chief resolved on sending for the old Raja and caused intimation of certain circumstances favourable to him to be conveyed to him at Benares. Ran Bahádur at once applied for and received the arrears of pension that was allowed to him through the British Government by his own. He then set out for Kathmándu and arrived there before it was known that he had even left Benares. The troops sent to stop his progress fraternised with his retinue and almost without a blow being struck, the Raja was restored. For a time the Chauntara party flourished and, as we have seen, Bam Sáh became civil governor of Kumaon. Unfortunately, however, Ran Bahádur's disposition had not been improved by exile. He commenced a series of persecutions and confiscations which had the effect of reuniting the Thápa party and giving them as allies even many who were otherwise opposed to them. On one occasion he dropped a piece of paper¹ on which were written the names of many who were intended for destruction: this paper was picked up by Sher Bahádur Sáh, who, seeing his own name amongst the proscribed, assassinated Ran Bahádur in 1807. For a time all was confusion. Bhímasena Thápa was at the head of the government, and Thápás and Chauntaras fell to blows.

¹ Fraser's *Himála Mountain*, 6: Mr. J. B. Fraser was brother of the Dehli Resident and accompanied him in a tour through the conquered territories in 1815, so that he had exceptional sources of information.

Balrám Sáh slew Sher Bahádur, and in the end the Thápa party replaced Gírbán-Juddha on the throne with Bhímasena as his principal adviser. Amar Singh Thápa was appointed generalissimo of all the Nepálese forces to the westwards, and Káji Amar Singh, the father of Bhímasena, held command in Nepál. Of all the Chauntara party only Bam Sáh, Hastidal Sáh, Rudrbír Sáh, Dalbhanjan Pánde, and a few others retained any offices and these were in the shape of some unimportant commands and pensions. The Thargars and Barádars of the party in disgrace were, as might be expected, dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs and constantly watched for an opportunity for overthrowing the Thápas and getting the reins of government again into their own hands. The knowledge of this disposition was not forgotten later on when the British were obliged to pay attention to Nepálese affairs and doubtless contributed, in some measure, to decide our Government to interfere when they did.

From the subscriptions to documents confirming the grants of Garhwál under the Gor. lands free of revenue to the Garhwál temples we gather that Hastidal Sáh (with some interruptions) and Sardár Bhakti Thápa were connected with its government from 1803 to 1815. But in addition we find the following names occur:—

1804. Káji Ranadhír Sinha, Káji Amar Sinha Thápa, Ranajít Sinha Kunwar, Angad Sardár and Sardár Parsurám Thápa.

1805. Chandrabír Kunwar, Vijayanand Upádhyá, Gaje Sinha.

1806. Ashtadal Thápa, Rudrbír Sáh, Káji Ranadhír, Parsurám Thápa.

1807-9. Chánnu Bhandári, Parsurám Thápa, Bhairon Thápa.

1810. Káji Bahádur Bhandári, Bakshi Dasarath Khatri and Subahdár Sinhbír Adhikári.

1811-15. Amar Sinha Thápa and Pharrmarám Faujdár.

We are unable to say what was the position in the administration held by these officers individually, but we know that until 1805-6, at least, Hastidal had little or no influence in the government. After a time, Mahaut Harsewak Rám was reinstated¹ in the Dún and some

¹ As. Res., XJ., 404.

improvement took place, which was farther increased when Hastidal was recalled from Kángra and took an active part in the management of affairs. Mr. Williams tells us that :—"Raids from Saháranpur and the Panjáb had been brought to an abrupt termination by the fulfilment of a threat to burn one village for every plundering party that entered the Dún. A band of Sikhs once had the temerity to set the new government at defiance and, as in the days of yore, sacked a village, carrying away several women and driving off the cattle. The Nepálese commandant, receiving intelligence of the outrage, sent two hundred men in pursuit of the marauders whose own dwellings were surrounded and set on fire. Every man, woman or child attempting to escape was massacred in cold blood, except a few of the handsomest females, whose beauty purchased their life. This signal example had the desired effect." From Raper's account of his journey to survey the Ganges, in 1808, we gather a few more particulars. He met Hastidal Sáh at Hardwár and describes him as a man of about forty-five years of age, of middle stature, pleasing countenance and desirous in every way to aid him. A few days afterwards Raper was introduced to Hastidal's successor, Bhairon Thápa, who is described as the very reverse of friendly and only anxious to impede his progress, though eventually they parted good friends. Raper also notices the excessive rigour of the Gorkháli rule in Garhwál and writes¹ :—"At the foot of the pass leading to Har-ka-pairi is a Gorkháli post, to which slaves are brought down from the hills and exposed for sale. Many hundreds of these poor wretches, of both sexes, from three to thirty years of age, are annually disposed of in the way of traffic. These slaves are brought down from all parts of the interior of the hills and sold at Hardwár at from ten to one hundred and fifty rupees each." Mr. J. B. Fraser computed the number sold during the Gorkháli occupation at 200,000, but we may hope that this is an exaggeration. Where delinquents were unable to pay the fine imposed, the amount of which, be it remembered, rested entirely at the arbitrary discretion of the Gorkháli officer in charge of the district, he was sold into slavery together with his family. Parents driven to desperation sold their children and, under certain circumstances, uncles sold their nephews or nieces and elder brothers, their younger

¹ *Ibid.* At this time a camel cost Rs. 75 and a horse Rs. 250 to Rs. 300.

brothers and sisters. Bhairon Thápa was sent to the siege of Kangra and was succeeded at Srinagar by his son Sreshta Thápa, who had formerly held office in Kumaon. Hastidal seems to have fallen into disgrace because his brother Rudrabír Sáh executed a treaty with Sonsár Chand of Kangra which was displeasing to the Thápa faction.

For an account of Garhwál immediately after the British conquest when it had been for some twelve years under Gorkháli governors we have some information in the journals of Mr. J. B. Fraser and others. Raper, writing in 1814, says:—"The people are most vehement in their complaints against the Gorkhális, of whom they stand in the utmost dread, but from the slavish habits and ideas they have contracted, it is doubtful if a spirit of resistance or independence could be excited amongst them. The villages in Garhwál afford a striking proof of the destruction caused by the Gorkhális: uncultivated fields, ruined and deserted huts, present themselves in every direction. The temple lands alone are well tilled." Mr. Fraser¹ writes of the Dún that under the Garhwáli Rajas it yielded to Government a revenue of a lakh of rupees a year; but the Gorkhális "having much ruined it, never realised² more than Rs. 20,000 per annum." On his march thence to the sources of the Ganges, the general appearance of the country was that of one that had been subject to all the horrors of war. Deserted and ruined villages lined the road and frequent patches of terrace cultivation now becoming overgrown with jungle alone showed where hamlets had once stood. He again writes:—

"The Gorkhális ruled Garhwál with a rod of iron and the country fell in every way into a lamentable decay. Its villages became deserted, its agriculture ruined and its population decreased beyond computation. It is said that two lakhs (200,000) of people were sold as slaves, while few families of consequence remained in the country; but, to avoid the severity of the tyranny, they either went into banishment or were cut off or forcibly driven away by their tyrants, yet some of the individual rulers of these conquerors were mild and not disliked. Bam Sáh and Hastidal, the governors of Garhwál, were disposed to indulgence; and in some situations the country towards the close of the Gorkháli rule was again improving and getting reconciled to its new state. Ranjor Singh Thápa was also a well-disposed man and a mild governor, and

¹ Himála Mountains, 384, &c.
1806 at Rs. 35,000: As Res., XI., 466.

² Raper puts the Gorkháli revenue in

inclined to justice, but the executive officers were severe. Their manners as conquerors were rough, and they despised the people they had conquered, so that at some distance from the seat of government exactions went on, insults and scenes of rapine were continually acted, and the hatred of the people to their tyrants was fixed and exasperated: the country was subdued and crushed, not reconciled or accustomed to the yoke; and, though the spirit of liberty was sorely broke, and desire for revenge was checked by the danger of avowing such sentiments, a deliverance from the state of misery groaned under was ardently, though hopelessly, wished for."

But a day of reckoning arrived for the oppressors and the following extract would excite our pity for the Gorkhális did we not know that it was but the natural outburst of a savage and oppress-

Condition of the Gorkhális after their defeat.

ed people and a punishment well earned by deeds of rapine and cruelty. Mr. Fraser writes:—"It was usual during the time when the Gorkhális were in power to station parties in the different districts for the purpose of collecting the revenue, and in progress of time many of them took daughters of the zamindárs in marriage; not always with the good will of the latter, but the connection formed a tie between the conquerors and the conquered, which though far weaker, from the savage and treacherous nature of the people, and circumstances of violence under which it was formed, than a similar one in most other countries would have been, was still sufficient, during its existence, to guarantee the life and prevent the murder of the son-in-law. When the power of the Gorkhális was broken and their troops taken prisoners or scattered, those in the remoter districts, who were thus connected, choose to domesticate with their wives and families rather than run the hazard of retreating through a country of hostile savages, ripe for revenge upon tyrannical but now foreign masters, others too in like manner, although not enjoying the security resulting from any such tie, choose rather to trust to the protection of some zamindárs whom they had known, and had possibly once obliged, and by whom they believed that their lives would not be attacked, than risk their safety in a more dangerous flight, although the loss of property in both cases was nearly certain. Thus individuals of this wretched people were found in the hills in every district, and almost every one was stripped of his property even till they were in want of clothes to cover them from the weather. Many were more deplorably situated. Some wounded and neglected

were found languishing unassisted and wanting even necessities. Others had fled to the jungles to escape the massacre to which their comrades had fallen victims and for a long time subsisted on the roots and fruits found in thick forests. Even the marriage tie did not always ensure good treatment, and not unfrequently when the terrors of consequences ceased, the zamíndárs reclaimed their daughters and forced them to leave their husbands, although the stipulated prices had been paid for them."

The character of the fiscal arrangements of the Gorkhális in Kumaon will be noticed elsewhere. Though but little opposition had been shown by the people in general to their new masters, they were none the less harassed, taxed and oppressed by them. We can easily understand the reasons for this apathy on the part of the Kumáonis if we consider the losses caused by the continued struggle for power between the Joshis and the adherents of Mohan Singh, for which the peasantry could obtain no redress. It mattered little to the working population which of the two parties succeeded to the supreme power, provided they could make their rule respected. This constant change of masters and the irregular demands which were found necessary to recruit an empty exchequer tended to weaken the tie of loyalty to those nominally possessed of the reins of government. Many stories are told of the cruelties perpetrated by the Gorkhális during the earlier years of their rule in Kumaon, but a few will suffice. On one occasion a new tax was imposed to which there was no response, and in order to make an example the headmen of fifteen hundred villages were sent for under pretence of explaining to them the object of the tax. The men came, but were all slaughtered in cold blood as a warning to the rest, and there were, therefore, few arrears in those days. Many of the better classes fled to the plains and the families of defaulters were sold into slavery in Rohilkhand. Though, during the last seven years of the Gorkhális' rule, the condition of the people was ameliorated and a better administration put an end to many of the most glaring abuses, the reputation they earned for themselves in Kumaon will not for many generations be forgotten. Their tyranny has passed into a proverb, and at the present time when a native of these hills wishes to protest in the strongest

language in his power against some oppression to which he has been subjected, he exclaims that for him the Company's rule has ceased and that of the Gorkhális has been restored.

From the year 1806, when Bam Sáh¹ became civil governor of the province, matters changed very much for the better. He began at once to adopt measures to secure a better administration. He gained over a number of the principal Brahmans and other leading men by promises or by bribes, and was thus able to frustrate the weak attempts of disturbers from the outside. Garhwál was at this time governed as if its rulers' sole object was to turn it again into a jungle, but Kumaon appears to have been favored in every way. The property of private individuals was respected, the grants of land made by previous rulers were confirmed to the actual possessors, the revenue was collected in the usual manner, a rude attempt to administer justice was made, and most prized of all it was forbidden to sell the persons of revenue-defaulters and their families into slavery. A great number of Kumáonis were taken into the Gorkháli service and a large proportion of the levies sent to the west were raised in Kumaon, so that in 1814 quite two-thirds of the Nepálese forces were composed of men from the upper parganahs of Kumaon or Garhwál. These levies were not however incorporated with the regular troops, but were rather considered in the light of a local militia and received regular pay only when on foreign service. When disbanded or on return from foreign service, they had a small subsistence allowance granted to them, generally by an assignment of land, and which was considered in the light of a retaining fee. They were as a rule under the orders of Gorkháli officers, though Kumáonis occasionally were intrusted with small commands. The levies were armed much in the same way as the regular troops, but were inferior to the Gorkhális in strength, activity and gallantry, though capable of doing excellent service under good leaders. In Kumaon, the army was distributed throughout the province and each district was obliged to provide pay for a certain number of men. This unsatisfactory arrangement led to numerous complaints, and moved by these

¹ Baper calls him Bnám Sáh and describes him in 1808 as a tall, stout, good-looking man, about sixty years of age, with a slight impediment in his speech.

the Nepál darbár sent a commission, at the head of which was Rewant Káji, in 1807-8, to inquire into the system and redress grievances. But with the country parcelled out amongst a number of military officers whose object it was to extract as much as possible in the shortest time from their fiefs, the good done by the commission only lasted so long as they were present. Accordingly we find that in 1809 Bam Sáh himself had to revise the entire arrangements and draw up a regular settlement and record which remained in force until the conquest. The principal officers were changed every year; during their tenure of office they were called *jágríya* and on retirement *dhakuriya*; their salary (*ball*) was, like that of their men, obtained by assignments on some village.

Captain Hearsey in a letter to Government in 1815 describes the Gorkháli commanders as "ignorant, The Gorkháli army. subtle, treacherous, faithless and avaricious to an extreme; after conquest and victory, blood-thirsty and relentless; after defeat, mean and abject; no reliance can be placed on any of their terms or treaties, and hitherto they have kept up a threatening countenance towards the Chinese Government, pretending to be a part of our Government, dressing their troops in red uniforms, arming them with muskets and apeing the names of our subordinate officers. To our Government they have acted with great reserve, imitating the Chinese address and forms and wishing to inculcate in our minds that they were tributary to the Chinese. Their soldiers are badly armed and can bear no comparison to Scindia and Holkar's troops." The injustice of these remarks was sufficiently shown at Malaun, Kalanga, Jaithak and Almora. It is true that the Nepálese affected the European style of exercise, dress and arms, and even the denomination of rank given to their officers was English, for we have on the grants made by them, the titles, colonels, majors and captains, as well as subahdars, faujdárs, sardárs and kájis, but this can hardly have been done for the purpose of deceiving the Chinese. The pay of the regular troops was eight rupees a month whilst on active service and only six rupees at other times.

The men were armed with the *talwar* or sword, *kúkri* or curved knife and match-locks, and the officers carried the sword and shield,

kukri and bow and arrows, in the use of which they were very dexterous. "The sword was sometimes of the peculiar shape known as *kora* or *bujali*, the edge having a curve inward like a reaping hook, but far more straight and very heavy, particularly at the point end, where it is very broad and ends abruptly square." *Jinjals* or wall-pieces were in use to defend the stockades and they had a few small guns. Mr Fraser's estimate¹ of the Nepalese as men and soldiers may be added here as a set-off against the descriptions of Raper and Hearsey:—"The regular army of Nepal has been for so long a time accustomed to active service, to a series of constant warfare and victory, that the men have become really veteran soldiers, under the advantages of necessary control and a certain degree of discipline: and from their continual success they have attained a sense of their own value—a fearlessness of danger and a contempt of any foe opposed to them. They have much of the true and high spirit of a soldier – that setting of life at naught in comparison with the performance of duty and that high sense of honor which forms his most attractive ornament and raises his character to the highest. They are also cheerful, patient of fatigue, industrious at any labor to which they are put, very tractable and quiet, and from what has fallen under my own observation and knowledge, not, I think, wanton or cruel. This, however, is a somewhat dubious part of their character: in various situations they have behaved in different ways, and have given reason to presume that their natural description, whatever it may be, is swayed by situations and circumstances: even as a nation their character seems various and unsettled. The individuals must exhibit a greater variety still." At the same time we must not forget the many acts of cruelty committed by them and their tyrannical treatment of the unfortunate Garhwáls.

The administration of justice was on no regular system, each of the officers exercising jurisdiction according to his position and the number of men at his disposal to ensure his orders being obeyed.

Administration of justice. Throughout Kumáon and Garhwál all civil and petty criminal cases were disposed of by the commandant of the troops to which the tract was assigned, while cases of importance were disposed of by the civil governor of

¹ *Himála Mount.*, 10.

the province assisted by the military chiefs who happened to be present at his head-quarters.¹ But the commandants were frequently absent on active duty and delegated their powers to Be-cháris, as their deputies were styled, who either farmed the dues on law proceedings at a specific sum or remained accountable for the full receipts.² Their method of procedure was that common to their predecessors and most Hindu states and was simple in the extreme. A brief oral examination of the parties was conducted in presence of the court, and in case of doubt the section of the Mahá-bhárata known as the Harivansa was placed on the head of the witness, who was then required to speak the truth. Where the evidence of eye-witnesses was not procurable or the testimony was conflicting as in the case of boundary disputes, recourse was had to ordeal. Three forms of ordeal were in common use: (a) the *gola-dip*, in which a bar of red-hot iron was carried in the hands for a certain distance: (b) the *karai-dip*, in which the hands was plunged into burning oil, and like the former the evidence of innocence was that no harm resulted; and (c) the *tarázu-ka-dip*, in which the person undergoing the ordeal was weighed against a number of stones which were carefully sealed and deposited in some secure place and again weighed the next morning, and if the person undergoing this ordeal proved heavier than on the preceding evening, his innocence was considered established. Even the mahant of the sacred temple of Rám Rái at Dehra had to submit to the *karai-dip* ordeal when charged with murder, and being severely burned was obliged to pay a heavy fine. The judgment was recorded on the spot and witnessed by the by-standers and then handed over to the successful party, whilst the other was mulcted in a heavy fine proportioned more to his means than the importance of the case. Pancháyats or councils of arbitrators were frequently had recourse to, especially in cases of disputed inheritance and commercial dealings, and these, too, were frequently disposed of by lot. The names of the parties were written on slips of paper of equal size, shape and material, and were then laid before an idol in a temple; the priest then went in and took up one of the papers, and the name recorded therein was declared successful. Many matters were simply decided in a somewhat similar way by

¹ Traill in Kumaon Memoir, 27.
 commands, As. Res., XI., 499.

² Garhwál was divided into three

the claimant proceeding to some well-known temple and there swearing by the idol that his statement was the true one. To the present day several temples are celebrated in this respect.

The following forms of ordeal are also noted by Traill :—"The *tir-ka-dip*, in which the person remained with his head submerged in water while another ran the distance of a bow shot and back, was sometimes resorted to. The Gorkhali governors introduced another mode of trial by water, in which two boys, both unable to swim, were thrown into a pond of water and the longest liver gained the cause. Formerly poison was in very particular causes resorted to as the criterion of innocence; a given dose of a particular root was administered, and the party, if he survived, was absolved. A further mode of appeal to the interposition of the deity was placing the sum of money, or a bit of earth from the land in dispute, in a temple before the idol; one of the parties volunteering such test, then with imprecations on himself if false, took up the article in question. Supposing no death to occur within six months in his immediate family, he gained his cause; on the contrary he was cast in the event of being visited with any great calamity, or if afflicted with severe sickness during that period."

Treason alone as a rule was punished by death. Murder if committed by a Brahman brought a sentence of banishment and all other crimes were visited by fines and confiscation. The wilful destruction of a cow, however, or the infringement of caste by a Dom, such as touching the pipe (*hukka*) of a Brahman or Rajpút, were also punishable with death. Under the previous governments death was inflicted by hanging or beheading, but the Gorkhals introduced impaling and sometimes put their convicts to death with the most cruel tortures. Under the Chands, executions were rare and confined almost exclusively to Doms, but under the Gorkhals they became numerous and common. Traill writes :—

"In petty thefts, restitution and fine were commonly the only penalties inflicted; in those of magnitude, the offender was sometimes subjected to the loss of a hand or of his nose. Crimes of the latter description have ever, in these hills, been extremely rare, and did not call for any severe enactment. Acts of omission or commission, involving temporary deprivation of caste, as also cases of criminal intercourse between parties connected within the degrees of affinity

prescribed by the Hindu law, offered legitimate objects of fine. Adultery among the lower classes was punished in the same manner. Where, however, the husband was of rank or caste, the adulterer was commonly put to death and the adulteress deprived of her nose. The revenge of the injury was on these occasions left to the husband, who by the customs of the country, and by the existing principles of honor was authorized and required to wash off the stain on his name by the blood of the offending parties, and no lapse of time from the commission or discovery of the crime proved a bar to the exaction of this revenge. Convicts were occasionally condemned to labor on the private lands of the Raja, to whom they from that period became hereditary slaves. Criminals also settling at a royal village in the Tarāi called Garhgāon received a free pardon, whatever might have been their offence. In cases of self-destruction, the nearest relations of the suicide were invariably subjected to a heavy fine. The most oppressive branch of the police, and that which proved the most fruitful source of judicial revenue, consisted in the prohibitions issued under the Gorkhālī government against numerous acts, the greater part of which were in themselves perfectly unobjectionable. The infringement of these orders was invariably visited with fines; indeed they would appear to have been chiefly issued with such view, as among the many ordinances of this kind it may be sufficient to specify one which in Garhwāl forbade any woman from ascending on the top of a house. This prohibition, though apparently ridiculous, was in fact a very serious grievance: a part of the domestic economy hitherto left to the women, such as drying grain, clothes, &c., is performed there, and firewood and provision for immediate consumption are stored in the same place, and the necessity for men superintending these operations, by withdrawing them from their labor in the fields, was felt as a hardship."

We have now to turn our attention to other parts of upper India to trace the circumstances under which the British power was established in these hills.¹ For several years before the commencement of the Nepālese war in 1814, the Gorkhālīs had been making a series of petty encroachments on the British territories at the foot of the Himālaya. Most of these aggressions were entirely without excuse, but as they produced no worse results than occasional feeble remonstrances on our part, the Gorkhālīs persevered in the same

¹ The best account published of the war with Nepāl is that by Mr. H. T. Prinsep in his "History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-23." Whilst acknowledging its value we must mention that Prinsep's work is based on the official correspondence of the time, and that as the following sketch is drawn from the same sources, occasional coincidence of expression and treatment will be observed which are not to be attributed to plagiarism. The greater part, though not the whole, of the documents relating to the war which are now in the Kumaon Commissioner's office, and which have all been carefully examined and collated, will be found in the "Papers regarding the administration of the Marquess of Hastings in India," printed by order of the Court of Proprietors in 1824. My obligations are also due to the private correspondence of Colonel Gardner during the Kumaon war, which has been placed at my disposal.

system on every favourable opportunity. The most important of these encroachments and the immediate cause of the rupture with the Nepálese Government took place in the Bútwal parganah in the Gorakhpur district. The Gorkhális in 1804, on the pretence that this parganah had formerly belonged to the Raja of Pálpa, whose territories in the hills they had seized, took possession of Bútwal, which was then under direct British management. Beyond weak remonstrances and still worse demands, the enforcement of which was forgotten or avoided, no notice was taken of this aggression until 1812, when the further encroachments of the Gorkhális in the same quarter had become so flagrant that the serious attention of our Government was at last drawn to them. The Gorkhális naturally attributed the indifference which we had hitherto shown to fear, or at least to a disinclination to enter into a contest with them, and consequently refused to surrender any of their acquisitions. The usual negotiations ensued which resulted in nothing that could be held in the slightest degree satisfactory, and in April, 1814, the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, ordered the occupation of the disputed districts, which was effected without any opposition.

The subsequent proceedings of the Nepálese and the conduct of their agents which were held sufficient to justify the declaration of war are described at some length in the proclamation issued on the 1st November, 1814; we shall, therefore, quote from it those parts which more nearly concern the acts of the Nepálese with regard to these provinces. The proclamation professes to make known to the powers in alliance and friendship with the British the causes of the war—

“in the full conviction that the exposition will establish beyond dispute the extraordinary moderation and forbearance of the British Government, and the injustice, violence and aggression of the state of Nepál” * * *

* * * While the conduct of the British Government has been uniformly regulated in its relations with the Nepálese by the most scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice and moderation, there is scarcely a single district within the British frontier, throughout the whole of the extensive line above described, in which the Gorkhális have not usurped and appropriated¹ lands forming the ascertained dominions of the Honourable Company. Questions originating in the usurpations of the Nepálese have arisen in

¹ Auber says that 300 villages had been usurped by the Gorkhális between 1787 and 1812: I, 501.

Purn ah, Tírhút, Sárán, Gorakhpur, and Bareil, as well as in the protected territory between the Satlaj and the Jumna; and each case might be appealed to in proof of the moderation and forbearance of the British Government, and the aggressive and insolent spirit of the Nepálese."

Two instances only are given in detail—namely, those which occurred at Sárán and in Gorakhpur, "which more particularly demonstrate the systematic design of the Nepálese to encroach upon the acknowledged possessions of the Honourable Company, and have, in fact, been the proximate causes of the war." We shall here refer only to the Gorakhpur case. The whole of Bútwal to the very foot of the hills, with the exception alone of the town of Bútwal, was held by the Rajas of Pálpa from the Nawáb Vazír for a considerable period antecedent to the treaty of cession in 1801, and was transferred to the Company by the schedule thereunto annexed. A settlement was made of these lands by the Collector of Gorakhpur with the Raja of Pálpa, then a prisoner at Kathmándu, for a yearly revenue of Rs. 32,000, without any objection on the part of the Nepál darbár. So it remained until 1804, when the Nepálese commenced that systematic encroachment on our possessions which terminated in their occupation of nearly the whole district of Bútwal. The Nepálese founded their claim on the circumstance that the lands occupied by them had formed part of the *tarái* attached to the hill states of Pálpa, Gaulmi, Pyuthána, &c., which they had conquered. Admitting that these lowlands were possessed by the chiefs of the neighbouring hill principalities, yet as they held them on dependent tenures from the Oudh darbár, whose representative, the British, had claimed and taken possession of them under the treaty of 1801, the Nepálese could have had no other rights than those to which they succeeded by right of conquest. They actually, at first, accepted this position and proposed to hold Bútwal in farm, to which the British Government did not think proper to accede. Remonstrances and discussions followed, with frequent interruptions for several years, during which the Nepálese continued to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to extend their encroachments.

At length a proposition was made by the Raja of Nepál that commissioners should meet and decide the respective claims of the British Government and the Nepál darbár, under express condition that, whatever

Fruitless negotiations.

might be the issue of the inquiry, both Governments should abide by it. Major Bradshaw was appointed to act on the part of the British, and after much delay and procrastination on the part of the Nepálese the investigation was brought to a close and the right of the British Government to the lowlands was proved by the most irrefragable evidence, both oral and documentary. The Nepálese commissioners, unable to resist the force of this evidence and clearly restrained from admitting the right of the British Government by the orders of their Court, pretended that they were not empowered to come to a decision and referred the case to their own darbár for orders. The British Government communicated the result of the investigation to the Raja of Nepál and required the cession of the disputed territory, but were met with evasions and a recapitulation of the claims that had already been disposed of, and in this state the question necessarily remained until the cold weather of 1813-14. The Sárán villages had already passed into the hands of the British, and when Major Bradshaw intimated the desire of his Government to conclude the investigations which had already taken place in reference to those villages, the Nepálese commissioners refused to meet him and, revoking the conditional transfer of the usurped lands, ordered that Major Bradshaw should instantly leave their frontier and immediately returned to Nepál. This insulting and unprovoked declaration led to a letter to the Raja of Nepál reviewing the conduct of his commissioners and claiming the full renunciation of the disputed lands: adding, that if it were not made in a given time, the portions of those lands still in the hands of the Nepálese would be re-occupied and the twenty-two villages in Sárán which had been conditionally transferred to the British Government should be declared finally re-annexed to the Company's territories. This demand was not complied with, and though again made, no answer was received, and in April, 1814, the Bútwal lands were occupied by a British force without any opposition from the Nepálese.

The administration of the re-annexed tract was handed over

Bútwal re-occupied by the Nepálese. to the civil officers, who were soon enabled to establish their authority in the disputed lands. The commencement of the rainy season shortly rendered it necessary to withdraw the regular troops in order that they

might not be exposed to the malarious fevers which occur throughout that period of the year. The defence of the recovered lands was, therefore, unavoidably left in the hands of the local police levies, the apparent acquiescence of the Nepálese leaving no ground for apprehension, especially as no real violence had been used in obliging the Nepálese to evacuate the district. But the treachery and cruelty exhibited by them in their conquests to the west of the Káli was now also shown in their re-occupation of Bútwal. On the morning of the 29th May, 1814, the principal police station in Bútwal was attacked by a large body of Nepálese troops, headed by an officer of that Government named Manráj Faujdár, and driven out of Bútwal with the loss of eighteen men killed and six wounded. Amongst the former was the darogha, or principal police officer, who was murdered in cold blood, with circumstance of peculiar barbarity, in the presence of Manráj Faujdár, after surrendering himself a prisoner. Another police guard was subsequently attacked by the Nepálese troops and driven out with the loss of several persons killed and wounded. In consequence of the impracticability of supporting the police guards by sending troops into the country at that unhealthy season, it became necessary to withdraw them, and the Nepálese were then enabled to re-occupy the whole of the disputed territory. Notwithstanding this atrocious outrage, which nothing short of unqualified submission and atonement could condone, the British Government considered it right to address the Raja of Nepál once more and explain what the consequences must be unless he disavowed the acts of his officers and punished the murderers of the British officials. This letter received an answer wholly evasive and even implying menace. The reply was accepted as it was intended as a declaration of war, and in November, 1814, the formal proclamation was issued from which the above account of the causes of the war has been taken. Between May and November, "the Nepálese with a baseness and barbarity peculiar to themselves endeavoured to destroy the troops and the subjects of the Company on the borders of Sárán by poisoning the waters of wells and tanks in a tract of considerable extent. The fortunate discovery of this attempt baffled the infamous design and placed incontrovertible proof of it in the hands of the British Government." We shall now touch briefly

on the operations of the war where they do not immediately concern us and give all necessary details for the campaign in the Dún and Kumaon.

Having determined on war, no time was lost in preparation and

Opening operations of it was resolved that the Nepálese should be the war.

attacked simultaneously from several points.

In Bahár, a force of about 8,000 men was placed under the command of Major-General Marley, who was ordered to march on Kathmándu, the Nepálese capital. In Gorakhpur, a force of 4,000 men was entrusted to Major-General J. S. Wood and to Major-General Gillespie, and a force of about 3,500 men was assigned the task of reducing Dehra Dún, whilst on the extreme west of the Gorkháli territories, Major-General Ochterlony with 6,000 men was to attack the enemy's positions between the Satlaj and the Jumna. We pass over the events connected with the commencement of the campaign at the eastern end of the line of attack and the more willingly as the "operations of Generals Wood and Marley were nothing short of disgraceful, betraying a carelessness, timidity and want of scientific knowledge which happily seldom occurs in the annals of the British army. The former, though his force was beyond doubt greatly superior in number to that of the enemy opposed to him, attempted little beyond defensive measures, and in what little he did-attempt of a more active nature he failed. General Marley, whose division had now been raised to 13,000 men, a force (as Professor Wilson¹ says) more than adequate to encounter the whole Gorkháli army, even if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated estimates to which they had been raised by vague report and loose computation, after two serious disasters and the loss of nearly a thousand men and two guns, ended, on the 10th of February, by shamefully abandoning his army, not only without giving any previous notice of his intention, but without making any arrangements for the command of the troops on his departure.² It was fortunate for the honor of our arms that Generals Gillespie and Ochterlony were men of a different stamp, though even here the latter alone showed that he possessed the true qualities of a great commander."

¹ It is doubtful whether the Nepálese had at this time more than 4,000 or 5,000 men to oppose General Marley's division.

² Prinsep, I, 129.

The operations of General Gillespie were most unfortunate, but they were not disgraceful, for he showed himself to be at least a brave and zealous soldier. His instructions were to enter the Dún and having reduced the forts in the valley either to proceed eastwards and rescue Srinagar from the hands of the forces under Amar Singh Thápa or to proceed westwards and take Náhan, then held by Ranjor Singh Thápa, and so separate the Gorkháli forces. The force¹ destined for the Dún left Saháranpur, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby of the 53rd Regiment, on the 19th October 1814. One column under Colonel Carpenter advanced by the Timli pass, whilst the main body entered the valley by the Mohan pass and united at Dehra on the 24th October. The Gorkhális held the small fort of Kalanga or Nálapáni situate on the highest point of a low spur about three and a half miles north-east of Dehra. The hill itself is not more than five or six hundred feet high and is very steep except towards the south where the fort was built, and was then as now covered with a jungle of *sál* trees. The table-land on the top is about three-quarters of a mile in length and was protected by an irregular fortification, following the form of the ground and still incomplete, but the garrison were busily engaged in raising and strengthening it.² There were only some three or four hundred of the regular troops of Nepál present under the command of Balbhadra Singh Thápa, nephew of Amar Singh, who commanded in Garhwál. Colonel Mawby sent a messenger the same night to demand the surrender of the fort, and it found Balbhadra Singh at midnight enjoying a well-earned repose. The Gorkháli commander read the letter and tore it up, vouchsafing no other answer than that "it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours: but he sent his *salám* to the English sardár assuring him that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp." Colonel Mawby thought next day to punish this insolent barbarian, and mounting a couple of 6-pounders and two howitzers on elephants proceeded to take the fort by assault.

¹ The troops employed were:—

Artillery 247 men: Her Majesty's 53rd (or Shropshire) Regiment 785 men 1-6th, 1-7th and 1-17th Native Infantry, 2,348 men and 133 pioneers; total 3,513 men with two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, and four howitzers. ² Mr. J. B. Fraser's valuable "Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himálá mountains and to the sources of the rivers Jumna and Ganges," London, 1828, is the principal authority for the Dún campaign, pp. 13, 27.

But a few rounds were fired when the task was given up as impracticable and the British force returned to Dehra with less contempt for the enemy and a more just appreciation of the work before them. On the 26th, General Gillespie joined and took command of the force. A more careful reconnoissance was made and orders at once followed for an assault, the preparations for which show a remarkable contrast to those made by Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby. Fascines and gabions were prepared beforehand and all the howitzers and 12-pounders and half the 6-pounders were sent on elephants to the table-land, which was occupied without opposition. Batteries were at once prepared for the guns, and four separate storming parties¹ were ordered to be ready for the assault, which was fixed for the morning of the 31st October. The enemy had done everything possible with the men and materials at his disposal. The wall, although not yet complete, was raised sufficiently to render its escalade without ladders practically impossible. Gaps were filled up with stones, stockades were erected along the lines of approach, and at a wicket open, but cross-barred, a gun was placed which enfiladed the principal side of attack. The British guns played on the fort for some time, but did little execution, and "this, perhaps," writes Fraser, "uniting with the eagerness of a sanguine temper, induced General Gillespie to give the signal for assault some hours sooner than it was intended." The consequence was that three out of the four columns took no part in the attack, and the column under Colonel Carpenter with the reserve under Colonel Ludlow had to bear the whole brunt of the fighting.

The assault commenced at nine in the morning and the stock-
 First attack on Kalan-
 ga. ades were easily carried, but on approaching the walls the British suffered severely in both officers and men. No ladders were forthcoming for a time, and the first applying them was Lieutenant Ellis of the Pioneers, who was shot dead in the attempt. The obstacles were then found to be too great to be overcome, and the troops were obliged to retreat under shelter of a village in the rear. The General then led in person three fresh companies of the 53rd Regiment and had barely

¹ The attacking party was formed into four columns and a reserve: 1. (a) Colonel Carpenter with 611 men; (b) Captain East with 363 men; (c) Major Kelly with 541 men; (d) Captain Campbell with 283 men, and the reserve of 939 men under Colonel Ludlow. These were all to ascend, on a gun being fired, from different points and so distract the attention of the enemy.

reached a spot in front of the wicket, "where, as he was cheering on his men, waving his hat in one hand and his sword in the other, he received a shot through the heart and fell dead on the spot. His aide-de-camp O'Hara was killed beside him and many other officers were wounded." Colonel Carpenter, who succeeded to the command on the death of General Gillespie, deemed it prudent to retreat to Dehra and there wait for further reinforcements. The gun at the wicket did much damage to the attacking party, and "when the reserve advanced and got within the line it defended, the first discharge brought down the whole front line, killing seven and wounding eleven. Several persons penetrated to this very wicket, but, unsupported, could produce no effect. A very heavy fire was kept up from the walls by the garrison and showers of arrows and of stones were discharged at the assailants, and many severe wounds were received from stones which they threw very dexterously: the women were seen occupied in throwing them, regardless of exposure." Five officers were killed and fifteen were wounded, of whom several died subsequently of the injuries then received: 27 non-commissioned officers and men were killed and 213 were wounded. Out of a detachment of 100 dismounted men of the 8th Light Dragoons (now the 8th Hussars), the General's old corps, four men were killed and fifty were wounded. So ended the first memorable assault on the petty fort of Kalanga.

It was not until the 24th November that the arrival of a siege battery from Delhi enabled the British to resume the attack on Kalanga. On the following day active operations recommenced and batteries were erected within three hundred yards of the wall of the Gorkhali fort, and by the 27th, a practicable breach was effected almost without any loss, though the enemy kept up a warm and well-directed fire. Shells had been used with great effect and a sally of the enemy had been repulsed with loss, so that everything promised well for the assault. The storming party was led by Major W. Ingleby of the 53rd Regiment and consisted of two companies of that regiment and all the grenadiers of the detachment. "They advanced to the breach and stood for two hours exposed to a tremendous fire from the garrison which caused the

Second attack on Kalanga.

loss of many officers and men : but after every exertion on the part of their officers and the fall of many in leading and endeavouring to push them forward in spite of the obstacles that were opposed to them, without any success, it was deemed expedient to order a retreat, and the whole returned to the batteries." The Gorkhális made a gallant and desperate defence, standing themselves in the breach whilst using every missile that came to hand, balls, arrows and stones. The British advanced in a cool and self-possessed manner ; a few got to the crest of the breach and fell there, but the majority remained below exposed to a murderous fire. " No one turned to fly, but none went onwards ; they stood to be slaughtered, whilst their officers exposed themselves most gallantly and unreservedly." Lieutenant Harington of the 53rd fell in the breach leading on his men, and Lieutenant Luxford of the Horse Artillery was killed whilst training his gun on the defenders of the breach. The official returns show three officers killed and eight wounded, and 38 men killed and 440 wounded and missing during the attack. Thus the disastrous results of the first attack were repeated, and it was only now discovered that there was no water within the fort, and that the besieged were obliged to supply themselves from a spring at some distance from the walls. Arrangements were at once made to cut off the water, and the fire from the batteries recommenced the next day, doing great damage from the unprotected state of the garrison and the shattered condition of their defences. On the night of the 30th November, only three days after the adoption of the measures which were equally feasible a month earlier, had they been adopted, Balbhadra Thápa with seventy men, all that remained of his garrison, evacuated Kalanga. The Gorkhális cut their way through the chain of posts placed to intercept them, and escaped to a neighbouring hill closely pursued by Colonel Ludlow. Of the condition of the fort Mr. Fraser writes :—

" At three o'clock that morning, Major Kelly entered and took possession of the fort : and there indeed the desperate courage and bloody resistance they had opposed to means so overwhelming were mournfully and horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house, strewn with the bodies of the dead and the wounded and the dismembered limbs of those who had been torn to pieces by the bursting of the shells ; those who yet lived piteously calling out for water, of which they had not tasted for days. The stench from the place was dreadful. Many of the bodies of those that had been early killed had been

insufficiently interred : and our officers found in the ruins the remains and the clothes of several thus incompletely covered starting into view. One chief was thus found out, who had fallen in the first attempt, and had received this wretched semi-sepulture. The bodies of several women, killed by shot or shells, were discovered ; and even children mangled, and yet alive, by the same ruthless engines. One woman, who had lost her leg, was found and sent to the hospital, where she recovered ; a young child was picked up, who had been shot by a musket ball through both his thighs, and who also perfectly recovered ; and there was also a fine boy of only three or four years old, whose father, a subahdár, had been killed, and who was left in the fort when it was evacuated ; he was unhurt and was taken care of. Upwards of ninety dead bodies were burnt by our native troops ; and about an equal number of wounded were sent to the hospital and carefully treated : several prisoners also were taken.

The determined resolution of the small party which held this small post for more than a month, against so comparatively large a force, most surely wring admiration from every voice, especially when the horrors of the latter portion of this time are considered ; the dismal spectacle of their slaughtered comrades, the sufferings of their women and children thus immured with themselves, and the hopelessness of relief, which destroyed any other motive for the obstinate defence they made, than that resulting from a high sense of duty, supported by unsubdued courage. This and a generous spirit of courtesy towards their enemy, certainly marked the character of the garrison of Kalanga, during the period of its siege. Whatever the nature of the Gorkhális may have been found in other quarters, there was here no cruelty to wounded or to prisoners ; no poisoned arrows were used, no wells or waters were poisoned ; no rancorous spirit of revenge seemed to animate them : they fought us in fair conflict like men, and, in the intervals of actual combat, showed us a liberal courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people. So far from insulting the bodies of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to lie untouched till carried away ; and none were stripped, as is too universally the case. The confidence they exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering : they solicited and obtained surgical aid ; and on one occasion this gave rise to a singular and interesting scene : While the batteries were playing a man was perceived on the breach, advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased firing for a while, and the man came into the batteries : he proved to be a Gorkha, whose lower jaw had been shattered by a cannon shot, and who came thus frankly to solicit assistance from his enemy. It is unnecessary to add that it was instantly afforded ; and, when discharged from the hospital, signified his desire to return to his corps to combat us again : exhibiting thus, through the whole, a strong sense of the value of generosity and courtesy in warfare, and also of his duty to his country, separating completely in his own mind private and national feelings from each other, and his frank confidence in the individuals of our nation, from the duty he owed his own, to fight against us collectively."

The seventy men who escaped from the fort were soon after

From the fall of Kalanga joined by some three hundred others to the invasion of Kumaon. who had been seen hovering about the

neighbourhood endeavouring to find a way into the fort. Major Ludlow was sent after these with some four hundred of our troops and succeeded in attacking their camp by night and dispersing them with the loss of over fifty killed. The British loss here consisted of but two officers and fifteen men wounded. In the meantime Colonel Carpenter had taken measures to guard the entrance to the hills at Kálsi and sent Captain Fast with a detachment to occupy some positions above that town, which resulted in the surrender of the fort of Bairát on the 4th December. The following day the troops marched through the Timli pass on their way to Náhan, to join the force under Major-General Martindell.¹ Balbhadra Thápa with the remains of his party threw himself into the fort of Jauntgarh² and defended himself successfully against a force despatched against him under Major Baldeck. He subsequently joined the Gorkháli force at Jaithak, and on the surrender of that place entered the Sikh service, where he and all his followers

¹ The fort of Kalanga was razed to the ground before the troops left and now but a slight unevenness in the ground marks the spot where the great fight took place. Two small monuments have been erected, one in memory of Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie and the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who died there, and the other in memory of Balbhadra Thapa and the gallant Gorkháli defenders of the fort. The following is a copy of the inscriptions as given by Mr Williams:—

I.

West side.

To the memory of
Major-General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, K.C.B.
Lieut. O'Hara, 6th N. I.
Lieut. Gosling Light Battalion.
Ensign Fothergill, 17th N. I.
Ensign Ellis, Pioneers, killed on the 31st October, 1814.
Captain Campbell, 6th N. I.
Lieut. Luxford, Horse Artillery.
Lieut. Harington, H. M. 53rd Regt.
Lieut. Cunningham, 13th N. I., killed on the 27th November
And of the non-commissioned officers and men who fell at the assault.

East side.

Troops engaged
Detachments horse and foot artillery.
100 men of the 8th Royal Irish Light Dragoons who were dismounted and led to the assault by Sir R. R. Gillespie, H. M. 53rd Regiment.
5 Light Companies from corps in Meerut.
1st Battalion, 6th N. I.
Ditto 14th do.
Ditto 18th do.
Ditto 17th do.
7th Native Cavalry, one Rissalah of Skinner's Horse.

II.

West side.

On the highest point of the hill above this tomb stood the fort of Kalanga.. After two assaults on the 31st October and 27th November it was captured by the British troops on the 30th November, 1814, and completely razed to the ground.

East side.

This is inscribed as a tribute of respect for our gallant adversary. Bulbulder, commander of the fort, and his brave Gurkhas, who were afterwards, while in the service of Ranjit Singh, shot down in their ranks to the last man by Afghán artillery.

² Two petty officers who sought to desert to the British at Jauntgarh were executed there by orders of Balbhadra.

perished in a war with the Afghána. The Dún force together with that under General Martindell were ordered to attack Náhan, where Ranjor Singh, the son of Amar Singh Thápa, still held out with more than two thousand men, to support him. On the 24th December, Náhan was occupied by the British troops, the Gorkhális retiring on our approach to Jaithak, a fort and strong position a little to the north, 1,600 feet above the town and nearly 5,000 feet above the sea. The fort was attacked without loss of time, but unsuccessfully, and the British troops were repulsed with a loss of between four and five hundred men, so that General Martindell attempted no active operations for nearly three months. After this succession of reverses on many points it is satisfactory to have to record the proceedings of a very different commander. At the end of October, 1814, General Ochterlony with about six thousand men entered the hills on the left bank of the Satlaj, with the view of dislodging the Gorkhális from the strong positions which they held between Biláspur on that river and the outer hills above the Pinjor Dún. The enemy's force consisted of about three thousand men, and was commanded by Amar Singh Thápa, the most skillful of all the Gorkháli officers and who had gained a high reputation in the former wars of his nation. Among the numerous posts in the possession of the Gorkhális, the most important were Rámgarh and Malaun. General Ochterlony soon discovered the character of the enemy with whom he had to deal, and that it was not by hard fighting that his sepoy would be able to beat the Gorkhális. The months of November, December, and January were occupied by a series of movements, by which General Ochterlony, without exposing his troops to any dangerous adventures, forced Amar Singh to abandon most of his positions and to concentrate his forces round Malaun.

Having reached this period of the war we must speak of the events which were happening in Kumaon, and with which we are more particularly concerned. Lord Hastings, in October, 1814, had received information which led him to suppose that Bam Sáh, the governor of Kumaon, being disgusted with the proceedings of the Thápa party, which at this time exercised the chief authority in Nepál, would not be disinclined to assist the views of

the British Government and to deliver up his charge into their hands.

Mr. Gardner sent to- Accordingly, early in November, Mr. C. T. wards Kumaon. Metcalfe, Resident at Dehli, received orders to send his second assistant, the Hon'ble E. Gardner of the Bengal Civil Service, to Moradabad, to open a correspondence with Bam Sáh in order to ascertain whether the opinion that had been formed of his disaffection to the existing Government of Nepál was well founded. The extensive line of frontier against which it was necessary to direct our operations, as well as the threatening attitude of other states, made it impossible to send a force of regular troops to support Mr. Gardner's negotiations. This difficulty augmented the importance of a pacific arrangement with Bam Sáh and his brother, but at the same time to attain this object it was necessary to possess the means of occupying Kumaon, should Bam Sáh agree to espouse our cause as well to give colour to his secession as to protect our interests in Kumaon itself. It was, therefore, intended that Major-General Gillespie should send a force towards Kumaon which aided by a body of irregulars might be sufficient to hold the district with the concurrence of Bam Sáh and overawe any part of the Gorkháli forces which might not adhere to the arrangements made. In the meantime, Mr. Gardner was instructed¹ that his first duty was to ascertain the disposition of Bam Sáh, and it was pointed out to him that this might be accomplished by means of the persons connected with the trading agencies at the foot of the hills. Both Bam Sáh and his brother Hastidal, since their exclusion from public affairs, had turned all their attention towards commercial operations and now held the monopoly of the trade passing through Chilkiya and Barmdeo which brought them in a considerable revenue. At the same time the Company's factory at Káshipur, under the superintendence of Dr. Rutherford as trading agent, kept up a continual connection with the hills, where a large quantity of hemp was raised and prepared, on a system of advances, for the Company's investment.

Should the inquiries regarding the views and dispositions of Bam Sáh be such as to encourage the
Annexation resolved on. attempt to open up a direct negotiation with him, Mr. Gardner was instructed that, though it was first

¹ G. I. to C. J. Metcalfe, 23rd October, 1814.

contemplated to provide for Bam Sáh by establishing him in the independent occupation of Kumaon with his brother in Doti, it was now resolved eventually to annex Kumaon to the Company's territory "as a part of the compensation¹ which the British Government were entitled to demand for the expense of a war produced solely by the encroachments of the enemy." Under this view of the case Mr. Gardner was limited to the offer of a *jáyír* either in Kumaon itself or in some other quarter, with suitable provision for the relatives and dependents of Bam Sáh and his family proportional to the emoluments then enjoyed by them as well from their offices as from the profits of trade, but that it was desirable to reserve as much as possible in the hands of Government the details of the arrangements to be made, giving in the first instance a general assurance only of protection and an honourable maintenance. With regard to Lál Singh it was decided that any attempt to restore him to the possessions temporarily held by his family would be obnoxious to the people in general, and the circumstances under which his brother obtained the chief authority in Kumaon deprived him of that consideration which the Government was disposed to show to the surviving representatives of the families formerly reigning in the principalities in the hills. Mr. Gardner was, therefore, authorised to adopt such measures as might be necessary to prevent Lál Singh from interfering in Kumaon affairs; and should necessity arise, Kumaon was to be occupied by force of arms in the interests of the British Government alone. Moreover, had the British desired to restore a member of the ancient house, there existed at this time in Parewa, in parganah Kota, direct legal descendants of Lachhmi Chand, son of Rudra Chand, and in Jíba, a village in parganah Sor, direct and legal descendants of Kalyán Chand, besides many spurious descendants of Rudra Chand. There were also descendants of the daughter of Díp Chand who married Subkaran, son of Jodha Singh Katehiri, any of whom, if it was thought desirable, would have been preferable

¹ It would appear, however, that the principal motive for retaining Kumaon was the better means it possessed for communication with Tibet and opening up a trade with Western China, an object as eagerly sought after then as the Central Asian trade was of late years, and with as little practical result. Notes by W. Fraser, Moorcroft, Kaper, Hearsey and Rutherford on the state of Garhwal and Kumaon accompanied the instructions given to Mr. Gardner.

to Lál Singh, a junior member of an usurping family, as Raja, or even to Bam Sáh himself as farmer, as was first intended.¹

The unfortunate commencement of the campaign in Bahár and Gorakhpur and the disasters that had determined on. occurred at Nálapáni made Lord Hastings, about two months after Mr. Gardner's appointment, still more anxious to obtain a footing in Kumaon. This was the more desirable as it had now become impossible to divert a portion of the Dún force towards Srinagar, an operation which would have to some extent answered the purposes expected to be gained by a direct attack upon Kumaon. It was known that Kumaon and the adjoining provinces had been nearly drained of troops in order to supply the urgent calls of the Gorkhális both to the east and west, and the notorious hatred which the people of the country felt towards their Gorkháli rulers promised to afford us important assistance in any efforts which we might make in this quarter. Not only was Kumaon the most valuable of the Gorkháli territories west of the Káli, but it derived at this time a special importance from the fact that through it all the communications had to be carried on which passed between the Nepál Government and their armies beyond the Ganges. For as the Gorkhális held no possessions beyond the foot of the mountains, this was the sole route that remained open to them.

¹ Government to Hon'ble E. Gardner, 22nd November, 1814. "For years the family of Mohan Singh by the aid of their Rohilla levies and the terror inspired by the murder of their opponents held the nominal possession of Almora. Since then the Gorkhális had for quarter of a century occupied the country, so that no shadow of moral or even sentimental right can have vested in Lál Singh, who was himself personally obnoxious to the people." Subsequently (22nd November, 6th December, 1814) Mr. Gardner reported that there was not the least apprehension that Lál Singh could in any way interfere in Kumaon affairs, and in reply he was directed "to avoid any step which might be construed into an encouragement of Lál Singh's pretensions to Kumaon" (Government, dated 14th December, 1814 : 25th January, 1815). On offering his services to join in the invasion of Kumaon, he was peremptorily told that he was not required. Partáb Singh, his grand-nephew, claimed the zamindári of Kumaon when it was shown that the proprietary right and sovereign right were vested in the same individual, and were wrested from the former Rajas by the Gorkhális and afterwards from the Gorkhális by the British, and consequently the usurping family of Mohan Chand could have no claim (to Government, dated 13th August, 1820, and 28th April, 1821, and from Government, dated 26th May, 1821). A similar reply was given to Partáb Singh's claim to the zamindári of the Tarái (Board to Governor-General in Council, 4th May, 1821, No. 35).

It was consequently decided in December 1814, that, whatever might be the issue of the negotiations with Bam Sáh, an attempt should be made to wrest Kumaon from the Nepálese, and Lord Hastings formally declared his determination, in case the projected operations should prove successful, permanently to annex the province to the British dominions.¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsey,² who had formerly served in the Marátha army, and the first of whom was at this time in command of a body of irregular horse employed in police duties, were appointed to raise a force of Rohillas for the attack on Kumaon. Captain Hearsey was placed under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, and both these officers lost no time in carrying out their instructions under the general control of the Honourable E. Gardner, who was appointed Agent to the Governor-General. During the month of January 1815 preparations were actively carried on in Rohilkhand for the projected attack on Kumaon; Mr. E. Gardner and Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner having their headquarters at Káshipur in the Morálabad district, while Captain Hearsey carried on his preparations at Barcilly and Pilibhit and Dr. Rutherford was attached to the force in the character of Surgeon, Commissariat Officer and Officer in charge of the treasure, postal and intelligence departments. On the first sound of the preparations becoming known, the Gorkháli garrisons in Kumaon were strengthened, and Hastidal Sáh was directed to protect Khairágarh and Doti and build forts at Banbasa and Mundiyaqbát on the Sárda. The Patháns of Rámpur were enlisted, and Sháh

Wali, formerly farmer of Rúdrpur, was made warden of the posts lying along the foot of the hills.³ These proceedings were met by a proclamation forbidding the subjects of the Company and its allies from engaging in the service of the Nepálese, and calling on those who, had already engaged in that service to abandon it before the end of November.

¹ Nepál papers, p. 301: letters, Government, dated 23rd October, 14th, 17th and 22nd December, 1814. By the last the force of Colonel Gardner was raised to 3,000 men and that of Captain Hearsey to 1,500 men.

² Captain Hearsey accompanied Mr. Moorcroft in his journey to Tibet in 1812, and had been detained as a prisoner with his companion in Kumaon the very year before the war broke out.

³ Sháh Wali was farmer of Rúdrpur at the cession and was expelled for defalcation. Amar Singh Thápa gave him the farm of the customs' posts from Haridwár to Bilhári for Rs. 1,000 in exclusion of the Ilaris and Mewátis who had been placed there by Mr. Seton, the Collector of Morálabad.

Towards the end of the year a second proclamation,¹ declaring war against the Gorkhális, was distributed amongst the hill people, and resulted in the return of the new Pathán levies to the plains. These in true oriental fashion formed the nucleus of the new irregular regiments raised for the special service of invading Kumaon.

Mr. Gardner's efforts to open communications with Bam Sáh Failure of negotiations from Moradabad proved unsuccessful, and with Bam Sáh. on the 1st January, 1815, he moved his head-quarters to Káshipur, where he again made an attempt to communicate with the Nepálese governor. The negotiations led to no result, the Chauntra sending evasive answers² to the overtures that were made to him. It appeared that however much he might be dissatisfied with the state of affairs in Nepál, he was not inclined to betray the trust that had been reposed in him, and it became evident that the expedition must depend for success on its own exertions and not on any expectations of treachery on the part of Bam Sáh. Mr. Fraser, the Political Agent attached to General Martindell's force, had for some time past been in communication with Harak Deb³ Joshi, who as hereditary minister of the former

¹ Proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Kumaon (prescribed by letter of Government, dated 14th December, 1814):—"The British Government has long beheld with concern the misery and distress to which the inhabitants of Kumaon have been reduced by the oppressive sway of the Gorkhá power; while that power, however, was at peace with the British Government, and afforded no ground to doubt its disposition to maintain that relation, the acknowledged obligations of public faith demanded a corresponding conduct on the part of the British Government, and obliged it to witness in silent regret the devastation and ruin occasioned by the extension of the Gorkhá power over that country. Having now been compelled by a series of unprovoked and unjustifiable encroachments and violence on the part of the Gorkhás to take up arms in defence of its rights and honour, the British Government eagerly seizes the opportunity of rescuing the inhabitants of Kumaon from the yoke of their oppressors, and a British force has advanced into that country for the purpose of expelling the Gorkhá troops and for excluding from it for ever the power and authority of that State. The inhabitants are accordingly invited and enjoined to assist to the utmost of their power in effecting this great object, and to submit quietly and peaceably to the authority of the British Government, under whose mild and equitable administration they will be protected in the enjoyment of their just rights and in the full security of their persons and property."

² Bam Sáh addressed Mr. Colebrooke, Agent to the Governor-General for the Ceded Provinces, and sent messengers who, however, were charged to make no specific proposals and merely to express general good-will (to Government, dated 28th February, 19th March, 18th April, 1815)

³ Harak Deb was introduced to Mr. W. Fraser by Captain Hearsey, who thus describes him in 1814:—"This man is a perfect instrument whose name the Gorkhális dread; his connections in Kumaon amount to above 6,000 men, he is now near 65 years old, but is active and vigorous and has all his faculties clear; his influence is great on all the hill Rajas, even extending beyond the Satiaj." Mr. Fraser writes:—"Although exceedingly depressed by misfortune and penury, he still possesses an active, energetic and enterprising mind." Though informed fully of the intentions of the British Government to keep possession of Kumaon,

Chand Rajas, had exercised before the Gorkhálí conquest an almost despotic authority in Kumaon. Harak Deb had used his power so freely that he was not unaptly called by Captain Hearsey "the Earl Warwick of Kumaon." The Gorkhálí conquest had been fatal to his authority, and he readily engaged to use all the influence that he possessed to assist the British in expelling the Gorkhális from the province. Now close upon seventy years of age, he joined Mr. Gardner at Káshipur in the beginning of January and began immediately to enter into communications with his friends in Kumaon, to prepare them for the approach of the British forces.

At the end of January everything was ready for the attack on Kumaon. The whole force consisted of about 4,500 men with two six-pounders. It was determined¹ to make the attack simultaneously in two quarters. The main body consisting of about 3,000 men, with the two guns, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, was to proceed up the valley of the Kosi by Chilkiya, and to direct its march upon Almora; and Captain Hearsey's detachment, about 1,500 strong, was to move from Pilibhit up the Káli and to enter the district of Káli Kumaon by the Timla pass. The ex-Raja of Doti, Prithipat Sáh, who had formerly been expelled by the Gorkhális, had made overtures in January to Mr. Gardner, engaging, if he received the assistance of a small British force, to enter Doti and endeavour to re-establish his authority in that province. It was considered² important to make a diversion in that quarter, in order that Hastidal, the Gorkhálí commander in Doti, might be prevented from sending reinforcements to Kumaon, and five hundred men were therefore raised who were to accompany Prithipat Sáh. Before, however, the attack on Kumaon commenced, it was thought advisable to postpone the execution of this scheme; the diversion under Prithipat Sáh was countermanded and the

Harak Deb now threw his whole influence in their favor, as his party was always opposed to Lál Singh, who was countenanced by the Gorkhális. One of the first results of his communications to his friends was that a body of them, including Márás, Phartiyás, Tarágis and others, joined Captain Hearsey's force with 100 matchlockmen (to Agent, dated 19th February, 1815). Harak Deb accompanied our force to Almora and died on the 26th July, 1815, leaving two sons and a nephew, who were pensioned by our Government. (To Government, dated 12th August and 7th September, 1815.) ¹ Government to Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 25th January, 1815. ² *Ibid*, 11th and 26th January, 18th and 19th February, 1815.

troops that had been raised for this service were recalled from Bilhari and were united to the force under Captain Hearsey.

On the 9th of February, 1815, five hundred men were sent to Rúdrpur, where they were ordered to halt until they received intelligence that the main body was about to enter the hills; they were then to march to Bhamauri, to attack the fort of Barakheri towards Bhím Tál, where the Gorkhális had a post, and to endeavour to rejoin by Ramgarh and Piura the main body under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner after it had established itself in the hills. Captain Hearsey was ordered to enter the hills immediately by the Timla pass, so that the attacks should be made simultaneously. Bad weather and a deficiency of carriage caused some delay, but on the 11th of February Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner marched from Káshipur with his whole force, accompanied by Mr. E. Gardner. A large number of men had been collected to carry the luggage of the troops when they entered the hills, and part of the heavy stores were taken on elephants, which, notwithstanding the difficulty of the country, were found very useful. The force reached Kaniyási on the 12th February, Chilkiya on the 13th, and Amsot on the 14th, from which place a small outpost of Gorkhális retreated on the advance of the column. The advanced guard reached Dhikuli on the Kosi at the entrance of the hills on the evening of the 15th. Here the Gorkhális had a stockaded fort, which they evacuated on our approach without resistance, and a body of Manihárs deserted from them and took service with us. A detachment was left at Dhikuli to keep open the communications with Chilkiya and the plains, and, on the 16th February, the force marched up the valley of the Kosi to Chukám, where it was found necessary to halt for two days to bring up the stores and ammunition which had been delayed for want of carriage. The force was now fairly within the hills, and it was necessary before proceeding onwards to secure the communications in the rear. The Gorkhális had a post at Kota Garhi on the right bank of the Dabka, fifteen miles to the south-east of Chukám, which was in dangerous vicinity to our line of communications. Three hundred men were detached on the 18th February to dislodge the enemy from this position. The Gorkhális evacuated the place on our approach and retired into the hills, and a

detachment of our troops was left to keep possession of the post. A party of 300 men were also sent from Chukám on the 18th to occupy the Tanguraghát, a narrow defile about a mile above, through which runs the road up the valley of the Kosi.

On the ridge which separates the Rámghanga and Kosi, three or four miles north of Chukám, at
 March on Ránikhet. Kath-ki-nau, the Gorkhális had a stock-
 aded post, from which it was necessary to dislodge them, as it threatened the line of our communications. On the 19th, five hundred men were detached against Kath-ki-nau, which was evacuated on our approach, the enemy retreating to the Gágar fort. On the same day the main body marched up the Kosi to Ukhaldúnga, a distance of about seven miles. Late in the evening, a party was pushed forward from our position on the right to occupy a hill communicating with the Tangura and Lohgaliya gháts, and the enemy perceiving the movement advanced in the same direction, our party gaining one height as they did the other; a musketry skirmish ensued and continued till dark, when our men advanced and drove the enemy from their positions. The passage of the gháts was now secured and information also came in that the two forts at Kota had been abandoned by the enemy. On the 21st, the advanced guard consisting of 700 men was pushed forward to Sethi, five or six miles higher up the valley, where Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner took all necessary precautions against a night attack. On the way, intelligence was received that a Gorkháli force, estimated to be about 800 strong, had marched from Almora under Angat Sirdár and had taken up a position at Buján, about fifteen miles higher up the valley, on the main road to Almora, where it had been joined by the garrisons of Kota and Kath-ki-nau. As it was evidently not advisable to risk an attack on the Gorkháli force with the raw levies under his command, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner determined to leave the valley of the Kosi and the direct road to Almora, and striking off to the left to endeavour to turn the enemy's position. The Kosi in the first twenty miles of its course flows in a direction nearly north and south. Some miles below Almora, it turns somewhat abruptly to the west, and runs on in that direction to Chukám, in its course towards the plains. Buján between Kakrighát

and Khairna, where the Gorkhális had taken up their position, is situated near the apex of the triangle thus formed, and to cut off this bend in the river a path strikes across the hills from the upper part of the valley of the Kosi, again entering the same valley near Pant Pipal and Amel, about fifteen miles above Chukám. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner determined to follow this route. The distance to Almora was not much greater than by the road along the Kosi, and, although the natural difficulties were perhaps greater, there were many advantages afforded by this route, even if the Gorkhális had not been posted at Buján. By thus striking off, he could open communications with the western part of the province which was known to be greatly disaffected to the Gorkháli cause. This was the richest part of Kumaon and he could hope to draw from it plentiful supplies of provisions for his troops, while he would be enabled at the same time to cut off those of the enemy and to intercept communications with their armies west of the Ganges. Another important advantage which this route held out was that by it the British could approach Almora itself on its most open and least defensible side.

On the 22nd February, the force advanced a few miles up the Kosi to Amel, and thence on the same day
Chaumukhia. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, turning to the left, pushed forward with 300 men past Binakot, to seize the commanding post of Chaumukhia or Chaumua Devi situated on the range which separates the Kosi from the Rámghanga, at an elevation of 6,354 feet above the sea. Owing to the steepness of the mountain and the fatigue caused by an ascent of not less than 4,000 feet, only forty or fifty men reached Chaumua Devi by sunset. During the night a few more came in, and next morning the rest of the party arrived. The ground was covered with snow, which prevented the difficulty that would otherwise have arisen from the want of water. The Gorkhális under Angat Sirdár, perceiving that our force had changed the line of its attack and had left the valley of the Kosi, divined our object and immediately marched towards Chaumua to endeavour to gain that point before our arrival. But they were too late, and when they were about four miles distant, finding that the post was already occupied by the British, and thinking themselves too

weak to attempt an attack, they fell back. The possession of this post was of great importance to our operations, as it opened the road towards Almora and gave us the means of communicating with the western districts of Kumaon and Garhwál. The rest of the force reached Chaumua on the 25th February, and on the following day the guns and the elephants with the heavy baggage were got up the hill with much labor and difficulty. The delay in the arrival of the depôt of supplies made it, however, impossible to move onwards at once. From intercepted letters, it subsequently appeared that it was the intention of the enemy to defend both these points to the uttermost, but the onward march to Tangura drove their advanced guard back, and it was not supposed that the British would attempt the more rugged road by Binakot. The expectation that by taking this road plentiful supplies would come in was fulfilled; the people everywhere were most friendly, bringing in grain and fodder, giving information of the movements of the enemy and rendering aid in every way possible.

The range called Kathál-lekh, on which the British were now encamped, runs in an easterly direction towards Almora. The path follows the ridge, and there are no great difficulties in the way. The Gorkhális determined to make another attempt to stop our progress and to interpose their forces between us and Almora. They therefore ascended the mountain, and marching to Kumpur (Rá-nikhet), a small temple 5,983 feet above the sea, a few miles in front of our encampment at Chaumua, stockaded themselves in a very strong position which commanded the road to Almora. Police levies, each consisting of fifty men under a darogha, were placed at Kota and Kath-ki-nau to relieve the troops, who could ill be spared from active service at this time, and it was also found necessary to leave a guard of 200 men at Chaumua for a depôt for the provisions which had not yet arrived. On the 28th February the British force made a short march to a hill called Kapina-kedánda near Kumpur and encamped opposite to the enemy's stockade. The Gorkháli force was estimated to be about one thousand strong, with one gun, and their position was so well chosen that it was considered undesirable to attempt to carry it

by assault, while at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was unprovided with the means of regularly attacking and breaching the stockade. It was therefore determined, as there was no immediate probability of the Gorkhális receiving any considerable reinforcements, to suspend active operations until our force could be joined by a body of Rohillas which had been raised at Hápur in the Meerut district, and who were soon expected to enter the hills in support of Colonel Gardner's force.

From the 28th February to the 22nd March, the British force remained encamped near Kumpur, and **Siyáhi Devi occupied** with the exception of two unimportant actions, in both of which our Rohilla levies were successful, no military operations took place. In the first of these skirmishes, the Rohillas drove back a party of the enemy who ventured to descend from their stockade into the valley of Tarkhet which lay between them and the British, and in the second, where some six hundred of them were engaged, they drove back an equal number of the enemy who had ventured again on the same ground. On the 22nd March, the long expected reinforcements from Hápur, consisting of 850 men, arrived, and it was determined immediately to resume active operations against the Gorkhális south-east of Kumpur. Half way between it and Almora is the mountain called Siyáhi Devi, the summit of which reaches an elevation of 7,186 feet above the sea. This mountain, which is one of the most conspicuous objects in the view from Almora, rises immediately above the Kosi on a ridge which runs down in a direction almost perpendicular to that of the Kathal-lekh and the Ryúni range, which separate the basin of the Kosi from that of the Rám-ganga. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner perceived that the possession of this point would render it absolutely necessary for the Gorkhális to abandon their position at Kumpur, for the entire British force could thus be placed between them and Almora and would only be separated from the capital by the valley of the Kosi. The Gorkhális had taken no precautions against any such movement, nor had they in any way provided for the safety of Siyáhi Devi, a neglect that was mainly the result of want of skill in their leaders, but for which the insufficiency of the means at their disposal furnished some excuse. Almora itself must have been at this time almost

denuded of troops. During the night of the 22nd March, a detachment consisting of twelve hundred men was sent off toward Siyáhi Devi. They marched in a south-easterly direction, descending into the valley of the Panor, a confluent of the Ulabagar, which runs down from the Ryúni range immediately under Siyáhi Devi. The following morning a demoustration was made against the enemy's stockade at Kumpur in order to draw off his attention from the movements that was taking place on our right, and soon afterwards information was received that a post of 500 men had been established at Bajol, ten miles off and four miles distant from the enemy's left stockade. The expedition to Siyáhi Devi was completely successful. The detachment passing through the valley of the Ulabagar ascended the mountain from the village of Súri, and established itself at the temple on the summit in the course of the day, and it was not till noon that the Gorkhális discovered that they had been outflanked. Early on the morning of the following day, the 24th March, the Gorkhális fearing for the safety of Almora hastily abandoned their stockades, to which they set fire and retreated in great haste along the Ryúni and Katármal ridge to Almora. The extreme difficulty of the country made it impossible for the British force to advance by the Siyáhi Devi route, nor would there have been any chance of their reaching Almora after the abandonment of the position at Kumpur in time to intercept the Gorkhális. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner therefore decided upon proceeding by the road which the enemy had taken and on which no obstacles now remained. He immediately followed the retreating force, but was unable to march with equal rapidity, and reached Ryúni only on the 26th. Eight hundred men were left at Siyáhi Devi, and the rest of the detachment was recalled to head-quarters. On the 27th, the force halted at Ryúni in order to bring up the guns and baggage which had fallen behind, and

Advance on Almora.

on the following day it marched to Katármal, a temple dedicated to the Sun on the ridge immediately above Hawalbágh and the Kosi, and distant only about seven miles from Almora. A party of Gorkhális which had been posted at Katármal retreated on our approach, and the enemy withdrawing to the left bank of the Kosi now concentrated his forces on the Sitoli ridge, above Hawalbágh and about two miles from Almora.

Nothing could have been more judicious than the manner in which Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner had carried on the whole of his operations. It must however be admitted

Aid from the people. that the success of the British was brought about more by the weakness of the enemy than by any skill and courage of their own. There are no means of discovering the amount of the force which the Gorkhális were able to bring against us in Kumaon, but it is probable that the number of men actually opposed to us never exceeded 1,500, and of these not much more than half were true Gorkhális. By the time that Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was fairly established in the hills the greater part of the natives of Kumaon in the service of Nepál had deserted, and this loss it was quite impossible to supply by new levies. The greatest source of weakness to the Gorkháli cause was the universal disaffection of the people of the country. Nothing could exceed the hatred which the tyranny and exactions of twenty-five years past had created, and no sooner had the British forces entered the hills than the inhabitants began to join our camp and bring in supplies of provisions for the troops. The same causes made it easy for us to obtain information regarding every movement of the enemy and gave us every facility for obtaining a knowledge of the localities of this country—a knowledge which in mountain warfare such as this, and in the absence of all trustworthy maps, was almost essential to success. We thus possessed every advantage which an invading force could desire, and the Gorkháli chiefs appear to have been devoid of the ability and energy which might have helped them, as it had helped others of their nation elsewhere, to withstand the adverse circumstances under which they were placed.

Harak Deb Joshi was one of the main instruments by which the people of the country were persuaded to join us. His influence was still great, and he gave the whole of it without reserve to support the plans of the British Government. After the abandonment by the Gorkhális of their position at Kumpur and the advance of the British force to Katármal, the natives of the province who were employed in the Gorkháli service began to desert in great numbers. Many of them returned to their homes, and more than three hundred soldiers, including several sardárs of some importance, joined us and were incorporated in our force before the end of

March. After these desertions it is probable that the whole available force of the Gorkhâlis for the defence of Almora did not amount to one thousand men.

Whilst these events were passing in Central Kumaon Captain Hearsey was invading the province on its eastern side, and his operations were at first attended with equal success, though their termination was disastrous. He left Pilibhîit with a force under his command consisting of about 1,500 men early in February and arrived at Bilhari on the 13th, the same day that Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner's force occupied Chilkiya. Bilhari was the first important mart below the hills on the route from eastern Kumaon to the plains just as Chilkiya was the first important town below the hills on the route from western Kumaon by the Kosi. At Bilhari Captain Hearsey made a halt and distributed the proclamations and invitations that he had received from Harak Deb amongst the inhabitants of Kâli Kumaon, with the result that in a few days over one hundred Kumâonis entered zealously into the service of the British Government and informed Captain Hearsey that the garrisons of the Timla forts were inclined to quit those places. At Barmdeo, the river Kâli leaves the mountains and enters the plain of Rohilkhand. The route up the valley is circuitous and difficult, and the easiest paths into Kâli Kumaon strike northwards across the range of hills that immediately overhang the plains, and which do not here reach any very great elevation. The small forts of Timla are situated on this range at a height of 3,840 feet above the sea, and they commanded the route which Captain Hearsey determined to follow.¹ On the night of the 17th February, as soon as he was able to send on sufficient supplies on camels and ponies, he despatched a force of irregulars who, on the 18th, took possession of the two small forts and the pass called Kailaghâti. The enemy retreated by Amkharak towards Katolgarh and leaving a small garrison in Timla, the irregulars followed in pursuit. The next day, a second detachment accompanied by 150 hill-men armed with matchlocks and supplies sufficient for a week's march arrived at Timla and pushing on across the ridge descended into the valley of the Ladhiya, where they joined the first detachment. The force now under the command of Bahâdur

¹ To Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 10th February, 1st and 18th March, 1815.

Singh, Subahdár of the fourth company and an experienced partisan leader, consisted of some 500 irregulars with 200 Kumáoni matchlockmen, with whom he crossed the Kánadeo ridge and reached Champáwat, the ancient capital of Kumaon, on the 28th February. Captain Hearsey attributes the success of this expedition to the exertions of the Kumáoni levies. Kálidhar, the Gorkháli Subahdar, made some show of resistance at Barapípal near Barauli, where he had formed a stockade, but this was turned by Bahádúr Singh on the 26th and the enemy fled to Katolgarh, leaving a few goats and sheep and their baggage behind. Bahádúr Singh followed closely, but the Gorkháli leader with 100 men was able to occupy the fort before the levies came up and invested it. All the Kumáonis in the Gorkháli force joined our party and Captain Hearsey was thus enabled to leave 500 men at Bilhari as a precautionary measure to watch Hastidal, who threatened to cross the Sárda.

It had been proposed that Captain Hearsey, after destroying the bridges, and posting detachments to watch the Káli and prevent the passage of Gorkháli reinforcements from Doti, should march on Almora and combine his operations with those of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner. It became, however, impossible to carry this plan into effect, for information¹ was received that the Gorkhális were about to make a serious attempt to relieve Almora, and that preparations were being made in the neighbouring Nepálese provinces of Doti and Achám to send a force across the Káli under Hastidal, the brother of Bam Sáh and an officer of great reputation. It was necessary, therefore, that all Captain Hearsey's endeavours should be directed to prevent succour reaching Almora. To create a diversion and prevent if possible Hastidal from leaving Doti, the scheme which had been entertained and which has been already noticed, of sending the ex-Raja, Prithipat Sáh, into that province with a body of irregular troops, was revived² and a new levy of five hundred men under one Amán Khán was ordered with this intention. On the 14th March, a strong party of Gorkhális attacked a detachment

¹ Captain Hearsey reported his arrival at Champáwat on the 15th March, and detailing the difficulties that he had to encounter pointed out that Hastidal could at any time cross the Sárda and commence operations in Kumaon.

² From Government, 23rd March, 1815. Prithipat Sáh was eventually pensioned by our Government. To, dated 12th August, 1815.

of our force which Captain Hearsey had left at Barmdeo, but were repulsed at all points and were compelled to retreat across the river with considerable loss. Our party suffered severely in this action. Prithipat Sáh, who with his younger brother Jagjít Sáh had joined the force, was wounded and obliged to return to Pilibhit and his uncle was killed. The levies were in the meantime being made with difficulty and, owing to the absence of Prithipat Sáh, the expedition was at last countermanded, and this diversion was consequently never carried into effect. The force under Captain Hearsey was employed during the month of March in watching the Káli, in the hope of preventing the passage of Hastidal, and in the unsuccessful siege of Katolgarh, a fort, a few miles to the north-west of Champáwat. On the 31st March, Hastidal succeeded in crossing the Káli at Kusmá ghát about twenty miles east of Champáwat. Captain Hearsey, in his endeavours to watch the Káli and to prevent the passage of the Gorkhális, had so broken up his force into separate detachments, that it was impossible for him to concentrate immediately the means which he had for resisting the progress of Hastidal. He marched, however, with what force he could muster, and was met by the enemy near Khilpati, about five miles to the north-east of Champáwat. His men made hardly an attempt to withstand the attack of the Gorkhális, whose victory was immediate and complete, and Captain Hearsey was himself wounded and taken prisoner. The remains of the force fled to the plains, and thus ended the attack on Káli Kumaon. Captain Hearsey attributed his disaster in some measure to the treachery of the Phartiyál party in Káli Kumaon,¹ and the Mārás always declare that the information and assistance which the Phartiyáls gave to Hastidal had an important effect in bringing about the defeat of the British force. There is no doubt that the Phartiyál party were suspicious of our intentions and jealous of the influence of Harak Deb Bóshi, the chief of the opposite faction; but the real cause of Captain Hearsey's defeat was the superior courage of the Gorkháli soldiers, which no zeal for his success on the part of the people of the country could have enabled him to withstand. It was before mentioned that early in February a force of five hundred men had

¹ Letter from Captain Hearsey to Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 14th June, 1815, mentioning Bhaua Kulatia, resident of a village near Champáwat, as their chief.

been sent from Káshipur with orders to enter the hills from Rudrpnar by Bhamauri and Bhím Tál. No active operations were however undertaken in this quarter, and the only results were the occupation of the petty fort of Barakheri at the foot of the hills, and that of Chhakháta Garhi near Bhím Tál on the 1st April, after it had been abandoned by the enemy.

The defeat of Captain Hearsey was first announced on the 6th April to the main body under Lieutenant-Gardner's levies reinforced. Colonel Gardner by a *feu-de-joie* from the ramparts of the fort of Lálmándi at Almora,¹ and on the following day Bam Sáh wrote to the British commander that Captain Hearsey was wounded and a prisoner, but that he might rest assured that the prisoner would receive every care and attention at the hands of his captors. This untoward result of the expedition to Champáwat might have been attended with most serious consequences, for although the actual numbers of the reinforcement brought into Kumaon from Doti probably did not exceed a few hundred men, little dependence could have been placed on the raw levies under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner had they been vigorously attacked by even a small body of Gorkhális, elated by success and under the command of an officer of acknowledged bravery and enterprize like Hastidal. But fortunately for the progress of the operations so happily commenced, efficient succour was on its way, for Lord Hastings on receiving intelligence of the important advantages that had been gained by the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, perceiving the immense influence which the complete occupation of Kumaon would have on the fate of the campaign, determined to lose no time in sending a body of regular troops to complete what had been so well begun. "The state of operations," says² Prinsep, "before Jaithak, combined with the assurance that the tranquillity of Central India would not be disturbed this season, were the circumstances that enabled the Governor-General to devote the troops of his regular army to this service now ; though two months earlier

¹ On the 7th April, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner received a report from Lieutenant and Adjutant Martindale of the defeat of Captain Hearsey's force at Khilpati on the 2nd April. This officer also reported that he had only 300 men with him and that he intended to retire on Champáwat, but the same day his force was attacked by Hastidal and dispersed with great loss. From Government, dated 20th April. ² Prinsep, Volume I., No 151, Government to Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 2nd April, 1815, detailing the instructions given to Colonel Nicolls.

he had not deemed it safe to spare them." The force assembled to support Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was composed of 2,025 men, consisting of the 1st Battalion, 4th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Faithful (761 men); the 2nd Battalion, 5th Regiment Native Infantry, under Major Patton (764), and a detachment of the 15th Regiment Native Infantry then employed in Garhwál (500), with twelve guns,¹ and the whole was placed on the 23rd March under the command of Colonel Nicolls of Her Majesty's 14th Foot, Quarter-Master-General of Her Majesty's troops in India.² Early in April Colonel Nicolls entered the hills, and following the same route which had been taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, he joined the force at Katármal on the 8th April without meeting any opposition on the way.

Colonel Nicolls now assumed the command of the whole of the invading force, both regular and irregular, the superintendence of the civil affairs of the province and the direction of the diplomatic transactions with the Gorkhálí authorities remaining as before with Mr. E. Gardner. The Gorkhális at Almora had now been joined by Hastidal and the force which he had brought with him from Doti. But, notwithstanding the arrival of Hastidal, the capture of Almora and the occupation of the province had now become a matter of certainty, for the means of the Gorkhális were utterly insufficient to contend against the large force of regular troops which was now arrayed against them. They were already reduced to great difficulties from scarcity of supplies at Almora, and the garrison, who had received no pay for a long time past, could only supply themselves with food by plundering the adjacent villages. A great part of the inhabitants of the town abandoned it and fled into more quiet parts of the country. Some letters³ from the principal Gorkhálí officers at Almora to Nepál, which were intercepted in the beginning of April, give us an idea of the difficulties to which the garrison was reduced. These simple and straightforward letters, free from all boasting and oriental exaggeration, elicited from Lord Hastings an expression of well-merited respect for "their spirit of patriotic zeal and devotion."

¹ Two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, two 4½-inch mortars and two 8-inch mortars.

² Afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls and Commander-in-Chief in India.

³ See Appendix A. and from Govt., dated 25th April, 1815.

Various attempts at negotiation had been made by the Chauntra Bam Sáh, but his proposals were of so vague

Action at Gananáth.

a nature that it appeared that his only object was to gain time, and they led to no result. That our officers had correctly interpreted the intentions of the enemy was afterwards shown,¹ for from the day that intelligence was received by them of the despatch of Colonel Nicolls' force, letters were sent to Nepál asking for reinforcements, and on the 4th May, eight companies of Gorkhális (numbering 633 men) were actually despatched from Kathmándu towards Almora and a promise was given that others should soon follow. This tardy compliance with the requisitions of the Gorkháli commanders in Kumaon was of little use, for long before the reinforcements had reached the Káli, Almora had fallen and the Gorkhális had retired across that river. Abandoned almost by those to whom he looked for support, Bam Sáh saw the necessity for making some movement in Kumaon itself, and early on the morning of the 22nd April, up to which time no further military operations had been undertaken on either side, Hastidal marched with a strong detachment from Almora in a northerly direction. It has been generally supposed that the object of the Gorkhális in this movement was to turn the left of the British position and to endeavour by a sudden attack to recover the ground that had been lost. It appears, however, from a letter written by Bam Sáh and the other principal Gorkháli officers to Amar Singh Thápa after the fall of Almora, the sincerity of which there is no reason to doubt, that Hastidal had no such bold intentions, and that this movement was undertaken only with the object of keeping open the Gorkháli communications with the northern parganahs of the district. Having now lost their hold of the country between Almora and the plains, it was a matter of importance to the Nepálese Government, as well as to the Gorkháli forces operating in Kumaon, that their communications to the north should not be disturbed, for it was by this route only that they could correspond with their detachments in western Kumaon and Garhwál and with the seat of war on the right bank of the Ganges. But in the desperate state of the Gorkháli affairs at Almora the movement was a very unwise one, and although it would undoubtedly have been impossible for the enemy under any

¹ To Mr. Gardner, dated 1.1th May, 1815.

circumstances to have delayed the fall of Almora much longer the result of this expedition greatly helped to accelerate that event. Hastidal directed his march over the Kalmatiya range towards Gananáth, a mountain about fifteen miles north of Almora between the valleys of the Kosi and the Sarju, intending apparently to hold a position there, by help of which a communication could be maintained round the left of the British army posted at Hawalbágh. The Gorkhális had been anxious to keep this movement secret, but the favourable disposition towards us of the people of the country gave us such facilities for obtaining information that all concealment was impossible, and Colonel Nicolls was aware of what had occurred very soon after Hastidal had left Almora. He, at once, despatched a strong party of irregulars under Captain Butterfield to the western parganahs, to induce confidence and obtain supplies and to counteract the manœuvre of Hastidal. Major Patton was detached on the same evening (22nd April) with seven companies of the 5th Native Infantry and five flank companies under Captain Leys, and a body of irregulars altogether amounting to nine hundred men with a six-pounder and a mortar, and was sent up the Kosi from Katármal to watch and if possible attack the force under Hastidal. The Gorkhális reached Gananáth the day after they left Almora, but before they could properly establish themselves there they were attacked by the British. The first part of the ascent to Gananáth is steep, but the upper parts of the mountain slope down gently in broad grassy lawns, with more level ground than we commonly find on the rugged ridges of the Himálaya. A little to the south of the temple of Gananáth, in one of the beautiful turfey glades among the pine-groves, the Gorkháli and the British forces met on the evening of the 23rd April. The contest was a short one. Hastidal was killed by a musket ball in the temple and his fall was the signal for the flight of the Gorkhális. Our loss in this brilliant action was only two sepoy killed and Ensign Blair and twenty-five sepoy wounded. The enemy lost both Hastidal and Jairokha Sardár and thirty-two-sepoy killed, whilst the number of the wounded is unknown, for many of them perished on their way back to Almora and many others dispersed and never reached that place. The British, leaving a small detachment at Gananáth,

¹ To C. in C., 24th April, 1875.

returned the next day to Katármal. "In Hastidal Chaun'ra," writes Mr. J. B. Fraser, "the enemy lost a most valuable active and enterprising officer and a man whose character was particularly amiable. He was uncle to the reigning prince of Nepál and his talents and virtues were worthy of his high descent. With the sentiments which a brave man ever entertains for a noble and worthy enemy, Colonel Nicolls, in his official despatch, paid a most handsome and feeling tribute to his memory."

Colonel Nicolls seemed determined to lose no time in following up his success, which the death of Hastidal rendered a very important one, and on the 25th April he put his troops in motion to attack Almora. The main body of the Gorkhális, under the command of Angat Sirdár, was stationed a

Attack on Almora.

little above the village of Pándekhola on the ridge called Sitoli, about two miles west of Almora between the town and the Kosi; a detachment under Chámu Bhandári was posted on the Kalmatiya hill to protect the right flank of the position; and the remainder of their force was stationed at Almora under the command of the Chauntra Bam Sáh himself. At one P. M. on the 25th April Colonel Nicolls moved with the greater part of his force against the Sitoli position, where the Gorkhális had thrown up breast-works and stockades. Colonel Nicolls had intended to establish a battery within range of the first stockade and had taken up ground for the purpose, but seeing his men confident and ready for the attack, he ordered the two first stockades to be taken by assault which was well carried out by Captain Faithful and the first battalion of the 4th Native Infantry. The irregular infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner then advanced by a parallel ridge and diverging near the summit easily possessed themselves of the three remaining breast-works on the Sitoli ridge. In the meantime, fifty men of the 4th Regiment occupied a small breast-work on the left and the entire regiment eventually halted on the ridge itself, whilst Captain Leys with the flank battalion pursued the retreating enemy. Finding five different roads, the British advanced along each until they possessed the stockade leading to Kalmatiya and thus cut off all communications of the enemy in that quarter. The Gorkhális fought with their usual determination and courage, but they were driven from every point

and compelled to retreat into the town of Almora, followed closely by the British force. Colonel Nicolls established his head-quarters for the night at Pokharkhali about half a mile north of the fort of Almora, and the troops were encamped close to the town, and on the hill called Haridungari above Pokharkhali. About 11 P.M. in the same night, the enemy made a vigorous attempt to recover the ground he had lost. The detachment posted on Kalmatiya¹ under the command of Chámu Bhandári descended from the ridge and attacked the British position on the north, while at the same time the garrison of Lálmándi hearing the noise of musketry made a sortie from Almora on the opposite side. The attack on the north was at first successful. The Gorkhális carried our most northern post, though stockaded and held by Lieutenant Costly and a detachment of the 4th Native Infantry. One hundred men of the flank battalion of the same regiment under the command of Lieutenants Brown and Winfield were instantly despatched to the assistance of the party, and Lieutenant-Colonel Garduer, who happened to be with Colonel Nicolls at the time, led in person a company of his irregulars to the spot. By the promptness and gallantry of the supports the position was recovered, and though the Gorkhális again charged our troops two or three times, they were always repulsed. The loss on both sides during this conflict was very considerable, for the enemy came on with great determination and was only defeated after a hard struggle. During this time the sortie from the Almora side took place and a violent attack was made upon our most advanced position in that quarter. The enemy came up to the very wall of the stockade, which they attempted to cross, though it was nearly six feet high; the one or two who succeeded, however, fell dead within. These assaults and skirmishes continued during the whole night, occasioning great loss on both sides and on the British side the death of a promising young officer, Lieutenant Taply.

Natives of Kumaon who were present at the time declare however, and very probably with truth, that a considerable part of our loss on the occasion

Almora taken. was caused by the fire of our own men, in the confusion which was caused by the first successful attack of the Gorkhális. Our loss in killed and wounded on the 25th amounted altogether to two hundred

¹ Commonly called by the European community of Almora, Kalimath.

and eleven men.¹ The next morning, the advanced post was pushed forward to within seventy yards of the fort of Almora and the mortar batteries which had been placed in position during the night shelled the enceinte with such good effect that numbers of the garrison could be seen leaving the fort by a wicket on its eastern side. The advanced post considered too easily that the fort had been evacuated and endeavoured to enter by the same door, but were met by the garrison, who obliged them to retreat. The artillery fire was continued until about 9 A.M., when the Chauntra sent a letter under a flag of truce, supported by a letter from Captain Hearsey, requesting a suspension of hostilities and offering to treat for the evacuation of the province on the basis of the terms offered to the Chauntra several weeks previously by Mr. Gardner. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was deputed to hold a personal conference with Bam Sáh, and on the following day the negociation was brought to a close by the conclusion of a convention under which the Gorkhális agreed to evacuate the province and all its fortified places. It was stipulated that they should be allowed to retire across the Káli with their guns, arms, military stores, and private property, the British providing them with the necessary supplies and carriage.

The convention for the evacuation and surrender of Kumaon was signed at Almora on the 27th April, 1815 by the Hon'ble E. Gardner, Bam Sáh, Chámu Bhandári and Jasmadan Thápa, and as a pledge for the due fulfilment of the conditions, the fort of Lálmándi, erected on the site now occupied by fort Moira, was, the same day, surrendered to the British under a royal salute and Captain Hearsey was released. The officers in command of the several Gorkháli detachments in Kumaon and Garhwál who were under the authority of Bam Sáh were ordered to give up their posts. On the 25th April, Bam Sáh and his Sardárs paid a complimentary visit to Mr. Gardner and Colonel Nicolls and were received in Colonel Nicolls' tent under a salute of nineteen guns. The visit was returned the next day and the same evening Jasmadan Thápa, on the part of Bam Sáh, came with an open letter requesting

¹ On this point exact information is not obtainable as the whole of the military correspondence and records of the period belonging to the station staff office at Almora were about ten years ago burned as waste paper—a fate which is gradually overtaking all the records in the country that are at all worth preservation. See further Fraser's Journal, p. 46, and Prinsep's Transactions, I., 156.

that it might be forwarded to Amar Singh Thápa, Ranjor Singh and the other Sardárs at Jaithak and Náhan, against whom General Ochterlony was then acting, informing them of the events that had taken place in Kumaun and advising them to endeavour to obtain for themselves similar conditions and to withdraw their forces from the western hills to the east of the Kúli. The letter¹ was signed by Bam Sáh and the other Gorkháli leaders at Almora and is so interesting as containing the Gorkháli account of the war that I give it here in full:—

“On the 22nd an action was fought on Gananáth ká dandá. Hastidal and Jairokha Kázi with nine sepoyas were killed; others were wounded. The enemy lost a captain and some men. The enemy's force was at Katármal with detachments at Siáhi Devi and Dhamus; 2,500 men were in a stockade on the Pathpur hill and our communications with Bágeswar were threatened. So I sent my brother Hastidal to Gananáth. By his death and that of Jairokha the enemy acquired confidence, but I disposed of the troops to the best advantage. On Tuesday the 25th the enemy, consisting of the Europeans in front followed by the battalions, the mortars on eight elephants, advanced in succession to the assault of Sitoli. Intimation was sent me by Captain Angat. So I sent the Bhawáni Bakhs' company, with the exception of a single *patti* for my own protection, to his support. I was unable to send more without weakening Rangelá's post at Lálmandi and Charu Lekh. Our men were unable to withstand their volleys of 1,000 musketry and were obliged to abandon their defences. Nar Sáh Chauntra with a supply of ammunition proceeded in another direction and exerted himself to the utmost; but for one musket of mine twenty of theirs rained showers of bullets upon us: it was impossible to withstand their fire.

The enemy pursued us into the town. I then determined to defend the forts of Lálmandi and Nanda Devi. In the meantime the officers and Captain Angat in a litter arrived by the lower road. I ordered a charge of 30 men sword in hand, but the enemy took post in the temple of Dip Chand and kept up an incessant fire of shells upon the fort. I ordered Bhandári Kázi to collect the force on Kalmatiya and make an attack at night on the hill above Mátal Devi called Haridíngari; in this affair the enemy had a lieutenant and 98 men killed and we gained the position, though with the loss of Subahdár Zabar Adhikári and Mastrám Thápa. About 20 minutes after, a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner and other Europeans arrived and renewed the action and Sirdár Ransúr Karki with jamadárs, and 45 gallant gentlemen, were killed and scarcely any escaped unwounded on either side. Colonel Gardner and Colonel Nicolls' brother were wounded. I ordered reinforcements to advance under Jasnaðan Thápa, but some of the men ran away and others showed symptoms of following, so the reinforcement did not advance. The firing continued all night. In the morning the remains of the Bhandári's force retired to Sintoli and the enemy returned

¹ It was forwarded to General Ochterlony, who communicated its contents to the Gorkháli leader at Malaun. Government to Ochterlony, dated 12th May, 1815.

towards the fort, recommencing a brisk fire from the trenches which was maintained for six hours on both sides, but with the addition of stones on ours. The mortars never ceased firing an instant night and day, and men and women and animals were exposed to the fire. Captain Hearsay advised us to carry off the magazine and effects of the Raja. I replied that if anything could be saved it would be well, and I requested him to apply for a cessation of hostilities. In the meantime, I sent to Chámu Bhandári, and we four had a consultation on the state of affairs. We considered that we had a large stock of ammunition here, but the soldiers of the levies were altogether useless, and when these you have cherished betray you in the season of distress, what is to be done? The genuine Gorkhális alone proved themselves of service, and the Barádars (chiefs) only were to be depended on. On this I reflected that we ought not to suffer the power and wealth of our master to be reduced or dispersed, and determined on sending to Mr. Gardner and having a conference. On inquiry of Mr. Gardner what were the causes of the present quarrel, he replied that the murder of the Tahsildár in Bútwal had given deep offence to the Governor-General, on which account he had made immense preparations. At present he anticipated no benefit from a reconciliation with us, but if our differences can be adjusted on certain conditions, it is well. 'Retire beyond the Káli and write to your Government to request that an accredited agent may be sent with full powers to the Governor-General.' I have accordingly written and matters are now in train of adjustment and now friendly intercourse is established between the English and Gorkhális. Do you therefore retire from the west with your army. We are going to the eastern side of the Káli, and you ought to put an end to the war and conclude terms of peace with General Ochterlony. Bring your army and military stores with you. We will then in conjunction address our Government, recommending that a vakil be sent to the Governor-General to settle the business."

A proclamation was now issued by Mr. Gardner declaring that the province of Kumaon was attached to the British Provinces, call-

Mr. Gardner has civil charge. ing on the principal people of the country to repair to Almora, and inviting the inha-

bitants to return to their homes and to their ordinary occupations.¹ On the 30th April the Gorkhális commenced their march, and on the 14th May they crossed the Káli at Jhúl-ghát into Doti, according to the terms of the agreement that had been entered into. No opposition was offered by any of the Gorkháli detachments in other parts of the province: they were all included in the convention entered into by Bam Sáh, and most of them followed him into Doti. The two principal posts which the Gorkhális had possessed in western Kumaon were the forts of Naithána, in Páli, on the left bank of the Rám-ganga; and Lohba twelve miles further north, a little within the border of Garhwál. In

¹ From Government, dated 3rd May, 1815.

each of these forts there were about one hundred and fifty men. Naithána was evacuated after the fall of Almora before any special demand had been made for its surrender. Lohba was reduced by the people of the country, who had been supplied with ammunition by Mr. Gardner. They succeeded in cutting off the water of the garrison, and compelled it to evacuate the fort on the 22nd of April, four days before the fall of Almora. The Gorkhális attributed the insurrection of the districts near Lohba to the influence of Harak Deb Joshi. This was the only quarter where the inhabitants took any very active means to expel the Gorkhális, although they were everywhere most anxious for the success of the British enterprise. No resistance was offered by any of the Gorkháli detachments in Garhwál, and the whole of that district fell into our hands without the slightest opposition after the fall of Almora. A force marched to Srinagar from the west, after the settlement of affairs in that quarter, but nothing occurred which called for any military operations or which demands any more particular notice here. The Hon'ble E. Gardner was directed by the Governor-General to assume the office and title of Commissioner for the affairs of Kumaon and Agent to the Governor-General on the 3rd of May, 1815, and Mr. G. W. Traill was appointed his assistant on the 8th July. Colonel Nicolls with a force, accompanied by Mr. Gardner, proceeded to Champawat immediately after Bam Sáh commenced his march, and in that place Mr. Gardner turned his attention to civil affairs. The treaty by which Kumaon was ceded to the British was not, however, concluded till the 2nd December, 1815, and was not ratified until the 4th March, 1816.

During the interval between the fall of Almora and the ratification of the treaty with Nepál the
 Peace with Nepál. Káli river formed the eastern boundary. In the meantime Mr. Gardner was instructed to inquire whether the acceptance of this boundary in any future negotiations with Kathmándu would secure the trade with Tibet by the passes across the Himálaya from any interference of the Gorkhális, and should it appear that any frontier beyond the Sárda in the part where it approaches the snowy range should be required for this purpose, the extent of it should be defined, so that its cession might be provided for. Similarly he was to ascertain what extension to the

westward would be advisable with a view to the tranquillity of the new province, so that on the re-establishment of any of the former Rajas, provision might be made for that purpose. Opportunity was also taken of the presence of Bam Sáh in Doti to ascertain the views of the Nepálese Darbár with regard to peace. As has been shown already, he belonged to the peace party, which was opposed to the war party, headed by the Thápas, but had not joined in the invitation given by the ruler of Nepál to Guru Gajráj Misr to proceed to Kathmándu with a view of opening a negotiation for peace with the British authorities. Mr. Gardner was informed that should the Nepálese Government choose Bam Sáh as their agent to conduct these negotiations, Lord Hastings would intrust to him the delicate task of representing the British. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner had accompanied the Gorkhális on their march into Doti as far as Jhúl ghát, and he confirmed the account of the disposition of Bam Sáh and the anxiety felt by him that he should be the means of communication between the court of Nepál and the British. Bam Sáh urged that if the negotiations fell into the hands of the Khasiyas, as the Thápas were termed, not only could there be no real peace, but that death or exile awaited him and all others who belonged to the party of the Raja.¹ The correspondence shows that the British were inclined to afford to Bam Sáh and the party he represented all the support they could derive from a knowledge of the favourable disposition of our Government towards them, and that should it be necessary for them to occupy Doti for themselves, they might rely on our assistance and co-operation. The expediency of limiting our direct support, in the first instance to the assurance of our entire sympathy with the party, was based on the belief that any other mode of rendering that support would be inconsistent with general principles of policy and could not conduce to the attainment of the particular object in view. A public declaration to the Gorkháli Government of our desire to negotiate with Bam Sáh, to the exclusion of any other agent, would naturally excite suspicion of a secret understanding with him founded on his presumed readiness to make greater sacrifices of the interests of his Government in order to conciliate our good will than any other individual or party. A very

¹ To Mr. Gardner, dated 17th, 19th, and 21st May, and from him dated 6th June, 1816, after a personal interview with Bam Sáh on these matters.

powerful and plausible handle would thus have been given to his enemies for preventing him getting the negotiations into his hands, and should they succeed, we should not only have unnecessarily excited their opposition and ill-will but have made Bam Sáh's position extremely dangerous. The knowledge obtained by Bam Sáh of our real disposition would enable him and his adherents to take advantage of the circumstance in disposing the Raja to emancipate himself from the Thápas, who by their violent measures had brought on the war, and to seek the aid of his own near relatives, whose pacific counsels would have averted the war and might yet save his Government from ruin.

As to the occupation of Doti by Bam Sáh the British had no hesitation in offering their assistance. So long as hostilities continued between the two states, it was right to use every effort to reduce the means and circumscribe the territories of the Gorkhális and to support a rebellion in Doti was perfectly consistent with the acknowledged principles of public honor and the practice of belligerent states. But it was distinctly stated that it was for Bam Sáh himself to consider whether, by taking this step, he promoted his own security and increased his chance of recovering his ascendancy in Nepál. So far as British interests were concerned, the presence of an independent state on our eastern frontier ruled by a chief well disposed towards us and necessarily relying upon us for support would have been eminently advantageous. Accordingly Mr. Gardner was instructed to convey to Bam Sáh the assurance that it would afford the greatest gratification to the British if he were empowered by the Raja to conclude terms of peace, and that in the event of his finding it necessary to break with the Darbár to secure himself from persons seeking his destruction or to oppose the usurping faction who were ruining the states for their own selfish purposes, he might rely on the aid of the British Government, who would guarantee to him and to his family the independent sovereignty of Doti and any other territory which he might acquire, and promise was given that provision should be made for this purpose in any treaty entered into with Nepál. At the same time it was to be clearly understood that the views of Bam Sáh should primarily be directed towards concluding a peace, and that when pledging our assistance towards maintaining him in Doti,

it was not to be done so as to tempt him, by the opportunity of acquiring an independent sovereignty, into conduct contrary to his duty to his prince and country. His seizure of Doti would doubtless cause a continuance of the war which, whilst ruinous to Nepál, would also prove inconvenient to British interests. The offer of assistance in conquering Doti was therefore made in such a way as to render it less preferable than aid in resisting the machinations of the Thápa party and restoring the influence of the Raja by promoting peace, but was still held out as an ultimate resource should occasion arise.

Gajráj Misr, the guru of the late Raja Ran Bahádur Sáh, was at this time at Benares and was invited by the reigning Raja and Bhím Sen Thápa to Nepál. During the time of his influence he was always favourable to the

Gajráj Misr.

British connection and was employed in the negotiations conducted both by Major-General Kirkpatrick and Lieutenant-Colonel Knox and had always professed his desire and ability to conclude terms of peace and accomplish the subversion or at least the limitation of the power of the Thápas. With these designs he proceeded to Kathmándu, after being apprised generally of the terms on which peace would be granted. As there was reason to think that the views of this person and those of Bam Sáh were, in the main, the same, it was suggested to the latter that it would be well if they could unite their interests for the promotion of their mutual advantage.

On the 15th May, 1815, Amar Singh Thápa surrendered to General Ochterlony, and I shall now complete the brief account of the campaign in the western hills. In Bahar and Gorakhpur nothing new was attempted, and it is therefore only necessary to refer to the operations before Jaithak and Náhan. After the unsuccessful attack on Jaithak of the 27th December, General Martindell, notwithstanding the immense numerical superiority of his force, made no further attempts worth recounting to dislodge the enemy. Miserable vacillation and utter want of all enterprise or judgment constitute the history of the siege of Jaithak. At the end of March it was determined to blockade the place, but it held out until its fall was brought about by the successful operations of General Ochterlony,

Operations to the west
of the Jumna.

of which some account must now be given. It has already been stated that Amar Singh had been compelled towards the end of January to establish himself in the fortified position of Malaun, and to concentrate there the greater part of his forces. But, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions of General Ochterlony and his officers, it was not until the middle of April that after all the detached forts had been reduced, in which Amar Singh had left small garrisons, the final preparations could be made for the attack on Malaun itself. On the 15th April General Ochterlony ordered an attack to be made on Deothal, a high point within the enemy's position. After a desperate struggle, which was renewed on the following day, Deothal remained in the possession of the British. We lost in these operations seven officers and three hundred and forty-seven men killed and wounded. The loss of the Gorkhális on the second day alone was said to have exceeded five hundred men, and among them was Bhakti Thápa, one of their most distinguished officers. A road by which heavy guns could be transported to Deothal was now constructed, and batteries were raised against Malaun itself.

But it had now become evident to all that the Gorkhális must very soon cease to offer any further resistance to the progress of the British arms. The occupation of Kumaon had cut off all hope of relief and had made retreat impossible, even if the vigilance and the superior forces of General Ochterlony could have been evaded, and most of the Gorkháli Sardárs were desirous of making terms before it was too late. But Amar Singh refused to listen to any proposals of accommodation. There was little subordination of rank in the Gorkháli army and most of the superior officers abandoned Malaun with their men, leaving Amar Singh to the fate which he seemed determined to suffer. At last, when he had only two hundred men remaining, he agreed to the terms that had been offered by the British General, and on the 15th of May, he signed a convention agreeing to deliver up the forts of Malaun and Jaithak and the whole country between Kumaon and the Satlaj. The Gorkháli troops were permitted to march through the plains to the east of the Káli, retaining their private property, but without arms. An exception to this last stipulation was made in favor of the small force under Amar Singh's personal command,

who, "in consideration," to use the words of the convention,¹ "of the high rank and character of Kázi Amar Singh Thápa, and of the skill, bravery and fidelity with which he has defended the country committed to his charge," were permitted to march out with their arms and accoutrements, their colours, and two guns. A similar favour was granted to two hundred men under Ranjor Singh, the brave defender of Jaithak. "Thus," writes Prinsep, "the campaign, which in January promised nothing but disaster, finished in May by leaving in the possession of the British the whole tract of hills from the Ghágra to the Satlaj."

We shall now briefly sketch the progress of the negotiations which ultimately led to peace with Nepál, Negotiation for peace. and perhaps no better example could be had of the intricate nature of diplomatic communications in the East than the volumes of correspondence on this subject disclose. In order to prepare Mr. Gardner for the possibility of his being intrusted with powers to negotiate a peace through Bam Sáh, a draft treaty was transmitted to him with the instructions of Government, which were, briefly, the renunciation of all the points in dispute between the two Governments antecedent to the war, the cession of territory as an indemnification for the expenses of the war and security for all persons who aided the British during the hostilities.² Very shortly afterwards' information of the arrival of Gajráj Mísr in Colonel Bradshaw's camp with power to conclude a treaty on behalf of the Nepálese Government was received, and Mr. Gardner was informed that, however much it was desirous that the negotiations should be concluded through Bam Sáh, it would not be wise for the British Government to refuse to receive an accredited agent apparently authorised to treat with it after so frequently expressing its willingness to come to an understanding. If, therefore, Gajráj Mísr's powers and instructions were such as to enable him to make the cessions of territory which the British were entitled and resolved to demand, Lieutenant-

¹ Based on instructions conveyed to General Ochterlony, dated 12th May, 1815.

² To Mr. Gardner, dated 25th May, 1815.

³ *Ibid.*, 5th June, and reply, dated 17th June: Bradshaw to Government, dated 25th May, 1815. Gajráj Mísr, however, brought no propositions whatever from the Government of Nepál, which left the terms of peace entirely to the generosity of the British Government. They relied still, it would seem, on the hope excited by past forbearance and appeared not to see the necessity for the sacrifice of territory which their violence had provoked the British to exact.

Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to treat with him. At the same time means were taken to insure the safety of Bam Sáh and the security of his interests, and it was still determined to support him in the independent possession of Doti, if he should so resolve under the disappointment of his other views. His decision on this point, too, admitted of no delay, since if peace were once signed, the British could not give open or secret aid to the attempts of any subject of the Nepál State against the interests of that State, and the approach of Amar Singh and the troops from the westward would also preclude any attempt on Doti after their arrival. No choice, therefore, remained to Bam Sáh between an immediate declaration of his independence accompanied by the necessary measures for securing it and a determination to preserve his allegiance to whatever party ruled in Nepál and await the course of events. Authority was given to move a British force into Doti to support Bam Sáh and Mr. Gardner was instructed "not to urge him to the adoption of either measure, but leave him to his free choice, assuring him that, whatever it may be, the British Government would continue to regard him as its friend and well-wisher."

Lieutenant-Colonel Paris Bradshaw was also directed to apprise Gajráj Misr fully of the intentions of the British Government, that, amongst other stipulations, it insisted on the Nepál Darbár

Instructions to Colonel Bradshaw. giving up all claims to the country west of the Káli; further, that the British Government having authorised its agents in the course of the war to enter into engagements with certain chiefs and tribes, subjects of the Government of Nepál, the Raja of Nepál should recognise and respect any treaties and engagements which might have been formed previous to the conclusion of the treaty and the Raja should engage to make any further cession of territory as might be necessary to enable the British Government to fulfil any engagement which its agents might have contracted.¹ This stipulation, though inconvenient and likely to give rise to the apprehension that a compliance with it would bind the Raja to ruinous and unknown concessions, was necessary to provide for the possible

¹ Other stipulations not so closely connected with Kumaon affairs were the cession of the Taráí along the whole line of frontier, the cession of certain lands to the Sikkim Raja, who had aided us, and the reception of a Resident and escort at Kathmándu itself.

event of Bam Sáh's wishing to establish himself in Doti. At the same time it was agreed that a list of the chiefs and tribes referred to should be furnished before the treaty was presented for ratification.

In the meantime Bam Sáh declared it possible that Bhím Sen, who then held the principal place amongst the advisers of the Raja of Nepál, would enter into his views and unite with him against the extreme party led by Amar Singh, and in furtherance of a project for this purpose communicated,¹ by his brother Rudrbír Sáh, with Gajráj Misr. The British Government approved of this union, but declined to take any active part in the political struggle between the parties, merely allowing its sympathies to be known. It also expressed again its willingness to treat with any duly accredited agent on the only basis that could be admitted, that it should be in a position to fulfil to the letter its promises to Bam Sáh and his brother if, by being driven to extremities, they should be compelled to seek their safety by throwing off their allegiance to the government of Nepál.² Gajráj Misr, however, declared that his authority did not extend to the acceptance of terms like those proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw and negotiations³ were at once broken off and orders issued not to renew them in the same quarter until Bam Sáh had an opportunity of trying to obtain the management of these affairs in his own hands. Although justly incensed at the tenor of a communication made by Bam Sáh which was calculated to lead the Raja of Nepál to believe that the British Government was encouraging a double negotiation, it was deemed expedient to allow Bam Sáh an opportunity of securing his own position and so relieve the British from the irksome task of supporting him in the occupation of Doti. It is but justice to say that all this time both Bam Sáh and his brother agreed with Mr. Gardner⁴ that the seizure of Doti could only be looked upon as a last resource when the lives of themselves and their adherents were in jeopardy, and towards the end of June⁵ they formally announced their relinquishment of all designs upon Doti as without

¹ Given in letter of Bradshaw to Government, dated 29th June, 1815.

² To Mr. Gardner, dated 15th June, 1815. ³ *Ibid.*, 27th June, 1815.

⁴ To Government, dated 8th and 10th June, 1815. ⁵ *Ibid.*, dated 20th, 21st, 23rd June, 1815.

seriously involving their connections now scattered throughout Nepál, they had not the means for taking such a decisive step, and instead thereof they declared their intention, should occasion arise, to seek a refuge in our territory. This decision of the Chauntras relieved the British from considerable embarrassment and removed what was thought to be one of the great impediments to negotiation.

Bam Sáh was now intrusted with powers to negotiate a peace by the Nepál darbár on the basis of the
The Nepálese Taráí. cession of all the country west of the Káli.

The Taráí was, however, to be retained, since without it, they averred, the Hill state could not exist. He communicated their views to Mr. Gardner, who assured him that the cession of the Taráí formed an essential part of the only conditions on which the British Government were determined to insist.¹ Bam Sáh again urged that the Taráí was the only valuable part of the Nepál possessions, and that were it given over, the mere hills that remained would not be worth stipulating for. That were this point insisted on by the British Government, a popular war would arise in which every subject of Nepál would engage. Hitherto many of the chief people had kept aloof through party feelings and disapprobation of the war in which the Thápa party had involved them, but no sooner should it be known that we insisted upon the cession of the whole of the Taráí than all party faction would be forgotten in the general cause and every one would unite for the common defence; that, notwithstanding all his obligations to the British Government he would be compelled to resist the cession to the utmost. The feelings of the entire population of Nepál coincided with the views expressed by Bam Sáh, and had we known, as we did know afterwards, that the lowlands were so essential to the prosperity of the hills as a winter pasturage for the cattle and as a place where a second harvest could easily be raised and gathered, there is little doubt but that the concession subsequently made would have now been granted. At the same time it was necessary to inflict some permanent punishment on these people who had, hitherto, considered themselves invincible, and with the imperfect information then procurable it was difficult to estimate accurately the relative importance of the demands made. Negotiations of all kinds were

¹To Government, 4th to 15th July; from Government, dated 22nd July, 1815.

now broken off, a result that must have been expected as the transfer of the arrangements for peace could only have occurred from a hope that Bam Sáh would be able to obtain better terms than Gajraj Misr. The difficulty now remained that any departure from the terms laid down might be construed into an acknowledgment of weakness and merely provoke further aggression, but even this danger the Government were ready to risk if by so doing a satisfactory peace could be concluded.

The assertion that the Gorkháli chiefs and soldiery were, in a great measure, dependent on the Tarái for Preparations for renewal of war. a considerable part of their means of support was confirmed from other quarters and their repugnance to the cession of that tract began to be understood. The British Government therefore declared itself disposed to consult, so far as paramount considerations of public interests would admit, the feelings and interests of the chiefs and declared its readiness on the Tarái being absolutely ceded by the Nepálese to assign a limited portion of the lands in *já,ír* to a certain number of chiefs to the value of between two or three lakhs of rupees, or grant them pensions in lieu of the land to the same amount. The value of the Tarái formed no part of the considerations which induced the British Government to insist on its cession as a condition precedent to the establishment of peace. During the time that they held it they found its management exceedingly difficult, the population scanty and the climate unhealthy. They, however, hoped that by the complete severance of the interests of the lowland and the hills, there would be no opportunity in future for encroachments and quarrels, such as those that led to the present war, and further directed our officers to limit the demand to the Tarái between the Káli and the Gandak or Saligrám river and whatever portions were actually in our possession at the time. In the meantime, it was thought advisable to prepare for a campaign at the earliest practicable period of the ensuing season and to make every arrangement for conducting it in such a manner as to thoroughly humble the spirit of the enemy. Major-General Ochterlony was appointed to command the force at Dinapur which was eventually intended to invade Nepál itself. Colonel Nicolls was sent¹ to

¹ To Mr. Gardner, dated 20th July, to Government, dated 4th September, 1815, and to Mr. Gardner, dated 10th February, 1816.

prepare for operations against Doti and the Bútwal and Palpa frontier, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Adams was given the command of the troops in Kumaon. Stores were collected at different points along the Káli and the local battalions were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service. Whilst their preparations were going on Bam Sáh had an interview with Mr. Gardner in September, but as he had no extension of his powers to negotiate nothing was effected. Mr. Gardner informed Bam Sáh that Gajráj Misr had now obtained fresh and explicit instructions from Nepál and full powers to conclude a treaty on the basis laid down by the British Government,¹ and though the Nepál Government had shown that they had never any serious intention of concluding peace through his agency, the British Government would still regard him as their well-wisher and friend.

The events that followed have little bearing on the history of Kumaon, but a brief sketch is necessary to
 Treaty concluded. conclude the history of the war. Although the Gorkhális agreed to yield the Tarái with the exception of the tracts of Baraparsa or Makwánpur, Bijipur and Mahotari Sabotari or Morang and the forests at the foot of the first range of hills, they still opposed the admission of a British Resident at Kathmándu. The unwillingness of the Gorkhális to accede to the sacrifices demanded from them was thus still very apparent, and it was not until the futility of all opposition was clearly shown that the Nepálese at last gave in. Gajráj Misr, on the 2nd December, concluded a treaty with Lieutenant-Colonel Bradashaw, by which nearly the whole of the Tarái, the hill-country to the west of the Káli and the territories to the east of the Mechi which had formerly belonged to the Raja of Sikkim were ceded to the British Government. It was also stipulated that a British regiment should be received at Kathmándu. It had been agreed that the treaty should be ratified by the Raja of Nepál within fifteen days. But before this stipulation could be carried out the party who were still in favour of war, of which Amar Singh Thápa was the leader, obtained the upper hand at Kathmándu and the treaty remained unratified. Preparations were accordingly pushed on by both sides with vigour a renewal

¹ To Mr. Gardner, dated 3rd September, from Mr. Gardner, dated 22nd September, 1815.

of hostilities and all doubt that a second campaign would be necessary was removed in the beginning of February, 1816 by a formal declaration on the part of the Gorkhális, through Gajráj Misr, that they intended to renew the war. The British army had already taken the field, and by the 10th February twenty thousand men under General Ochterlony had reached the Bichiya-koh or Choriya-ghát pass leading into the valley of Nepál itself. On the same day¹ instructions were issued for the immediate assemblage of a force at Sitapur under Colonel Nicolls for the invasion of Doti. It was intended not only to occupy that district but, if circumstances permitted, to open up a communication with General Ochterlony to the east, and Mr. Gardner was deputed to accompany the force as Political Agent. Mr. Traill was intrusted with the conduct of the duties of the office of Commissioner of Kumaun, so far as they could not be conveniently carried on by Mr. Gardner, and Colonel Adams was directed to hold himself and his forces at the disposal of Colonel Nicolls. But long before this force could reach the Taráí news² arrived from General Ochterlony of the cessation of hostilities consequent on the ratification of the treaty of the 2nd December, and I must now refer to the operations which led to this desirable result.

The Gorkhális had made most formidable preparations to oppose the main body of the British by erecting fortifications and stockades on every route by which it seemed possible an army could advance. But General Ochterlony was more than a match for them even on their own ground. Taking a route through the hills which had been supposed utterly impossible, he completely turned by a bold and masterly movement the whole of the positions which the enemy had taken so much pains to fortify in the outer range of hills, and established himself at Makwánpur, within twenty miles of Kathmándu. At this point, the Gorkhális attacked the British force on the 28th February, but they were completely defeated with a loss in killed and wounded of more than eight hundred men. The loss on our side was two officers and two hundred and twenty men. When the news of this defeat reached Kathmándu

¹ Government to Mr. Gardner, dated 10th February, 1816. ² From General Ochterlony, dated Makwánpur, 5th March, 1816; to Government, dated 10th *idem*.

all idea of further resistance was at once abandoned. Negotiations were immediately opened, the result of which was the ratification by the Raja of Nepal of the treaty which had been signed by Guru Gajráj Misr in December and the final termination of the war. Part of the Tarái which under the treaty had been surrendered to the British Government was subsequently¹ restored to Nepal as an act of conciliation towards the Gorkháli chiefs who had held lands in that quarter, the portion bordering on the Oudh frontier was handed over to the Nawáb of Oudh, and a small strip lying between the Mechi and the Tista was given to the Raja of Sikkim. It is to be hoped that our statesmen and our soldiers will not forget the lesson that was taught them in the Nepálese campaign. It was sufficiently evident and it was admitted on all hands at the time that in point of physical courage our native soldiers were altogether inferior to the Gorkhális. This was clear not only at the more conspicuous failures of Kalanga and Jaithak but throughout the war. On the other hand, the admirable operations of General Ochterlony proved beyond a doubt that under proper management our sepoy were certain of success even in a country of most extreme difficulty to all natives of the plains and opposed to the bravest enemy that has ever met us in Asia.

We shall now turn again to domestic politics and briefly note the effect of the treaty of Makwánpur on the tract between the Tons and the Sárda.

Byáns boundary. The whole of Kumaon became British territory and the only point in dispute was a small and unimportant tract to the north. By treaty the Káli was made the boundary on the east, and this arrangement divided into two parts parganah Byáns, which had hitherto been considered as an integral portion of Kumaon as distinguished from Doti and Jumla. In 1817, the Nepal Darbar,² in accordance with the terms of the letter of the treaty, claimed the villages of Tinkar and Changru lying to the east of the Káli in parganah Byáns, and after inquiry had shown that the demand was covered by the terms of the treaty possession was given to

¹ The boundaries were demarcated under the superintendence of the Hon'ble E. Gardner, our first Resident at Nepal.

² To Commissioner, dated 4th Feb., '17. From Government, dated 5th Sep., '17.
 " 5th March, '17. To Resident, Nepal, 20th ditto.
 From Captain Webb, " 11th Aug., '17. From " " 10th Oct., '17.
 To Government 20th ditto.

Bam Sáh, who was then Governor of Doti. But not satisfied with this advantage, the Nepálese claimed the villages of Kunti and Nábhi as also lying to the east of the Káli, averring that the Kunti Yáukti or western branch of the head-waters should be considered the main stream as carrying the larger volume of water. Captain Webb and others showed that the lesser stream flowing from the sacred fountain of Kálapáni had always been recognised as the main branch of the Káli and had in fact given its name to the river during its course through the hills. The Government therefore decided to retain both Nábhi and Kunti, which have ever since remained attached to British Byáns.

In the year 1811, Sudarsan Sáh had promised Major Hearsey to grant to him the Dehra Dún and taluka Garhwál affairs. Chánda, should he procure the restoration of the country then occupied by the Gorkhális. Major Hearsey now brought forward this claim, but it was rightly held by both the Raja and Government that, as the conditions precedent to the grant had not been fulfilled, Major Hearsey had no claim, legal or moral. Moreover, the Raja on receiving back a portion of his ancient possessions from the British expressly relinquished his sovereign and proprietary rights in those tracts to the British Government. At the termination of the war Sudarsan Sáh was living in great poverty at Dehra, and as an act of clemency Mr. W. Fraser in 1815, was authorised to hand over to the Raja the portions of Garhwál situated to the west of the Alaknanda with the express reservation of the Dehra Dún and the parganah of Rawáin lying between the Alaknanda and the Bhágirathi, and Mr. Fraser was directed to consult with Mr. Gardner as to the actual boundary which should be fixed with a view to control the route to Tibet by the passes available for commercial intercourse. In July, 1815, Mr. Fraser, in obedience¹ to the order of Government, had directed the principal inhabitants of the parganahs lying to the east of the Alaknanda as far as Rudrprayág and to the east of the Mandákini, above

¹ To Government, dated 4th January, 1820: from Government, dated 6th November, 1824.

² To Kumaon, dated 21st July, '15.	From Kumaon, dated 19th Aug., '15.
" " " 12th Aug., '16.	8th ct., '16.
" " " 27th ditto.	4th March, '16.
" " " 27th Oct., '15.	6th June, '16.

At the same time, the conduct of the political relations with the Raja of Garhwál was intrusted to the Commissioner as Agent to the Governor-General (4-3-16).

that point to consider themselves under the authority of the Commissioner of Kumaon, and henceforward this tract formed a portion of his jurisdiction. Mr. Gardner was too much occupied with his political duties to visit the western parganahs, and on Mr. G. W. Traill joining his appointment as Assistant Commissioner, he was deputed to Garhwál to introduce the British authority in that province and to conclude a settlement of the land-revenue. Mr. Gardner subsequently took up the question of the western boundary and gave as his opinion that Rawáin should be handed over to the Raja of Garhwál and that the British should content themselves with the watershed of the Mandákini as their north-western boundary. Rawáin comprised the comparatively barren and rocky country between Nágpur and Jaunsár Báwar and included the head-waters of the Tons, the Jumna and Bhágirathi, an immense tract yielding only 12,000 Gorkháli rupees a year, equivalent to about Rs. 5,000 of our money. The inhabitants, too, were of a turbulent character, accustomed to plunder and disinclined to work. This, however, was considered a good reason by others for keeping the tract under the British Government. It was apprehended that the Raja would find much difficulty in preventing the inhabitants from plundering the pilgrims who passed through Rawáin to Gangotri and from making predatory incursions into the neighbouring districts as they were accustomed to do before they fell under the Gorkháli Government, who only restrained them by severe measures. The task of punishing the robbers would then fall on the British Government, who might be obliged to establish a military force there for the purpose, and so interfere in its arrangements far more than if it were an integral part of the British dominions, and the people felt themselves to be our subjects. The only question for decision was whether the Raja was able to maintain peace in the tract, and it was ultimately resolved to permit him to attempt the management of Rawáin. In 1816 Mr. Traill¹ brought to the notice of Government the difficulty that might arise if more precise words were not used in defining the boundary. Although parganah Nágpur was clearly intended to be included in the portion of territory retained by the British, the loose use of the Alaknanda and Mandákini rivers as the eastern boundary in the negotiations

¹ To Government, dated 6th June, 1816.

of the period would have cut off some valuable portions of that parganah, including pattis Bámsu, Maikhauda, and the mines near Dhancli, which lay to the west of those rivers. In fact, in 1823, the Raja laid claim to the villages lying to the west of the Mandákini on these very grounds, but it was ruled that the term parganah Nágpur as used in the negotiations included all the sub-divisions then within its established limits.

In 1818 we find Mr. Traill,¹ complaining of the disorderly state of the Rawáin parganah, the inhabitants of which being relieved from the fear of both the Gorkhális and the British had taken to their old occupation of plundering the pilgrims to Gangotri and Kedarnáth. The Raja was appealed to in vain and declared himself wholly unable to punish the offenders. When he sent his own men against the Rawáinis, the cultivators armed themselves and repelled his people by force, and when the Raja himself went against them, they fled into the neighbouring territories, and he had not yet been able to collect a single rupee of revenue from the whole parganah. The real question at issue now was whether the Raja was able to maintain peace in the tract. The boundaries were then laid down as they now exist, for Rawáin was never taken back and was formally annexed to Tirhi in 1824. It was not until this time that a formal sanad under the seal of the Supreme Government was conferred upon the Raja, for certain difficulties had arisen which required settlement. The Basáhr Raja laid claim² to the taluka of Undra Kunwar, although it had been included in the grant made to the Raja of Garhwál by Mr. Fraser referred to above. Again, Pítam Sáh, the uncle of the Raja, released from prison in Nepál through the good offices³ of Mr. Gardner, claimed the zamíndári right in the parganahs of Garhwál and the Dún ceded to the British by the Gorkhális on apparently no better ground than that of his being the next heir to the *raj* of Garhwál. His brother's claim to a similar right had already been refused, and it was held that the renunciation by Sudarshan Sáh of all claims of this kind on his

¹ To Government, dated 10th July, 1818. From Government, dated 14th August, 1818.

² To Government, dated 4th January, 1817.

³ To Government, dated 15th May, 1816: from Government, dated 14th August, 1818: from Government, dated 15th January, 1817.

acceptance of the territories restored to him by the British, as well as the previous conquest of the Gorkhális, annulled all subordinate contingent rights of other members of his family.¹ By the terms of his sanad the Raja of Garhwál is bound to give assistance and supplies when called on and to furnish facilities for trading in his country and the countries beyond, nor can he alienate or mortgage any portion of his territory without the consent of the British Government.²

The administrative history under the British Government will find its place under the notice of each district. The Dún was first brought into order by Mr. Shore and Kumaon and Garhwál by Mr. Traill. In fact, the administrative history of the Kumaon Division, as remarked by Mr. Whalley,³ naturally divides itself into three periods—Kumaon under Traill, Kumaon under Batten, and Kumaon under Ramsay. The régime in the first period was essentially paternal, despotic, and personal. It resisted the centralising tendencies which the policy of the Government had developed. It was at the same time, though arbitrary, a just, wise and progressive administration. As characteristic of the man, his application for a copy of the Regulations in force in the plains, may be quoted, in which he stated that as he found it necessary to draw up some code for the guidance of his subordinates and had not for six years received the Regulations in force in the plains, he should be glad of a copy to see whether there was anything in them which should suit the peculiar circumstances of his charge. Mr. Traill's administration lasted from 1815 to 1835. On his departure there followed an interval of wavering uncertainty and comparative misrule. "The system of government," as was observed by Mr. Bird, "had been framed to suit the particular character and scope of one individual," or, as he might have said, had been framed for himself by that individual. "Traill left the province orderly, prosperous, and comparatively civilized, but his machinery was not easily worked by another hand. There was no law, and the lawgiver had been withdrawn. The Board of Commissioners and

¹ From Board, dated 18th August, 1818 : to Board, dated 3rd September, 1818, and 11th September, 1818 : from Board, dated 11th September, 1818, and 25th September, 1818.

² Aitch. Treaties, II., 58.

³ Laws of the Non-Regulation Provinces, p. 1 : Allahabad, 1870 : a valuable repository of facts regarding the administrative history of the hill districts.

the Government, which had remained quiescent while the province was in the hands of an administrator of tried ability and equal to all emergencies, found it necessary to re-assert their control and to lay down specific rules in matters that had hitherto been left to the judgment of the Commissioner. Mr. Batten was then only Assistant Commissioner of Garhwál: but he was a man eminently qualified both by training and disposition to second the action of Government and to assist in the inauguration of the new era. His talents had already been recognized, and from this period he was consulted in every step, and it was his influence more than that of any single officer which gave its stamp and character to the period which I have distinguished by his name. Its duration covered the years 1836-56. It was marked in its earlier stage by an influx of codes and rules and a predominancy of official supervision which gradually subsided as Mr. Batten gained in influence, position and experience. Thus the second period glided insensibly into the third, which, nevertheless, has a distinctive character of its own. In Sir Henry Ramsay's administration we see the two currents blended. The personal sway and unhampered autocracy of the first era combining with the orderly procedure and observance of fixed rules and principles which was the chief feature of the second." Foremost in every movement for the benefit of his charge, Sir Henry Ramsay has popularly received the title of King of Kumaon, and no more worthy representative of Her Imperial Majesty exists throughout Her wide domains.

For the history of Kumaon under the British the materials are ample and sufficient in themselves to form a volume full of interest and instruction. They show the means

Trill.

whereby a peculiar people, sunk in the uttermost depths of ignorance and apathy, the result of years of oppression and misrule, have been induced by the patient and intelligent efforts of a few Englishmen to commence again their national life. They show how whole tracts where formerly the tiger and the elephant reigned supreme have now yielded to the plough, and waters that not long since went to feed the deadly swamps are now confined in numerous channels to irrigate the waterless tracts which increasing population bring into cultivation. The history of Kumaon under the British is one that will amply repay

the study and assist us in understanding the principles on which western civilisation can be best introduced among our many half-civilized Indian communities. For the materials for this notice we are indebted to the records of the Commissioner's office and Mr. P. Whalley's admirable work already quoted. As already noticed the Hon'ble E. Gardner was the first Commissioner of Kumaon, and in May, 1815, he was authorized to employ a revenue and police establishment.¹ In June, the transit duty on the sale of children was given up and the practice abolished.² The Commissioner was much taken up with his political duties, and in August, 1815, on the arrival of Mr. G. W. Traill, that officer was appointed to superintend the police and revenue administration and to undertake the settlement of the revenue of Garhwál and Kumaon. His own account of the measures he thought necessary for this purpose will be given elsewhere. In the first year the Gorkhálí collections were assumed as the basis for assessment, and subsequent settlements were made under orders of the Board of Commissioners at Farukhabad, under whom³ Kumaon was placed in 1816 A.D.

The subjects of the extradition of criminals with Nepál and forced labour were among the earliest to
 Administration. which attention was given : in both these instances rules were framed very similar to those at present in force. On the 1st of August, 1817, Mr. Traill was made Commissioner of Kumaon and Regulation X. of 1817 was passed to give criminal jurisdiction to the Kumaon officers in all cases except murder, homicide, robbery, treason and other similar offences, and for the trial of these a Commissioner was to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. It speaks very well for the people that crimes of this kind were so rare that it was not found necessary to invest any officers with the powers of a Commissioner under this Regulation. In 1828, the Province was placed in the Bareilly Division for the purposes of criminal trials, and from that time commitments appear to have been made to the Bareilly Court from Kumaon. In 1818 the question of transit duties in general came up for consideration in consequence of the report of the Superintendent of Police complaining of the highly injurious character of the system then

¹ G. G. in C. 15th May, 1815.
 G. G. in C, 19th October, 1816.

² *Ibid.*, 2nd June, 1815.

³ *Proceed.*

in force. By this system, for the small sum of Rs. 8,881 a farmer was able to place a line of guard-houses along a frontier extending nearly sixty miles and levy practically whatever duties he liked,¹ and in consequence these vexatious cesses were abolished. In 1817 a curious practice of the hill men was prohibited. In former times it was allowable for the husband of an adulteress to take the life of an adulterer after due notice given to the executive government. The consequence was that many innocent persons suffered death at the hands of jealous husbands who found themselves both judges and executioners. The Government made the practice punishable with death and thus effectually put an end to a custom which was one of the most frequent sources² of hereditary feuds.

In 1820, an eight-anna stamp was introduced by Mr. Traill on his own authority into civil proceedings and a short and simple procedure adopted.³ On the plaint being admitted a notice was given to the suitor to be served by himself on his defendant, a practice which was found in three-fourths of cases to lead to a private settlement of the claim, and when ineffectual the defendant was summoned. Parties were allowed to plead their own cause and recourse was seldom had to an oath in the examination of witnesses, as it was found that the facts of a case could easily be eliminated without employing a ceremony of which frequent application only weakens the force. No licensed law-agents were allowed, but parties who were not able to attend were permitted to appoint any person as their agent. This regulation at once precluded all vexatious litigation and prevented unnecessary delay⁴ in the proceedings. In 1824, it was proposed that the Tarāi should be transferred to Moradabad and after a very lengthened correspondence the boundaries were fixed between the plains and the hills by Messrs. Halhed and Traill. There is nothing more characteristic of the imperious and almost despotic nature of Traill than the letters he wrote and the arguments he used in this controversy, and the result was that he gained his own way on almost every question. He appears to have looked more to facts than theories and to have included in the hill portion of the Bhābar at least those

¹ Whalley, p. 33.

² G. G. in C, 1250, 6th August, 1819.

³ To

Government (Political Department), 14th November, 1820.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16th

May, 1821; Whalley, 67.

portions of the lower forest and prairie which were thought to be more in the real or nominal possession of the hill-men than in that of settlers from the plains or in which the Bhuksas and Tharus preferred the hill jurisdiction or were connected with hill capitalists.¹ In 1825, after the settlement of Major Hearsey's claims, a correspondence arose regarding the annexation of parganah Chandi now in Bijnor to Kumaon, and during the same year an epistolary conflict took place between Traill and Shore in charge of Dehra Dún principally regarding the use of elephant-pits on the confines of their respective jurisdictions. The result of both was that in 1826 parganahs Chandi and Dehra Dún were annexed to the Kumaon Commissionership.² Dehra Dún was separated again from 1st May, 1829 by Regulation V. of 1829, but parganah Chandi continued under Kumaon for some time. In 1827 certain rules were framed giving the Magistrates in Kumaon jurisdiction over native soldiers in certain cases, and in the following year a registration of births, marriages and deaths was ordered. In 1830 Mr. Traill was appointed to the charge of the Bareilly Division, and at the close of the year 1835 he finally relinquished his connection with the Kumaon Division. In 1831 the newly-created Nizámat Adálut at Allahabad was invested with criminal powers over Kumaon by clause 1, section 3, of Regulation VI. of that year, and in the same year the Board of Revenue at Allahabad was invested with powers in all fiscal matters by section 5 of Regulation X. of 1831.

Colonel Gowan was appointed Commissioner of Kumaon in 1831, and his assumption of office is marked by a closer supervision by the plains authorities, who now for the first time took a direct part in the administration of the province. The year 1836 is marked by the abolition of slavery in every shape. Hitherto transit duties on slaves, the sale of wives by their husbands and the sale of widows by the heirs or relations of the deceased had alone been restricted. The Rajpúts as household slaves and the Doms as slaves for the cultivation of land were, in accordance with immemorial custom, a subject of barter and sale and claims for freedom or servitude

¹ G. O., 21st May, 1824 : Board of Revenue, 11th June, 1824 : 14th August, 1823.

² G. G., 25th June, 1825., No. 16 : *Ibid.*, 8th December, 1825.

were heard like other suits. The Government at length stepped in and by merely forbidding the hearing of such suits put an end to a system which must be regarded as a blot on the administration of the most powerful ruler Kumaon has ever had.¹ The questions of the investigation of rent-free tenures, the surrender of refugees, the arrangement of the records and the treatment of lunatics also engaged the attention of the superior authorities during this year. The year 1837 is also marked with the lively sense of the necessity for further interference in the administration of Kumaon which the Board of Revenue and Government had shown in the previous year. The Nizámat Adálut forbade Magistrates to order the restoration of wives to their husbands and directed the punishment of the importers of slaves into Kumaon under the provisions of Regulation III. of 1832. On the civil side the slaughter of kine for troops was restricted to the cantonments. Those who object to the scruples of the hill people on account of kine-killing should remember that whereas Benares, Mathura and other Hindu cities have been for centuries under direct Muhammadan rule Kumaon never had a beef-eating ruler until the British took possession. The few Muhammadans previously known in the hills were the families of shikáris and cooks who received favour at the hands of the Rajas, the former for killing game and the latter for providing suitable food for any Musalmán visitor of rank. The revenue authorities were no less busy. We have rules for process-servers and their fees, the supply of grain to the troops and the recognition of *bádashábi* grants. This year saw the re-annexation of the Káshipur parganahs to their respective districts and the Tarái to the Rohilkhand Commissionership. A curious question was also submitted for decision as to the legality of the ordeal by hot iron, a description of which has already been given. Colonel Gowan seems to have quarrelled with the revenue authorities, and on his refusal to supply information was reported to Government, who ruled his absolute subordination. In 1837, he reports that up to 1829 only one court existed for the cognizance and adjudication of civil claims, and this was presided over by Mr. Traill himself. In that year a recourse to local subordinate tribunals was thought necessary in the ends of justice and good government.

¹ To Commissioner, 31st May, 1836.

The duties of a Munsif or Civil Court of the primary jurisdiction were with 'the sanction of Government delegated to the Kánúngoos, who under the new system of Patwáris had since 1819 scarcely any duties to perform. The number of Munsifs was fixed at eight, of whom seven were Kánúngoos and one with the title of Sadr Amín became the pandit of the Court at Almora. Six were stationed in the Kumaon and two in the Garhwál district and rules for their guidance were drawn up in the spirit of Regulation XXIII. of 1814. These officers were empowered to decide claims for rent for the current year and damages on account of cattle-trespass and claims for money or personal property up to Rs. 25. In 1830 their jurisdiction was increased to Rs. 50, with an appeal to the Commissioner (now to his Assistants). The Sadr Amín had power to hear suits up to Rs. 100 in value. Above this, all suits for money and all claims to real property were heard in the Courts of the Commissioner or his Assistants. The institution stamp-fee was also raised to two per cent. on the claims.¹

In 1837 Mr. R. M. Bird visited Kumaon and recorded one of his masterly minutes on the state of the
 Mr. Bird's report. administration. He was perhaps pardonably influenced by the insubordination of the Commissioner in judging both of the past and the present. Of the past, referring to Traill, he remarks that 'the results of the experiment of conferring large and undefined powers on a single individual have not turned out altogether favorable.' Of the present he writes 'the present incumbent (Colonel Gowan) is not a man of any official experience in any department and himself requires guidance and control.' Of the three Assistants he praises Mr. Batten very highly and recommends his being placed in charge of the settlement of both districts. Captain Corbett was in command of the local battalion at Hawalbágh and was subsequently transferred to Almora and Mr. Thomas was sent to Garhwál. Mr. Bird describes the administration of civil justice as requiring the supervision of the superior authorities and recommends that the Commissioner of Bareilly should go on circuit and make a catalogue of all civil cases decided by the Kumaon authorities and any objection or applications of

¹ Letter, 17th March, 1837.

appeal which might be offered, and that he should forward this with his opinion to the Sadr Diwāni Adálat, who might then call for such cases as they might think fit. In criminal cases he characterizes the administration 'as unimaginably bad.' He was credibly informed that persons were apprehended, retained in jail, and worked in irons on the roads for years, not only unsentenced and untried but even without any charge having been recorded. He recommended the adoption of the Assam rules and the subjection of the Courts to the appellate authority of the Sadr Court and Board of Revenue. The Government had previously allowed a sort of irregular appeal by referring cases for the opinion of the Sadr Court and then passing final orders thereon. In accordance with Mr. Bird's suggestions Act X. of 1838 was passed, in which the only new provision is the control given to the Sadr Diwāni Adálat in civil cases. This provision was lost sight of in the rules of 1853 (section 63) and was virtually rescinded by Act XXIV. of 1864, which stamped the rules, so far as the jurisdiction of the Courts is concerned, with legislative sanction.¹ It was not till 1839 that any active measures were taken in consequence of the new powers given to the superior Courts. In that year and the following the Board issued a multitude of instructions in regard to partitions, patwári's accounts, summonses, process-fees, watchmen, stamps, distraint, compensation, village police, &c., which could only have a partial application to Kumaon. The Sadr Court seems to have followed the same course and with as little care or discrimination in their orders. The result of all this was in one way an increased responsibility thrown on the Commissioner in judging what orders of the superior Courts could be considered applicable to the peculiar people over whom he ruled, and a decreased personal responsibility in that the general principles of administration were now laid down by higher authority, on whom the blame or praise for failure or success would in future principally rest. The police administration of the Taráí was given over to the Magistrates of the adjoining districts in Rohilkhand.

¹ The Assam rules were promulgated in January, 1830, under Act X. of 1838, and remained in force till 1862, when the Jhānsi rules passed in 1862 were introduced and subsequently legalised by section 2 of Act XXIV. of 1864. In supersession of Regulation X. of 1817, certain rules for criminal administration were framed which remained in force till the Criminal Procedure Code was introduced in 1862.

But in no case was the change more marked than in the instructions for the revenue assessment. Re-

End.

gulations VII. of 1822 and IX. of 1833 were introduced and Mr. Batten, then Senior Assistant in Garhwál, was appointed to the charge of the settlement of the entire province. His instructions were to aim as far as possible at conducting the settlement on the principles that were observed in the plains, and how far he succeeded is noticed in the chapter on the fiscal history of the Kumaon division. To return to other matters, rules for cases of abduction and adultery were framed by the Sadr Court in 1840, and again in 1843 the Government intimated its desire that the law in force in the plains should in all cases be adopted.¹ 1839 is also marked by the division of Kumaon into the two districts of Kumaon and Garhwál with a regular staff of officers for each; the Senior Assistants to have the same powers as a Collector and the Commissioner the powers of a Commissioner in the plains. The duties of the officials in connection with the appointment and dismissal of priests of Hindu temples were also defined.² In 1848 Mr. G. T. Lushington³ died and was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Batten. In 1850 a commission was issued to Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey to enquire into the *sadabart* assignments for charitable purposes made in favour of the temples of Badrináth and Kedárnáth, which resulted in orders⁴ being issued for their management by a committee as a trust in the spirit of Regulation XIX. of 1810. In 1852-53 the first rules for the grant of waste land for tea plantations were made and the tea industry came into prominence. In 1855 the rules at present in force in regard to revenue suits and suits for rent were framed and received the sanction of Government. They are of a simple character, easily worked, and are said by those who administer them to be admirably adapted for the people. In 1856 Captain (now Major-General Sir Henry) Ramsay was appointed Commissioner, and we may here fitly close our sketch of Kumaon history.

¹ Government (Judicial Department), dated 14th September, 1839, dated 9th June, 1843.

² Government (Judicial Department), dated 13th June, 1840; Government (Revenue Department), dated 18th May, 1846; dated 26th June, 1847.

³ Mr. Lushington appears to have been Commissioner from 1839 to 1848.

⁴ Government (Revenue Department), dated 8th October, 1853.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS INTERCEPTED DURING THE NEPAL WAR.

From Amar Singh and his sons, Rámdas and Arjan Thápa, to the Raja of Nepal, dated Rájgarh, 2nd March, 1815.

A copy of your letter of the 23rd December addressed to Ranjor Singh under the red seal was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:—"The capture of Nálápáni by the enemy had been communicated to me from Garhwál and Kumaon as also the intelligence of his having marched to Náhan; having assembled his force he now occupied the whole country from Baraparas to Sabotari Mahotari. My army also is secretly posted in various places in the jungles of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gorakhpur from Palpa and another detachment has reached the borders of Bijipur. I have further heard that a general officer has set out from Calcutta to create more disturbance. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide. All this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy after making immense preparations have begun the war, and, unless great concessions are made, they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper: for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the districts of Bútwal, Palpai and Siuráj and the disputed tracts, already settled by the Commissioners towards Bareh. If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Tarái, the Dún and the lowlands, and, if the English are still dissatisfied on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the mountains, you are herewith authorised to give up, with the Dún, the country as far as the Satlaj. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kanka Tista to the Satlaj. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores, to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service and return to any part of our territory which, as far as Nepál, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."

In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy he will not be satisfied with these concessions, or, if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo, from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six kros of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would excite another disturbance at a future opportunity and seek to wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory we should be unable to maintain our army on its present footing, and our military fame being once reduced, what

means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Basáhr, Garhwál is secure; if the former be abandoned, the Bhotiyas of Rawáin will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Dún and Rawáin, it will be impossible for us to maintain Garhwál, and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Doti will be also lost to us: after the seizure of these provinces, Achárn, Jámla and Dúlú Dwalekh will be wrested from us in succession. You say that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the Eastern Kuráts; if they have joined the enemy, the other Kuráts will do so likewise, and then the country from the Dúdb Kosi on the east to the Beri on the west cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishment? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Major Knox's mission under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission they will insist; and, if we are unable to oppose force and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply and they will begin by introducing a company, a battalion will soon after follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nepál. Thus you think that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Dún and the country to the Satlaj were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nepál. Do not trust them. They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox and permit the establishment of a commercial factory will usurp the government of Nepál. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had in the first instance decided upon a pacific line of conduct and agreed to restore the departments of Bútwal and Shiuráj as adjusted by the Commissioner, the present contest might have been avoided; but you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and having murdered three revenue officers, a commotion arose and war was waged for trifles.

At Jaithak we have gained a victory over the enemy. If I succeed against Ochterlony and Ranjor Singh with Jaspao Thápa and his officers prevail at Jaithak, Ranjit Singh will rise against the enemy. In conjunction with the Sikhs my army will make a descent into the plains, and our forces crossing the Jumna from two different quarters will recover possession of the Dún. When we reach Haridwar, the Nawáb of Lucknow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and on his accession to the general coalition we may consider ourselves secure as far as Kanka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Balbhadh Kunwar and Rewant Káji will soon reinforce the garrison of Jaithak, and I hope ere long to send Panth Káji with eight companies when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day, and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jaithak.

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sandauli, they continued for two years in possession of Baraparsa and Mahotari; but when you conquered Nepál they were either destroyed by your force or fell victims to the climate with the exception of a few only who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Chaudandi and Chaudena and the two Kuráts and the ridge of Mahábhárat; suffer the enemy to retain the lowlands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement cannot again be resumed;

but, if they have been taken by force, then force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Sikhs should not join us.

Should you succeed in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy in the course of a few years would be in possession of Nepál, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo. The present therefore is not the time for treaty and conciliation: these expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officers, or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favor of God and your fortune and that of our country, it will be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Kanka to the Satlaj. Let me intreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure, and I will not now suffer the honour of my Prince to be sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it, but for me call me once more to your presence. I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet! I can recollect the time when the Gorkhálí army did not exceed 12,000 men! Through the favour of heaven and the renown of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Kanka on the east. Under the auspices of your father we subjugated Kumaon, and through fortune we have pushed our conquests to the Satlaj. Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nálapsái Balbhadra Singh cut up 3 or 4,000 of the enemy; at Jaithak, Ranjor Singh, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place I am surrounded and daily fighting with the enemy and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy. I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view of attaching Ranjít Singh to our cause; on his accession, and after the advance of the Sikhs and Gorkhális towards the Dakhan, the chiefs of the Dakhan may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nawáb of Lucknow and the Sáligrámi Sádab. Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy and recover possession of the low countries of Palpai as far as Bijipur. If we succeed in regaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

There has been no fighting in your quarter yet. The Chaudandi and Chaudana of Bijipur, as far as the ridge of Mahábhárat and Kiliána, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thápas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nepál we implored the mercy of heaven by offerings to the Brahmans and the performance of religious ceremonies, and through the favor of one and the intercession of the other we succeeded in repelling the enemy. Ever since you confiscated the jágírs of the Brahmans, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangra, and orders to this effect under the red seal were addressed to me and Nain Singh Thápa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there

is an universal commotion; you ought, therefore to assemble all the Brahmans and promise to restore to them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousands of respectable Brahmans will put up their prayers for your protection and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of 4,000 men, and Kangra might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces the fear of your name and the splendour of your court will no longer remain; by the capture of Kangra your name would have been rendered formidable, and though that has not happened, a powerful impression has nevertheless been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquest to the Satlaj.

To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna would give rise to the idea that the Gorkhális were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to the extent of 4,000 men. The enemy will therefore require the possession of Basáhr, and after that the conquest of Garhwál will be easy, nor will it be possible in that case for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dot, Achám and Junla. He may be expected to penetrate even to Beri. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Satlaj should be obstinately defended. The abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil. The possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquests; you ought therefore to direct Guru Rangnáth Pandit and Dalbhanjan Pánde to give up the disputed lands of Bútwal and Shiuráj and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Bareh, and, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I have no objection and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must however declare a decided enmity to such as in bringing about a reconciliation with the English consult only their own interest and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhartpur by storm, but the Rajá Ranjit Singh destroyed a European regiment and a battalion of sepoys, so that to the present day they have not ventured to meddle with Bhartpur and one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dárma (perhaps Burmá) they established their authority, but the Rajá overthrew their army and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear, and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances; therefore let us confide our fortunes to our swords, and by boldly opposing the enemy compel him to remain within his own territory, or if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords that Balbhadra with a nominal force

of 600 men destroyed an army of 3 or 4,000 English. His force consisted of the old Gorakh and Kurakh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom and of the people of the countries from Beril to Garhwál, and with these he destroyed one battalion and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed; nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and therefore cannot apprehend desertion from them. You have also an immense militia, and many *jáqirdárs* who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the lowlands and fighting in the plains is impolitic; call them into the hills and cut them up by detail (a passage here the sense of which cannot be discovered).

The enemy is proud and flushed with success and has reduced under his subjection all the western *zamíndárs*. The *Rajas* and *Ránás* of *Kárnál* and the *Thakuráin* will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct *Rámdas* to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment on our part of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the *Ránás*, *Rajás*, and *Thakuráin* have joined the enemy and I am surrounded; nevertheless we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution. The *Pandits* have pronounced the month of *Baisakh* as particularly auspicious for the *Gorkhális*, and by selecting a fortunate day we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always in a desperate hurry to fight. I hope however to be able to delay the battle till *Baisakh*, when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either *Ranjer Singh* or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence. In the present crisis, it is very advisable to write to the Emperor of China and to the *Lámá* of *Lhása* and to the other *Lámás*, and for this purpose I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address. Any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you, and I earnestly recommend that you lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of China and a letter to the *Lámás*.

ENCLOSURE.

TRANSLATION OF A DRAFT OF PETITION TO BE ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA BY THE RAJA OF NEPÁL.

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions; or if any force has ventured to encroach on my territory, through your favor and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them! Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me and, as I am under allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From *Kanka* to the *Satlaj*, for a thousand kos war is waging between us. Harboursing designs upon *Bhot*, the enemy endeavours to get possession of *Nepál*, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war; five or six great actions have already been fought, but through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty I have succeeded in destroying about 20,000 of the enemy. But his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step; on the contrary numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded

at all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained, and, though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means: without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhális as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Nepál and Bhot; and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders or if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies and prefer sending an army to our aid, 'tis well.' The climate of Dármá is temperate; and you may easily send an army of 2 or 300,000 men by the route of Dármá into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the Rajas of the plains and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned through Janbu-dwípa; and whenever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepál and the forcible separation of the Gorkhális from their dependence on the Emperor of China cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect that without your aid I cannot repel the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India and usurped the throne of Delhi; that, with my army and resources, I am quite unable to make head against them, and that the world will henceforth say that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependants. I acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of China above all other potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepál, will advance, by the routes of Badrináth and Mánásarowar and also by that of Digarcha, for the purpose of conquering Lhása. I beg therefore that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkháli state, which is tributary to and dependent upon you: otherwise you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money, that I may drive forth the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise in a few years he will be master of Lhása.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

CONTENTS.

Religion in India: in the *Himálaya*. *Dæmonism*. *Kumaon's* place in the history of religion in India. *Vishnu* in the *Vedas*. *Rudra*. *Brahma* unknown. *Vishnu* in the epic and *Pauránik* periods: as *Ráma*: as *Krishna*. *Sisupála* opposes *Krishna*. *Duryodhana*, *Sálya* and *Karna*. *Krishna* only a partial incarnation of *Vishnu*. *Nara* and *Náráyana*. *Krishna* one with the Supreme being. *Mahádeva* glorifies *Krishna*. *Krishna* praises himself. *Brahma* praises *Krishna*. Exploits of *Krishna*. The later *Rudra*. *Mahádeva*. Interpolations in the epic poems. Contests between the *Saivas* and *Vaishnavas*. *Ráma*. *Daksha's* sacrifice. Contest between *Rudra* and *Náráyana*. Contest between *Krishna* and *Bána*. The false and the true *Vásudeva*. *Vásudeva*. Reconciliation of *Siva* and *Vishnu*. The modern *Siva*, a non-*Bráhma*nical deity. *Sakti*. *Linga*.

There is no country in the world in which religion exercises more influence on social and political life than in India. Religion gives the key-note to most of the great changes that have occurred in the history of the races inhabiting this country from the earliest ages to the present day. To every individual its forms are ever present and exercise a perceptible influence on his practices both devotional and secular, and yet the true history of religious thought in India has yet to be written. There is an esoteric school and an exoteric school: to the former too much attention has been paid, to the great neglect of the living beliefs which influence the masses of the people. Most writers on India have looked to the *Vedas* and the works connected with them as the standard by which all existing forms of religious belief in India are to be judged and to which all are to be referred. Influenced doubtless by the antiquity, richness and originality of the *Vaidik* records they have sought to connect them with the popular religion and have viewed modern beliefs more as to what they ought to be than as to what they actually are. As a matter of fact the *Vedas* are practically unknown to and uncared for by the majority of *Hindus*. There is no translation of them into the vulgar tongue in use amongst the people, and it would be contrary to the spirit of *Bráhma*nism to popularise them or their

teachings. They are less known, therefore, to the Hindus than the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is to the majority of the Christian populations of Europe. Some sects do not acknowledge their authority in matters of faith and practice and they are in no sense 'a Bible' to the masses except to a few of the learned and have little practical influence over modern religious thought outside the same class. Though portions of the Vedas, notably of the collection ascribed to the Atharvans, are recited at ceremonies and verses from them occasionally occur in the domestic ritual, as a rule, neither the celebrant nor the worshipper understand their purport. They are learned by rote and those employed in the ceremony regard the words used more as spells to compel the deities than as prayers for their favour. Yet we would ask the intelligent reader to formulate what he understands by Hinduism and he will at once answer, the religion of the Vedas. We must, however, accept the term Hinduism as a convenient one embracing all those beliefs of the people of India which are neither of Christian nor of Musalmán origin. But within this pale we have sects as divided from each other as members of the Society of Friends are from Roman Catholics. We have followers of the Vedas, of Bráhmaism, of Buddhism and of the polydæmonistic tribal cults of the aboriginal populations and of eclectic schools religious and philosophical of every kind and class. The religion of the Vedas never took hold of the people.¹ It was followed by Bráhmaism designed to exalt the priestly class, but even this system had to abandon the Vaidik deities and admit the dæmons of the aborigines to a place in its pantheon, or otherwise it would have perished. Buddhism was originally a protest against sacerdotalism not necessarily against the Bráhmanical caste, but it too succumbed to dæmonistic influences and degraded and corrupted fell an easy prey to its rival Bráhmaism. Both sought the popular favour by pandering to the vulgar love of mystery, magical mummeries, superhuman power and the like, and Bráhmaism absorbed Buddhism rather than destroyed it. The Buddhist fanes became Saiva temples and the Buddhist priests became Saiva ascetics or served the Saiva temples, and at the present

¹ By this is meant the great mass of the people. There have always been some with learned leisure who have adhered to the higher faith in one God and have never bowed to Siva or Vishnu, but their principles are unknown to the cultivator, the trader and the soldier, or at least only in a very diluted form.

day the forms and practices in actual use may be traced back as readily to corrupted Buddhism as to corrupted Bráhmaism. There is a period of growth and of decay in religious ideas as in all things subject to human influence, and precisely the same rules govern their rise, culmination and fall in India as in Europe. Every principle or thought that has moved the schools of Greece or Rome has equally shared the attention of Indian thinkers and in the kaleidoscopic mass of beliefs that can be studied in any considerable Indian town we may perceive analogies of the most striking character to the broad forms of belief and modes of thought in many European cities.

In discussing the history of religion in the Himálayan region we find a curious blending of pre-Bráhma-
 Religion in the Himálaya. nical, Bráhmaical and Buddhistic practices which it will take some time and attention to separate and ascribe to their original sources. It would doubtless be easy to dispose of the question by stating that the prevailing religion is a form of Hinduism. This would be perfectly true, but at the same time could convey no definitive idea to the reader's mind as to what the real living belief of the people is. To ascertain what is the actual state of religion, it is necessary to examine the forms and ceremonies observed in domestic and temple worship and the deities held in honour, and this is the task that we now propose to undertake for the tract between the Tons and the Káli. For this purpose we possess the results of an examination of the teaching in 350 temples in Kumaon, in about 550 temples in Garhwál and in about 100 temples in Dehra Dún and Jaunsar-Báwar. For the 900 temples in Kumaon and Garhwál we know the locality in which each is situate, the name of the deity worshipped, the broad division to which the deity belongs, the class of people who frequent the temple and the principal festivals observed. The analysis of these lists shows that there are 250 Saiva temples in Kumaon and 350 in Garhwál, and that there are but 35 Vaishnava temples in Kumaon and 61 in Garhwál. To the latter class may, however, be added 65 temples to Nágrája in Garhwál which are by common report affiliated to the Vaishnava sects, but in which Siva also has a place under the form of Bhairava. Of the Saiva temples, 130 in Garhwál and 64 in Kumaon are dedicated to the Sákti or female form

alone, but of the Vaishnava temples in both districts only eight. The Sákṭi form of both Siva and Vishnu, however, occurs also in the temples dedicated to Nágrāja and Bhairava, or rather these deities and their Saktis are popularly held to be forms of Vishnu and Siva and their Saktis. Of the Saiva Sákṭi temples, 42 in Garhwál and 18 in Kumaon are dedicated to Káli, whilst the Sákṭi forms of the Bhairava temples are also known as emanations of Káli. Nanda comes next in popularity and then Chandika and Durga. The remaining temples are dedicated to the worship of Súra, Ganesh and the minor deities and deified mortals and the pre-Bráhmancial village gods who will be noticed hereafter. The outcome of this examination is therefore that Siva and Vishnu and their female forms are the principal objects of worship, but with them, either as their emanations or as separate divine entities, the representatives of the polydæmonistic cults of the older tribes are objects of worship both in temples and in domestic ceremonies.

Whatever may have been the earliest form of religious belief,

Dæmonism.

it is probable that it was followed by a belief in dæmons or superhuman spirits to which the term 'animism' is now applied. The Greek word 'dæmon' originally implied the possession of superior knowledge and corresponds closely to the Indian word '*bhúta*,' which is derived from a root expressing existence and is applied in the earlier works to the elements of nature and even to deities. Siva himself is called Bbutesa or 'lord of *bhúts*'. With a change of religion the word dæmon acquired an evil meaning, and similarly the word *bhúta* as applied to the village gods carries with it amongst Bráhmanists the idea of an actively malignant evil spirit. Animism implies a belief in the existence of spirits, some of whom are good and some are bad and powerful enough to compel attention through fear of their influence. They may be free to wander everywhere and be incapable of being represented by idols, or they may be held to reside in some object or body whether living or lifeless, and this object then becomes a fetish¹ endowed with power to protect or can be induced to abstain from injuring the worshipper. Examples of both these forms occur amongst the dæmonistic cults of the Indian tribes. As observed by Tiele² "the religions controlled by animism are

¹ See Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 56.
² Outlines of the history of Ancient Religions, p. 10, and Wilson in J. R. A. S., V., 264.

characterised first of all by a varied, confused and indeterminate doctrine, an unorganised polydæmonism, which does not, however, exclude the belief in a supreme spirit, though in practice this commonly bears but little fruit ; and in the next place by magic which but rarely rises to the level of real worship * *. In the animistic religions, fear is more powerful than any other feeling, such as gratitude or trust. The spirits and the worshippers are alike selfish. The evil spirits receive, as a rule, more homage than the good, the lower more than the higher, the local more than the remote and the special more than the general. The allotment of their rewards or punishments depends not on men's good or bad actions, but on the sacrifices and gifts which are offered to them or withheld." Even the Aryan religion held the germs of animism, but it soon developed into the polytheism of the Vedas, and this again gave rise to a caste of expounders whose sole occupation it became to collect, hand down and interpret the sacred writings and who in time invented Bráhmaism. Buddhism, as we shall see, was an off-shoot of Bráhmaism, and it is to the influence of these three forms of religious belief—Animism, Bráhmaism and Buddhism—that we owe the existing varied phases of Hinduism.

In a previous chapter, the geographical and historical aspects of Kumaon's place in the history of religion. the sacred writings of the Hindus have been examined, and we have incidentally noticed the later development of their systems of theology. We shall now endeavour to trace back the ideas which the forms now worshipped are supposed to represent, and in doing so give some brief account of the progress of religious thought. The importance of the Kumaon Himálaya in the history of religion in India is mainly due to the existence therein of the great shrines of Badari and Kedár, containing forms of Vishnu and Siva which still hold a foremost position in the beliefs of the great majority of Hindus. To them the Kumaon Himálaya is what Palestine is to the Christian, the place where those whom the Hindu esteems most spent portions of their lives, the home of the great gods, 'the great way' to final liberation. This is a living belief and thousands every year prove their faith by visiting the shrine. The later devotional works are full of allusions to the Himálaya where Párvati was born and

became the wife of Mahádeo, and wherever a temple exists the celebrant sings the praises of Kedár and Badari, where live Mahádeo, Nanda, Náráyan and Lakshmi. To many the fruition of all earthly desires is the crowning glory of a visit to the sacred *tirtha* by which the sins of former births are cleansed and exemption from metempsychosis obtained. Here are laid many of the scenes in the lives of the deities, here Ráma propitiated Mahádeo, there with his consort Síta he wandered through the Asoka groves. Here Arjuna and Krishna meditated on the supreme being and the Pándavas ended their earthly pilgrimage. We have already seen that each rock and rivulet is dedicated to some deity or saint and has its own appropriate legend. Nature in her wildest and most rugged forms bears witness to the correctness of the belief that here is the home of 'the great god,' and when wearied with toiling through the chasms in the mountains which form the approach to the principal shrines, the traveller from the plains is told to proceed in respectful silence lest the god should be angered, he feels 'the presence.' And should the forbidden sounds of song and music arise and the god in wrath hurl down his avalanche on the offenders, then the awe-stricken pilgrim believes that he has seen his god, terrible, swift to punish, and seeks by renewed austerities to avert the god's displeasure. All the aids to worship in the shape of striking scenery, temples, mystic and gorgeous ceremonial and skilled celebrants are present, and he must indeed be dull who returns from his pilgrim unsatisfied.

In an old text of the Pádma-Purána, Krishna is made to say—
 'the worshippers of Siva, Súra, Ganesha and Sakti come to me as all streams flow to the ocean: for though one I am born with five-fold forms'. This distribution of orthodox Hindus into followers of Vishnu, Siva, the Sun and Ganesha is so broadly true to the present day that we may accept it for our purpose and proceed first with the history of these names. Vishnu as represented in the Vedas is distinguished from the

other deities as the wide-striding—'he who
 Vishnu in the Vedas. strides across the heavens in three paces'

which the commentators interpret as denoting the three-fold manifestation of light in the sun's daily movement, his rising, his culmination and his setting. Some other acts of even a higher character

are also attributed to him as that—'he established the heavens and the earth to contain all the worlds in his stride.' These acts are, however, performed by him in common with all other Vaidik gods, and he nowhere attains to the importance assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Sūrya. The Rudra of the Vedas who, in after times, is identi-

Rudra. fied with Siva or Mahādeo has no very clear functions assigned to him such as are ascribed to Agni and Indra. He is called the father of the Maruts (the winds or storms), strong, terrible and destructive. Muir writes regarding the character of this deity as shown in the Vedas :—¹

"It is however principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigor of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god; but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versa*; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the distinctive God has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra. From the above description however it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and distinctive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishnu, the same as the modern God of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or at least, of an innocuous, character."

¹ The quotations from Sanskrit works given in this chapter, unless specially noted otherwise, are taken from Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts (2nd ed.) This general acknowledgment will save much space in the foot-notes. Dr. Muir has done the greatest service possible to the history of religious thought in India in giving us translations of the actual statements contained in the best authorities. It need hardly be said that all that is attempted here is to give a summary of the connection between the religion of the past as derived from its books and that of the present day as derived from actual practice. A thorough treatment of the subject would fill several volumes.

Brahma is not a Vaidik deity nor is there in the Vedas a trace of a triad of gods derived from one great spirit and exercising the duties of creator, preserver and destroyer. The theory of a Trinity appears to be the invention of later times and for Brahma, the moderns are obliged to refer to Visvakarma, Prajāpati and Hiranyagarbha as his representative in the Vedas because these exercise similar functions in the Vaidik records. Others seek for a Vaidik triad in Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya and on this Professor Weber remarks :—

“The sun as the generative, creative principle is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connection with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Siva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishnu, the lord of the Solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation. Vishnu owes to Indra his blue color, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relation to the human heroes and Arjuna, Rāma, and Krishna, which have become of such great importance for his entire history.”

This is, however, merely conjecture, and the general result to be drawn from these statements is that we must look to a period later than the Vedas not only for the full development of the existing systems but also of the systems on which they are based. In the Vedas there is no triad vested with separate powers, nor does Brahma appear as a deity. Vishnu, too, has little in common with the Vishnu of the Purānas. Siva¹ is not mentioned and Rudra is apparently a mere form of Agni. The linga is unknown and the female forms of Siva and Vishnu are not named: nor are Rāma and Sita, Krishna and Rādhā, the favourite deities of the lower classes of the present day, alluded to. The Vedas inculcated the worship of the powers of nature as they appeared to a primitive people endowed with a deep religious sense, in the form of fire, rain, wind and sun. Gradually these were personified and endowed with human attributes and their favour was sought by presents and offerings from the flocks and products of the soil. It was not until later times that images were made and later still that they alone received the worship due to the beings represented by them. Gradually the ritualists became supreme and the due performance of the now

¹ In the Brāhmanas, Siva and Sankara occur only as appellative epithets of Rudra and never as proper names to denote him, Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 303.

intricate ceremonies in the proper place, time and form was esteemed especially necessary. This led to the institution of guilds of skilled celebrants, entrance to which was soon closed to others than those born within the family and the compilation of treatises on sacrificial ceremonies for the use of these guilds and which are known as Bráhmaṇas. But even in these Bráhmaṇas there are no traces of the modern conception of Vishnu and Śiva, though we have the idea of an all-pervading spirit Brahma (a neuter word), from whom hereafter is born Brahmá (a masculine word) and his human manifestations Bráhmans.

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that Vishnu is not the supreme god in the Vedas, nor do the Vishnu in the Itihāsa and Paurāṇik periods. Earlier commentators on those works place him above the other deities. He is only once mentioned by Manu and in the older portions of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas is only reckoned as one of the twelve Adityas. In the Bhāgavata and Vishnu Purāṇas and in parts of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana we first find him identified as one with the supreme being. The Atharva-Veda declares that Prajāpati supported the world on Skambha (the supporter) and the Satapatha-Bráhmaṇa that it was Prajāpati, in the form of a tortoise, who created all things, and as Emúsha, in the form of a boar, who supported the world on his tusks. Manu states that it was Bráhma as Nārāyana who created the world and the Mahābhārata that it was Prajāpati who saved the world in the fish incarnation. These and other acts of the elder gods have been assigned to Vishnu in the later works specially devoted to his peculiar cult. The Matsya and Bhāgavata Purāṇas detail his various incarnations. According to the former work it was in consequence of a curse pronounced on him by Sukra that Vishnu assumed most of these forms. Twelve times the gods fought with the Asuras, and it is related that on one occasion they were assisted by Vishnu, who, though hesitating to slay a female, was induced to kill the mother of Sukra, the chief priest of the Asuras. Sukra thereupon doomed Vishnu to be born seven times in the world of men; 'and in consequence of this he appears for the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails.' The Matsya Purāṇa thus enumerates these incarnations :—(1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma; (2) the Narasinha or man-lion, and (3) the

dwarf or Vāmana which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being due to Sukra's curse, viz.—the (4) Dattātreyā, (5) Māndhātṛi, (6) Parasurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki incarnation. The Bhāgavata Purāna enumerates twenty-two incarnations :—Purusha, Varāha, Nārada, Nara and Nārāyana, Kapila, Dattātreyā, Yajna, Rishabha, Prithu, Matsya, Kūrma, Dhanvantari, Narasinha, Vāmana, Parasurāma, Vedavyāsa, Rāma, Balarāma, Krishna and the future incarnations as Buddha and Kalki. The same record adds that the incarnations of Vishnu are innumerable as the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake." The popular belief, however, acknowledges ten only :—(1) the Matsya or fish ; (2) Kūrma or tortoise ; (3) Varāha or boar ; (4) Nara-sinha or man-lion ; (5) Vāmana or dwarf : (6), Parasurāma who destroyed the Kshatriyas ; (7) Rāma who destroyed the Rākshasas ; (8) Krishna¹ ; (9) Buddha who destroyed the giants, and (10), Kalki, the incarnation of the future and whose coming brings in the Hindu millenium.

The passages of the Rāmāyana which assign to Vishnu the attributes of the supreme being are chiefly connected with the

Vishnu as Rāma.

preferential worship of his incarnation as Rāma. When the gods were troubled by the Rākshasa Rāvan, they came to Vishnu and addressed him "as the lord of the gods," "the most excellent of the immortals," and prayed him to be born as a mortal to avenge them on their enemy. Vishnu consented and in order to accomplish the task which he had undertaken searched everywhere for a fitting vehicle for his incarnation. At this time Dasaratha, Raja of Ayodhya in the kingdom of Kosala, was engaged in a great *aswamedha* or horse-sacrifice for the sake of obtaining offspring, and by the advice of the gods, Vishnu resolved to be born in the Raja's house. He, therefore, attended the ceremony and suddenly issued from the smoke of the sacrifice as a young man bearing a jar of nectar which he, at once, presented to the wives of Dasaratha. To Kausalya he gave one-half and she bore Rāma, and the remainder was equally divided between Sumitra and Kaikeyi, the other wives of Dasaratha. Lakshmana and Satrugna were in consequence born to Sumitra and Bharata to Kaikeyi. Though this history would lead us to suppose that

¹ According to many lists Balasāma, who destroyed Pralambha, is here substituted for Krishna, who is believed to have been Vishnu himself.

Rāma was only a partial manifestation¹ of the deity, the later records devoted to his cult ascribe to him almost exclusively all the attributes of the god. In another passage from the same work we are told of the interview between Rāma and Parasurāma also supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu and how the latter deity recognises Rama as "the lord of the gods" and suffers the destruction of his "blissful abodes" at Rāma's hands as evidence of his inferiority.² In the episode of the ordeal of Sīta on her return from Lanka, Rāma is again invested with the attributes of the supreme being. It is then told how the gods, including even the 'three-eyed' Mahādeva, assembled and remonstrated with Raghava (Rāma) on account of his doubts concerning Sīta and his conduct towards her. They addressed him as 'the maker of the whole universe,' 'the chief of the host of gods,' and Rāma, in reply said:—"I regard myself as a man, Rāma son of Dasaratha, do you tell me who I am and whence I am." Brabma answers:—

"Hear my true word, o being of genuine power, Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyana armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, the Visvasena, the four-armed, the bearer of the bow Sārnga, Hrishikessa, Purusha, Purushottama, the unconquered, sword-wielding Vishnu and Krishna of mighty force. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra) and Madhusudana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he, from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles."

In the Rāmāyana, as we have seen, Vishnu is identified with Rāma and, in the same manner, in the Mahābhārata and the Vaishnava Purānas, he is identified with Krishna, the most popular of all the incarnations. The name Krishna nowhere occurs in the Vedas and in the earliest text³ in which it appears, he is simply called, 'the son of Devaki.' Throughout the later records he is variously represented as a mere mortal hero, as a partial incarnation of Vishnu and inferior to

¹ Some works differentiate the divine essence in the several human incarnations thus:—Krishna, full incarnation; Rāma, half; Bharata, Rāma's brother; one quarter; Rāma's two other brothers one-eighth; and other holy men, various appreciable atoms.

² Lassen, as noted hereafter, supposes this to be an interpolation, and Muir adduces further arguments in support of the suggestion that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyana as an incarnation of Vishnu: IV., 441; so also Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, 194.

³ See Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, 71, 169.

the other gods and as one with the supreme being and chief of all gods. In one passage of the Mahábhárata, Krishna with Arjuna are represented as supplicating Mahádeva for the grant of a weapon wherewith Arjuna might slay Jayadratha,¹ thus implying the superiority of Mahádeva. Subsequently, as remarked by Muir, Krishna "explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahádeva by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others and was in reality offered to himself, Mahádeva being one of his manifestations and in fact one with him. But no hint is given of it here." Here Arjuna and Krishna as Nara and Náráyana appear before Mahádeva, who receives them as if smiling and says :—"Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up from your fatigue and tell me quickly, heroes, what your minds desire." In reply, they first recite a hymn in praise of Mahádeva and then Arjuna, after due reverence to both Krishna and Mahádeva, asks from Mahádeva a bow which he ultimately obtains. In another passage Mahádeva says :—"I have been duly worshipped by Krishna * * wherefore no one is dearer to me than Krishna." Further it is said that it was owing to 'a twelve years' fasting and mortification and worship of Mahádeva' that Krishna was allowed to have offspring by Rukmini. Another wife of his, named Jám-bavati, quotes this story, and prays him to intercede for her also with Mahádeva. For this purpose Krishna visited the sage Upamanyu in his hermitage in the Himálaya and from him hears many stories in praise of Mahádeva, and eventually sees the god himself in a dream. Krishna then worships Mahádeva and his consort Párvati and obtains all that he desires. In another passage Krishna is introduced as recommending the worship of Durga to Arjuna when about to contend against the host of Dhritaráshtra. And again, Bhíshma declares his inability to describe "the attributes of the wise Mahádeva, the lord of Brahma, Vishnu and Indra. * * Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having propitiated Mahádeva at Badari, Krishna obtained from the golden-eyed Mahesvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. Thus Krishna performed austerity for full one thousand years, propitiating Siva the god who bestows boons and the preceptor of the world."

¹ Wilson, III., 300.

We also find in the Mahábhárata that the position of Krishna Sisupála opposes Krish- was not then quite assured and that there na. were not wanting those who denied him other than mortal origin. When Yuddhishtira desired to perform the great *rájasúya* sacrifice, numerous princes assembled to assist at the ceremony and amongst them Krishna and Sisupála, lord of the Chedis. Bhíshma,¹ proposed that Krishna should have honour above all the princes assembled as the most eminent of the chiefs, but Sisupála interposed and said that Krishna "was not a king or a person venerable from his age, his father Vásudeva being still alive * * that in other respects he was inferior to the other chiefs present * * and was elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered." Bhíshma then defends the claims of Krishna and says that it is from no interested motives that Krishna is held worthy of worship, but from knowing his renown, heroism and victories, in knowledge excelling the Brahmans and in valour, the Kshatriyas. Wisdom and strength are here given as the motives for paying peculiar honour to Krishna and he is not regarded as endowed with superhuman faculties, but in the concluding portion of the same speech we have him one with matter (*prakṛiti*), the eternal maker, him upon whom whatever is fourfold exists, the chief of gods. With regard to this passage so different from the narrative character of what precedes and follows, Muir justly remarks:—"It is possible that the whole of this description of his (Krishna's) qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced." Sisupála retorts on Bhíshma and charges him with being the victim of delusion, a blind leader of the blind, eager to eulogize a cowherd who ought to be vilified by even the silliest of men. He then recapitulates the feats of Krishna regarding which they had all heard so much from Bhíshma, and says:—"If in his childhood he slew Sakuni² or the horse and bull who had no skill in fighting,

¹ It was customary at the *rájasúya* for the ruler of the feast to declare who was the greatest amongst those assembled and to offer him a gift (*argha*) as a token of respect. ² In the Vishnu Purána (Wilson, IX., 276) it is told how the child Krishna while asleep was visited by Pátana, the child-killer:—"Now whatever child is suckled, in the night, by Pátana instantly dies, but Krishna laying hold of the breast with both hands, suckled it with such violence" that Pátana died. Sakuni was also killed by him whilst a child.

what wonder? If a waggon,¹ an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot, what wonderful thing did he do? * * and it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa,² the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus?—‘Let no one smite with his weapons, women, cattle or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.’ * * Thou basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keshava (Krishna) as old in knowledge and mature and superior as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle and of women, is, according to thy word, to be revered,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium?” Bhīshma then describes the birth of Sisupāla and his many offences and how he had already been pardoned by Krishna and that relying on the clemency of Govinda (Krishna) he still persisted in his insolence. Sisupāla, nothing daunted, again asked why Krishna should be so praised to the exclusion of all other kings, and Bhīshma again and again defended his favourite and said that in comparison with Krishna all other chiefs were as nothing. On hearing this, some of them rising up in great wrath demanded the instant punishment of Bhīshma and Sisupāla himself challenged Krishna to fight. Before the combat commenced, Krishna addressed the assembly recounting the evil deeds of Sisupāla and wound up with the taunt that Sisupāla had sought Rukmini,³ “but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sudra is excluded from the Veda.” Sisupāla replied that no one but Krishna would mention among respectable females a woman who had been betrothed to another and so angered Krishna that he called out to the assembly: ‘Let the king listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me and it has

¹ One night whilst asleep under the waggon Krishna cried for the breast and not being attended to immediately, kicking up his feet, he overturned the vehicle (*Ibid.*, 279).

² Krishna was born as the son of Vāsudeva and Devaki in the realms of the Raja Kansa, who having heard that a child was born who should take away his life, like Herod, gave orders that all male children should be destroyed. The gods had induced Vishnu to be born as Krishna in order to slay Kansa, and while a child Krishna lived concealed in the family of the cowherd Nanda and his wife Yasoda at Mathura, and when he grew up to man's estate, he slew Kansa (*Ibid.*, V., 41).

³ Rukmini was the daughter of Bhīshmaka, king of Kundina in the country of Vidarbha (Berar), and was betrothed to Sisupāla, king of Chedi, but was carried off by Krishna, on the eve of the wedding.

been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him,' and having thus spoken, Krishna struck off the head of Sisupála with his discus.

Duryodhana, also, the great champion of the Kauravas, notwithstanding the eloquent pleading of Sanjaya, declined to acknowledge the superiority of Krishna and when again he attempted to arrange a plot for the capture of Krishna, was warned by Vidura that his efforts would be fruitless owing to the divine character of Krishna, he still stubbornly declined to admit the celestial origin of his enemy and persuaded Sálya, king of the Madras, to accept the office of charioteer to Karna in the combat with Arjuna, whose chariot was driven by Krishna. In the course of the arguments adduced to convince the Madra prince, Duryodhana calls him the equal of Sauri (Krishna) and says that Brahma acted in the capacity of charioteer to Mahádeva in his great fight with the sons of the Asura Táraka, and further:—"Thou art a spear (*salya*) to pierce thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Sálya. * * But (it is said that) Krishna is superior in force to the strength of the arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishna, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee if Karna be slain. Why should Krishna withstand our army? and why shouldst not thou slay the enemy's host?" In the combat that ensued, the wheel of Karna's chariot sank deeply into the earth and Karna was slain by Arjuna. Sálya survived and was elected general of the Kauravas on the last day of the great war, when he, also, perished at the hands of Yuddhishtira.

In several passages, Krishna is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead: thus in the Vishnu Purána itself, Maitreya¹ asks an account "of the portion of Vishnu that came down upon earth and was born in the family of Yadu. Tell me also what actions he performed in his descent as a part of a part of the supreme, upon the earth." The commentator on this passage maintains that "this limitation extends only to his form or condition as man, not to his power; as light, by suffusion, suffers no decrease. Krishna is, nevertheless, the supreme Brahma, though it be a mystery how the supreme should assume the form of a man." In a passage of the Bhágavata

¹ Wilson, IX., 247.

Purána, Brahma addresses the gods and says:—"Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burden by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person in the house of Vāsudeva." Again, in the Vishnu Purána, in describing the circumstances which led to the incarnation of Vishnu as Krishna, Brahma addresses the gods and asks them to accompany him to the northern coast of the milky sea where is Hari, who "constantly, for the sake of the earth, descends in a small portion of his essence to establish righteousness below." They then ask Hari to assist them and "he plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and said to the gods: These my hairs shall descend upon the earth and shall relieve her of the burthen of her distress." The black hair was destined to be born as Krishna in order to destroy Kansa, the incarnation of the demon, Kálanemi. The same story is told in the Mahábhárata how "Hari plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devaki and Rohini. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*Kesha*), which was called black (*Krishna*) in colour, became Krishna or Kesava." Here again the commentator explains the passage as in no way detracting from the godship of Krishna. He is not sprung from his putative father Vāsudeva, but the hairs, representing the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude, entered at once into the wombs of Devaki and Rohini and became the media through which they conceived.

The great peak above the Badrináth temple is called Nar-Nara and Náráyana. Náráyan after Arjuna and Krishna, who are represented in many passages of the Mahábhárata as having formerly existed in the persons of the two Rishis Nara and Náráyana. Krishna himself, when he visited the Bándavas in their exile, addresses Arjuna and says:—"Thou invincible hero, art Nara and I am Hari Náráyana: in due time we came into the world, the Rishis Nara and Náráyana. Thou, son of Pritha, art not different from me, nor I, in like manner, from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us." When Arjuna sought the *pásupata* weapon from Mahádeva and met him in the

forests of the Himálaya, the latter addressed Arjuna as Nara, the companion of Náráyana, who together for so many years performed austerities at Badari¹ and the local legends place the scene of this meeting at Bhilwa Kedár near Srinagar. Again Bhishma when warning Duryodhana against Krishna relates how when oppressed by the Daityas, the gods had recourse to Pitámaha he referred them to the great Rishis Nara and Náráyana and they consented to aid the gods and slew the Daityas. He adds:—"Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Váudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Náráyana, the deities, the ancient deities as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and other gods and Asuras. This Náráyana is Krishna and Nara is called Phálguna (Arjuna). Náráyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain." In the great contest with Mahádeva noticed elsewhere, Vishnu appears as Náráyana and it is to this form that the majority of the strictly orthodox Vaishnava temples is dedicated in Garhwál. Muir writes² thus regarding this manifestation: "The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Náráyana is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two Rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishnu and Krishna was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—whilst Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Náráyana), or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna."

Besides those passages of the Mahábhárata in which Krishna is represented as one with Vishnu and therefore one with the supreme being, there are others in which the supreme attributes are ascribed to Krishna himself. During the interview between Arjuna and Krishna in the forests of the Himálaya which has already been alluded to as an extract from the *Vana-parvan* of the Mahábhárata, Arjuna recounts

¹ The sage Nárada also visited the Rishis whilst at Badari and recollected to have seen them in Sveta Dwipa, where 'was the supreme being whose forms and distinguishing marks they now bore.'

² IV., 282.

the exploits of Krishna in his former births, his austerities as Náráyana, his slaughter of the enemies of the gods, his various forms and his three strides as the son of Aditi. In the course of his speech, Arjuna addresses Krishna as—"Thou being Náráyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama art Brahma, Soma, Súra, Dharma, Dhatri, Káma, Anala, Váyu, Kuvera Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator." * * * "At the commencement of the Yuga, o Varshneya (Krishna), Brahma, the chief of things moveable and immoveable, whose is all this world sprung from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dánavas, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahádeva) wielding the trident and three-eyed. Thus even these two lords of the gods (Brahma and Mahádeva) are sprung from thy (Krishna's) body." In describing the appearance of Krishna when rebuking Duryodhana for his attempted teachery it is said that:—"as the mighty descendant of Súra (Krishna) smiled, the god wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahma occupied his forehead, Rudra (Siva) was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world (*lokapálas*) appeared on his arms and Agni sprung from his mouth. The Adityas, too, and the Sádhyas, Vasus, Asvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Rákshasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, Ráma holding a plough from his left, Yuddhishtira and Bhíma, the sons of Mádri, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishna."

In another passage where Mahádeva is asked to explain the Mahádeva glorifies Krishna. ground on which Krishna is said to be entitled to worship, he is made to say:—"Superior even to Pitámaha is Hari, the eternal spirit, Krishna brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the

śrīvatsa, Hrishīkesa, adored by all the gods. Brahma is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the Rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha (Brahma) and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities. * * The slayer of Madhu¹ is eternal, renowned as Govinda. * * This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī,² dwelling together with Śrī. Again Bhīṣhma informs Yuddhishtira how—

“Krishna created the earth, the air and the sky : from Krishna’s body the earth was produced. He is the ancient hero of fearful strength ; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions and the four intermediate regions ; and from him this creation sprang forth. * * Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe ; becoming fire he burns it, universal in his forms ; becoming water he drowns all things ; becoming Brahma, he creates all the hosts of beings. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known ; he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed.”

Krishna is also addressed by Yuddhishtira as Vishnu, the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva), Agni and the Bull, the maker of all. Again Krishna declares that Brahma was produced from his good pleasure and Mahādeva from his anger, that they are one with him and therefore to be worshipped as part of himself who is revered by all the gods, Brahma, Rudra, Indra and the Rishis. He goes on to say :—

“For when that god of gods Maheshvara is worshipped, then, son of Pritha, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Isāna, the boon-bestowing Siva, no one would worship myself. An authoritative example is set by me which the world follows. Authoritative examples are to be revered, hence I reverence him (Siva). He who knows him knows me ; he who loves him loves me. Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I yet adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, that is, I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son. For Vishnu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself : hence I, in this sense, worship Rudra.”

¹ The Dānava of that name.

² For an account of the production of Śrī from the churning of the ocean, see Wilson, VI., 144

Bhīshma, too, when warning Duryodhana of the hopelessness of contending against Krishna, relates how *Brahma praises Krishna*. Brahma celebrated the praises of Krishna in a hymn and entreated him to appear on earth in the family of Yadu and how the god consented. Brahma thus describes the interview :—"the lord of the world was entreated by me to show favour to the world (in these words) :—

"Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men : be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. * * He of whom I Brahma, the master of the whole world am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, oh most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Visvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a mere man. Whosoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension ; from his contempt of Hrishikeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body, men call that person one full of darkness."

The exploits of Krishna are recounted in several passages of the Mahābhārata by Arjuna, Bhīshma, Dhritarāshtra and even Krishna himself.¹ He is recorded as the conqueror of the bull-demon

Exploits of Krishna. Arishta who terrified the kine and destroyed hermits and ascetics.² He slew Pralambha who attempted to run away with Balarāma.³ When he appeared with Arjuna to aid the gods in their battles with the demons, "he cut off the head of Jambha who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle." He slew the great Asura Pitha, and Mura 'resembling the immortals' and the Rākshasa Ogha. He attacked Nirmochana and there slew numbers of Asuras, having violently cut asunder the nooses.⁴ He next attacked Naraka in the Asura castle of Prāgyjotisha (Asām) and recovered the jewelled earrings of Aditi.⁵ So, too, Kansa, though supported by Jarāsandha, was slain. "Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold

¹ Muir, IV., 229-253.

² Wilson, IX., 333.

³ *Ibid.* 305, where

Balarāma is said to have squeezed the demon to death by direction of Krishna.

⁴ See note Muir, l. c. 250, where a connection is traced to the nooses used by Thaga.

⁵ A detailed account of this feat is given in Wilson, IX., 85.

and heroic prince of the Śūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krishna, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarama.¹ * * Krishna, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha,² the large armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain. This hero also slaughtered like a beast, the king of the Chedis (Sisupála), who quarrelled regarding the offering.” He captured and threw down Saubha, the flying city of the Daityas on the shore of the ocean; though protected by the Sályas king so terrible from his magical powers and by the weapon *sataghni*³ which was arrested at the gate itself by his arms. He destroyed Pútana and Sakuni, the daughters of the Daitya leader Bali. He killed Pándya⁴ with a fragment of a door and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakúra and slew Ekalavya,⁵ king of the Nishádas, with a fragment of a rock. Rukmini, the betrothed of Sisupála, lord of the Chedis, was visiting a temple on the eve of her nuptials when she was seen by Krishna, who carried her off with him to the city of Dwáraka and there married her.⁶ Through him the city of Benares, which had been burned and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence.⁷ Nagnajít Raja of Gandhára or Peshawar “had offspring born to him who became enemies of righteousness” and Krishna destroyed them and carried off the daughter of the king.⁸ At Prabhása or Somnáth, he encountered the demon Panchajana, who lived in the depths of ocean in the form of a conch-shell, and having slain him took the conch-shell and ever after bore it as his horn.⁹ He obtained the discus, after propitiating Agni in the Khándava forest or, according to another account. “That discus fiery and resplendent which was formerly given to thee (Vishnu) by the god after slaying the marine monster (Panchajana) and the Daitya proud of his strength, was produced by Mahádeva.” He then brought back the *párijáta* tree from Indra’s heaven to Dwáraka.¹⁰ In consequence of these good acts, the gods conferred on Krishna

¹ *Ibid.*, X., 41; both Sunáman and Kansa were killed on the same day and their father Ugrasena was made king in their stead; by the Raja of the Bhojas, Kar is intended, *ibid.*, IX., 260.

² Krishna had recourse to the four devices of policy, or negotiation, presents, sowing dissensions and chastisement and sometimes even betook himself to flight.” Jarásandha was king of Magadha.

³ Supposed to be a sort of rocket. ⁴ A prince of the Dakshin country of Pándya.

⁵ See Wilson, IX., 113; X., 123, which make him son of Devasravas, brother of Vándevas.

⁶ Wilson, X., 70. ⁷ For an account of the burning of Benares by Krishna himself, see *ibid.*, 128.

⁸ Lassen thinks that this story has some foundation in fact. ⁹ Wilson, *ibid.*, 48; according to the Mahábhárata, Panchajana lived in Pátála.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

these boons:—"Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting, let thy step traverse the sky and the waters, and let no weapon make any impression on thy body." Throughout these laudatory accounts of the exploits of Krishna, he is depicted as a hero of great valour and strength, but not necessarily as the supreme deity, and at the close of the speech he is recorded as receiving boons from the gods. Besides the feats recorded in the Mahābhārata, there are others given in the Purānas¹ which do not occur in the older work and are embellished with more supernatural occurrences. We have thus briefly sketched the history of the two forms Krishna and Rāma under which Vishnu is worshipped at the present day. They are totally unconnected with the Vedas and are purely popular inventions produced on Indian soil to glorify the lunar and solar races respectively, and are probably nothing more than advanced dæmonism on which the ever-willing priests have engrafted as much as they could of Vaidik ceremonial and ritual.

We have already seen that there is little connection between the elder Rudra of the Vedas and the modern Rudra of the Itihāsa period beyond the quality common to both of fierceness. In some of the later Vaidik writings, however, Rudra is identified with Agni, and if we bear in mind this fact and accept the later Rudra as the representative of the two gods, much light will be thrown on the otherwise conflicting characters given to him. This theory of the dual origin of the later Rudra has the high authority of Professor Weber.² In his explanation of the great Rudra-book, the *Satarudriya*, he points out that the Brahmins, terrified at the howling hungry flame of the sacrifice which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, propitiate it with offerings. Now this was as an adaptation of the original idea of Rudra as the howling storm and now the crackling flame. Flame the cause of wind, and wind the cause of flame, unitedly forming the one great terrible being. Hence the epithets assigned to him in the *Satarudriya* are separable into two classes. Those which make him 'the dweller in the mountains' (*Girisa*), 'with spirally braided hair' (*Kapardin*), 'having dishevelled hair'

¹ See Wilson IX., 245-242; X., 1-167.

² This may be taken as a probable explanation of the working of the minds of the Brahmins of the esoteric school in developing the old ideas to meet the requirements of the day, but there is nothing to show that it was understood or accepted by the masses.

(*Vyupta-kesa*), 'cruel' (*Ugra*), 'fierce' (*Bhīma*), 'healer' (*Bhishaj*), 'auspicious' (*Siva*) and 'progenitor' (*Sambhu*) are derived from his character as 'lord of storms,' and those such as 'blue-necked' (*nila-grīva*), like wreathed smoke, 'golden-armed' (*Hiranya-bāhu*), and 'thousand-eyed' (*Sahasraksha*) like sparks, belong to him as 'lord of fire.' In the older writings there is no trace of his names *Isa* or *Mahādeva* or of his form as the *Linga* or *Phallus*.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Duryodhana relates how the gods went to *Siva* and implored his aid against the
Mahādeva.

Dānavas and how he answered that he would give them half his strength and then they should be successful. The gods replied that they could not sustain half his strength, but that they would give him half their strength. To this *Siva* consented and became stronger than all the gods and was thenceforth called *Mahādeva*, 'the great god.' In another work it is said that :—"He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself is therefore called *Mahādeva*." The sage *Upamanyu* to whom *Krishna* went for advice when he desired offspring though *Jāmbavati* thus recounts the characteristics of *Mahādeva* as told him by his mother :—"He (*Mahādeva*) assumes many forms of gods, men, goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, and fishes. He carries a discus, trident, club, sword and axe. He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents and an outer garment of serpents' skins. He laughs, sings, dances and plays various musical instruments. He leaps, gapes, weeps, causes others to weep, speaks like a madman or a drunkard as well as in sweet tones. *Ingenti membro virili præditus* he dallies with the wives and daughters of the *Rishis*." Such is the description of the god given by a female devotee to her son who himself was also an ardent disciple. *Upamanyu* then relates how he worshipped the god with great austerities and obtained the boon of the god's perpetual presence near his hermitage in the *Himālaya*. He also tells the story of the *Rishi Tandi* who had lauded *Mahādeva* as the supreme deity whom even *Brahma*, *Indra* and *Vishnu* did not perfectly know. In another passage *Krishna* describes *Siva* as :—"Rudra with braided hair, and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very

terrible." Nārada again relates how he saw Pārvati and Mahādeva in their home on the Himālaya with their attendant demons (Blútas) and nymphs (Apsarases). Both were clothed in the skins of wild beasts and the sacrificial cord of Mahādeva was formed from a serpent. Daksha, the father-in-law of Siva, thus describes the god :—" He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of goblins and spirits, like a madman, naked, with disbevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of skulls and ornaments of human bones, insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of beings whose nature is essentially darkness." He is also described in another passage as " bearing the Linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud."

Many of the contradictions observed in the epic poems in regard to the relative importance of the two great gods and their manifestations are undoubtedly due to the interpolations made by the followers of either. Professor Goldstücker has recorded that in its present state the Mahābhārata is clearly " a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature." Professor Wilson also considers the same work as belonging to various periods. Lassen is of the same opinion and writes :—

" It is true that in the epic poems, Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishnu, but they, at the same time, come before us as human heroes and these two characters are so far from being inseparably blended together that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no higher light than other highly gifted men—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishnu. It is impossible to read either of these poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes and of the unskillful manner in which these passages are often introduced and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative and how unnecessary they are for its progress."

The same writer agrees with Schlegel that the chapters in which Rāma is represented as an incarnation of Vishnu and the episode of the contest between Parasurāma and Rāma are both interpolations. Muir also concurs in this judgment and thinks that there is nothing to show that the passages lauding Mahādeva bear the

impress of a greater antiquity than those which extol Krishna. He adds :—

“Both in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and so have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and the Vaishnavas for the purpose of upholding the honor of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krishna plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced, this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahádeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred.”

Weber¹ thinks that the deeds and downfall of Janamejaya formed the original plot of the Mahábhárata and that with them the current myths and legends relating to the gods became linked in the popular legend and have now become so interwoven that the unravelling of the respective elements must ever remain an impossibility. “As to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place no approach even to a direct conjecture is possible : but at any rate it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era.” There is not wanting evidence to show that this branching off of Brahmanism into two great lines, the one, Vaishnavism, representing conservative thought and the predominating influence of the priestly caste and supporting caste and its distinctions, and the other Saivism, borrowing largely from local cults, taking into its pale the aboriginal tribes and their village deities and inclined therefore to be careless in matters of caste and ceremonial and neglectful of the priestly class, was attended with considerable friction. Saivism readily lent itself to the corrupted Buddhism around it and with Buddhism was early tainted with the Sáкта doctrines which in the Tantras of both sects have attained to such development. The Vaishnavas on the other hand have always retained more of the ancient landmarks in their teachings. They have admitted less of the aboriginal element, and though Nágrája is held to be a Vaishnava emanation, he

¹ Hist. Ind. Lit., 187-88.

is not recognised by the orthodox. Śāktism never developed itself to the same extent amongst the Vaishnavas as a body, though even here the practices of certain sections are quite on a level with those of the most degraded of the Saivas. It is not, however, to be supposed that Vaishnavas and Saivas are distinct sects. It is common for a man to reverence and worship all the five divisions, Siva, Vishnu, Surya, Ganesha and Sakti, and to have one as his favourite deity (*ishṭa-devta*). In most temples all are represented and the worshipper pays his devotions in the chapel or shrine he most cares for. Temples devoted to particular forms must have some peculiar sanctity attached to them to attract votaries and are seldom visited except on festivals.

A careful examination of the stories which are common to both Saiva and Vaishṇava works and those which
 Contest between the Saivas and Vaishnavas. have evidently been added for the mere purpose of advocating the preferential claims of either god discloses the existence of a contest between the followers of Vishnu and Siva, and also an attempt at reconciliation by declaring the one god to be the same as the other, and therefore that both should be equally an object of adoration to the devout. We shall now briefly summarise the passages which seem to indicate the existence of strife between the followers of the two great gods. In the Rāmāyana we are told how the artificer of the gods made two great bows, one of which he presented to Mahādeva and the other to Vishnu. The bow of Siva was placed in charge of Janaka the king of Mithila, and Rāma in his travels tried the bow and broke it. Parasurāma, who is also supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, heard of this exploit and visited Rāma and produced the bow of Vishnu. He then challenged Rāma to bend this bow and fit an arrow on the string and declared that if Rāma succeeded in doing so, they should then decide their respective claims to superiority in single combat. The gods had all along been desirous of finding out the strength and weakness of Mahādeva and Vishnu and asked Brahma to assist them. "Brahma, most excellent of the three, learning the purpose of the gods, created discord between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Mahādeva and Vishnu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Siva's

bow¹ of dreadful power was then relaxed and the two deities being entreated by the assembled gods, became pacified." Here we have Siva and Vishnu actually contending with each other and the victory remaining with Vishnu, and though Rāma succeeded in conquering Parasurāma, yet both are emanations of the one divine person, Vishnu.

The fact that the worship of Siva was the cause of much controversy and the object of considerable opposition is more clearly brought out in the story of Daksha's sacrifice. In the *Rāmāyana* it is simply stated that Rudra enraged at not receiving a share of the sacrifice wounded the assembled gods with his bow and, on their submission, restored them to their former condition. In the *Mahābhārata* there are three separate accounts of the sacrifice. In one Uma, the wife of Siva, sees the gods go by to the sacrifice and asks her husband why he does not go. He replies :—"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully allot me no share in the sacrifice." Uma angry for the dignity of her lord urges him to go and destroy the sacrifice, which he does and Brahma, on the part of the gods, promises that he shall ever afterwards receive a share. A second version makes the sage Dadhichi the one to incite Rudra to interfere with the sacrifice. Dadhichi was present and declared that it was impossible for the sacrifice to proceed unless Rudra were invited. Daksha replied :—"We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair who occupy eleven places. I know not Maheshwara." Devi appears with her husband and after some conversation he creates a terrific being (*Vīrabhadra*) who destroyed the preparations for the sacrifice and induced Daksha to sing the praises of Siva, on which the god appears and promises not to allow the sacrifice to remain fruitless. In the third version, the sacrifice is pierced by an arrow shot by Rudra and such consequences ensue that all the gods joined in praising him : "and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice and,

¹ Rudra gave his bow to Devarāta, the ancestor of Janaka, Raja of Mithila, whilst Vishnu gave his to Richika, from whom it came to Jamadagni, the father of Parasurāma.

through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice and whatever was removed, he restored to life as it had been before." The Váyu Purána¹ makes the gods first obtain the permission of Mahádeva and then combines the story as given in the second and third versions from the Mahábhárata above noted. Dadhíchi remonstrates with the assembled gods on the absence of Rudra and Uma addresses her lord as she sees the gods go by, and he replies in the terms already assigned to him above. Devi then asks how it is a god like him should not have a share and what could she do that he might obtain a share of the sacrifice. Then Siva addressed his bride and told her that by her perplexity that day all the gods are bewildered, that his priests worship him in the sacrifice of true wisdom where no officiating priest is needed, but let her approach and see the being he was about to create. Having spoken thus he created Vírabhadra who destroyed the sacrifice.

Wilson notes that the Kúrma-Purána also gives the discussion between Dadhíchi and Daksha and that their dialogue contains some curious matter. "Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Siva and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him or to his bride. Dadhíchi apparently evades the objection and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun who is undoubtedly hymned by the ministering priests of the Vedas. Daksha replied that the twelve Adityas received special oblations ; that they are all suns and that he knows of no others." This Purána makes Sati, the wife of Siva, to be the daughter of Daksha, and that she, chagrined at the treatment received from her father, committed suicide, on which Mahádeva cursed Daksha to be born again as a Kshatriya and in this second birth, the sacrifice took place. The Linga, Matsya, Pádma and Bhágavata Puránas all declare that Sati put an end to herself by *Yoga*, whilst the Káshi-khanda of the Skanda Purána makes Sati throw herself into the fire prepared for the sacrifice. The Bhágavata gives the entire story in detail. It appears that Daksha attended a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajápatis and that on his entrance all the gods arose and saluted him except Brahma and Mahádeva. Daksha made obeisance to Brahma, but incensed at

¹ Wilson, VI., 120.

the conduct of his son-in-law abused him roundly in the presence of the gods. He gives the description of Siva's person which has been already noticed and declares how unwilling he was to allow his fawn-eyed daughter to marry "this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers." Having thus reviled Siva, Daksha cursed him never to receive any portion along with the other gods. Then Nandíswara defended Mahádeo and devotes him who regards Daksha's words, "to practise the round of ceremonies with an understanding degraded by Vaidik prescriptions * * Let the enemies of Hara whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded." In this speech we see that the advocates of Sivaism depreciate the Vedas, most probably, as remarked by Muir, from a consciousness that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated religious records of their own country. Bhrigu, chief of the Brahmans, was one of the sages present and he replied to Nandíswara by a counter-imprecation :

"Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Siva) and all their followers, be heretics and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Siva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye have reviled the Veda and Bráhmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this Veda is the auspicious, eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod and wherein Janárdana (Vishnu) is the authority. Reviling this Veda, supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins (Bhútesa)."

On hearing this imprecation, Siva departed and the sages worshipped Vishnu for a thousand years. The enmity between Daksha and his son-in-law continued, and when Daksha became chief of the Prajápatis and resolved to celebrate the great Vrihas-patisava sacrifice, Sati came to visit him and he, reviling Siva, so vexes her that she voluntarily dies. Siva, on hearing this, creates from a lock of his matted tresses, the demon who destroyed the sacrifice. The gods then have recourse to Siva, who is pacified and allows the sacrifice to proceed and to remove the pollution caused by the demon and his attendants an oblation is offered to Vishnu. Only then does Vishnu appear in order to receive the reverence of Brahma, Siva and the other gods and to explain that

he himself was the one supreme deity and the others being emanations from him were entitled as such to some respect."¹ "As a man does not think of his own members as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me (Vishnu) does not look upon created things as distinct from me. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity."

In the preceding paragraphs we have an account of the havoc wrought at Daksha's sacrifice by the weapons of Siva, and in another story from the Mahábhárata we have the sequel related by Krishna as Dharmaja. At this time Arjuna and Krishna as

Contest between Rudra and Náráyana.

Nara and Náráyana were engaged in performing great austerities on the Gandhamádana mountain above Badari and the blazing trident which destroyed Daksha's sacrifice at Kankhal where the Ganges debouches on to the plains followed the course of the river upwards seeking fresh enemies. Arrived at Badari, it entered the hermitage of the Rishis and smote Náráyana, full on the breast, but the Rishi repelled the weapon and with a great yell it bounded back into its wielder's hands. Rudra was astonished and forthwith hastened to Badari and attacked Náráyana, but the Rishi seized him by the throat and Nara raised up a straw which became a great axe and was hurled against Rudra when it broke into fragments (*khandana*): hence the name Khandaparasu. The two then continued to fight, but when the gods saw the fearful consequences of the conflict, the utter cessation of all worship and destruction of all things, they deputed Brahma to endeavour to effect a reconciliation. He approached Rudra and explained to him that Nara and Náráyana were one form of the supreme being as he (Brahma) was another and Rudra a third, and so plied his arguments that the gods became reconciled. Rudra then propitiated Náráyana and Hari (Vishnu) addressing Mahádeva said:—"He who knows thee, knows me: he who loves thee, loves me. Henceforth let this *srivatsa* of mine be the mark of the trident and thou shalt be the *srikantha* marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the

¹ The Saivas in the Linga-Purána retort on the Vaishnavas and make Vishnu and Brahma quarrel, because the one called the other 'child', until at length a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flowers, appeared and bewildered them both. For a thousand years the two gods tried to find the end of the Ling and not succeeding worshipped Mahádeva.

other, the gods joined in an indissoluble friendship. Krishna then goes on to tell the Pándavas that it is Rudra with spirally-braided hair that precedes them in the battle and slays their enemies and therefore advises them to devoutly reverence "him the god of gods, lord of Uma, of boundless power, Hara, the undecayable lord of all." This story probably contains an allusion to the fact that Hardwár and Badari were the scenes of some great contests between the followers of the two sects, which indeed are not unknown in the present age.

We have an account of another contest between Krishna and Siva in the story of the Daitya Bána, given in the Vishnu

Contest between Krishna and Bána. Purána.¹ Prahláda, the great Daitya, had a son Virochana, "whose son was Bali,

who had a hundred sons, of whom Bána was the eldest." Bána had a lovely daughter, Usha by name, who seeing Párvati and Siva sporting together desired like dalliance and prayed the beautiful wife of the great god for assistance. She graciously addressed Usha and said :—"Do not grieve, you shall have a husband. He who shall appear to you in a dream on the twelfth of the light half of Vaisákha shall be your husband." Usha dreamed a dream and saw Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, and with the aid of her confidante Chitrlekha induced him to visit her. Before this took place, Bána had been engaged in propitiating Mahádeva and weary of rest had prayed the god to give some occupation to the thousand arms he possessed, and the god was pleased to grant the request. When Bána heard that Aniruddha was in the palace he captured the lover and bound him, and on this becoming known Krishna, Balaráma and Pradyumna set out for the Daitya city and a great contest took place between them and a mighty fever sent by Siva. Then Bána and the whole Daitya host aided by Siva and Kárttikeya fought with Krishna. A single combat also took place between Siva and Vishnu. The former was struck with the weapon of yawning and so set agape that he was unable to continue the contest. Bána then engaged Krishna and both were wounded; "desirous of victory, enraged, and seeking the death of his antagonist each hurled missiles at the other." When Krishna was about to destroy Bána with the discus Sudarshana, the mystical goddess Kotavi

¹ Wilson, X., 107.

stood before him naked and induced him only to lop off the arms of the Daitya. Then Siva came and praying Krishna to be merciful to Bána, said :—" I have given Bána assurance of safety. Do not thus falsify that which I have spoken. He has grown old in devotion to me. Let him not incur thy displeasure. The Daitya has received a boon from me and therefore I deprecate thy wrath." Krishna replied :—" Since you have given a boon to Bána let him live. You must perceive that you are not distinct from me : that which I am thou art." Aniruddha and his wife were released and accompanied Krishna back to Dwáraka. On this story Wilson remarks :—" There can be little doubt that this legend describes a serious struggle between the Saivas and Vaishnavas in which the latter, according to their own report, were victorious and the Saivas although they attempt to make out a sort of compromise between Rudra and Krishna are obliged to admit his having the worst of the conflict and his inability to protect his votary." In the text quoted above, Sonitapura is the name of Bána's city which elsewhere has the synonyms Ushávana, Kotivarsha, Bánapura and Devikota. The last is commonly identified with Devicottah in the Karnatic which is popularly believed to be the scene of Bána's defeat. But the name occurs also in other parts of India and in the Kálika-Purána, Bána is described as the neighbour of Naraka, Raja of Prágiyotisha or Asúm. In Kumaon, the Lohughát valley is held to be the scene of Bána's defeat and Súi represents the site of Sonitapura 'the red city' of the Puránas. The soil itself is appealed to in order to confirm the truth of the legend, for on removing the crust a deep-blue or more generally a deep red ferruginous clay is turned up which is said to owe its colour to the blood of the Daityas. In the rainy season also, the Lohu or 'blood river' pours down a similarly discoloured stream to Lohughát. Kotavi the Vidhyamantramayi or 'goddess of the magical lore of the Daityas' is elsewhere called Lamba¹ and is said to be the mother of Bána and one with Káli. Her name is preserved here in Kotalgarh, 'the fortress of the naked woman,' whilst Mahádeo is worshipped as 'the lord of Bána' at Báneswar-ke-áli in Katyúr. In Garhwál, Usha, or in the local dialect Ukha,² gives her name to Ukhimath, where

¹ Siva as Lambakeswar is worshipped at Jhaltola in Bel and Kotavi or Kotbi has a temple in Kharáyat.

² The loves of Usha and Aniruddh have been dramatised by Chandia Sekhara in the *Madhuániruddha*, Wilson, XII., 396.

a temple was built for her by her father Bána in Patti Bámsu, the name of which also is derived from Bána Asura. There is a temple to her husband Aniruddha at Lamgauri in the same patti.

Another legend relates the conflict between Krishna and the The false and the true Vāsudeva. Paundraka or false Vāsudeva, so called because born in the country of the Paundras or western Bengal. The Vishnu Purána¹ describes him as "he who though not the Vāsudeva was flattered by ignorant people, as the descended deity, until he fancied himself to be the Vāsudeva who had come down upon earth. Losing all recollection of his real character he assumed the emblems of Vishnu" and sent an ambassador to Krishna, desiring him to lay aside the insignia, name and character of Vāsudeva and come and do homage. Krishna replied that he would come and that quickly and so provide that there should never again be any question of the sort. Aided by the Raja of the Káshis, Paundraka met the forces of Krishna, but soon the real discus and mace demolished the false weapons and their wielder. The Raja of the Káshis however, "adhering to the imposture of his friend," continued the conflict until he was decapitated by Krishna, who slew him and threw his head into the city of Káshi. When the people saw that the Raja was dead, they propitiated Siva and asked him to avenge the murder of their king and Siva pleased to be adored in the sacred city granted their request. From out of the sacrificial flame uprose a terrible female form, enwreathed with fire, who attacked Dwáraka, but repulsed by the discus it fled again to Káshi still followed by the weapon of Krishna. The army of Káshi and the attendants of Siva resisted, but the discus consumed the city and all its inhabitants and returned to the hands of Vishnu. Wilson writes:—"In this legend also we have a contest between the followers of Vishnu and Siva intimated; as besides the assistance given by the latter to Paundraka, Benares has been, from all time, as it is at present, the high place of the Siva worship. There is also an indication of a Vaishnava schism, in the competition between Paundra and Krishna for the title of Vāsudeva

¹ Wilson X., 121. The Bhágavata Purána makes the Paundraka Vāsudeva, chief of the Káuśhas, a Vindhyan tribe and the Padma makes him chief of Káshi. According to the Hari Vansa, Krishna is absent on a visit to Siva at Kailása when Dwáraka is attacked by Vāsudeva aided by the Nisháda king Kálavya, and Krishna only returns in time to repel the enemy.

and the insignia of his divinity." It will thus be seen that the Vaishnava incarnations invented to defeat the efforts of the rival sect were not received without opposition, and that the old contest between Aryan and Dasa was revived in the rivalry between the Aryan Vaishnavas and the Dasa Saivas, neither of whom show the slightest regard for Vaidik teaching.

In the Mahābhārata, Sanjaya, the able minister and charioteer of Dhritarāshtra, sings the praises of Krishna and attributes to him all god-like qualities and persuades Dhritarāshtra to recommend the worship of Krishna to Duryodhana. In one of his discourses, the name Vāsudeva is explained as being derived "from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a 'Vasu' from a divine womb." This seems to be the oldest and most popular of the names of Vishnu in Garhwāl, where there are several temples to Bāsdeo and legends connected with a king of that name which are more applicable to a deified hero than to a mere mortal. In a passage, quoted by Muir,¹ where Krishna is describing to Yuddhishtira the different partisans of Jarāsandha, there appears to be a tradition indicating some struggle at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worshippers of Vishnu and those of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces to the east of Magadha. Krishna says :—" And he who formerly was not slain by me has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama amongst the Chedis * * who through infatuation continually assumes my mark. He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras and Kirātas and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras." On this Lassen remarks :—"Since these became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishnu, it is clear from this passage, that among the eastern tribes, and those too not of Aryan origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishnu." Elsewhere I have shown that the name Kirātas was most probably given to the oldest inhabitants of the Kumaon hills, and this would help to explain the local legend connected with Bāsdeo, as the founder of the dynasty who ruled in Upper Garhwāl.

¹ IV., 297 : see Wilson, X., 121, for an account of the Paundraka Vāsudeva who set himself up against Krishna.

We have now traced, so far as the space at our disposal admits the history of the two great gods of the Hindu pantheon. We have seen that while Siva and Vishnu. the history of the two great gods of the Hindu pantheon. We have seen that while Siva in many passages is represented as inferior to Vishnu, Krishna and Râma, in other passages he is held to be one with the supreme spirit. We have now to indicate how it came about that, as in these hills, both are most frequently considered emanations of the one great power and equally deserving of worship. Whether due to love of peace or to priestly greed, we have seen that the compilers of the epic poems have in several instances made each of the gods to say that he who loves one loves the other, and in one of the accounts of the contest between Siva and Krishna, Brahma is made to relate a dream in which he saw the two gods, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Siva) in the form of Hari (Vishnu), with the shell, discus and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garura and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin and mounted on a bull. The Rishi Mârkandeya then explained the meaning of the vision thus :

"I perceive no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishnu and Vishnu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishnu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitâmahâ: the substance is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishnu, Pitâmahâ. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishnu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishnu must possess the nature of Vishnu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the nature of Agni; Vishnu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the moon); and the world, moveable and immoveable, possesses the nature of Agni and Soma: the lords Vishnu and Maheshwara are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world."

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to show that the introduction of the worship of Siva was attended by much opposition and that the terrible form of the god was an object of disgust and contempt to the followers of the orthodox deities. Siva is in this form associated with the goblins, demons and spirits and all the beings that in the earlier works are represented as non-Aryan. He delights in human sacrifices, a custom specially regarded as belonging to the forest and hill tribes. He assumes the character of a forester

at times and his home is in the hills. In this form he is an emanation distinct from the Mahádeva of the older passages of the Mahábhárata and owes his origin to the pre-Bráhmanical and certainly non-Aryan religion of India. Stevenson¹ is of the same opinion which he bases on the following facts:—(a) Siva is not named in the Vedas: (b) Rudra even if identified with Siva has not the same position in the Vedas which the later Mahádeva holds in the Puránas and epics: (c) the legend of Daksha's sacrifice shows that his right to a share in the sacrifice was disputed and that no officiating priest was necessary, which, as we have seen, was the great distinction between the Dasyus and the Aryans: (d) there is no connection between the linga or form under which he is now worshipped and any Bráhmanical emblem: (e) the principal seats of linga worship are to be found in southern India and along the Himálaya at a distance from the orthodox Bráhmanical settlements: (f) in the Marátha country the linga shrines are served by Gurava priests of the Sudra class, whilst on the other hand, Brahmans alone officiate in the Vaishnava temples. This last distinction, however, is modified in the Kumaon Himálaya where all temples are served either by religious fraternities or by Khasiya Brahmans who have really no title to the name. All these facts point to a non-Bráhmanical origin for the worship of Siva as it exists at the present day. From the celebrity of the Kumaon Himálaya from the earliest ages as the abode of ascetics and the seat not only of secular but of theological learning and its position as the supreme resort of the worshippers of Siva as Pasupati at the present day we may well assume for it a prominent part in the evolution of modern Sivaism. Professor Whitney writes:—“The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra: or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary: Siva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influences of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindustan proper; introduced among and readily accepted by a people which, as the Atharvan shows,

¹ J. R. A. S., V., 189, 264: VII., 1, 64, 105: VIII., 330.

was strongly tending towards terrorism in its religion." Gorresio in his preface to the *Rámáyana* expresses an opinion that Mahádeva was the special deity of the southern races who are identified by him with the *Rákshasas* of that poem, and though Muir, after a careful examination of the evidence, comes to the conclusion that "there are not sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Aryan tribes of southern India as being specially addicted to the worship of Siva, there are, however, strong grounds for believing that there was an intimate connection between the non-Aryan tribes of the *Himálaya*, the *Dakhin* and southern India and that all worshipped forms which enter into the conception of the many-sided Mahádeva. From the time of Sankara Achárya, *Dakhini* priests minister in the great shrines of *Kedárnáth* in *Garhwál* and *Pasupati* in *Nepál*, and he like many of his predecessors was of southern origin.

There can be little doubt that the *Sakti* or female forms are due to a popularising of the *Sánkhya* idea of 'Puru-sha' and 'Prakriti.' The early conception of the supreme *Purusha* or spirit as being without qualities (*gunas*) gave rise to a theory to account for the creation and the existence of the sexes which makes the exhibition of the creative power to be due to the union of the wish with the deity himself. Later on the followers of the *Sánkhya* system of philosophy make a distinction between nature and the supreme spirit. The former which they call 'Prakriti' or 'Múla-Prakriti' is held to be the eternal matter and plastic origin of all things, independent of the supreme spirit, but co-existent with him as his *Sakti*, his personified energy or bride. Thus from the union of power and will or spirit and matter all things were produced, and as each of these creatures of the creator possesses a portion of the supreme spirit, they have a double character, male and female. The *Prakriti Khanda* of the *Bráhma Vaivartta Purána*¹ devotes itself to an explanation of the forms of *Prakriti* which are also identified with *Máya*, the goddess of illusion. In that work the meaning of the word *Prakriti* is thus explained:—"The prefix '*Pra*' means pre-eminent; '*kriti*' means 'creating'; that goddess who was pre-eminent in creating is called *Prakriti*. Again, '*Pra*' means best, or is equivalent to the term

¹ Wilson, I., 240: III, 100.

'*sattwa*,' 'the quality of purity'; '*kri*' implies 'middling,' the quality of 'passion' (*rajas*) and '*ti*' means worse or that of 'ignorance' (*tamas*). She who is invested with all power is identifiable with the three properties and is the principal in creation and is therefore termed Prakriti." By a natural process the personification of the energy of the supreme spirit was extended to the energies of the gods and the same record tells us how Prakriti was divided into five portions:—Durga, the Sakti of Mahádeva; Lakshmi, the Sakti of Vishnu; Sarasvati,¹ also the Sak^ti of Vishnu; Sávitri, the Sakti of Brahma and mother of the Vedas and Rádha, the mistress of Krishna. This category has since been modified and extended to include portions, parts and portions of parts of the primitive Prakriti. Thus Chaudika and Káli are portions and Pushti is a part of Prakriti, whilst all womankind are included in the third category as containing portions of parts of the deity and are divided into good, middling and bad according as they derive their origin from each of the three equalities inherent in the primitive Prakriti. Though the principle of the worship of 'the personified energy' is inculcated in the Puránas, the ritual is contained in the Tantras for which the Sáktas or worshippers of Sakti claim the authority of a fifth Veda.

In the Sáma Veda (VIII., p. 240) occur the verses:—"He felt not delight being alone. He wished another and instantly became such. He caused his own self to fall in twain and thus became husband and wife. He approached her and thus were human beings produced." It is precisely in this form that Siva appears in some very early sculptures under the title Arddhánáriswara; on the right side male and on the left side female. Bardesanes,¹ who wrote in the third century an account of India, records the following description of this form:—"In a very high mountain, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the earth there was as he heard a large natural cave in which was to be seen a statue ten or perhaps twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded cross-wise and the right half of its face, its right arm and foot, in a word its whole right side was that of a man: its left that of a

¹ In the fragments of his *Indika* preserved by Porphyry he states that he collected the materials from Daudaus or Gaudamides, chief of an embassy whom he met at Babylon in the reign of Antonínus of Emesa, 213-222 A.D. J. R. A. S., XIX., 274.

woman : and the indissoluble union of these two incongruous halves in one body struck all who saw the statue with wonder. On its right breast was engraved the sun, on its left the moon ; on its two arms were artistically and sculptured a host of angels, mountains, a sea and a river together with the ocean and plants and living things and all that is, and the Indians told him that God after he had created the world gave this statue to his son as a visible exemplar of his creation, and I asked them," adds Bardesanes, "of what this statue was made and Sandanes assured me and the others confirmed his words that no man could tell: that it was not gold or silver, nor yet brass or stone nor indeed any other known material ; but that, though not wood, it was the likeliest a very hard and sound wood." He then describes the 'pool of probation' which lay within the cave and in which the voluntary and involuntary offences of man were probed and tried. Statues of this form exist in the rock-cut caves at Elura, Badami and Elephanta and at Mahávallipur near Madras.

This androgynous form is also found on the coins of Kadphises¹ accompanied with a necklace of skulls and the usual *Vahana* or attendant Nanda, the bull. In the same mintage Siva occurs in the guise of Kárttikeya, armed with a trident and adorned with the spiral shell-shaped hair from which he obtains the name Kapárdin. It would therefore appear that this montane Sivaism had its origin at least before the first century before Christ, and that in the time of Kadphises it was the popular cult of the Kábul and Peshawar valleys. The legends and figures on the coins of the Kanishka group have been analysed by Mr. Thomas,² who shows that at first this group, wherever their first Indian location may have been, clearly followed Iranian traditions in the classification and designations of their adopted gods, in the regions of their abundant mintages. Some of the coins of Ooerki or Huvishka exhibit Siva in various forms with the names of Indian deities in the legend. Thus with the very common legend *OKPO* which is probably the same as the Sanskrit *Ugra*, 'fierce' or 'terrible', a name of Siva, we have Siva-trimukhi three-headed and four-armed clad in a loin-cloth with a trident and a thunderbolt in his left hand and in his right hand a wheel, whilst the other points

¹ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. 10.

² J. R. A. S., IX. 211.

down to a goat or some similar small animal or is perhaps holding a water-bottle. With the legend '*Maaseno*' or Mahásena, a title of Kárttikeya, we have a figure of that deity and again with the legend '*Skando komaro bizago*' or Skanda, Kumárs, Visákha, all of which are titles of Kárttikeya, we have two figures looking towards each other. In a coin with the legend '*Ardochro*,' perhaps representing '*Arddhugra*' or the androgynous form of Siva, the figure is clearly that of a female with something like a cornucopia in her hand. On the coins of the Devaputra Sháhinsháhi Vásudeva or '*Basdeo*' we have with the *OKPO* legend, Siva-trimukhi with spirally-twisted hair, holding in the right hand the noose and in the left a trident and clad in a loin-cloth in Indian fashion. Again he appears as Pasupati, one-faced, riding on a bull, with bushy hair, holding the noose (*pasu*) and trident, clothed with the loin-cloth and naked above the waist. Siva-trimukhi also occurs riding on the bull and naked above the waist with the caste thread marked. These facts are sufficient to show that at least the germ of modern Sivaism was the dominant cult in the Kashmír valley in the first century after Christ, and that it was of the local Mahádeva type importing the family of Siva as well as himself into the pantheon in the shape of Kárttikeya, or Senapati, the typical northern offspring of Siva and also the favourite deity of the Katyúras, as Ganesha or Ganapati is the emanation in most favour in southern India. The noose-holding Siva or Pasupati attended by his vehicle the bull continued the type of the coins minted by the successors of the Turushkas.

We know that amongst the Buddhists the germs of the later Tántrik beliefs and the advanced Sákti doctrines are to be found in the developed Sútras of the *Mahá-Yána* school attributed to

Nágárjuna and the council held by Kanishka.

Union through Sivaism. These remained in abeyance for several centuries, but none the less achieved their object when revived by the successors of their founder. The same source gave the idea of Mahádeva to the Brahmanists, and thus the two great branches of mediæval religion sought by union with pre-Bráhmanical beliefs¹

¹ The exaltation of Khande Rao or Khandoba in the Dekhan to the position of an *avatar* of Siva is a notable instance of this union in comparatively recent times. A *mahátmya* has been written in his honour and is said to be a part of the *L'nga-Pránau*. Vithoba is also a modern affiliation.

to widen and establish on a broader basis their respective cults. The masses through the popular deities were brought into some semblance of obedience to priestly authority and interest led the priests to retain the allegiance of the people by introducing order amongst the local gods, improving and extending their ritual and assimilating it to the highly complicated and ornate ceremonial of the Aryas. Once on the downward path along which all efforts to please the popular palate lead, the lower phases of dæmonism supplied both Buddhist and Brahmanist with the doctrines of advanced Śāktism, magical rites and formulæ and all the corrupted usages which mark the Tantras of both sects in their later developments. Learning was considered of no account and the verses of the Vedas becoming unintelligible to the celebrants served only as wonder-working spells by which the gods were compelled to attend to the wishes of their worshippers.

From the same idea of the androgynous nature of the great gods arose the worship of the male and female organs under the symbols of the ling and yoni. This too borrowed largely from non-Brāhmanical sources both in north-western India and in southern India. The instructive story of the great fiery ling, still remembered in the name Jyotir-dhām (Joshimath), would show that whilst the Brahmans and Buddhists were fighting for pre-eminence, the followers of the new cult of Siva stepped in and ousted both from the popular religion. In the advanced writings of the later Saivas, popular beliefs and practices are engrafted wholesale on the original quasi-Brāhmanical basis. In the Marātha country no Brahman officiates in a linga temple and for its service a distinct order of Sudra origin called Guravas has arisen who dress and bathe the image and arrange the offerings. The worshipper can only present the offerings and cannot lay them before the god as is done in Vaishnava temples. When Siva became two, his female half became Pārvati, showing the montane origin of the idea, and with reference to his name Kedār, Stevenson remarks :—" If it may be asked what local deity Siva represents and what was his ancient name, I would state as a probable conjecture that Kedār was the original Hindu name of Siva. Though adopted into Sanskrit there is no real derivation of Kedār." The symbol of the linga, too, may have arisen from the pointed

peaks around his original home. Kedár is the name given to the highest peak on the Purandhar hills near Púna, on which there is also a temple of Siva. He is further represented in the Linga-Purána in the androgynous form Arddhánáriswara, thus clearly connecting the two ideas of the Sákti form and the linga emblems.

The Linga-Purána has the following statement in the introduction:—"The ungenerated is Siva and the linga is denominated Saiva. When we speak of *pradhána* (chaos) and *prakṛiti* (nature) we are to understand the supreme linga which is free of smell, colour and taste; which can neither utter a sound nor be made the subject of touch; having no sensible qualities but stable, undecaying, ungenerated. The qualities of the manifested Siva, the most excellent linga are, on the other hand, smell, colour, taste, a capability of uttering sound and of being touched. He is the womb of the world, the principal element, sometimes vast, sometimes minute. The linga itself for the purpose of developing the world was produced from the ungenerated: and from social affection one linga expanded itself into seven into eight and into eleven. From these came the blessed triad, the first principle of the gods, springing from one subsisting in three; the whole guarded by one and the whole unity also carried forward and manifested by one, namely, by Siva * * * Rudra, the supreme spirit, the revered, the creator (Brahmá, the eternal, the all-wise, and he who is from his nature free from all fault is called Siva in the Puránas." There is nothing in this Purána of an obscene character, but the doctrines contained in it were soon pushed to their logical conclusions, and the Sánkhyá idea of creation being the result of the union of the primeval male or soul of the universe called Purusha with the active female principle called Prakṛiti became the pregnant source of the licentious orgies sanctioned by the Tantras. The Tántrikas urge that the pursuance of evil is quite as effective towards liberation as restraining the passions and leading a godly life. The condition remains the same whether you are bound by an iron or a golden chain, and lust, drunkenness and gluttony may be indulged in if accompanied by spells properly pronounced according to prescribed formulæ and in proper places.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGION—(contd.)

CONTENTS.

Buddhism. Sákya Muni. Caste. Lassen on Buddhism. Buddhist scriptures. Gods and genii. *Vinaya Pitaka*. *Abhidharma Pitaka*. The schools of Buddhism. The *Dhyáni* Buddhas. Magic. *Dhyānas*: *dhāranis*. Spread of magical rites. Monotheism becomes polytheism. The Tantras. Further assimilation of Saiva practices. Buddhism in Nepál. Bonpas of Tibet. Sankara Achárya. His works and teaching. Siva. Pasupati in Nepál. Pasupati. Kedar-náth. Túngnáth and Rudrnáth. Other Saiva temples. Kamaleswar. Jageswar. Names of Mahádeo. Bágeswar. Vishnu. Badrináth. Pándukeswar. Briddh-badri. Dhyán-badri. Painkhanda. Jyotir-dhám. Other Vaishnava temples. Saktis of the Himálaya. Uma. Nanda. Ambika. Gauri. Durga. Mahisha-mardini. Tripura-sundari. Káli. Chámunda. Chandika. Sítala. Mátris. Vaishnava Saktis. Kárttikeya. Ganesha. Núrya. Hanumán. Garur. Dattátreya. Parásura. Mándhátá. Kapila. Agastya Muni. Ghatotkacha. Gorakhnáth. Existing temples. Local deities. Satyanáth. Ráj-rajawari. Ghantakarn. Bholánáth. Ganganáth. Masán. Goril. Kahetrpál. Airi. Kalbisht. Chauma. Haru. Katyúris. Bádi. Nága worship. Mahásus. Conclusions. Sikhs and others.

Whether the coalition between the Vaishnavas and the Saivas noticed in the preceding chapter was due to philosophical tolerance or pressure from without we have not the means to decide, but we certainly know that whilst these changes were occurring within Bráhmanism itself, two very important factors in their development are to be found in the success of the Buddha schism and the influence of the demon-cults of the aborigines. The Bráhmanical system of theology and polity had attained a very high development, its system of castes and duties had been established when a power arose within its own pale which was destined almost to threaten its very existence. Buddhism was primarily a protest against caste privileges, ritualism and priestly tyranny; and was in some respects a development, for the use of the people, of the principles of the Sánkhyá school of Kapila, the most ancient of the Hindu systems of philosophy. This school set up an original primordial matter called *prakriti*¹

¹ Also known as *Pradhána*, 'chief-one': *Máya*, 'source of illusion.'

as the basis of the universe out of which, by successive stages, creation is evolved. *Prakriti* itself is made up of the *gunas* or qualities, of goodness (*sattwa*), passion (*rajas*) and darkness (*tamas*). Each one's character depends on the proportion of each of these qualities in himself. It is the junction of *Prakriti* and *Purusha* or the soul that forms man, and it is this idea of the dual origin of creation that lies at the bottom of Sāktism. Weber¹ summarises the teaching of Buddha as inculcating—"that men's lots in this life are conditioned and regulated by the actions of a previous existence, that no evil deed remains without punishment and no good deed without reward. From this fate which dominates the individual within the circle of transmigration he can only escape by directing his will towards the one thought of liberation from this circle by remaining true to this aim and striving with steadfastness after meritorious action only; whereby, finally having cast aside all passions which are regarded as the strongest fetters in this prison-house of existence, he attains the desired goal of complete emancipation from re-birth. This teaching contains in itself nothing absolutely new: on the contrary it is identical with the corresponding Brāhmanical doctrine." The ascetic life was resorted to by all the orthodox who sought for that intimate knowledge of the deity which promised absorption in his essence as its reward, and Buddha himself first took refuge with Brāhman authorities to seek from them the way of salvation. The object of the Sāṅkhya system was to free the soul from the fetters which bind it in consequence of its union with matter. The Yoga branch of the same system makes its object the union of the individual spirit with the all-pervading soul by restraint and contemplation. Buddha, in the earlier part of his career, differed little from other ascetics of the Yoga school of Patanjali. He accepted the ancient doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the existing Brāhmanical divinities and the prevailing distribution into castes, but he substituted annihilation as the object to be aimed at instead of absorption into the essence of the deity. For him there was no God, and the only escape from the misery of existence was the entrance into the state of eternal sleep called *nirvāna*. The authority on which he based his teaching was entirely personal. He was noted for his charity,

¹ Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 289.

patience and chastity, and he further claimed for himself the possession of superhuman power and knowledge and the state of being a Buddha, i. e. 'enlightened.' By his power he worked miracles and thus seemed to place the sign of superhuman approval on his mission : by his knowledge he scanned the past and declared what was to happen in future, that he was only one in the chain of 'enlighteners' and should come again on earth in the later times to give deliverance to a suffering world. In this character, he undertakes duties similar to those which have been attributed to Vishnu by his followers.

Buddha was not satisfied with the teaching of his instructors, and it was only after much thought, great restraint, study and self-repression that he attained the victory of 'the great renunciation' under the bodhi-tree. But once he grasped what he believed to be the truth he set to work to communicate the glad tidings to the people in their own vernaculars. This was, perhaps, the first time in the history of India that a great teacher condescended to address himself to people of all classes on matters concerning their spiritual welfare in a language which they could understand. The Bráhmanical system confined the interpretation of the sacred writings to a professional class who gradually grew up into a caste and guarded their privilege with jealous care. Amongst them, even, the truths taught by the philosophers who resided in caves and forests were delivered as secrets to a few in a language that had become difficult of attainment. Buddha changed all this and admitted as his followers all who received the first and only obligatory condition binding on all who chose to follow him :—'Believe on me and ye shall obtain rest.' And in this bringing home to the people in their own tongue the facts that they, whatever their positions might be, could escape the intolerable burden of metempsychosis by simply believing in the superhuman character of Buddha's mission, we have the key to the ready reception of his teaching by the people and the bitter prosecution to which both Buddha and his followers were subjected at the hands of the Bráhmanists. Burnouf enumerates the ignorance, poverty and misfortunes of the people and the greatness of the rewards held out by Buddha as the immediate predisposing causes of the rapid spread of his doctrines. Hé quotes the story of the pupil

Panthaka who was so stupid that when his teacher pronounced 'bhuh' he forgot 'om' and when 'om' was pronounced he forgot 'bhuh': yet Panthaka was soon a candidate for the religious life. Those devoted to religion became the '*Sangha*' or 'assembly' and thus arose the Buddhist triad of belief:—'*Buddha, Dharma, Sangha*.' There was no priestly class, but it was held for all that progress could best be made by following the ascetic life, because in it there was least temptation to earthly excitement and more aid towards contemplation. Undoubtedly the *Sangha* gave the greatest offence to Bráhmánists, for it became an easy refuge for those who were alarmed at the difficulties of Bráhmanical learning. According to the legends, the preaching of Sákya Buddha was accompanied by miracles, and the Bráhmans who sought to vie with him were as signally defeated as the Egyptian priests were by Moses. In a story, quoted by Burnouf, the Bráhmans complain that formerly they were honoured and supported by all classes, but since Sákya appeared all their honours and profits were gone. An additional reason for the hostility of the priesthood is here disclosed, and to this may be added the effect of the teaching that the sacred books were not the highest sources of knowledge and that sacrifices were of no avail to save a man from the consequences of evil deeds wrought in a former birth. Thus we find that the supreme authority of the sacred texts was set at naught by the great reformer, and with them the position of the priests as the authorised expounders of the sacred rules and alone entitled to offer expiatory oblations for the sins of the people.

The great object of existence was to avoid existence. Though
 Caste. a good man might attain to the enjoyment
 of a better state by the practice of good
 works, yet this was not to be the aim and end of his efforts but to attain to final extinction. All other matters were of little import. Castes existed and would exist, but these and other mundane causes of joy and sorrow were all due to the influence of deeds done in former births. The mere fact that a person came to hear the preacher was due to some former virtuous act, and when the most unfortunate or degraded amongst his hearers received the truth into their hearts that their present condition was due to sins

¹ From the great '*Vjékriti*' spell—'Om, bhuh, bhuvah, svah.'

committed in their former births and that a way of release was opened to them, a way that was made easy for them and of which the duties were light, a response was at once elicited and the preacher's invitation was accepted. Sákya delighted to address his converts individually and explain the deeds of former births which brought the reward of being born when he appeared and of being able to hear him and accept his doctrine. On the other hand he not only described the sins which caused the man of low estate to be born in his present degraded condition, but also assured him of the finality of his suffering should he steadfastly adhere to the course now prescribed for him. Bournouf writes¹:—"Sákya opened to all castes without distinction the way of salvation from which their birth had formerly excluded the greater part; and he made them equal among themselves and in his own esteem by investing them with the rank of monks. In this last respect he went much farther than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali who had begun a work nearly resembling that which the Buddhists accomplished afterwards. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Vedas and by substituting for them the practice of personal piety, Kapila had placed within the reach of all, at least in principle, the title of ascetic which up to that time had been the complement and nearly exclusive privilege of the life of a Bráhmaṇ. Sákya did more: he gave to isolated philosophers the organisation of a religious body. We find in this the explanation of two facts; first, the facility with which Buddhism must have been propagated at its commencement, and secondly, the opposition which Bráhmaṇism naturally made to its progress. The Bráhmaṇs had no objection to make so long as Sákya confined himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of mankind to assure them of the deliverance which I have already styled *absolute*. But they could not admit the possibility of that *actual* deliverance, that *relative* liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction, in a given time, of the subordination of castes as regarded religion. This is how Sákya attacked the foundation of the Indian system, and it shows us why a time could not fail to come when the Bráhmaṇs placed at the head of that system would feel the necessity of prescribing a doctrine the consequences of which could not escape them."

¹ J. M. in Ben. Mag., p. 33.

Lassen also gives us a similar account of the position in which Sākya stood to the Brāhmins and their system :—

Lassen on Buddhism.

"When the founder of Buddhism entered on his career, the priestly constitution of the Brāhmins had existed for a great length of time, and appeared to be established on a foundation which could not be shaken, the priestly estate was revered by the other castes as the possessor of divine revelation and the knowledge thence derived of true religion and right morality, and further as the sole depository of the sciences. The whole conduct of life was directed by regulations; and the particular position of all the members of the state, and the rights and duties thence arising, were defined. Even persons of the lowest and most despised castes had a deeply-rooted belief that their lot was a necessary result of their birth. Amid a people, in whom the sense of freedom was thus entirely repressed, and to whom the idea of any amelioration in their condition was quite strange, Buddha entered the lists against the omnipotence of the Brāhmins. Instead of regarding, as they did, the highest truths as an exclusive privilege, which could only be acquired through a correct understanding of the sacred scriptures and the doctrines and morals founded thereon, and set forth in forms intelligible only to the initiated, he propounded to all men without distinction of birth, and in simple language, the tenets which he regarded as the highest verities. They were of such a kind as did not require to be accredited by any revelation, because they were either acknowledged by all, or of themselves were obvious to the meanest understanding." * * * *

"Still more decidedly did the new doctrine conflict with the high consideration and influence enjoyed by the Brāhmins. It detracted from the first, inasmuch as its founder claimed to be in possession of the highest knowledge. By putting forward this claim, he in fact denied, without expressly calling in question, the authority of the Vedas, as the highest source of knowledge, and hereby took away from the Brāhminical system its proper foundation. The chief influence of the Brāhmins over the other castes must of necessity cease with the abolition of the sacrifices to the gods, which they alone had the right of administering. To such a result did the system of the Buddhists tend, who (not to speak of animal sacrifices) did not even practice the Brāhminical rite of oblation by fire."

As in the Brāhminical systems, the principles and doctrines of the Vaidik period have undergone radical and important changes and have developed into ideas and practices little in consonance with the primitive belief, so in the Buddhist systems of the present day we look in vain for the simple teachings of Sākya and find little beyond the germs of the present practice in the earlier writings. The Buddhist scriptures are contained in two redactions—(a) the southern or Ceylonese followed by the people of Ceylon, Burma and Siam and written in Pāli or Māgadhī, and (b) the northern written in Sanskrit

and translated into Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Kalmak. Both agree in the distribution into three divisions (*Tripitaka*):—(1) *Sūtra-pitaka*, which relates the sayings of Sākya : (2) *Vinaya-pitaka*, concerning discipline and worship ; and (3) *Abhidharma-pitaka*, containing metaphysical and philosophical discussions. The *Sūtras* are again divided into the simple and *Mahāvaiṣṭya* *Sūtras*. The former are the more ancient in form, language and matter and are written in Sanskrit, chiefly in prose. The second class or more developed *Sūtras* are written partly in verse and partly in prose, and the verse is chiefly a repetition of what has been said in prose and is written ‘in a most barbaric Sanskrit or confounded with forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit.’ In the matter, the simple *Sūtras* represent Buddha surrounded by mortals and the assembly is only sometimes increased by the gods, whilst the later *Sūtras* show the assembly as consisting of multitudes of men and women, gods and Bodhisattvas. No evidence of the worship of beings peculiar to the northern school of Buddhism is found in the older *Sūtras*, nor is there ‘the least trace of that vast mythological machinery where the imagination luxuriates through infinite space in the midst of gigantic forms and numbers. Here only are Buddhas who are considered human beings and of whom Sākya is the last.’ These *Sūtras* are, therefore, the earliest record of the sayings and teaching of the founder of Buddhism, and in their present form must be regarded as decisive of the character of the teaching at the time at which they were composed.

An important¹ addition to our knowledge of this period is gained by an examination of the names of the deities given in the *Sūtras*. These are Nārāyana, Siva, Varuna, Kuvera, Pitāmaha, Sakra or Vāsava, Hari or Janārdana, Sankara and Visvakarman. These all exist as objects of worship to the present day and represent the deities of the Brāhmanical epic period. In the Brāhmanas, which belong, as a class, to the later Vaidik period, we have seen that the name Kuvera is only mentioned once, Siva and Sankara occur only as epithets of Rudra, Nārāyana is seldom named, whilst Pitāmaha, Sakra or Vāsava and Hari or Janārdana are unknown.² Amongst

¹ Roer's Review, J. A. S. Ben., 1845, and Ben. Mag., VII., 19. These names occur, as will be seen, in the modern Hindu ritual current in Kumaon.

² Weber, l. c., 303.

the Genii, the *Sûtras* give the names of the Nágas, Yakshas, Garuras, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, and Dánavas, who are not mentioned in the Bráhmaṇas as well as of the Devas, Asuras, Gaudhárvas and Pisáchas. Indra as Sakra or Sachípati, the husband of Sachi, frequently occurs and also under the name Kausika and in connection with Upendra.¹ All these divinities appear to have been those of the people amongst whom Sákya lived and to have been the object of constant worship in his time. Still the Buddhists, though acknowledging and accepting their existence, assign to these gods a place and power inferior to a Buddha. The simpler *Sûtras* show us society as it was when Sákya preached. The existing caste-system was fully developed. Brahmins were distinguished for their learning and conduct, and whilst some lived as anchorites, others served as the spiritual guides to kings or as bards and panegyrists. The ruling families were of the Kshatriya caste and possessed great power, and, taken as a whole, the state of society was very much the same as at the present day. It may fairly be assumed that the germs of all the existing forms of belief were in existence and that Bráhmaṇism and Buddhism had much in common at starting, but gradually diverged the one from the other, so that the later manifestations of Buddhism differ in detail from the later Bráhmaṇical system of theology and philosophy as much as both of them vary from their common source, the teaching of Kapila Muni.

The *Vinaya-pitaka* concerning discipline comprises the second division of the Buddhist scriptures. It is made up of a series of legends in the form of parables and known as *Avadānas* which like the *Sûtras* may be separated into classes. Those which mention Sákya and his immediate disciples only belong to the first class, and in the second class are included those which contain the names of persons who, like Asoka, lived long afterwards. In the third class may be placed those which are written in verse and are apparently modern amplifications of more or less ancient works. To become a Buddhist it was sufficient to express a belief in the divine character of Sákya and to resolve to become his follower. The novice was received

¹ The formula by which the Buddhist legends express that a saint has attained the degree of *Arhat* runs:—"He has become one of those who are entitled to be respected, honoured, and saluted by the *Devas*, along with Indra and Upendra."

and prepared by an assembly of the venerable, then his head was shaved, and he was clothed in yellow garments and took on himself the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. As the followers of Sákya increased discipline became necessary and a certain rank based on age or merit was recognized. The main body of the assembly was made up of the Bhikshus, also called Sramanas, and Bhikshunis, the monks and nuns who had taken vows of celibacy and devoted themselves entirely to the religious life. The laity called Upásakas and Upásikás sat a degree lower down, but within these two great divisions were several distinct grades. The clergy were such by vocation, not by birth; the elders were called *Sthavira* (*thera* in Páli) and were again divided into elders and elders of elders. Those who comprehended the four great fundamental truths were styled *arya* or honourable.¹ Others again *arhat* or venerable, *Srota-apanna*, *Sakrid-agámin*, *Sukrid-anágámin*, &c. The *Aryas* in relation to Sákya himself were *Sravakas* or hearers or *Mahásravakas* (great hearers). Since rewards were attached to good and evil acts and sacrifice whether by mental or moral suffering was of no avail, the only resource for removing the effects of bad actions was confession of sins followed by repentance which forms one of the fundamental institutions of Buddhism. The religious ceremonies were simple, consisting in offerings of prayer and praise accompanied by music and gifts of flowers and perfumes. The Buddhist ritual has none of the bloody sacrifices which delight the followers of Pasupati and his consort Káli and addresses itself solely to the figure of Sákya and his relics. To him belong the thirty-two characteristics of beauty and the eighty secondary signs, and he is represented as an ordinary mortal seated in the attitude of meditation or making the sign of preaching. The relics or *sartra* (body) are portions of the mortal frame of Sákya which, collected at his death, have been deposited beneath the Chaityas erected to preserve them. Afterwards this honour was paid to the relics of his disciples and of those who deserved well of Buddhism. With Weber we may say that it is worthy of investigation how far this relie-

¹ These truths were—(1) there exists pain; (2) all that is born into this world suffers pain; (3) it is necessary to liberate ourselves from it; and (4) knowledge alone offers the means of this deliverance. The title of *Arya* was given to the companions of Sákya. It required supernatural faculties and virtues which implied freedom from the common conditions of human existence. (Bournouf).

worship, the building of steeples—traceable perhaps to the *topes* (*stūpas*) which owe their origin to relic worship—the worship of images of saints, confession, the use of bells and rosaries, the tonsure and the system of monachism has been adopted by Christianity. The question of the borrowing by Christians from Buddhists “is by no means to be summarily negatived, particularly as it is known that Buddhist missionaries penetrated at an early date, possibly even in the two centuries preceding our era, into western countries as far as Asia Minor.”

The third division of the Buddhist scriptures called the *Abhidharma-pitaka* contains the metaphysical discussions of the followers of Śākya. These are specially said to have been compiled subsequent to his death and consist principally of amplifications of and commentaries on the doctrines laid down in the *Sūtras*. They have not yet been sufficiently examined to admit of any accurate estimation of their contents, or the influence they may have had not only on the Bráhma-nical schools of philosophy in India but also on the Gnostic schools of Egypt and Greece. According to Bournouf, the doctrines of the *Abhidharma* are in reality only a further development or continuation of the views here and there propounded in the *Sūtras*; indeed, the writings in question often merely add single words to the thoughts expressed in the *Sūtras*: “but in any case there exists an interval of several centuries between the two and that difference which distinguishes a doctrine still in its earliest beginnings from a philosophy which has arrived at its furthest development.” Bournouf also notices the peculiar class of writings called *Tantras*, “which are looked upon as especially sacred and which stand precisely upon a level with the Bráhma-nical works of the same name. Their contents are made up of invocations of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as also of their Saktis or female energies with a motley admixture of Saiva deities: to which are added longer or shorter prayers addressed to these beings and directions how to draw the mystic diagrams and magic circles that secure their favour and protection.”

The above brief sketch will suffice to show what an important influence Buddhism must have had not only on the people of India and the surrounding countries but even on the schools of Egypt

and Greece.¹ It seized on a popular want and endeavoured to open up a new path by which the people might be released from the spiritual tyranny of their priestly guides. But in accepting the existing hierarchy of Bráhmānical divinities it took with it the seeds of that extravagant development of its mythology which even surpasses the monstrous fancies of the later Bráhmānical writings. Lassen in alluding to this creation of Buddhism writes² :—"The second is the mythology and cosmography peculiar to this religion with its numerous orders of celestial beings and their numerous heavens, to which we must add a peculiar mythical history with its numberless kings and endless periods. But in this instance the desire of excelling their predecessors has misled the Buddhists to transgress the usual bounds of the measureless and to give free scope to an imagination which runs riot amid mishapen conceptions." * * *

"In spite of the peculiar advantages which it possessed, Buddhism, although it commenced with the youthful vigour of a new doctrine its conflict against Bráhmanism,—whilst the latter had already at that period given birth to its greatest creations and attained the stage of development at which the mind instead of striking into new paths continues to follow its ancient one and, in place of creative activity, devotes itself to the careful employment of the treasures it has inherited from its predecessors,—succumbed, nevertheless, at length, in India, to its rival, though at a late period and after an obstinate resistance." In Nepál we have the outcome of the later development of both the Buddhist and Bráhmānical systems still existing side by side and an examination of the forms of belief which there obtain will aid us in estimating the influence which Buddhism once exerted over the people of Kumaon, but we first continue our summary of the history of Buddhism.

It was necessary perhaps that differences should arise and as

The schools of Buddhism. early as Asoká's council the party led by Upagupta so offended the older members of the sect that the Sthaviras (or those who remained firm) retired to the Himálaya. Notwithstanding the efforts of Asoka and the convocation of the great assemblies for the purpose of defining and

¹ I do not refer to such wild theories as those given by Pococke in his 'India in Greece', but such as have been advanced by Bunsen, Müller, Lassen, Weber, and Mosheim.

² Ben. Mag., l. c., 41.

settling articles of faith and practice, dissensions spread and numerous schools arose. These were classed under two great divisions (a) the followers of the *Hīna-Yāna* or 'lesser vehicle'; and (b) those who adopted the *Mahā-Yāna* or 'great vehicle.' The principles of the 'great vehicle' are supposed to have been formulated by Nāgārjuna at the time of the great council held by Kanishka, rāja of Kashmīr. The story goes that Nāgārjuna received from Buddha himself at the court of the Nāga king instructions for the works that appear under his name, but the Chinese commentators note that truly these were composed by Nāgārjuna himself, but in order that they might obtain acceptance, he permitted the statement to be made public that they had been taken down from the lips of Buddha. There is reasonable ground for believing that the works of which the authorship is attributed to Nāgārjuna are the product of different hands at different times, and that so far as the aphorisms of the Mahā-Yāna are concerned the name 'Nāgārjuna' must like that of 'Vyāsa' be held to be a generic term for the compilers of the school, though, on the other hand, there is little doubt that a Nāgārjuna did exist in the time of Kanishka. The great work of the school is the *Prājñā-pāramitā*, i.e., 'the wisdom that has crossed over,' also known as the *Rakṣa Bhāgavati*, divided into five parts. The lesser *Yāna* by degrees approached the development of the great *Yāna*, but this had then already advanced on the road to magic and mysticism. The lesser *Yāna* proceeded synthetically to its *kosmos*, whilst the great *Yāna* took the opposite course and arrived at more incongruous results. The lesser recognized the *Pratyeka* or personal Buddhas, who were able to attain to Buddhahood, but could not communicate the truth to others, as well as the Bodhisattwas or Buddhas elect who are held to be the future Buddha in some former birth. The great *Yāna* went farther and produced an entirely different set of Bodhisattwas and applying to them its advanced ideas on love, charity and mercy attributed to them new properties and functions. These Bodhisattwas might have become Buddhas had not intense pity for the sufferings of the world induced them to abandon their right to enter *nirvāna*. Such were Avalokiteswara ('the lord who looks down from on high'), the personification of power and with it, the preserver of the faithful and Manjusri ('the fortunate'), the personification of wisdom and the

great patron of the Mahá-Yána.¹ These were the earliest and better known of the new forms of Bodhisattwas whose worship transformed the agnostic atheism of the earlier Sūtras into a polytheism.

Further refinement separated the power of the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara from his protecting function and established a separate being under the name Vajrapáni, 'the wielder of the thunder-bolt,' and thus the mystic triad of the Mahá-Yána was evolved. The stages towards *nirvána* were pronounced to be five in number called *dhyānas* or mystic meditation by which the different worlds of Brahma were reached and in the last stage *nirvána*. To each of these stages a special Buddha is assigned called a Dhyáni Buddha belonging to the mystic world and free from material influences and with him is a Bodhisattwa and a *Mánushi* or human Buddha. Thus we have five groups of three each as follows :—

<i>Dhyáni Buddhas.</i>	<i>Bodhisattwas.</i>	<i>Mánushi Buddhas.</i>
1. Vairochana.	1. Samanta-bhadra.	1. Krakuchanda.
2. Akshobya.	2. Vajrapáni.	2. Kanakamuni.
3. Ratnasambhava.	3. Ratnapáni.	3. Káśyapa.
4. <i>Amitábhā.</i>	4. <i>Padma-páni (Avalokiteswara).</i>	4. <i>Gautama.</i>
5. Amoghasiddha.	5. Visvapáni.	5. Maitreya.

The fourth triad represents the emanation of the present, Gautama; and the fifth the emanation of the future, Maitreya. These ideas are unknown to the *Tripitaka* and even to the Chinese travellers Fah Hian and Hwen Tshang, and consequently must have had an origin later than the seventh century. Between the date of Kanishka's council and the evolution of the theory of the Dhyáni Buddhas, the Mahá-Yána had divided into two principal schools, the Mádhyamika which professed to follow Nágárjuna and his disciple Aryadeva² as its principal teacher, and the Yogáchárya which adopted the teachings of Aryasanga and his disciple Vasubandhu who flourished in the sixth century. Both are based on the mystical sections of the Mahá-Yána Sūtras which themselves are

¹ Others are Guhyapati and the females Sarasvati, Tara and Dakini.
² The biographies of Nágárjuna and Aryadeva (Ceylon) were translated into Chinese, 384-417 A. D., and that of Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Aryasanga in 557-588 A. D. Both the former were natives of south India and the last was born in Patna.

developments of the Mahāvaiṣṇava or developed Sūtras of the earlier records. Although the Mādhyamika school may have had a prior origin, its teaching seem to have fallen into abeyance until the rise of Aryasanga's school, when Buddhapaṇita revived them by writing his commentary on the works of Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva which is still the chief authority of the existing Prasangika school in Tibet. The Mādhyamika follows somewhat the Sāṅkhya school of Kapila in its development and the Yogācārya, the Viśiṣṭa school of Patanjali.

In the earliest days of Buddhism, the Indo-Skythian territory was celebrated for the practice of magical rites, and it is no less known as the country of the Vidyadhāras or 'holders of magical knowledge' in the Brāhmaṇical writings. Ghazni, Somnāth, Attak and the mountains of Kashmīr were especially celebrated for their great schools of magic, and we read of embassies from China seeking the philosopher's stone and curious magical formulæ to insure health and long life, in the Peshawar valley and along the slopes of the Hindu Kush. Aryasanga, brother of Vasubandhu Vaibhāṣika, was a monk of Peshawar and wrote the *Yogācārya Bhūmi Śāstra*, the first great work of the Yogācārya school. The monastery in which he lived was visited by Hwen Thsang, but was then in ruins. Aryasanga was the first who authoritatively allowed the dæmon-cults of the aborigines and the Sivaite practices of the commonalty, a place in the Buddhist system. He brought these deities and their energies in as protectors and allowed them niches in the Buddhist temples as worshippers and supporters of Buddha and with him began that close and intimate connection between Sivaism and Buddhism which ended in the absorption of the latter in India, at least. Hence in Nepāl at the present day we have the most complicated conceptions of the Buddhist mythology, the most learned teaching of their schools mingled with names taken from the cult of Siva. The author of the *Trikandā-śeṣa* who flourished in the tenth or eleventh century mentions many of these novel forms, so that at that time the Buddhism of the plains must have acknowledged them and about the same time they penetrated into Nepāl.

The great object of the Yoga was to attain to a mental state by which gradually *nirvāna* or something equivalent to it might be acquired. This might be accomplished by the five stages of *Dhyāna* or intense contemplation arriving at a complete freedom from joy or sorrow or by the self-induced trance called *samādhi* (absorption in contemplation) which made one oblivious of all external things. Gradually, as aids to these exercises, were invented the *Dhāranis* or mystical signs and formulæ which with the *Mudras* or mystical gesticulations and the *Mandalas* or magical circles find their full development in the Saiva and Buddhist Tantras. In the *Dhāranis* every being and even every idea is expressed by algebraical formulæ and whoever possesses the proper clue to their arrangement is able to command the being or the idea represented by them. Some include the ideas of the *Pāramita* (passed over) or perfection,—here opposed to *Samsāra* or suffering—and others compel the deities or spirits to appear and the object is attained by repetition of the formulæ for a local and special purpose. This process is based in the supposed connection between the name and the object it represents. As nothing exists in reality, the name is not only the object but the essence of the object and by using it as a spell you compel the object to appear. This ritual was further simplified by making the *Mudras* or certain conventional signs made by the fingers representatives of the *Dhāranis*. There may have been some connection at first between the formulæ of the *Dhāranis* and the figures assumed by the fingers in the *Mudras*, but this connection, if it ever existed, is now lost. As man is made up of soul, body and speech or mind and these personified represent the deity, so whilst the soul is engaged in contemplation, the body aids by signs or *Mudras* and the mind through speech repeats the conjurations; the united effect of which is that the devotee gradually assumes himself to be one with the deity and does become so as the shadow in a mirror is one with that which causes it. By this process *siddhi*, or the state in which magical powers are acquired, is attained, and from these arose the *Mandalas* or magical circles by which the deities are compelled to appear and minister to the secular and religious wants of the celebrant.

As remarked by Vassilief, these observances are not found in the *Sūtras* of the lesser or great *Yāna*, nor to the same extent in

Chinese Buddhism which apparently received its books before these ideas were developed in India. They flourish, however, in Tibetan

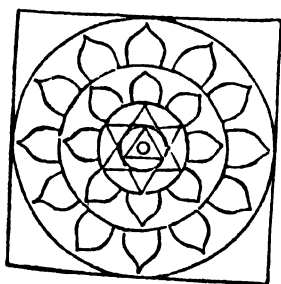
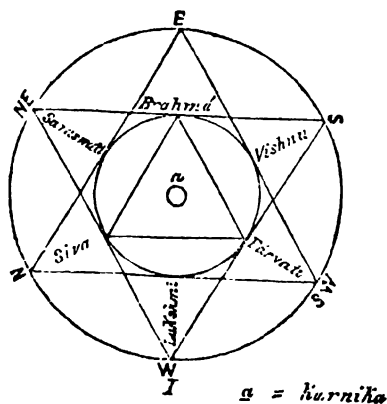
and Nepālese Buddhism and there assume
 Spread of magical rites. for themselves an authority as the legitimate outcome of Nāgārjuna's teaching which, in fact, they are neither entitled to nor possess. Like the Saivas, the Buddhists took over the whole body of the village deities good and malignant. To this influence were attributed epidemics, floods, droughts and personal misfortunes and hence the priests were applied to for aid. Some of the dæmon races were converted like the Yakshas (Khasas) and Nāgas and people of the Sindhu country who used to offer human sacrifices to the Rākshasa Khingalatchi; for others spells were contrived to compel their obedience and a literature (based on the great, mystical Mahāsamaya Sūtra) grew up which explained these spells. The *Dhāranis* at first had no ritual and were easily understood by the commonalty, but gradually the priests invented a complicated ceremony suitable to each particular wish and each class of worshippers and thus contrived to retain the spiritual direction of the people in their own hands. The ceremony opened with a dedication of its results to a desired object, then came the placing of the various deities and the worship with incense, water, grain and the waving of lights accompanied with spells and conjurations repeatedly altered at stated stages in the ceremony. The growth of the *Dhāraṇi* ritual is thus described by Burnouf¹ :—

"Nous ne trouvons dans les commencements aucune instruction sur la lecture des *Dhāranis*. Mais ensuite, la nécessité s'en est tant étendue graduellement qu'enfin il s'est formé un système entier pour que les conjurations obtinrent du succès. Ce que est à la tête de ce système, ce sont les formules préparées qui sont précédées des demandes religieuses, comme la croyance dans les trois objets précédeux, brûler les aromates, &c. Il faut donner dans son cœur une place aux Buddha et ensuite aux Bodhisattwa; enfin, apparaissent les autels autour des *Dhāranis*, et plus loin y est réunie la doctrine du Mahāyāna. Buddha dit au Manjusri :—Comme tous les sujets sont contenus dans les lettres c' est sur cela qu'a été fondée la signification du *Dhāraṇi*."

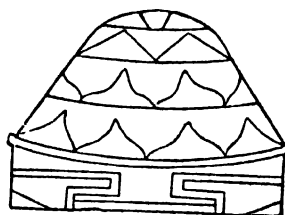
The *Dhāranis* were used for all purposes and were powerful to save from danger those who were fortunate enough to possess and use them. It is not possible to give the details of their growth and describe them here, but we may note that to the present day some use

¹ Burnouf has translated part of the *Suddharmapundarīka Sūtra*, or 'lotus of the good law,' in his 'Le Lotus de la bonne loi.' Paris, 1852.

a moveable *Dhārani* on a miniature altar made of crystal and intended to represent the flower of a lotus with the leaves turned back. Fig. III. shows the side elevation and fig. II. the altar as viewed from above. It will be seen that there are two rows of petals, one of eight and the other of sixteen. The top itself contains a six-pointed star (fig. I.) formed by the intersection of two equilateral triangles and in the example given, having each point dedicated to one of the so-called triad or his *Sākti*. At the summit there is a circle and within it a triangle in the centre of which is the spot called the *Karnika* or seed-vessel of the lotus. The base of the cone is known as '*bhupur*' or 'earth-city'. The name of the deity to be worshipped or a small image of him stamped on metal is placed on the *Karnika* and the ceremony then proceeds in the ordinary way. These crystal altars are called generically *Sri-Jantra* and admit of great variety in form¹ and detail.



II



III

¹ The figures are after Ravenshaw in J. R. A. S., XIII., 71. The freemason will recognize in fig. I. a design with which he is well acquainted.

There can be little doubt that one stage in the development of Monotheism becomes the *Dhárani* was reached when northern Polytheism. Buddhism produced the monotheistic idea of a primordial Buddha, called Adi-Buddha or Bhagwán or Bhagavat from whom the Dhyáni Buddhas were evolved. Each of these gave origin to a Bodhisattwa who created out of himself a material world and from whom emanated a Mánushi Buddha. Thus Amítábha has been evolved from Bhagwán and from him by wisdom and contemplation came Avalokiteswara, and he from his immaterial essence evolved the present world in which as an emanation the Mánushi Buddha Gautama appeared. How different is all this from the original teachings of the master. Indeed, in the later books, Buddha's name seldom appears and like the verses of the Vedas in the corresponding rites of the Saivas occurs only in some meaningless, jumbled mummerly connected with the use of magical formulæ. Thus pure Buddhism disappeared and in its corrupted state formed an unholy alliance with degraded Bráhmanism of the Saiva type of which the Tántrikas are the followers and the Tantras,¹ the sacred books.

The Tantras consist of separate treatises which inculcate the cult of deities male and female usually of terrible and hideous forms and often by bloody, obscene or cruel rites. They contain instructions for drawing up and filling the magical circles, the ritual to be used, the formulæ for the *Dhárani*s and the mode in which the deities may be compelled to aid, protect or instruct. The simplicity of the primitive *Dhárani* ceases and an elaborate and somewhat philosophical ceremonial is substituted, only again to degenerate by abuse into the most obscene and degrading orgies, unsurpassed in ancient or modern history. The *Dhárani* attained its object by a dedication and a repetition of the formulæ; the Tantras require contemplation and repetition and impose certain restrictions as to the object as well as to the person or class by whom the object is desired. As a chariot requires wheels so these advanced ceremonies require a skilled celebrant as leader who is able to perform a formal consecration and discover a fit place for their performance. They vary

¹ There are four classes of Buddhist Tantras: (1) *Kriya*, which treat of action; (2) *Áchára*, of practice; (3) *Yoga*, of mysticism; and (4) *Anottara Yoga*, of superior Yoga. Caoma, Dict., p. 245.

with their objects and the influence which the Bodhisattwa to whom they are dedicated exerts on the particular object desired. The real principle underlying the whole teachings of the Tantras is that while the lesser and great *Yānas* prescribe long and tedious ceremonies and a succession of re-births for the attainment of the divine state, this can be more readily and quickly arrived at by the practice of magic and attainment of *Siddhi*. The worshipper takes a deity as his guide and by certain formulæ makes his own body, soul and mind, the reflection of the body, soul and mind of the deity, and he himself eventually becomes the deity with all his power and thus arrives at the accomplishment of his wishes. In Tibet, the great Yaksha Vajrapāni, the *alter ego* of Avalokiteswara is the Bodhisattwa of magic and there the compartments of the magic circle are often filled with the figures or names of Amitābha, Avalokiteswara, the various female energies and the maker at once obtains the power of these deities and the right to use their peculiar spells for his own purposes. It is in these rites also that we find 'le culte impur et grossier des personifications du principe female.' The *Suvarna-prabhāsa*, a Tantrik work which is included amongst the nine Dharmas in Nepāl and is highly valued there, calls Buddha by the name Bhagwān and invokes Sarasvati and honours Mahā-devi. In the *Samvarodaya Tantra* there is nothing to recall Buddhism to the reader's mind beyond the occasional appearance of Buddha's name. It is full of magical formulæ. Some of the materials used in incantations are the human hair collected in cemeteries and hair from parts of the bodies of camels, dogs and asses. In the chapter on spells the adoration of the Saivite female energies is inculcated and Mahākāla is mentioned by name. 'Om! adoration to Mahākāla who dwells at the burning-ghāt.' The linga even is proclaimed an object of worship. The means for destroying an enemy by tracing certain magical formulæ are also given and at the end is a chapter full of obscene practices not a whit above the most degraded of the Saivite orgies. The ritual to be observed when a living Yogini represents the female energy is also given and the whole is written in a form of Sanskrit, most barbarously incorrect. The *Mahākāla-Tantra* shows the union between Saivism and Buddhism even more completely. It is full of the same gross symbolism and magical rites as the preceding and contains formulæ,

into which amongst other ingredients enters the gall of a cat, for preparing an ointment by which the native can become invisible or obtain the woman whom he desires or discover hidden treasure or obtain supreme temporal power or destroy the man whom he hates, &c. Mahākāla is addressed in the verse :—"Om! adoration to Sri Mahākāla who has the names of Nandikeswari and Adhimuktika and who dwells in the burning ghāts of Kashmir;" doubtless referring to the western and montane origin of the cult. The *Pancha-kramu* though attributed to Nāgārjuna is based on the Yoga teachings of Aryasanga and is exclusively devoted to an exposition of Tantrik practices foreign alike to the original teachings of both the Yogāchārya and Mādhyamika schools. It contains instructions for all classes of magical circles and formulæ and in it occur those absurd and unintelligible monosyllables regarding which Bournouf expresses himself so strongly :—"It is difficult to express the feeling of discouragement one feels in wading through these writings. It is sad to see men of experience and position soberly proposing the use of syllables without meaning as a means of arriving at bodily or spiritual welfare although the moral perfection desired be only quietism or indifferentism. Still this state is so distorted and exaggerated as to demand the abolition of all distinction between right and wrong, good or evil. This work, in fact, conducts the devotee gradually to the practice of enormities which never belonged to the principles or practice of early Buddhism. To take one example from the last chapter which treats of the indifference to external objects to which every effort of the devotee should tend it is laid down that to the true devotee, his enemy or himself, his wife or his daughter, his mother or a prostitute, in fact everything should be equally indifferent." The *Kūla-chakra*, another great Tantrik work, was introduced from the north into India in the tenth century according to M. Csoma, and thence into Tibet in the eleventh century. Amongst the many Tibetan Tantrika works analysed by the same writer we have the *Ipjra-Varāhi*, sacred to Varāhi, one of the divine mothers, and in another work she is the principal speaker, whilst Bhagwān is identified with Vajrasattwa, the sixth Dhyāni Buddha of the Tantras supposed to represent the sixth sense (*Manas*) and the sixth sensible object (*Dharma*), and the *Prajna-Pāramita* is called Bhagavati, his female

energy. In the *Vajra-Mahābhairava*, the Sakti is represented as black and naked and of terrible form. It is worthy of notice that all these three works were translated into Tibetan by Indians, a fact which would indicate their Indian origin. There are treatises also devoted to the worship of Uma, Síta, Tára, Kárttikeya and other of the Saiva deities.

Enough has been written to show the intimate connection between the corrupted Buddhism and the Saivism of mediæval India and the remarkable parallel they exhibit to the condition of the Christian religion in Europe at the same period. The Buddhist Tantras exhibit traces of every successive stage in the development of Buddhism. For primitive Buddhism we have the occasional use of Buddha's name and the worship of his image : Amitábha represents the Dhyáni Buddhas and Avalokiteswara the Bodhisattvas, whilst monotheistic Buddhism appears as adi-Buddha. But mixed with these we have shreds and fragments of all forms of religious belief indigenous and foreign and scraps from the teachings of every school blended together in a more or less coherent nihilism. The female energies were borrowed from the Saivas *en bloc* and with them came the necessity for giving female counterparts to the Buddhistic deities and the acceptance of the entire Tantrik ritual. As amongst professing Buddhists the terrible form of Siva's consort is the one more commonly invoked and strangest of all there is reason to believe that her worship amongst some Buddhists was often attended with bloody rites. Buddha is dethroned and his place is occupied by the superhuman personages who are more at the call of the worshippers and thus subservient to the common herd. It was, doubtless, their struggle for popularity that opened the door to these degrading beliefs. The Buddhists saw that the Pásupatas were gaining ground with the people and that the Saivas had adopted the Pásupatas and their doctrines as part of their own system, and in turn the Buddhists declared these foreign elements of Saivism to be merely forms of their own, some of those convenient emanations of Buddhist intelligences undertaken to protect the faith. The Pásupatas and Buddhists alike rejected the authority of the Vedas and each was popular in its own way with the masses and probably agreed to unite against the Vaishnavas who represented

the old beliefs. Thus we find both Buddha and Saiva images carved on the walls of the rock-cut temples of western India, and in the existing books of the Nepálese Buddhists, the Sakti of Siva promises to the devout Buddhist who follows their directions her sovereign protection, and all this is inculcated in the name of Buddha and in some cases the instructions are said to have been taken down from his lips! There is undoubtedly a difference to be observed between the teaching of the earlier Mádhyamika school and that of the later Yogáchárya school. In the former the Buddhist retains his belief in Buddha and asks the Saiva deities to reward him because of such belief by the magical benefits that they can confer: in the latter he is as much as possible a Saiva himself. In the former he regards the Saiva deities as beings of superhuman power and knowledge, but holds them to be inferior to Buddha, but in the latter Buddha is seldom ever named. In the older works the Saiva deities are merely the guardians and protectors of the faith and are in practice the gatekeepers and watchmen of the shrine. A similar position is assigned to some of the non-Bráhmancial deities at the principal temples to the present day. Thus in Benares, Bhaironnáth is the watchman of all the Saiva shrines. At Jageswar beyond Almora we have Kshetrpál, at Badarináth, Ghantakarn; at Kedárnáth Bhairava and at Tungnáth, Kaṭ-Bhairon. The approach to the hill temples is first marked by the *Deodekhni* or place from which the first glimpse of the shrine is obtained, then comes a small temple dedicated to the watchman and then the shrine itself. It is thus that the village gods were first admitted to the orthodox shrines and eventually the more popular such as Ganesha and the Saktis were admitted within the shrines. At the entrance of the magnificent Chaitya cave at Kárlé in the Bombay Presidency is a temple dedicated¹ to Ekvirya, one of the divine mothers. The figure is carved on the rock and whether representing some other deity and afterwards transferred to the worship of Ekvirya or originally intended for Ekvirya, the principle is the same. She here acts the part of watchman. It is probable that this was the position of Saiyism towards Buddhism when these rock-cut temples were excavated, for they must, according

¹ The present temple was built by Baji Rao, who for this purpose tore down the lion-pillar at the right of the outer screen and parts of the screen itself. Ekvirya is probably the Dravidian Akkaveyár.

to all evidence, have been executed before the Tantrik alliance between Saivism and Buddhism took place in the tenth or eleventh century. At that time, too, there was this doctrine common to both Buddha and Saiva ascetics that each had to work out their own salvation and owe to their own efforts success in overcoming the world.

In Nepál alone have we any indications of existing Buddhism in India proper, and there the Buddhist religion of the present day is such as we have endeavoured to sketch, a curious admixture of the doctrines of the great *Yána* and the worship of the Bráhmanical deities especially those forms to which the later Tantras are devoted. We have also a number of indigenous deities which are either spontaneous emanations of matter or have been evolved from the adi-Buddha identified with Blagwán and who belong to the later montane development of Buddhism. In union with these is the worship of Siva as Pasupati and the cult of Hanumán, Ganesha and Mahákála. In Buddhist temples in Nepál, images of these deities and Ravan and Hariti or Sítala are found side by side with those dedicated to Sákya and other Buddhas and Bodhisattwas. Wilson,¹ in his notice of Nepál, writes:—"The spirit of polytheism, always an accommodating one, is particularly so in this country and the legends and localities of one sect are so readily appropriated by another that it speedily becomes difficult to assign them to their original source. In like manner formulæ and ceremonies very soon become common property and whatever may be the ruling principles, the popular practice easily adopts a variety of rites that are peculiar to different creeds." Elsewhere he remarks that it is not extraordinary that the principal members of the Hindu pantheon should be admitted by Buddhists to some degree of reverence, for there is nothing in their religion negative of the existence of such beings and the popularity of those deities amongst the Hindus would recommend their worship; but the Sákta form of Hinduism which subsequently overspread both the Kumaon and Nepál Himálaya is a comparatively obscure and unavowed innovation and had not, therefore, the same claims to consideration. He, therefore, concludes that the knowledge of the Tantras came to this portion of

¹ Works, II., 2, 28.

the Himálaya direct from their sources in the plains of India and that this took place about the twelfth century. The forms of Sakti in Kumaon have now, with few exceptions, developed into mere forms of the Sakti of either Siva or Vishnu. There are no professed Buddhists and not one image of Śākya Sinha, though a few days' march across the river Kāli, Buddhist temples are to be found.¹

One of the indigenous elements which entered into the Buddhist and indeed Saiva conception of the Saktis Bonpas of Tibet. in their more terrible forms may be referred with some certainty to the pre-Buddhistic belief of the Tibetans known as the Bon or Pon religion. This doubtless has received developments varying with the influences to which it has been subjected, but clearly on the same lines as corrupted Saivism. It is an integral part of popular Buddhism in eastern Tibet where there are still some wealthy Bonpo monasteries. Hodgson in one of his papers gives drawings of Bonpo deities which are clearly saturated with the Saiva Śāktism of the Kāli type. There are no temples of this sect in the Himálaya, though the name still lingers amongst the exorcists of such tribes as the Múrmis and Sunwars. Nor is the system peculiar to Tibet, for traces of it are found amongst the degraded practices of the Brāhmanists in southern India and even amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, Barma, Siám and Java. The germs of Śāktism and Tántrik practices appear to have been the common inheritance of all the pre-Aryan tribes. As observed by Hodgson :—"I suppose that the Tántrika admixture must have existed in the prior superstitions of the sons of Túr forming the pristine sole population of all those countries (India and other Buddhist countries) because those superstitions as still extant amongst the *disiecta membra* of that population wherever found exhibit a prevalent Tántrika character (a mixture of ferocity, lust and mummery) and bear everywhere from Siberia to Ceylon a resemblance that amounts to identity." According to Tibetan

¹ The earliest form of Sakti in Nepál was Gujeswari, "that mysterious portion of *Prajna*, born of a lotus with three leaves by the will of Mañjudeva, void of being, the personification of desire, favourable to many and praised by Brahma, Siva and Vishnu who in Durga, the giver of boons was manifested." The Bodhisattwa Manjusri drained the serpent's tank in the Nepál valley and when the waters had run out, the luminous form of Buddha appeared. Manjusri desired to build a temple to Buddha, but water bubbled up so fast that he could not find a foundation. He then prayed to Buddha and Gujeswari (the goddess of hidden form) appeared and compelled the waters to subside and Manjusri established her worship near the temple of Pasupati.

accounts the first ruler of the Pons was Rúpati, an Indian prince who fled to Tibet to avoid the war between the Pándavas and Kauravas. After a long interval another Indian prince called Nah-Thi-Tsanpo or Nyá-Khri-Tsanpo, said by some to be a Lichchhavi of Vaisáli near Patna and by others to be the fifth son of king Prasenajit of Kosala, arrived in Tibet and established a second Indian dynasty amongst the Pons. The legend runs that an infant Nah-Thi was exposed by his parents in a copper vessel which floated down the Ganges and was found by an old peasant who saved the child and brought him up as his own. On arriving at man's estate and being informed of the circumstances of his birth the young prince made his way to Tibet and was received by the Pons, who hailed him as king. Under Di-gum-Tsanpo, the eighth in descent from Nah-Thi, the Pon religion had been established in Tibet in its first stage or *Jola-Bon*. The Bonpo of that age were skilled in witchcraft, the performance of mystical rites for the suppression of evil spirits and man-eating goblins of the lower regions, for appeasing the wrath of the malignant spirits of the middle region (the earth) and for the invocation of the beneficent deities above. Di-Gum-Tsanpo was assassinated, and the people not knowing how to perform the correct funeral ceremonies invited three priests to perform his obsequies; one from Kashmír, one from the Dusha country and one from Shan-shun. These introduced the second stage called *Khyar-Bon*, or 'erroneous Bon'. One was able to travel in the sky mounted on a tambourine, to discover mines and to perform various miraculous feats; another was skilled in delivering oracles and telling fortunes and in interpreting the omens discovered by examining a fresh human shoulder-blade, whilst the third was especially learned in funeral ceremonies. This stage borrowed largely from the Saiva doctrines of the Tirthikas. The third stage is called the *Gyur-Bon* or 'the resultant Bon,' and exists to the present day.

The Lichchhavi prince Nah-Thi is popularly supposed to be the first protector if not organiser of the Bon religion, and this may be noted that Svasti was the tutelary deity of his house. Hence, perhaps, the mystic emblem *svastika* which is still used by the Bonpas under the name *Yun-drun*.¹ The Bonpas possess a

¹ In the Bonpo *svastika* the arms are turned in the opposite direction. In the same way they circumambulate an image from right to left and not from left to right like the Buddhists.

considerable literature, but much of it is borrowed from the Tantras and the modern practice varies little in spirit from the more corrupted forms of both Saiva and Buddhist beliefs. The names alone are changed. Emancipation is sought by meditation on the Bonku or supreme ideal, and this may be attained by following the instructions given in the Bon scripture.

The French missionaries in eastern Tibet call the Bonpas by the name Peun-bo and state that the sect is now declining in importance and is held in little esteem. From an account of a visit to one of their temples, the following extract is given by Yule: "In this temple are the monstrous idols of the sect of Peunbo, horrid figures whose features only Satan could have inspired. They are disposed about the enclosure according to their power and seniority; above the pagoda is a loft, the nooks of which are crammed with all kinds of diabolical trumpery; little idols of wood or copper, hideous masques of men and animals, superstitious Lama vestments, drums, trumpets of human bones, sacrificial vessels. . . . Besides the infernal paintings on the walls eight or nine monstrous idols seated at the inner end of the pagoda were calculated by their size and appearance to inspire awe. In the middle was *Tamba-shi-rob*, the great doctor¹ of the sect of the Peunbo, squatted with his right arm outside his red scarf and holding in his left hand the vase of knowledge On his right hand was *Keumta-zon-bo* the 'all good' with ten hands and three heads, one over the other At his right is *Dreuma*, the most celebrated goddess of the sect. On the left of the first was another goddess whose name they never could tell me. On the left again of this anonymous goddess appeared *Tam-pla-mi-ber* a monstrous dwarf environed by flames and his head garnished with a diadem of skulls. He trod with one foot on the head of Shakya-tupa (Buddha)." In this very interesting extract we have evidence of the common origin of the Saiva Śāktism and the Bon religion as it now exists. Both unite in their hostility to Buddha and his teaching.

¹ According to Schlagentweit as quoted by Yule it is correctly *betampa* or *Shen-rabs* or the doctrine of *Shen-rabs* who founded the Bon religion, and the second name is *Kuntu-özang-po*.

M. Csoma identifies¹ the Bonpa of Tibet with the Chinese sect Taotse founded by one Laotse in 604-523 B. C. Both adopt the doctrine of annihilation after death and hence their Tibetan name of 'Finitimists.' (*Mu-stegs-pa*). General Cunningham remarks that :—"According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves 'Tirthakaras' or 'pure doers'; and the synonymous name of 'Punya' (the pure) was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Kham." Mr. Jaeschke, as quoted by Yule, states :—"So much seems to be certain that it (Bonpo) was the ancient religion of Tibet before Buddhism penetrated into the country, and that even at later periods it several times gained the ascendancy when the secular power was of a disposition averse to the Lamaitic hierarchy. Another opinion is that the Bon religion was originally a mere Fetishism and related to or identical with Shamanism; this appears to me very probable and easy to reconcile with the former supposition, for it may afterwards, on becoming acquainted with the Chinese doctrine of the Taotse have adorned itself with many of its tenets. The Bonpos are by all Buddhists regarded as heretics and have always been persecuted by the Lamaitic hierarchy in Tibet.

In all the local accounts of the origin of the existing temples in Garhwál and Jaunsár and of the revival of Sankara Achárya. in Bráhmaism in southern India, the name of Sankara Achárya is given as he who rehabilitated the worship of the ancient deities which had suffered at the hands of Buddhists and Atheists. We have fortunately means for verifying this tradition in the *Dig-vijaya*² of Ananda-giri, a pupil of Sankara. This work gives an account of the travels of Sankara and the controversies held by him in different countries and forms altogether a valuable record of the state of religion in his time. A second work entitled *Sankara-vijaya*³ was compiled by Mádhava Achárya,

¹ See Hodgson, J. R. A. S., XVII, 396 : Cunningham's Ladak, p. 356 : Yule's Marco Polo, I., 285 : Desgodins' Mission du Tibet, p. 240 : Schlagentweit's Buddhism in Tibet, p. 74 : Sarat Chandra Das in J. A. S. Ben. L., II. ² The conquest of the points of the compass or the world. It is analysed by Professor Wilson in As. Res., XVI., 1. Sankara is said to have been the offspring of adultery, for which his mother was expelled from her caste, and Sankara was obliged to perform her funeral obsequies assisted by Sudras. ³ Also noticed by Professor Wilson.

the minister of one of the Vijayanagar Rajas in the early part of the fourteenth century. Sankara was born at Kallady in Travankor in the Nambúri tribe of Brahmans¹ and at an early age devoted himself to study and a religious life. His great object was to spread and expound the tenets of the Vedānta philosophy,² and for this purpose he wandered from his native Maláyalam (the abode of hills) to the Himálaya (the abode of snow), preaching and teaching wherever he went and holding disputations with the professors of every other faith. He made converts from every sect and class and established *maths* or monasteries for his disciples—the Sringeri-math on the Tungabhadra in Mysore to the south: the Jyotir-math (*vulgo* Joshi-math) near Badarináth to the north: the Sárada-math at Dwá-raka to the west and the Vardhana-math at Puri in Orissa to the east. Sankara towards the close of his life visited Kashmír, where he overcame his opponents and was enthroned in the chair of Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence.³ He next visited Badari, where he restored the ruined temples of Naráyan, and finally proceeded to Kedár, where he died at the early age of thirty-two. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Siva and appears to have exercised more influence on the religious opinions of his countrymen than any other teacher in modern times. All accounts give him four principal disciples whose pupils became

¹ Mad. J. Lit. Sc., 1878, p. 172. ² For an exposition of the tenets of the Vedāntists see the *Vedānta Sara* ed. Roer, Calcutta, 1845. It professes to be based on the Upanishads and the formula '*ekam evadvitiam*,' 'one only without a second.' As observed by Professor Williams (*Hinduism*, p. 204):—'Here we have presented to us a different view of the origin of the world. In the Nyāya it proceeded from a concurrence of eternal atoms: in the Sāṅkhya from one original eternal element called Prakriti; both operating independently though associating with eternal souls and, according to one view, presided over by a supreme soul. But, in the Vedānta, there is really no material world at all as distinct from the universal soul. Hence the doctrine of this school is called '*advaita*' or 'non-dualism.' The universe exists but merely as a form of one eternal essence.' * * * This essence called Brahma is to the external world what yarn is to cloth, what milk is to curds, what clay is to a jar, what gold is to a bracelet. This essence is both creator and creation, actor and act. It is itself existence, knowledge and joy; but, at the same time, without parts, unbound by qualities, without action, without emotion, having no consciousness such as denoted by 'I' and 'thou,' apprehending no person or thing, nor apprehended by any, having neither beginning nor end, immutable, the only real entity. If this be true then pure being must be almost identical with pure nothing, so that the two extremes of Buddhist nihilism and Vedāntic pantheism, far as they profess to be apart appear in the end to meet.' See also Professor K. T. Telang's paper on the *Sankara-Vijaya* in *Ind. Ant.*, V., 287. ³ In the local history of Nepál it is recorded that during the reign of Bárdeva raja, a Brahman who was an incarnation of Sankara Achárya came into Nepál to see whether the rules and customs established by that great reformer were still in force. He found them observed everywhere owing to the directions of Bandhudatta Achárya, who had preceded him. Wright's *Nepál*, 152.

the heads of the order of Das-námi Dandins or Ten-named mendicants.

Sankara was a voluminous writer and has left many original compositions besides commentaries on the *His works and teaching.* *Bhagavad-gíta, Mahábhárata, Vedánta Sara* and *Taittiriya, Aitareya, Kena, Isa, Katha, Prasna, Múndaka, Mandukya, Chhandogya* and *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishads* and the *Vishnu Sahasranáma*.¹ From a comparison of the list of sectaries existing in the time of Sankara, it would appear, that since very considerable changes have occurred in the popular religion, and that although the broad features of the system remain as before many of the particular objects of reverence have disappeared. This may, in a great measure, be fairly attributed to the exertions of Sankara and his disciples. Professor Wilson,² correctly observes that it was no part of Sankara's object to suppress acts of outward devotion, or the preferential worship of any acknowledged and pre-eminent deity. "His leading tenet is the recognition of Brahma Parabrahma as the sole cause and supreme ruler of the universe and as distinct from Siva, Vishnu, Brahma or any individual member of the pantheon. With this admission, and having regard to the weakness of those human faculties which cannot elevate themselves to the conception of the inscrutable first cause, the observance of such rites and the worship of such deities as are either prescribed by the Vedas or the works not incompatible with their authority were left undisturbed by Sankara. They even received to a certain extent his particular sanction and certain divisions of the Hindu faith were, by his express permission, taught by some of his disciples, and are, consequently, regarded by the learned Brahmans in general as the only orthodox and allowable forms in the present day." For thus Sankara addressed his disciples:—"In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted in iniquity, men are inadequate to the apprehension of pure unity; they will be apt, therefore, again to follow the dictates of their own fancies, and it is necessary for the preservation of the world and the maintenance of civil and religious distinctions, to acknowledge those

¹ The first seven Upanishads mentioned in the text have been translated by Boer, Calcutta, 1853: the *Vedánta Sara* by the same, 1845, and portions of the commentaries on the Upanishads are also to be found in Muir's works. ² Wilson's works, I., 27.

modifications of the divine spirit which are the work of the Supreme." The divisions (*Panchaitana*) sanctioned by Sankara were (1) the Saiva taught at Benares by Paramata Kálánala who assumed the style of a Dandin : (2) the Vaishnava, taught at Kánci by Lakshmana Achárya and Hastámalaka, the latter of whom introduced the worship of Krishna : (3) the Saura, instructed by Divákara Brahmachári ; (4) the Sákti, by Tripura Kumára Sannyási : (5) the Gánapatya, under the auspices of Girijaputra, and (6) from all who had not adopted the preceding systems, Batukanáth, the professor of the Kápálika or Bhairava worship was allowed to attract disciples. These broad divisions, also, very fairly represent those which exist at the present day.

The most ancient and most celebrated Saiva shrines in the
 Siva. Himálaya are undoubtedly those connected
 with the Kedár establishment in Garhwál, and here also we have the principal seat of the worship of that element of the Siva of to-day which was formerly known as Pasupati.) Although he is here called Sadashiu, and the name Pasupati is not formally applied to him in Garhwál and occurs only as Pasupateswar at Jageswar in Kumaon, the local legends connected with Kedár supply the evidence required. The story runs that the Pándavas by command of Vyása retired to the Himálaya and approached the Mandákini to worship Mahádeva. In their eagerness they desired to touch the person of the god, but Mahádeva avoided them and dived into the bowels of the earth, vouchsafing to his votaries the view only of the lower portion of his body. The upper portion of his body is said to have come to the surface at Mukhár Bind in Nepál, where it is worshipped as Pasupatináth. The Pándavas, however, were freed from the guilt of their great sin and in gratitude built the five temples to the god's hinder parts which now form the five or Panch Kedár :—Kedárnáth, Madhya Maheshwar, Rudrnáth, Tunganáth and Kalpeswar. Then arose a race who cared not for these things and allying themselves with unbelievers abandoned the worship of Siva, so that the temples to 'the great god' fell into decay and Mahádeo in his own home had no honour whatsoever. This condition of religion in the Himálaya lasted until the arrival of Sankara Achárya, who subdued his opponents in many a controversy

and rehabilitated the worship of Siva and Vishnu and the efficacy of pilgrimages which, as the local legend¹ quaintly argues, kill two birds with the one stone, health to the body from change of air and benefit to the soul from worshipping the gods. Before proceeding to describe the temples to Pasupati in the Kedár Himá-laya we shall examine some of the scattered references to this form of Siva to be found elsewhere.

In the Nepál annals it is recorded how the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara had prophesied that Pasupati. lord of Uma, should be very celebrated in the Káli Yug. Subsequently Krakuchchhanda Buddha came from Kshemavati to the Nepál valley, and showed his disciples the Bráhmanical triad in the shape of deer wandering in the sacred forest. After this, Maheswara (Siva) manifested himself in the form of light (the fiery ling) and astonished on seeing this "Brahma went upwards to see how far the light extended and Vishnu went downwards for the same purpose." On returning they met at Sesh Náráyana, and Vishnu declared that he had not been able to find the limit to which the light extended, but Brahma said that he had gone beyond it. Vishnu, then, called upon Kamadhenu, the celestial cow, to bear witness, and she corroborated Brahma with her mouth, but shook her tail by way of denying the truth of the statement. Vishnu seeing from this what had really occurred cursed Brahma that he should never again be worshipped and cursed the cow that her mouth should be impure, but that her tail should be held sacred. The same story is told in the Linga Purána² by Brahma as Pitámaha, with the omission of the statement that he had found the end of the ling, but the local legend is valuable in showing that the decline of the worship of Brahma was attributed to the opposition made by his followers to the preferential worship of Siva, and that while a reconciliation was effected between the Vaishnavas and Saivas, the followers of Brahma were cursed as irreconcilable.³ The forest where the meeting took place was called

¹ 'ek panth, do káj,' or 'one road, two objects accomplished.' ² Muir, IV., 388. The Satapatha Brahmana ascribes the falling off of the worship of Brahma to his passion for his daughter: see Muir, I, 25, 63, 108, 112: IV, 47. The tail of the cow forms an instrument in the marriage ceremony and the tail of the wild cow or *chauri*, though now handled by cow-killing chamáras as grooms, was long the sacred symbol of power. ³ Later on Mahádeva is said to have settled in Nepál as Pasupati in the form of light by direction of Buddha. Wright, p. 89.

Sleshmántak-ban¹ and "some inspired devotees say that it was so called because Mahádeva having come from Badari-Kedár showed himself in it."

The story of Birúpáksha related in the same records affords some further matter of interest. Some say that he was a Daitya, some that he was a Brahman and some that he was a Kshatriya Rája. When twelve years of age, he learned from his horoscope that he should commit a dreadful crime and left his home to avoid it, but in his travels discovered that the sin had unwittingly been incurred. He, then, applied to Siva for relief, who told him to drink twelve loads of melted copper, but as Birúpáksha knew that this would kill him, he consulted a bhikshu who advised him to recite certain holy names. After completing his task, he came across a ling of Siva, and began to break every emblem of the kind that he met, saying "it was you who advised me to lose my life." "At last he came to Pasupati, who prayed to Buddha to save him, and through the blessing of Buddha and being provided with a head-dress of Buddh, Birúpáksha instead of breaking the idol worshipped it. For this reason every linga emblem of Siva in Nepál is a little bent on one side except that at Pasupati." Here we have other evidence of the blending of the Saiva with the Bauddha worship. It is also recorded that it was from hearing the preceding accounts that Dharmadatta, a prince of Kínchi or Conjeveram near Madras, proceeded to Nepál and expelling the native Kiríta dynasty, established himself there and built the existing temple of Pasupati. This afterwards fell into ruin and was re-built by the Gwála dynasty who flourished in the time of Krishna and again by the Sombansi dynasty some twenty generations after Asoka, who lived in the third century before Christ. From these statements we may fairly conclude that the legend of Siva as Pasupati is common to the Kumaon and Nepál Himálaya, that in the latter tract the worship of this form was not opposed by the Buddhists, and that there was an early connection between the Himálayan worship of Siva and his worship in the south of India.²

In the Mahábhárata, Pasupati is 'the lord of animals,' to whom are sacred 'the five kinds of animals—kine, horses, men, goats and sheep.'

¹ The phlegm destroyer, *Cordia latifolia*. ² Cape Comorin derives its name from Kumári, one of the names of the consort of Siva.

He delights in bloody sacrifices and it was for him that Jarásandha kept the captive princes, "sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts" which so roused the ire of Krishna.¹ In the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa,² Pasupati is identified with Rudra as Bhútapati or 'lord of dreadful forms,' in the Satapatha Bráhmaṇa the name is given to Agni,³ and again, in the Mahábhárata, to Varuna, as part of Rudra.⁴ When Arjuna sought the Pásupata weapon from Siva, he found the deity attended by his Bhútas or goblins, and the name of Pasupati occurs in the Rudra hymn or *Satarudriya* as an epithet of Rudra. Thus in the older writings we have the term identified with the fiercer form of Siva, that which leads the worshippers to offer blood as pleasing to the deity not necessarily as a propitiation for their sins. The followers of this form comprised a separate class known as Pásupatas, guided by instructions supposed to have been written by Siva himself.⁵ They existed in the time of Sankara Achárya and bore as their sectarial marks a linga on the forehead, breast, arms and navel, and even so late as the time of Mádhava, who records that the Pásupata Abhinava Gupta taught the *mantra* worship of Siva. They have since, however, merged in the Jogis, especially the Kánphatas, of whom more hereafter.

We now return to the temple of Kedárnáth which is situated in Patti Maikhanda below the great peak of Kedárnáth. Besides the temple itself, sacred to the Sadáshiu form of Siva as 'lord of Kedár,' there are several places of pilgrimage in the immediate neighbourhood, chief of which are the Swarga-rohini, Bhraigupanth, Reta-kund, Hansa-kund, Sindhu-sagar, Tribeni-tírtha and Mahápanth. At the last named is the celebrated cliff called the Bhairava Jhamp from which pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva. The practice has been prohibited by the British Government and is not now encouraged by the priests, and shorn of the eclat and splendour of the procession and music which in former days accompanied the victims to the fatal leap, there is little attraction left to induce others to imitate them. A second form of self-immolation obtained in

¹ Muir, IV., 289, 336.

² *Ibid.*, I., 108.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 202,

⁴ *Ibid.*,

I., 444.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III., 202 : Wilson, I., 11: III, 59: and Hodgson, J.R.A.S., XVII., 393, where he shows the connection between Pasupati and Swayambhú-náth of Nepál by extracts from the Swayambhu Purána.

former days, when fanatics wandered up the snowy slopes, until overcome by cold and exhaustion they lay down and slept the sleep that knows no waking. It is difficult to say whether this practice still continues. So many die from want, disease and the fatigue incidental to a journey of such length and hardship without any intention of deliberately offering up themselves as a sacrifice to the deity, that we may well demand some further evidence before the statement that the practice described is common can be accepted as proved. A popular belief exists that Siva frequently makes himself visible on the crest of the great peak and that the wreaths of smoke seen there from below are not the result of whirlwinds gathering up the finer particles of snow, but the smoke of sacrifice made by some highly favoured follower. As the holiest part of the holy, Kedár-khand, the entire tract comprising the Upper Pattis of Nágpur and Painkhanda abounds in places of pilgrimage, and here on the *Adha-Márgashárkh-upránt* all the gods and goddesses are said to assemble and engage in sports of various kinds and the noise of their talk and laughter is heard for miles around. It is known that curious sounds are heard in these elevated regions and have been variously accounted for. Some attribute them to the echo caused by falling trees or avalanches and it is true that owing to the purity of the air sound is carried to a great distance. The sweet smelling flowers and other vegetation found near the limits of eternal snow frequently overpower the traveller and combined with the rarefaction of the air cause a faintness which many attribute to the influence of superhuman powers. Natural physical influences are sufficient to account for these phenomena, but the ignorant consider all to be due to the pervading presence of the gods in this their peculiar home.

The temple at Tungnáth or Tunganáth¹ is situated on the Chandrasila peak, a few hundred feet below the summit which rises to a height of 12,071 feet above the level of the sea. Some derive the name '*tung*' with the sense of 'lofty' from the position of the temple on the highest peak outside the main chain of the Himálaya: others derive it from '*tangna*' 'to be suspended,' in allusion to the form under which

¹ There are other temples here unconnected with the Kedár endowment to Siva as Tungnáth:—at Maku also called Markadeswar; at Tiung, at Dhársail and at Phalási in Talla Nágpur.

the deity is here worshipped. The form is the Swayambhu Ling, and on the Shiurátri or 'night of Siva,' the true believer may, with the eye of faith, see the emblem increase in size, but "to the evil-minded no such favour is ever granted." Above the Rudrgádh, an affluent of the Bálásuti, is a great cave in which Siva is worshipped as Swayambhu Mukhár Bind, a close connection of the Nepál form as Swayambhu Pasupati. There is also a temple to his name and south of it is the Sarasvati kund or pool with a ling in the midst of it. In the pool there is a large fish which appears on the fourteenth of the dark half of each month and if propitiated with oblations grants the accomplishment of every wish of the faithful. The Kála pahár range in the neighbourhood of this temple is also known as the Rudra Himálaya. Madhmaheswar is situated near Gair at the head of the stream of the same name which joins the Mandákini near Gupt Káshi. It is supported from the endowment and revenues of Kedárnáth. Few pilgrims come here and the worship lasts only till the middle of October when snow falls and renders the track impassable. The temple to the form of Siva as Kalpeswar is at Urgan.

The chief priest at Kedár is usually styled Ráwal. He resides at Ukhimath and his place at Kedár is taken by one of his chelás or disciples, of whom several are always in attendance. The season of pilgrimage lasts for six months from the *akhaya* third of Baisákh to Bali's day in Kárttik; the great or fair day is the last day of Kárttik. The celebrants are of the Bedling division of the Nambúris from Maláyalam. The Madhmaheswar temple is served by Jangamas from Chitrakáli in Mysore. The Rudrnáth and Kalpeswar temples are tended by Dasnámi Gosáins and the Tungnáth establishment by Khasiya Brahmans who retire to Mako during the winter. Thus four out of five temples forming the Kedár establishment are still ministered to by priests from the Dakhin connected with Sankara Achárya: the Nambúris are of his tribe in Malabar: the Jangamas are puritan Lingáyats and the Dasnámi Gosáins were founded by Sankara's disciple

There are other temples to Siva connected with the Kedárnáth endowment though not included in the Panch Kedár. Gupt Káshi or the 'invisible Benares' of the north possesses so many lings that the saying

Other Siva temples.

"*Jitne kankar itne Sankar*"—"as many stones so many Sivas"—has passed into a common proverb to describe its holiness. Here, as in Benares, Siva is worshipped as Visvanáth and two dhárás known as the Jumna and Bhágirathi feed the pool sacred to the god. A portion of the Kedár establishment officiate here. At Ukhimath, the winter-quarters of the Ráwal of Kedárnáth, there is another temple to Siva managed by the Kedár priests. Next in importance to these is the Gopeswar¹ temple sacred to Siva as a '*Gopa*' or 'cowherd' and which marks the site where Parasuráma obtained from Siva the weapons with which he destroyed the Kshatriyas. The Mahábhárata² relates how Parasuráma obtained the axe of Siva by propitiating the deity on the Gandhamádana mountain, now Nar-Naráyan above Badrináth, but the local legend tells how a number of weapons were given and amongst them the trident (*trishúl*) which now stands in front of the Gopeswar temple and which has been noticed. The worship of the god is carried on by Jangam priests from Mysore as in Kedárnáth and festivals are held on Chait and Asan 'Naurátri and the Siurátri. Naleswar at Gartara in Malla Nágpur is celebrated as the place where Damayanti's Raja Nala propitiated Siva, but the temple is of only local importance and there is only a small establishment. At the confluence of the Mandákini and Alaknanda, there is a temple to Siva Rudra which gives its name to the neighbouring village and also marks the site of Nárada's worship of Siva. At Dungari, in Patti Taili Chandpur Siva is worshipped by Sanyásis as Sileswar, and the temple which is endowed is said to have existed from the institution of the era of Saliváhana in 78 A.D. ! On a peak of the Dúdutoli range in Mawálsyún there is a temple to Siva as Binsar or Bineswar,³ celebrated throughout all the lower pattis for its sanctity and power of working miracles. It was here that Ráni Karnávati was saved from her enemies by Siva, who destroyed them by a hail-storm, and from gratitude the Ráni built a new tower for the temple. One of the many legends concerning Binsar states that should any one take away anything belonging to the god or his worshippers from this place, an avenging spirit attends him and compels him conscience-stricken to restore it twenty-fold; nay, even the faithless

¹ There are three other temples to this form in Kumaon.
287.

² There is a temple to Bineswar at Sauni in Sílör.

³ Muir, IV,

and dishonest are reformed by a visit to Binsar. Hence the proverb :—

“ Bhái, Binsar ká lohá jánlo samajhlo.”

Further, though the forests in the neighbourhood abound with tigers not one dare attack a pilgrim, owing to the protecting influence of the god. The temple of Anuka Bhairava at Bhatgaon in Patti Ghurdursyún has a similar reputation and cases are often amicably settled by an oath made by either party in presence of the deity there.

The Koteswar temple is situated in Chalansyún about four miles from Srinagar, where the Koti Ling of Siva is set up. The Bhairava temple on the Langúr peak owes its origin to a Gwála having found a yellow-coloured stick which, on his attempting to cut it with an axe, poured forth drops of blood and frightened at the sight the Gwála fled only to be visited at night by Siva in his terrible form, who commanded him to set up his image here. On the summit of the mountain, the god is represented by a coloured stick somewhat in the form of a hooded snake. Bhilwa Kedár, where Arjun fought with Mahádeo and found him, appears to be an old foundation and is still held in high estimation. It is situate on the Khandapa-gádh about a mile west of Srinagar and marks the site of the following scene.¹ When Arjuna, following the advice of Indra, sought Mahádeo in his mountain home, the Rishis not knowing his object were alarmed and complained to Mahádeo, who assured them that there was no cause for apprehension, but as a precautionary measure took his arms and assuming the form of a Kiráta went to meet Arjuna. At that moment appeared a Dánava, in the form of a boar meditating an attack upon Arjuna, and seeing this, the Kiráta asked permission to shoot the animal as he was the first to take aim. But Arjuna refused and both shot together and killed the boar. Arjuna was wrath at the unsportsmanlike conduct of the stranger and threatened to kill him. The Kiráta retorted and said that he had aimed first and that he would kill Arjuna. The two then fought with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, &c., until at length Arjuna fell exhausted.

¹ From the Vana parvan of the Mahábhárata : Muir, IV., 230 : the local legend has for Kiráta, Bhilwa or Bhíl, a tribe utterly unknown in this Himalaya. The name appears to be really connected with the sacred *Ægle Marmelos* known as the *bilwa* or *bel*.

When Arjuna revived he found that his enemy was no other than Mahádeo and at once proceeded to worship him by falling at his feet. Mahádeo then expressed his admiration of Arjuna's prowess and offered him the choice of a boon and he chose the Pásupata weapon, which was accordingly given him after he had been warned as to the consequences of using it rashly. There is also a temple to Siva as Kránteswar or Kiránteswar, 'lord of the Kirántis,' on the peak of that name in Káli Kumaon.

Kamaleswar in Srinagar itself is chiefly remarkable for the extent of its endowment. It is dedicated to Siva, as 'lord of the lotus,' and its origin is thus described in the local legends. When Ráma came to reside in the forests for the purpose of meditating on the great god, he settled for some time here and prepared to worship Siva with an offering of flowers. For this purpose he collected one thousand lotus flowers in honor of the Agni form of the god as Sahasrákhsa, 'the thousand-eyed', and proceeded to lay them before the deity, but found one wanting which the God himself had secretly removed to try his worshipper. Ráma supplied the place of the missing lotus (*kamala*) with one of his own eyes and ever since the form of Siva worshipped here is known as Kamaleswar. On the night of Baikunth 14th it is customary for women desirous of obtaining offspring to attend the services at this temple, with lamps alight, in the upturned palms of their hands; they remain the whole night standing before the god and in the morning, after bathing, offer oblations to the attendant priests. On the night of the *ghrit kamala* or *achala saptami* the body of the Mahant receives worship by shampooing and rubbing. The courtyard of the temple is then copiously sprinkled with Ganges water and the Mahant comes forth naked and lies on the ground whilst the assembled worshippers march in solemn procession around him. The services at this temple are conducted by Dásnami Gosáins of the Puri section and the chief priest is called Mahant.

Amongst the Saiva foundations in Kumaon, that of Jageswar, both from the extent of its endowment and the reputation for sanctity that it possesses, is the most important. It is frequently mentioned, as we have seen, in the *Mánasa-khanda* and keeps up a large establishment of *pandas*

or priests to minister before its numerous idols.¹ The great temple itself is situated on the village along which runs the road from Almora to Pithoragarh. Here Mahádeo is worshipped under the form Jyotir-Ling. The largest temples are those dedicated to Jageswar, Mrityunjaya, and Dandeswar, all of which are attributed to Visva-karman, the artificer of the gods. The great Vikramáditya² is said to have visited Jageswar and to have restored the temples of Mrityunjaya whilst a similar work was performed by Saliváhana for the Jageswar temple. Then came Sankara Achárya, who remodelled the entire institution, and the temples were again repaired by the Katyúri Rajas. The pool near the temple is called Brahma-kund, bathing in which ensures salvation. Other smaller reservoirs are the Nárada, Súrya, Rishi, Krami, Reta and Vasistha kunds. The great fairs are held on the Baisákh and Kárttik purnamásis (15th May and 10th November). Pilgrims also visit the shrine in Sáwan (July-August). Bloody sacrifices only occur to Kshetrpál, as guardian of the tract; the ordinary offerings consist only of the *panch-bali*, i.e., milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar which are placed on the idol, baths of hot and cold water being given between each of the five oblations. Like Kamaleswar, this temple is specially celebrated for its power of granting offspring, and here also women desirous of children stand the night long before the god with lamps alight in their hands. There are numerous legends connected with these temples and the minerals wrought which would be tedious and unprofitable to detail. A votive offering exists in the shape of an image in silver of a Paundra Raja holding a lamp in his hands. The story goes that the hands were formerly as high as the Raja's forehead and are now opposite his breast and when they reach his feet, his sins will be forgiven. There are also images of the Chand Rajas, Díp and Trimal. Near the temple is an excavation in which one Ridhpuri Gosáin, in the time of Udyot Chand, buried himself alive after having obtained a

¹ The following forms of the deity are worshipped in connection with this grant:—Jageswar, Briddh Jageswar, Bhándeswar, Mrityunjaya, Dandeswar, Gadáreswar, Kedár, Balináth, Baldyanáth, Bhairava, Chakrabákeswar, Nílkant, Báleswar, Visveswar, Bágeswar, Báneswar, Mukteswar, Hundeswar, Kamaleswar, Jageswar, Háteswar, Pátál Bhubaneswar, Bhairaveswar, Lakhmeswar, Panch Kedár, Brahm Kapál, Kshetrpál or Shalundyau and the female forms, Pushti, Chandika, Laohmi Náráyani, Sitala and Maha Káli. Most of these are supposed to be parts of the deity popular elsewhere. Briddh Jageswar is on the Almora road, about four miles from Jageswar, and Kshetrpál is about five miles off.

² In Nepál also Vikramáditya is mentioned as the restorer of temples.

diamond ring from the Raja and in a short time afterwards the Raja received the ring from Hardwár, where the Gosáin had again appeared, 'a confidence trick still not uncommon in Upper India.' Dead bodies are brought from a distance to be burned at Jageswar in the midst of the holy tract and its hundred gods. The Pandas or priests of the temple are called Baroras, a word which is locally explained as a corruption of Bátuk, which again is applied to the offspring of a Sanyási who has broken the vow of celibacy. The ministrations at Jageswar were entrusted by Sankara Achárya to Kumára Swámi, a Jangam from the Dakhin, and he had with him a Dakhini Bhat who married the daughter of a Hill Brahman and thus gave rise to the Baroras, the present Pandas of Jagesar.

In one verse of the Mahábhárata the sage Tandi is said to have propitiated Mahádeo by repeating his eleven thousand mystical names. Daksha when humbled repeats eight thousand names and Mahádeo is frequently credited with one thousand names. The last number is no exaggeration and could easily be verified. The names in common use may be divided into four classes: (1) the old names derived from the deities who together form the modern Siva; (2) those derived from the legends describing his exploits or some manifestation of his power; (3) those derived from the name of some place; and (4) those derived from the name of some person who has adopted him as their special or *ishta* deity. The latter two classes are very common in Kumaon: thus we have the phrases 'the Chaur Mahádeo,' 'the Naithána Devi,' like 'Our Lady of Loretto,' and Dípchandeshwar, Udyatchandeswar forms worshipped in temples erected by Rajas Díp Chand and Udyot Chand, Nábdaleswar in Dehra Dún after a female named Nábda, and even Tularámeswar, the form worshipped in a temple erected by a petty banker named Tularám in Almora a few years ago! Many of the older names are found in passages quoted by Muir¹ and we shall now examine those of them which occur in the Kumaon Himálaya. Isána, 'the ruler,' for in this form Siva is the sun who rules (*ishte*) the universe, has a temple at Khola in Lakhanpur. He is called Rudra from '*rud*,' 'to weep,' because as a boy (*Kumúra*) he appeared weeping before the gods and in this form he is Agni, the god of fire. He has

¹ Muir, IV., 196, 377.

² *Ibid.*, 340, 360, 403.

several temples as Mahárudra, and Rudrnáth.¹ As Sarva (all) he is worshipped as Sarbeswar at Sahaikot in Patti Nágpur. This is one of the older names and is especially noted in the Satapatha Brahmana as a synonym for Agni amongst the eastern Bábikas or people of the eastern Panjáb,² as Bhava was used by the western tribes. There is a temple to Siva as 'Trinetra,' 'the three-eyed,' at Surwál in Lakhanpur, a form which is explained by the following story from the Mahábhárata. Siva and Párvati were seated together on the Himálaya surrounded by their Bhútas (goblins) and Apsarasas (nymphs) when in a sportive moment Párvati placed her hands over her husband's eyes. Terrible results followed, the world was darkened, all were dismayed, oblations ceased, and the end of all things seemed near. Suddenly the gloom was dispelled by a great light which burst from Siva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed. By the fire from this eye the Himálaya was scorched until Párvati, assuming a submissive attitude, stood before her lord and induced him to restore the mountains to their former condition.³ As Trimukheswar Siva has a temple in Chaukot. As Droneswar he is worshipped in the centre of the tract known as Dronásrama in the eastern Dún near the Soma and Súsua rivers and receives offerings of *bel* leaves, incense, perfumes, rice and sandal-wood. As Chandreswar he also has a temple in the same locality, now called Chandrabani, and as Tapkeswar he is worshipped in a cave near Garhi on the Tons about five miles to the north of Dehra Dún. Siva is worshipped as Gokarneswar at Mádhorola in Seti, parganah Sor. Gokarna was a prince of Panchála who set up a celebrated Ling of Siva on the Malabar coast, of which a replica was brought to Nepál, and a portion of this again was placed at Mádhorola: so that we have here only a part of a part, but the efficacy of prayer to him is the same.

There is a temple to Nílkanth, 'Siva of the azure neck,' at Toli in Patti Udepur, a name due to his having drank the poison produced at the churning of the ocean. The gods discomfited by the Daityas fled to Vishnu for succour, and he directed them to cast all

¹ There are temples to Ughána Mahárudra at Papoli in Dánpur and at Dunya in Rangor.

² See pages 230, 358.

³ Muir, IV., 270.

manner of medicinal herbs into the ocean of milk and then taking the mountain Mandara for a churning stick and the snake Vāsuki for the rope, churned the ocean for nectar. In the process, Vāsuki breathed forth a fiery poison, and the gods again distressed propitiated Siva, who swallowed up 'the deadly poison as if it had been nectar.' Hence he is called *Nilakantha*, *Nilagriva*, &c., and there are several temples to him as Nīleswar. As lord of goblins, Bhūtaneshwar, he has a temple at Siri in Baraun and two in Borāvau and as chief of the Asuras, one at Gorang in Seti to the form Asureswar and one each to the forms Ekāsūr and Tadāsūr. - Bhīma is an old name of Rudra and there is a temple to Siva as Bhīmeswar at Bhīm Tāl. As Pinākeswar or Pinnāth, the bearer of the bow Pinākin, Siva has a temple in Borāvau. There are also temples to him as Sīteswar and Rāmeswar, the latter of which is situated at the confluence of the Rāmganga and Sarju rivers and also marks the scene of the apotheosis of Rāma himself. There is a second Rāmeswar in Dehra Dūn. There are two temples in Srinagar to Siva as Narmadeswar or 'lord of the river Nerbudda.' There is one large temple to him as Mrityunjaya, 'the conqueror of death,' at Jageswar, one at Dwāra and one at Aserh in Karākot. As Kalajit he has a temple at Kāndi and as Karmajit one at Pīlu, both in Talli Kāliphāt, and there is also a temple to his name at Lākhamandal in Khat Bhondar of Jaunsār which local tradition asserts was built by Sankara Achārya. Both Siva and Vishnu are invoked at the festival held for bathing at the Sahasradhāra pool near Dehra. The Bāgeswar establishment is also an old one and the story connected with it has already been told in the Mānasa-khanda. The temple is situated at the confluence of the Gomati and Sarju rivers in Patti Talla Katyūra. There are two great fairs held here, but as they have more of a commercial than a religious character, they will be noticed elsewhere. The legend regarding the Pátāl Bhūbaneswar has also been told. The Pacheswar temple honours the junction of the Sarju and the Kāli and other less known temples, the *prayāgas* or junctions of every considerable rivulet in the Kumaon Himālaya. The temples at Champāwat are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity and the remains there are well worthy of a visit. Again at Dwāra we have an immense number of temples scattered about in groups, most of which are now in ruins and serve

merely as straw-lofts for the villagers. Besides temples, in many places conspicuous boulders and rocks are dedicated to Siva in his many forms, chiefly as lord of the Nágas and as identified with the village gods Goril, Chamu, &c. The worship of the more orthodox forms of Siva is conducted by Dásnámi Gosáins, chiefly of the Giri Purí, Bháratí and Sáraswati divisions. The Nágrája and Bhairava temples are served by Jogis or Khasiyas. The great festivals in the former take place on the Shiurátri and in the latter at each *sankránt* and at the two harvests the important religious seasons of the non-Bráhmanical tribes.

As Kedár is the principal and most sacred of all the Saiva temples in the Himálaya, so Badari or Badrináth¹ claims the name of '*paramasthán*,' or 'supreme place of pilgrimage,' for the Vaishnava sects. The story of Badari from the sacred books has been told elsewhere. The name itself is derived from the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus Jujuba*), which is thus referred to in the local legends:—When Sankara Achárya in his *digvijaya* travels visited the Mána valley, he arrived at the Nárada-kund and found there fifty different idols lying in the waters. These he took out one by one and when all had been rescued a voice from heaven came saying:—"These are the images for the Káliyug: establish them here." The Svámi accordingly placed them beneath a mighty tree which grew there and whose shade extended from Badrináth to Nandprayág, a distance of forty kos, and hence the name Adi-badri given to the sacred jujube of the hermitage.² The place selected for the restoration of the worship of Vishnu was at the foot of the Gandhamádana peak, one of the boundaries of Meru. Close to it was the *ashrama* or hermitage of Nar-Naráyana,³ and in course of time temples were built in honour of this and other manifestations of Vishnu. The entire tract in the neighbourhood is known as Vaishnava-Kshetra and contains several hot-springs in which Agni resides by permission of Vishnu. At Badari itself, besides the great temple sacred to Vishnu there are several smaller ones dedicated to Lakshmi, Máta Murti and other Vaishnava forms and one to Mahádeo. Vaishnava-Kshetra

¹ Also known as Bishálapuri.
only the extent of Vaishnava-kshetra.
Nara and Náráyana or Arjuna and Krishna, the Pylades and Orestes of the Indian myths: page 263, 266.

² Explained elsewhere as intending
³ So called in remembrance of

itself is subdivided into twelve subordinate *kshetras* or tracts called Tapta-kund, Nárada-kund, Brahm-kapáli, Kurma-dhára, Garur-sila, Nárada-sila, Márkandeya-sila, Varáhi-sila, Narsinh-sila, Basu-dhára tírtha, Sátyapatha-kund and Trikon-kund, all of which have legends connected with them which it would be tedious to enumerate. Vishnu is present in Badrináth as Nar-sinha, 'the man-lion incarnation,' but is supposed not only to contain the supreme spirit or Náráyana himself, but also Arjun as Nara and the '*panch devta*,' Nar-sinha, Varáha, Nárada, Garura and Márka. Nárada was a celebrated sage and chief of the Rishis and in the Mahábhárata is their spokesman when detailing the wonders they had witnessed whilst on a pilgrimage to the holy places in the Kumaon-Himálaya. His name frequently occurs in the local legends in connection with sacred pools and bathing places and in the Bhágavata Purána, he is mentioned as one of the partial incarnations of Vishnu. Marka was a priest of the Asuras who with Sanda went over to the gods and enabled Vishnu and the Suras to defeat their adversaries.¹ There are four other temples in connection with Badrináth and which together make up the Panch-badri, as the five temples erected by the five Pándavas to Siva make up the Panch-kedár. They are called :—Yog-badri, Dhyán-badri, Briddh-badri and Adi-badri and together complete the circle of pilgrimage prescribed for all devout Hindus, whether Vaishnavas or Saivas, but preferentially for the former. Badrináth is a favourite name for Náráyana or Vishnu, and as the popular forms of Siva have replicas all over India, so this form of Vishnu will be found in every province where his worship prevails. There are four others of the same name in Garhwál and four in Kumaon.² At the parent Badrináth, we have all the virtue of all observances at all other places of pilgrimage and according to the Kedár-khanda of the Skanda Purána, it possesses the Ganga which purifies from all sin : Ganesh the companion of Bhagwán and noticed hereafter as son of Siva and Párvati : Prahlád, the beloved disciple of Vishnu : Kuvera, the giver of riches to the three worlds : Nárada, who ensures the fruit of all good works, and Garura and Ghantakarn, of whom more hereafter. Brahma dwells at Brahm-kapál, where the *śrāddha* is performed for the repose of the manes of ancestors. It was here, also, that Vishnu

¹ Muir, IV., 155.
and Garsir in Katyúr.

² Sainana in Nain; Kurget in Sult; Dwára Hát

appeared to his followers in person, as the four-armed, crested and adorned with pearls and garlands and the faithful can yet see him on the peak of Náli-kántha, on the great *Kumbh*-day.

Pándukeswar, so named in remembrance of the austerities observed there by the Pándavas, holds the temple of Yogbadri in which Vishnu is worshipped as Bāsdeo. We have seen that Bāsdeo is the name of the god worshipped in older times by the Kirátas, and that there are grounds for agreeing with Lassen that he is one of the non-Bráhmical deities whose attributes were in later times transferred to Vishnu. The image of the god is here said to be of life-size made in part of gold and to have come down miraculously from the heaven of Indra. There are three other temples to Bāsdeo in Garh-wál at which the usual Vaishnava festivals are held. The temple of Dhyán-badri is at Urgam, where also we have temples to Siva as

Briddh Kedár and Kalpeswar, both very old forms, whilst the name Urgam brings us back to the Urugas, a subordinate tribe of Nágas. The temple of Briddh Badri is at Animath, which also marks the scene of the devout exercises of Gautama

Rishi, when the old man worn out by long and severe mortifications was visited by Vishnu himself. Here also lived Párvati as Aparna. In the Harivansa we have the following history of the daughters of Himáchal which differs from the ordinary one in assigning to him

three daughters, among whom the Ganga is not enumerated. Mena was the mind-born (*mánasi-kanya*) daughter of the Pitris whose personified energy was the Mátris to whom there is a temple in Badrináth. She bore to Himáchal three daughters, Aparna, Ekaparna and Ekapátala. "These three performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dánavas, distressed (with alarm) both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparna (or 'one leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapátala took only one *Pátala* (*Bignonia*) for her food. One (Aparua) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words:—'U ma' ('O don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerities, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Uma." Hence also

the name Parn-khanda, which has been changed in the local dialect to Pain-khanda as the name for the montane district, including the valleys of the Dhauli and Sarasvati or Vishnuganga and the Vaishnavakshetra. The word '*parni*,' however, is a name of the *Butea frondosa* or common *dhák* or *palás* which does not grow in these regions.

In Jyotirdhám, 'the dwelling of the Jyotir ling,' and commonly known by the name Joshimath, there are several Vaishnava temples. The principal one is dedicated to the Nar Sinha incarnation of Vishnu and with it is connected the celebrated legend of the abandonment of Badrináth at some future time. It is said that one arm of this idol is year by year growing thinner, and that when it falls off, the base of the hills at Vishnuprayág, on the way to Badrináth, will give way and close up the road to the temple. To the east of Joshimath is Tapuban, on the left bank of the Dhauli river, and here is the temple of Bhavishya Badri or the Badri of the future to which the gods will go when Badrináth is closed to his worshippers as was revealed to Agastya Muni by Vishnu himself. The management of this temple also is in the hands of the priests of Badrináth. At Joshimath there are also temples to Bāsdeo, Garura and Bhagwati. The temple of Adbadri is at Subhāni.

The legend of the Nar-Sinh incarnation and Prahlád is related at great length in the Bhágavata and Vishnu Puránas.¹ It is there told how Prahlád, son of Hiranyakasipu, notwithstanding the displeasure of his father who was sovereign of the universe, remained attached to the worship of Vishnu. Even when condemned to death, he taught his companions the praises of Vishnu and was by them encouraged to persevere. When called into the presence of his father, Prahláda still appealed to him "from whom matter and soul originates, from whom all that moves or is unconscious proceeds, the adorable Vishnu." On hearing this confession of faith, Hiranyakasipu exclaimed: "kill the wretch; he is not fit to live who is a traitor to his friends, a burning brand to his own race." On this the Daityas innumerable took up arms and threw themselves upon Prahlád to destroy him. The prince calmly looked upon them and said:—"Daityas, as

¹ Wilson's, works, VII., § 3-68.

truly as Vishnu is present in your weapons and in my body, so truly shall those weapons fail to harm me." And accordingly, although struck heavily and repeatedly by hundreds of Daityas, the prince felt not the least pain. The Nágas next tried to kill Prahlád, but were equally unsuccessful. Elephants were then brought forward and poison, but this last recoiled upon those who used it and destroyed them. Prahlád was then flung down from the battlements of a lofty fort and escaped unhurt. He also defeated the wiles of Sambara, priest of the Asuras, and every other influence brought to bear upon him, steadfast in his love for Hari, the undecaying and imperishable. In reward he was made one with Vishnu, but even then failed not to hymn Purushottama.¹ Hiranyakasipu then asked his son:—"if Vishnu be everywhere why is he not visible in this pillar," whereon Vishnu enraged beyond all restraint burst forth from the pillar in the hall where the people were seated and in a form not wholly man nor wholly lion fought with the Daitya king Hiranyakasipu and tore him to pieces. On the death of his father, Prahlád became sovereign of the Daityas and was blessed with numerous descendants. At the expiration of his authority, he was freed from the consequences of mortal merit or demerit and obtained, through meditation on the deity, final exemption from existence." He is now honored by all Vaishnavas, as the "*premi bhakt*," the beloved disciple of Bhagwán. This legend clearly refers to the opposition shown to the introduction of the worship of Vishnu amongst the non-Bráhmañical tribes. There are ten temples to the form Nara-Sinha in Garhwál and one at Almora in Kumaon.

Some century and a half ago the worship of Vishnu at Badrináth was conducted by Dáñdi Paramahansa fakírs from the Dakhín, but these gave way to Dakhíní Brahmans of the Lanbúri caste from Kírat Malwár. There are always three or four aspirants for the office of Ráwal, as the chief priest is called, in attendance, one of whom usually takes the duty at Badrináth whilst the remainder reside at Joshimath. The service at Badrináth takes place from Baisákh to Kárttik. Brahmans from Deoprayág officiate at the Tapta-kund; Kotiyál, Dáñdi and Hatwál Brahmans at Brahm-Kapál; Dinri Brahmans at the temple of Lakshmi Devi and at the temple to Siva, Máliya Brahmans of Tangani. The attendant priests at Yog-badri

¹ Another name of Vishnu and like Báñdeo probably borrowed from a favorite god of the mountain tribes: see Muir, IV., 297.

are Bhats from the Dakhin; at Dhyán-badri are Dimris and at Briddh-badri and Ad-badri are Dakhinis.¹ As a rule, Bairágis serve the other Vaishnava shrines in Garhwál and Kumaon.

Amongst the minor Vaishnava temples in Garhwál Triyugi Other Vaishnava temples. Náráyan is the most celebrated. The temple is situated in the valley of the Jalmal, an affluent of the Mandákini, in Patti Maikhandá of Garhwál and marks the scene of the wedding of Mahádeo with Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal. There came Agni all radiant and Vishnu and the latter god left a portion of himself behind. There are hot springs here and four pools, Baitarani, &c., in which the pilgrims bathe. One of these pools is said to be full of snakes of a yellow colour which come out on the Nágpachami to be worshipped. From its position on the pilgrim road from the Bhágirathi to the Mandákini there is always a fair attendance of worshippers during the season. There is a temple to the same form at Bágeswar in Kumaon. At Chandrapuri in Patti Talli Káliphát there is a temple dedicated to Vishnu as Murli Manohar, built by one Chandramani, Dangwál, of the family of the hereditary purohits of the Rajas of Garhwál and who also gave his name to the place. Another temple to the same form of Vishnu exists at Gulábkoti on the Alaknanda and was founded by Guláb Singh, Ráotela. There are other temples to this form at Bidyakoti and Dewalgarh. To the form Lakshmi-Náráyan, there are fifteen temples in Garhwál and three in Kumaon: to Náráyan there are seventeen temples in Garhwál and three in Kumaon. There are also temples to Mal Náráyan in Pangaraun; to Satya Náráyan, at Mánil in Náyan and to Náráyan Dyal, at Karkota in Sálam. The principal temples to Lakshmi-Náráyan are in Srinagar itself; the one known as Sankara Math was built by Sankara Dobbhál in 1785 A.D. A Dobbhál Bráhmaṇ named Sivanandi built the temple to Náráyan at Sivanandi. There are old temples, also to this form, at Semli in Pindarpúr, Ad-badri in Sili Cháundpur, Náráyanbagr and Nandprayág. There are

¹ The following temples not included in the Panch-badri are managed by the Badrináth establishment: Náráyan at Nandprayág; and Maithána, served by Sati Brahmaṇs Náráyan at Hát in Nágpur, served by Hátwál Brahmaṇs; Náráyan at Náráyanbagr, served by Bairágis; Vishnu at Vishnuprayág, served by Bairágis; Bádeo and Garúr at Joshimath and Nar-Sinh at Dáulí, served by Dakhiní priests and Nar-Sinh at Pákhí Bharwári, served by Dimris. In Kumaon, Badrináth at Garsar in Malla Katyúr and at Dwára is connected with the Garhwál temple.

temples to Rāma at Giwār, Srinagar and Kothar in Lohba and to Rāmapāduk at Almora, Uliyagaon in Borārau and Rāmjani in Udepur : to Beni Mādhava in Bāgeswar and to Gol Gobind in Garhwāl. The temple at Rāmjani is supposed to mark the site of Rāmā's hermitage : hence the name Banās applied to the forest in the neighbourhood from '*ban-bās*,' residing in a forest. The temple at Māsī in Giwār stands on the site of a much older building as the remains still found there testify. There is no great Vaishnava establishment in Kumaon, the temples to Raghunāth and Siddh Nar Sinha at Almora existing only from the removal of the seat of Government from Champāwat to Almora about three hundred years ago. The Vaishnava temples at Bāgeswar appear to be of considerable age, but now are of but very local importance. Dwāra which owes its name to its being the representative in the Himālaya of Dwāraka, so celebrated in the history of the Pāudavas, has several Vaishnava temples, chief of which is Badrināth, an offshoot of the great establishment.

Sanjaya, the charioteer of Dhritarāshtra, explains, in the Mahābhārata, several of the names of Vishnu.

Names of Vishnu.

"From his greatness (*vrīhatnāt*) he is called Vishnu. From his silence (*maundī*), contemplation and abstraction do thou know him to be Mādhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is Madhuhan and Madhusūdana. The word '*krishi*' denotes 'earth' and '*nā*' denotes 'cessation'; Vishnu from containing the nature of these things is Krishna, the Sūttvata. * * Inasmuch as he does not fall from or fail in existence (*sattva*), therefore from his existence he is Sūttvata and from his excellence (*arshabhāt*) Vrishabhekshana." As he has no mortal parent he is Aja (unborn) and from self-restraint (*dama*) he is Dāmodara. From the joy (*harsha*) he gives to those over whom he rules he is called Hrishīkesha. From his moving over the waters (*nārānām*) he is called Nārāyana¹; from filling (*pūranāt*) and abiding (*sadanāt*) he is known as Purushottama." Krishna elsewhere calls himself Dharmaja from his having been born as a part of Dharma and Munjakeshavat, or he who has hair like the *mūnj* grass from the colour his hair became when attacked by the fiery trident of Rudra. He is also called Hari, Vaikuntha, Prishnigarbha, Suchisravas,

¹ In some places derived from his moving amongst men (*nārdnam*), but the reading adopted seems to be preferable (page 283).

Ghrítáchi, Hansa, and he whose sign is Tárkshya (Garura). In one place full one thousand names of Vishnu are quoted and the names of Siva, Agni, Brahma and the other gods included amongst them as he is the other gods who are only parts of Vishnu through whom they live and move and have their being.

We shall now turn to the forms of Sakti worshipped in the Kumaon-Himálaya and have to assign the Saktis of the Himálaya. first place to the Sakti of Siva, retaining the separation of the forms of Siva into those which follow Agni and those derived from Rudra, though doubtfully correct in fact. Still as in the male form there are three characters, so in the female form we may refer Nanda, Uma, Ambika, Párvati, Haimavati, &c., to the consort of Rudra and Dúrga, Jvala, &c., to the consort of Agni and Káli, Chandi, Chandika, &c., to Nirriti, the goddess of all evil and representative of the consort of Siva as 'lord of dæmons.'

Uma is one of the earliest names of the consort of Siva, and in the first text in which the name occurs, Uma. the Talavakúra or Kena Upanishad,¹ she is called Uma Haimavati. The other gods wished to assume the majesty by which Brahma had been victorious for them over the Asuras, so he manifested himself in a delusive shape to them and they knew him not. Agni, Váyu and Indra were deputed to examine whether "this being was worthy of adoration." Brahma simply placed a blade of grass on the ground which Agni tried to burn and Váyu tried to blow away, but neither of them was successful. Indra then met Uma, the daughter of Himavat, in the ether and asked her whether the form was worthy of adoration, and she distinctly declared that the being was Brahma, so that it was through Uma that even Indra knew Brahma. According to Sankara Achárya, who wrote a commentary on this Upanishad, it was Uma in the form of 'Vidya' or 'knowledge' that appeared to Indra, and according to Sáyana:—"Since Gauri, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word 'Uma,' which denotes Gauri, indicates dīvine knowledge." Hence in the Talavakúra Upanishad the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words:—"He said to the very resplendent Uma

¹ Roer's translation published by As. Soc. Cal., page 83, with Weber's note also quoted in Muir, LV., 420.

Haimavati, the supreme spirit who is the object of this divine knowledge from his existing together with Uma (*Sa+uma*) is called Soma." From these considerations a connection between Uma as 'divine knowledge' and Saraswati, 'the divine word', might be supposed and even etymologically with the sacred omnific word '*om*,' but Weber points out that there are other characteristics which place the original signification of Uma in quite another light. Why is she called Haimavati? In another place we have seen¹ from an old text that the northern country in which Badari is expressly named was celebrated for the purity of its speech and that students travelled thither for study and on their return enjoyed great consideration on this account. Weber goes on to say that—

"It would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himalaya than was possible for men living in Madhyadśa, where their minds were more occupied with the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Uma Haimavati appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For, not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Uma actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma vidya*); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife and so Siva's would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz., Párvati, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavati to place the emphasis not in the Haimavat, but upon the mountain (*parvata*), and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learned from the Satarudriya Girisa, &c, in which we recognise the germ of the conception of Siva's dwelling in Kailasa. He is the tempest which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Párvati Haimavati; 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife, and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Uma and Ambika are at a later period evidently identical and Ambika is Rudra's sister. Besides this identification of Uma with Ambika leads to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambika 'mother' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess, in the same way it appears that we must derive Uma from the root 'u' 'av' 'to protect;' It is true that a final vowel before 'ma' commonly takes 'gu' or is lengthened, but the words '*sima*' and '*hima*' shew that this is not necessary, and the name of Rama is perhaps (unless we derive it from 'ram') a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahmá and Indra, for in that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a

¹ Pages 273, 299.

period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Isvara, and thus also as Brahma, i.e., it would belong to the period of some Saiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Uma as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Uma with Sarasvatī, which in a previous note was regarded as possible, is here again visible."

The principal temple to Uma is that in Karnprayág at the junction of the Pindar and Alaknanda which is locally said to have been rebuilt by Sankara Achárya, the commentator on the passages above quoted.

It is, however, as Nandá that the Rudra form of the Sakti is most popular in the Kumaon Himálaya, where she is worthily represented by the lofty peak of Nandá Devi, the highest in the province. Here she is one with Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal, and has many temples devoted to her exclusive worship. Those at Krúr in Malli Dasoli and at Nanora and Hindoli in parganah Talli Dasoli are specially celebrated amongst the Garhwális, who further give the name Nandákinī to the river which flows from the three-peaked Trisúl, the companion of Nandá Devi, and the name Nandák to the tract near its source. Krúr is situated on the Bhadra-gádh, near the Mahádeo pool, on the right bank of the Nandákinī and Hindoli lower down in the same valley. Both these temples are favourite places of worship with the Parbatiyas, as the people of Chándpur, Lohba, Nágpur, and the northern patts are called by the inhabitants of lower Garhwál. There are other well-known temples to this goddess at Semli Míng, and Talli Dhúra in the Pindar Pattis at Nauti in Taili Chándpur and at Gair in Lohba. The worshippers at all of them unite to celebrate the marriage of Siva and Párvati on the *nandáshtami*. A procession is formed at Nauti which accompanied by the goddess in her palanquin (*doli*) proceeds to the Baiduni-kund at the foot of the Trisúl peak, where she is worshipped with great reverence and rejoicing. A great festival, also, takes place every twelfth year, when accompanied by her attendant Látu, who also has a temple at Nauli in parganah Dasauli, the goddess is carried into the snows as far as the people can go beyond the Baiduni-kund and there worshipped in the form of two great stones (*sila*) glittering with mica and strongly

reflecting the rays of the sun. The local legend says that on these great occasions, a four-horned goat is invariably born in parganah Cháundpur and dedicated to the goddess, accompanies the pilgrims. When unloosed on the mountain, the sacred goat suddenly disappears and as suddenly returns without its head and thus furnishes consecrated food for the party. Milk, too, is offered to the goddess and then partaken of by her worshippers; whilst on the great mountain, no one is allowed to cook food, gather grass, cut wood or sing aloud, as all these acts are said to cause a heavy fall of snow or to bring some calamity on the party. There are temples to Nanda at Almora, at Ranchúla in Katyúr and at Bhagar in Malla Dánpur, in Kumaun. Another popular local name for Nanda amongst the lower classes is Upharni (u-parni), under which name she is represented at Nauti and elsewhere where no temples are erected to her beyond a heap of stones on a peak. At Nauti she has a regular establishment of priests, called from the place Nautyáls and who were, in former times, the favourite purohīts of some of the petty Rajas of Garhwál. There is a local Upapurána devoted to the worship of Nanda and a description of the places sacred to her in the Kumaum Himálaya which I regret that I have been unable to procure.

Sáyana explains Ambika as one with Párvati and that her body is designated by the word Uma to Uma's husband (Siva). In the earlier literature, she is the sister and subsequently the wife of Rudra.¹ In the Taittiríya-Bráhmāna it is said :—"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambika." According to the commentator, Ambika represents autumn which kills by producing disease. She is occasionally mentioned in Hindu fiction² and has a temple at Almora and her consort one as Ambikeswar at Tákula in Malla Syúnara. Because Siva has a share with her, a female (*stri*), in the sacrifice, he is called Tryambaka³ (i.e., Stryambaka). Uma as Gauri has well-known temples at Dowalgarh, Tapuban and Gaurigaon (in Patti Maikhanda). She is here no more than another form of Nanda or Párvati, though more inclined to the terrible than to the milder form of Rudra's Sakti. Amongst the doubtful forms, reference may be

¹ Muir, IV., 321, 422.² Wilson, III., 26'.³ Násik is popularly known as Tryambak Násik, from the temple of Tryambakanáth close by.

made to Mallika who has temples at Gaithána in Mahar and Málá in Borárau and who is represented as the consort of Mallikárjun of Askot and Pushti,¹ one of the older names of the Sakti who has a great temple to her honour in the Jageswar grant.

The original idea of Durga makes her belong to the Agni form of Siva, for we find her addressed in the Taittiriya Aranyaka as she "who is of the colour of fire, daughter of the sun," and Weber connects her name with the fire itself which delivers from all difficulties (*durga*) and becomes a protecting fortress (*durga*). He writes :—" If at a later time, Durga decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirriti, this is no proof that it was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost : which is in so far quite natural as the consort of Siva bore a terrific form both from her connection with Rudra and also with Agni." Here she is, however, one of the forms to which bloody sacrifices are made and evidently the representative of the dæmon Sakti. In the hymn to Durga by Arjuna already noticed,² she is addressed thus :—" Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenáni (leader of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumári, Káli, Kapáli, Kapilá, Krishnapingalá. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakáli ; reverence to thee, Mahákáli ; reverence to thee, Chanda, Chandi ; reverence to thee, Tárini,³ Varavarnini, fortunate Kátyáyini, Karáli, Vijaya, Jaya who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Krishna), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kaushiki, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed ; reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Uma Sákambhari, thou white one (*sveta*), thou black one (*krishna*), destroyer of Kaitabha, &c." Here we have evidence of the complex origin of her worship and an attempt by the Vaishnavas to graft her on to their system. In the Hari-vansa, it is related how Vishnu descended to Pátála and persuaded Nidra Kálarupini³ to be born as the ninth child of Yasoda when he was born as Krishna in order to defeat the designs of Kansa. Hence the Vaishnava epithets in the hymn connecting her with Krishna and her worship at Srinagar (Kotiya) as Kans-

¹ 'Fatness.'

² Muir, IV., 432.

³ 'Sleep in the form of time.'

mardini.¹ In the same work she is called the sister of Yáma, the god of death, and was perhaps his Sakti also as he was a form of Agni, older than Siva. She is also said to be worshipped by the savage tribes of Savaras, Varvaras and Pulindas, to be fond of wine and flesh and one with Sura-devi, the goddess of wine. In the Márkandeya Purána she is Mahámáya ('the great illusion') and Yoga-nidra ('the sleep of meditation') who saved Brahma when about to be destroyed by the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, so that Brahma says :—"Since thou hast caused Vishnu and me (Brahma) and Isána (Siva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?" Thus, in the later works, she has been raised to the highest place in the pantheon. As Durga, she has temples at Phegu in Kálíphát, Deuthán in Bichhla Nágpur, Bhawan in Talla Udepur, Dunagiri, Dhurkadánda in Sálam and Kholá in Lakhanpur.

In the extract from Arjuna's hymn given in the preceding paragraph, Durga is said to be "delighting always in Mahisha's blood" and hence her name Mahishamardini or 'crusher of Mahisha.' There are temples to this form at Triyugi Jákh in Patti Talli Kálíphát and at Srinagar and Dewalgarh in southern Garhwál. She is also called Mahisha-ghni or 'slayer of Mahisha,' Mahisha-mathani and Mahisha-sudani. The Asura Mahisha was a demon with a buffalo's head who fought against the gods and was defeated by Durgá. He gave his name to the province of Mysore (Mahisur, Mahisha-asura) which would indicate a southern origin for the legend, but the local etymologists also derive the name of the Patti Maikhandá in which the temple of Triyugi-Jákh is situated from the same source and say that the contest took place there. In the Púdma Purána, Kshemankari Devi, another form of Durga, is wooed by Mahishásura who attempts to carry her off by force and is slain.² There is a temple to the same goddess at Kálíbangwára or Kálí-kasthan close to Triyugi-Jákh which marks the scene of her victory over the Daitya Raktavíja. The local legend relates how this enemy of all that was good interrupted the worship of Indra and the other gods who appealed

¹ 'Crusher of Káns.'

² For an illustration of the combat, see *As. Res.*, VIII., 76; also Wilson, III., 29: the local dialect makes the name Mahikh, like Ukha from Usha. The goddess is represented as of a yellow colour with six or ten arms and seated on a lion.

to the consort of Siva for aid. She attacked the demon with the Shástras, but such was their inherent virtue and so great was the power of the demon that from every drop of his blood that was shed a fresh army of Daityas arose. The combat was prolonged on this account, but in the end the goddess was victorious and the earth was relieved of its burden and the gods of their remorseless enemy. In remembrance of this victory, the gods erected a temple to their deliverer and established her worship. For many years this was a favourite place of pilgrimage until the unbelievers came who, in their turn, fell before the word of might spoken by Sankara Achárya. He rebuilt the temple and again proclaimed the worship of the goddess and her band of Joginis¹ and placed the service of the temple on the Kedárnáth establishment.

As Tripura-sundari or 'ornament of Tripura,' Durga has temples at Almora and Bininág in Patti Baraun.

Tripura-sundari.

Tripura-bhairavi or Tripurá simply is her name as consort of Siva, who is Tripura-dáha, 'the destroyer of Tripura.' Tripura here represents the three ærial cities of the Asuras, one of iron, one of silver, and one of gold, which Indra with all his weapons could not destroy. In the Mahábhárata,² Yuddhishthira tells Krishna how Rudra destroyed the three cities with a three-jointed barbed arrow of which Vishnu was the shaft; Agni, the barb; Yama, the feather; the Vedas, the bow and the sacred text (*gáyatri*), the bow-string. Another of the Agni forms is Dipa, under which name the Sakti of Siva is worshipped on the Dhan-syáli peak in Patti Khátlí, on the Tilkani peak in Patti Sábalí, at Gawáni in Patti Kingadigár and at Khadalgaon in Chaundkot in Kumaon. As Jwálpa from *jwála*, 'a flame,' she is one with the great form Jwála-mukhi and has temples at Jwálpa-sera in Kapholsyúm and at Jalai in Káliphát. Durga is called Bhrámari because she took the form of a bee when contending with Mahisha, and under this name there is a temple largely endowed at Ranchúla Kot in Katyúr. As Jaya (victory) under the form Jayakari, she has a temple at Sailáchal in Bel and as Jayanti she is worshipped at Jayatkot in Borárau. It is told in the Matsya-Purána

¹ These Joginis are said to wander about the country causing disease to the people and blight to their crops, if the oblations at the temple are of little value or the worship of their mistress is neglected. They live amongst the boulders near the temple, whilst the goddess is represented by a simple mass shining with mica.

² Muir, IV., 203: Tripura represents the modern Tipperah.

how Indra endeavoured to distract the attention of Sukra, the chief of the Asuras who was engaged in great austerities for the purpose of propitiating Siva. With this object in view, Jayanti, the beautiful daughter of Indra, was sent to tempt the sage, and Sukra overcome by her blandishments lived with her for ten years invisible to every one. Then the gods, in the absense of the Asura leader, sent Vrihaspati to assume his form and were thus able to defeat their enemies. As Akásabhájini, the Sakti of Siva has a temple at Mar in Saun, and this form may probably be connected with the Baudhdha form¹ Akásayogini of the Swábhávika system of Nepál, "which resembles the Yoginis and Yakshinis of the Tantrika system in their terrific forms and malignant dispositions."

To the Nirriti form of the Saiva Sakti as Káli, there are numerous temples in Kumaon and Garhwál without including those in which she is worshipped simply as Devi, "the goddess *par excellence*" in conjunction with Bhairava. As Bhadra Káli she has a temple at Bhadoi in Kamsyár; as Dhaula Káli, at Naini in Lakhampur and as Mahá Káli, at Devipuri in Kota and at Dárún. So popular is her worship that wherever a great miracle-working image of this goddess appears, she is carried under the local name to other places, so we have the Kot Kangra Devi set up in a dozen villages remote from the original temple, but bearing the same name. These local names are very common in Kumaon: thus there are a dozen temples to the Calcutta Káli in Kumaon, chief of which is the Purnagiri temple near Barmdeo in Tallades. Here on a peak above the Káli river, there is a group of temples in her honour supported by a large establishment which derives its income from the temple lands and the offerings made by visitors during the season of pilgrimage which lasts from November to April. The next in importance is the temple at Hát in Gangoli where the goddess is worshipped as Mahákáli and is served by Rauli Brahmans. In Askot she is worshipped on the banks of the river, where a fair is held on the fourteenth of the light half of Pús. Here there is a holy well used for divination as to the prospects of the harvest. If the spring, in a given time, fills the brass vessel in which the water is caught, to the brim, then there will be a good season, if only

¹ Wilson, II., 21.

half full, scarcity may be expected, and if only a little water comes, then a drought may be looked for. Every third year, the local magnate, the Rájbar, proceeds with great pomp and circumstance to worship the goddess. As Ulka, the flame or demon-faced goddess, she has temples at Naula and Chaun in Patti Nayán at Thapaliya in Chhakháta and at Almora. At the last-named place, an assembly is held in her honour on the tenth of Asoj naurátri and the town is illuminated from the 13th to the 15th of Kárttik. Riotous living, debauchery and gambling seem to be the characteristics of the worship of this form of the goddess and the observances at this season at Almora form no exception to the rule. As Ugra or Ugyári, 'the terrible goddess,' she has a temple at Dhudiya in Giwár and as Syáma, 'the dark,' one in Uchyúr. Vrinda, to which a temple is dedicated and endowed in Tikhon, is one with the goddess who gives her name to Vrindávana or Bindrában in Mathura. She is a daughter of Kedára and is also made one with Rádha, the mistress of Krishna, in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purána*, a curious blending of the teaching of the two sects. In the *Pádma Purána*¹ it is related how Vishnu was fascinated with the beauty of Vrinda, wife of Jalandhara, and to redeem him from her enthrallment, the gods had recourse to Lakshmi, Swadha and Gauri, the three Saktis: hence the mixed character of the legend. Yákshani at Almora is a somewhat doubtful form, as is also Naini to which there are temples at Kaulág in Katyúr, Bajwai and Sankot in Pindarwár and Naini Tál. Lalita Devi has a temple at Nala Káli in Káliphát and receives animal sacrifices and Bhímá has one at Airi-ka-tánda in Sálam.

Chámunda and Chandika represent Káli in her most terrible forms. The first has temples at Biraun in Chámunda, Chandika. Káliphát, at Dungan in Bichhla Nágpur and at Khera in Patti Udepur. The Mundan-deota is also one of her forms and she owes her name to her having sprung from the forehead of Durga in order to destroy the Daityas Chanda and Munda. Having slain the demons she brought their heads to Durga, who told her that having slain Chanda and Munda, she should, henceforth, be known on earth as Chámunda. She is termed Káli from her black colour and Karáli from her hideous face, but the latter name is not used in Kumaun. In the *Múlati*

¹ Wilson, III., 68, 116.

and *Mádhava*, her place of worship is near the public cemetery¹ and she is thus addressed by her priest Aghoraghanta :—

“ Hail ! hail ! Chámunda, mighty goddess, hail !

I glorify thy sport, when in the dance²

That fills the court of Siva with delight,

Thy foot descending spurns the earthly globe ;

* * * * *

From the torn orb,

The trickling nectar falls, and every skull

That gems thy necklace laughs with horrid life.

Attendant spirits tremble and applaud ;

The mountain falls before the powerful arms,

Around whose length the sable serpents twine

Their swelling forms, and knit terrific bands,

While from the hood expanded frequent flash

Envenomed flames.

As rolls thy awful head,

The lowering eye that glows amidst thy brow

A fiery circle designates, that wraps

The spheres within its terrible circumference :

Whilst by the banner on thy dreadful staff,

High waved, the stars are scattered from their orbits.

The three-eyed God exults in the embrace

Of his fair spouse, as Gauri sinks appalled

By the distracting cries of countless fiends

Who shout thy praise. Oh, may such dance afford

Whate'er we need,—whate'er may yield us happiness.”

According to some Chámunda sprang from Párvati and others say that the mild portion of Párvati issued from her side, leaving the wrathful portion whence arose Káli, Syáma, Durga, Chámunda and all the dark forms.

Chandika or Chandi has nine temples in Garhwál and two

in Kumaon, at Kamaltiya in Gangoli and at

Chandika.

Jageswar. She is also worshipped as Anjani

Devi at Níldhára in Dehra Dún where there is a temple built by Raja Guláb Singh of Jammu. She differs in no respect from Chámunda and has the usual decoration of a necklace of skulls and the crescent-moon on her forehead. The moon being chosen, doubtless, as the reservoir of the essence of immortality (*amrita*) and the source of light for those who seek for incantations and

¹ From Wilson's translation, Works, XII., 58.

² The dance which Siva instituted for the amusement of his court in which Nandi was the musician and Ganesha with his elephant's head and Kárttikeya mounted on a peacock took part.

spells. The *Chandi Pátha* or *Durga-mahatmya* of the Márkandeya-Purána is read at the great festival held in her honor and so well known as the Durga Puja.¹ This is the form of Durga referred to in the Harivansa as an object of worship to the barbarous Savaras. In several of the stories recorded in the *Vrihat-katha* she is described as pleased with human sacrifices, and, in one, these Savaras² are represented as about to offer a child to the goddess. In most of these legends she is alluded to as the deity of barbarous forest and mountain tribes and as unacceptable to the more orthodox. She is usually worshipped on every *sankránt*.

Sítala, the goddess of small-pox, has temples at Almora, Srinagar, Jageswar, Náti in Bel, Dola in Mahar,

Sítala.

at the Siyál De (Sítala Devi) tank in Dwára and at Ajpur in Dehra Dun. She is represented as a woman dressed in yellow, with an infant in her arms and is one with the Háríti of the Bauddha system in Nepál. In most places the officiating priests belong to the Chamár or currier caste who go through a rude form of Sákti ceremonial. The offerings are red-powder, rice, flowers, sweetmeats and coin. Amongst the

Local forms.

female forms bearing local names Hariyáli at Jasoli in Patti Dhanpur in Garhwál is

most prominent. One image of the goddess is on the peak above Jasoli and the other in the temple near the village. The first is said to have fallen from heaven and is the object of an annual assembly held on the first day of the light half of Kárttik, when the Jasoli image also is brought in a *doli* to do honour to the feast. The power of the goddess there is shown by her favour towards her worshippers in enabling them to pass up the mountain by a most difficult path without trouble, in protecting them from the tigers which abound in the neighbouring forests, and in supplying them with water which in appearance should only suffice for one person, but miraculously serves the wants of thousands. The worship of the goddess in Jasoli itself continues all the year round. The temples at Siloti and Khairola in Chhakháta are dedicated to Chandraghanta, one of the nine names of Durga. Whatever special legends attached to Akhiltáriní at Khilpatí,

¹ Wilson, III., 265, 363 : II., 143, 165.

² Non-Brahmanical tribes of the Panjáb.

Khimál at Hát, Uparde at Amel in Kosiyau, Santaura near the confluence of the Tons and Jumna, and Kamádki at Naugaon in Mandársyún are now forgotten and the name alone survives as a form of Káli or¹ Devi.

The Sáktis of eight of the deities are known also collectively as Mátris, and in this form have a temple dedicated to them at Badrináth. The following extract from the *Devimahātmya* of the

*Márkandeya-purána*² describes the assembling of the Mátris to combat the demons:—

"The energy of each god, exactly like him, with the same form, the same decoration, and the same vehicle came to fight against the demons. The Sakti of Brahma, girt with a white cord and bearing a hollow gourd, arrived on a car yoked with swans: her title is Brahmáni. Máheswari came riding on a bull, and bearing a trident with a vast serpent for a ring and a crescent for a gem. Kaumári bearing a lance in her hand, and riding on a peacock, being Ambika in the form of Kárttikeya, came to make war on the children of Diti. The Sakti named Vaishnavi also arrived sitting on an eagle, and bearing a conch, a discus, a club, a bow and a sword in her several hands. The energy of Hari who assumed the unrivalled form of the holy boar, likewise came there assuming the body of Váráhi. Nárasimhi too arrived there embodied in a form precisely similar to that of Nar Sinha with an erect mane reaching to the host of stars. Aindri came bearing the thunderbolt in her hand and riding on the king of elephants (Airávatí) and in every respect like Indra, with a hundred eyes. Lastly, came the dreadful energy named Chandika who sprung from the body of Devi, horrible howling like a hundred jackals: she surnamed Aparájita, the unconquered goddess, thus addressed Isána whose head is encircled with his dusky braided locks. Thus did the wrathful host of Mátris slay the demons." Some authorities omit Chandika and insert Kauveri, the energy of Kuvera, the deformed god of wealth. Neither Brahmáni nor Máheswari have separate temples in these districts. Kaumári as Ambika has already been noticed. Vaishnavi has a temple at Naikrini in Seti and is one with Náráyani, who has a

¹ The following names also occur:—Harnanda, Nagrásuni in Dhanpur, Uphráyaní at Nauti, Sanyáśini at Kámer in Talla Nágpur, Jhanankár at Khola in Stonayún and Putresvari, one of the nine Putrikas at Almorá. ² Colebrooke, As. Res., VIII., 84.

temple at Siloti in Chhakháta. Váráhi has a celebrated temple at Devi Dhúra and another at Basan in Patti Sálam. Nára-sinhi has a temple near Almora, endowed by Debi Chand. Aindri is unknown and Chandika or Chámunda has already been noticed. The *Uttara Kalpa* of the *Márkandeya Purána* thus describes the *Váhans* or vehicles of the *Mátris*: "Chámunda standing on a corpse; Váráhi sitting on a buffalo; Aindri mounted on an elephant; Vaishnavi borne by an eagle, Máheswari riding on a bull, Kumári conveyed by a peacock; Bráhmi carried by a swan and Aparájita revered by the universe, are all *Mátris* endowed with every faculty." Figures of each of these goddesses are drawn on wood and worshipped at the *Mátri-puja* (q. v.) The worship of the Saiva Sakti forms is in the hands of Kánpkata Jogis or of Khasiyas. The festivals take place usually at the two harvest seasons or on every *sankránt* in the greater temples. The Chait and Asoj *naurátris* are also observed in some temples.

Neither here nor in any other part of Upper India is the separate worship of the Vaishnavi Sakti common. Lakshmi has a separate temple at Badrináth, but, as a rule, is worshipped with Vishnu as Lakshmi Náráyan. Síta has one temple at Sítakoti and another at Cháin in Urgan which belongs to the Badrináth foundation and is served by Dímri Brahmans, the same caste that officiates at the Lakshmi temple in Badrináth. Bhagwati, a doubtful form, has temples at Joshimath, Bhagoti in Sirguru, Bhagotaliya in Dhaundyálsyún and Naini in Lakhampur. These are the only Sakti forms of Vishnu that possess separate temples in this portion of the Himálaya and they are all served by Bairágis.

Kárttikeya or Skanda or Guha, one of the sons of Siva and Párvati, is worshipped by the villagers on the Kárttikeya. Katar Syám peak at Popta and at Kándi and between Sonri and Agar in Patti Talli Káliphát in the month of Sáwan. In the Rámáyana, Kárttikeya is the son of the Ganga river by Agni and owes his name to his having been brought up amongst the Krittikás in the country about Kailás. He was the general of the gods and as afterwards Agni was identified with Rudra or Siva and Ganga with her sister Párvati, he is also called the child of Siva and Párvati. The second account in the

Mahābhārata by which he is made the offspring of Agni and the six wives of the Rishis has been noticed elsewhere.¹ To this latter legend is due his appearance with six heads and one body. He is well known in the form of a man riding on a peacock and holding in one hand a bow and in another an arrow and has given his name to Kārttikeyapura, the old capital of the Katyúris.

Ganesha, another of the sons of Siva, and the object of worship of one of the recognised sects, has separate
 Ganesha. temples at Almora, Sail in Talla Syúnara, Srinagar, Ganaikot in Painkhanda and at Gauri-kund, all in Garhwál. His image also frequently occurs in both Vaishnava and Saiva temples. The Ganesha Khanda of the *Brahma-Vaivartta Purána*² is devoted to his history and relates how Párvati desiring a son was told by her husband to propitiate Vishnu, who allowed a portion of himself (Krishna) to be born as Ganesha. When the gods came to congratulate Párvati, Sani or Saturn, who had been doomed to destroy everything he looked upon, turned his gaze away, but, on being permitted by Párvati, took a peep at Ganesha, on which the child's head was severed from its body and "flew away to the heaven of Krishna where it reunited with the substance of him of whom it was a part." Párvati was inconsolable until Vishnu appeared and placed an elephant's head instead of the lost one and hence Ganesha is always represented with an elephant's head. Another legend is introduced to account for the loss of one tusk in this wise :—Parasuráma, who was a favourite disciple of Siva, came to the Himálaya to see his master, but was denied entrance by Ganesha, on which a quarrel arose. Ganesha had at first the advantage and seizing Parasuráma by his trunk, shook him so that he fell senseless. The hero when he recovered hurled the axe of Siva at Ganesha, who recognizing his father's weapon, simply received it on one tusk which it immediately severed. The followers of Ganesha though reckoned as a separate sect and actually existing as such in Kumaon are of no importance. The god himself is revered by all Hindus and no work is undertaken without invoking his aid. In all modern Hindu

¹ See further Muir, IV., 349, 365.
 Ganesha Purana in J. R. A. S., VIII., 319.

² Wilson, III., 103, and analysis of

books, the common beginning is "*Om, Ganesháye om,*" 'Hail, salutation to Ganesha', and similarly on setting out on a journey or commencing any work he is made the subject of special supplication for a prosperous ending.

The Sauras or worshippers of Súrya or Aditya, the sun, are also represented in Kumaon. There are temples to the sun as Aditya, at Belár in Bel, at Adityadyau in Mahar, at Ramak in Káli Kumaon, at Naini in Lakhanpur and at Jageswar: to Barúditya, at Katármal near Almora; to Bhaumáditya, at Pábhain in Bel and to Súrya Náráyan at Joshimath. The great festivals are held on Sundays in Pús and when an eclipse occurs. The principal observances are the eating of a meal without salt on each *sankránt* and eating meals on other days only after the sun has risen. The *tilaka* or frontal mark is made with red sandars. The principal seat of the regular Saura priests is in Oudh.

The monkey-god, Hanumán, so popular with many divisions of the Vaishnavas, has temples devoted to his sole worship at Almora, Srinagar (two), Amilagár in Painkhanda, the old fort on Dwárikbál in Langúr and Bethra in Patti Karákot served by Bairágis. His story is so well known from the Rámáyana that there is no need to repeat it here. The special priests (Khákis) of Hanumán are connected with the temple at Hanumángarhi, in Oudh. Garur, the vehicle of Vishnu, has temples to his honour in Srinagar, Joshimath and Pakhi (Painkhanda), besides sharing with Hanumén in the worship of Vishnu at all the other Vaishnava temples. He is the wonder-working bird common to the fables of all nations, the rukh of "the Arabian

Nights," the Eorosh of Zend, the Simurgh of the Persians, the Kimi of the Japanese, the Chinese dragon and the Griffin of chivalry. In the Vishnu Purána, he is made the son of Kasyapa by Vinata or Suparna and is king of the feathered tribes and the remorseless enemy of the serpent race (Nágas). Kasyapa had by Kadru, another of his wives, 'one thousand powerful, many-headed serpents, of immeasurable might, subject to Garur,'¹ but Kadru and Vinata quarrelled together regarding the colour of the horse that was produced at the churning of

¹ Wilson, VII., 73.

the ocean and ever afterwards Garur remained a determined enemy of the Nága race. Garur is also called Tárkshya from Tárksha, a synonym of Kasyapa, Vainateya or Vináyak from his mother, Nágantaka, and Panuaga-kshana, from his enmity to the snake race. His worship is conducted by Bairágis.

Amongst the objects of worship we must also include the deified mortal Dattátreya. There is a temple to his separate worship at Dewalgarh in Garhwál and his image is also revered at Dwára and Jageswar. This sage was the son of Atri by Anasúya and one of three sons born in this world in answer to religious austerities and prayer to the three gods.¹ He is revered by the Vaishnavas as a partial manifestation of Vishnu himself and by the Saivas as a distinguished authority on the Yoga philosophy. He is served by Dásnámi Gosáins of the Puri section in Garhwál. Bhadráj near Mussooree has a temple sacred to Balbhadra served by Bairági ascetics.

Parásara Rishi has a temple in Parkandi and in Nigan in Khat Seli of Jaunsár. According to the Mahá-bhárata, Sakti, the son of the sage Vasishttha, was one day walking through the forests when he was met by Raja Kalmáshapáda, who ordered Sakti to get out of his way as the path was too narrow for both, but the sage refused, whereupon the prince struck him with his whip and drove him into the forest. Sakti forthwith cursed the Raja to be born again as a man-eating Rákshasa, which accordingly took place, but Sakti and all his brethren were the first victims of the Rákshasa. Adrishyanti, wife of Sakti, brought fourth a son called Parásara, who when he grew to man's estate desired to perform a great sacrifice by which he might exterminate the race of Rákshasas, but was dissuaded therefrom by the assembled Rishis. Parásara then scattered the fire of the sacrifice over the northern face of the Himálaya, where it still blazes forth at the phases of the moon. Parásara is, however, better known as the narrator and reputed author of the Vishnu Purána. The story as given above is also told in the Linga Purána with the emendation that Parásara is said to have been propitiating Mahádeo when he ceased from his sacrifice.²

¹ The other two were Soma and Durvásas. Wilson, VI., 154. further, Wilson, VIII, 306.

² See,

Raja Mándhata or Mándhatri, a partial incarnation of Vishnu, has a temple at Ukhimath and is also worshipped at Jageswar. Mándhatri, according to the Vishnu Purána,¹ was born of Yuvanáswa, a prince of the solar line, of his own body and when he appeared, the Munis asked who shall be his nurse as he has no mother. Indra said :—‘ He shall have me for his nurse’ (*mám ayamdhásyati*) and hence the boy was called Mándhatri and suckled by the finger of Indra, he grew up to be a great monarch. According to the Brahma and Váyu Puránas Gauri was mother of Mándhatri and this is in accordance with the local legend and hence his name Gaurika and his association with that goddess in the popular worship. The story of the marriage of the fifty daughters of Mándhatri to the old ascetic Saubhari, is also known in Garhwál and told in connection with the Gauri kund. Kapila Muni, the founder of the great Sánkhyá school of philosophy, has a temple to his praise in Srinagar whilst there are four temples to Siva as Kapileswar in different places.

There is a temple to Agastya at Banyái in Patti Talli Kálíphát, better known as Agastmuni. Agastya is celebrated in the Rámáyana² as the sage of the Dándaka forests and Vindhya hills and husband of the marvellous Lopámudra. The Muni was once allowed to see his ancestors in torments and was told by them that the only way to save them was by his begetting a son. Agastya by the force of his piety made a girl adorned with all the most beautiful parts of the wild animals of the forest and caused her to be born as daughter of the Raja of Vidarbha. She was called Lopámudra from loss (*lopa*) in her superior charms whilst possessing beauties (*mudra*) of form such as the eyes of deer and the like. Agastya eventually married her and retired to his hermitage, where he received Ráma and gave him the great weapons. The story of the jealousy between Vindhya and Meru or the Himálaya is thus related by the priests of Agastya at Banyái. In former times, Vindhya³ complained to the assembled gods that Meru had grown so large that with much difficulty the sun was able to reach Bhárata-varsha, and that there appeared to be no reason why

¹ *Ibid.*, 265.

² See Wheeler's History of India, II., 262.

she also should not increase and grow in influence like the Himálaya, for she was tired of hearing the praises of her rival. The gods thereon requested Agastya to become the spiritual preceptor of Vindhyáchal and decide this question. The Muni approached Vindhyáchal, who bowed at his approach and remained prostrate while he addressed her and told her to remain so and take no further steps to advance her claim to equality with the Kumaon Himálaya until he had himself returned from visiting Kedár. When Agastya arrived in Kumaon, however, he was so delighted with the country that he never returned and hence the verse :—

“Na muni punar áyati : na chásau vardhate giri.”

meaning that neither does the Muni return nor does the mountain increase and incidentally spoken of the results of an unsuccessful conference. This legend contains the popular explanation of the difference in height between the Himálaya and the Vindhya. Special services are held on the Bikh *sankrát* and every twelfth year there is a great fair. Another of the mortals to whom temples are dedicated is Bhíma Sain, who is worshipped at Bhiri in Talli Kálíphát, at Koti in Nágpur and in other places. Festivals are held in his honour in Jeth and Mangsír and his temples are served by Khasiyas.

Ghatotkacha or Ghatku is worshipped in one of the oldest temples at Chauki in Káli Kumaon. The Ghatotkacha. Mahábhárata relates¹ how the Pándavas on escaping from the burning house at Váranávata (Allahabad) wandered through the forests southwards along the western bank of the Ganges. Here they met Hidimba, the terrible man-eating Asura, and his beautiful sister Hidimbá. Hidimba was slain by Bhíma and his sister followed the Pándavas through the forests of Kuntit, praying Kunti, the mother of the Pándavas, to command her son Bhíma to take her to him as wife and threatening to kill herself if her request were not complied with. “So Kunti believing that the strong Asura woman experienced in the jungle, would greatly help them, in their sojournings, desired Bhíma to marry her, and he married her and in due time a son was born as robust as his parents and named Ghatotkacha. Later on we learn that Karna, the Kaurava champion, had received a lance from Indra

¹ Aa. Rev., XIII.

which was fated to kill whomsoever it struck, and this he reserved for Arjuna, but at a critical moment of the conflict when Ghatotkacha was causing dire destruction amongst the Kauravas, Karna hurled the consecrated weapon against him and slew him. This scene is alluded¹ to in several of the dramatic compositions, and thus in the *Mūdra Rākshasa* :—

“So fate decreed, and turned aside the blow ;
As Vishnu, craftily, contrived to ward
The shaft of Karna from the breast of Arjuna
And speed it to Hidimbá's son.”

Gorakhnáth, the founder of the sect of Kánphata Jogis, has an establishment in his honour in Srinagar where he is recognized as an incarnation of Siva. He was a contemporary of Kabír and, according to Wilson, flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The popular worship of Siva as Bhairava belongs to his followers in the Kumaon Himálaya, as also does the Saiva worship of Pasupatináth and Sambhunáth in Nepál and Gorakhnáth in Gorakhpur. He is regarded as the special protector of the Gorkhális. Avalokiteswara Abjapáni or Padmapáni, according to a local legend communicated by Mr. Brian Hodgson,² descended by command of Adi Buddha as Matsyendra. “He hid himself in the belly of a fish in order to hear Siva teach Párvati the doctrine of the *yoga*, which he had learned from Adi Buddha, and which he communicated to his spouse on the sea-shore. Having reason to suspect a listener, Siva commanded him to appear, and Padmapáni came forth clad in raiment stained with ochre, smeared with ashes, wearing earrings, and shaven, being chief of the Yogis. He was called Matsyendranátha, from his appearance from a fish (*matsya*) and his followers took the appellation of *Náth*. We have in this story a decided proof of the current belief of a union between the Yogi sectaries and Bauddhas, effected, perhaps, by the Yogi Matsyendra, but converted by the Bauddhas into a manifestation of one of their deified sages.” From the foundation of the establishment at Srinagar in 1667 A.D. to the present day there have been seven Mahants :—Bhotiya Sahajnáth ; Bálaknáth ; Tírthanáth ; Gamírnáth ; Monoharnáth ; Pratápnáth and Sáraswatináth.

¹ Wilson, XII., 180.

² Given by Wilson, II., 30 : I., 214.

In a controversial tract,¹ describing a conversation between Kabír and Gorakhnáth, the latter calls himself the son of Matsyendra or Machchhendranáth and grand-son of Adináth, but one of the works of the sect places "Matsyendra Náth prior to Gorakh by five spiritual descents which would place the former in the fifteenth century, supposing the Kabír work to be correct in the date it attributes to the latter." Wilson adds:—"If the date assigned by Hamilton to the migration of the Hindu tribes from Chitor, the beginning of the fourteenth century, be accurate, it is probable that this was the period at which the worship of Siva, agreeably to the doctrines of Matsyendra or Gorakh, was introduced there and into the eastern provinces of Hindustan." Gorakhnáth was a man of some learning and has left behind him two Sanskrit works, the *Goraksha sataka* and *Goraksha kalpa*, and probably a third, the *Goraksha sahasra náma*, may be attributed to him.

In the following list of the principal temples in Kumaon and Garhwál an attempt has been made to classify the deities worshipped according to the two great divisions already noticed. This shows the comparative popularity of the particular form and enables us to ascertain more accurately the character of the existing worship. The first column gives the village and sub-division within which the temple is situate, the second column gives the name of the temple or deity worshipped, and the third column, the time at which any important religious observance takes place or other matter of interest.²

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
(a) SAIVA TEMPLES.		
(1) <i>Temples to the male form of Siva.</i>		
KUMAON.		
Almora	... Nágánáth	... Is worshipped daily : endowed by Kátyúri and Chand Rajas.
Ditto	... Ratneswar	... Is worshipped daily : has two villages from Gorkháis.

¹ Price's Hindi Selections, 140.

² The notes in the column of explanation are derived from an examination of all the claims to revenue-free grants made by the priests to Mr. Traill at the British conquest in 1815 and since then in the civil courts. It has been a very laborious task, but was necessary to check the dates given in the local histories.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Almora ...	Bhairava ...	There are six to this form with the prefixes Sankara, Sáb, Gaur, Kál, Batuk and Bál.
Ditto ...	Dipchandewar ...	Daily worship : founded by Raja Díp Chand in 1760 A D. : has three villages
Ditto ...	Udyotchandeswar...	Daily worship : founded by Raja Udyot Chand in 1680 A D.
Ditto ...	Someswar ...	Daily worship and fair on Sínratrí and Holi, 14th.
Ditto ...	Kshetrpál ...	Daily worship : endowed by Kalyán Chand.
Bhatkot, Bisaud ...	Kapileswar ...	Fair at <i>Uttardyni</i> : endowed by Díp Chand.
Borárau ...	Pinákeswar ...	Fair on Kárttik <i>puṛṇamási</i> : endowed by Báz Bahádur.
Ditto ...	Sukeswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto ...	Rupeswar ...	Ditto.
Khatyári, Syúnars,	Betáleswar ...	Fair on Phálgun Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Bhím Tál ...	Bhímewar ...	Endowed by Díp Chand : fair Mithan sankránt : <i>bagwáli</i> at Holi.
Bisang ...	Risheswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas ; fair Naurátri.
Mar, Baraun ...	Pátál Bhubaneswar	Endowed by Jagat Chand : cave temple fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Pansát, do. ...	Koteswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Kárttik Badi 14th.
Rámeswar, Bel ...	Rámeswar ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand : fair, last day of Baisákh and Kárttik ; Makar sankránt and Phálgun Badi 14th.
Mahar, Sor ...	Jaganáth ...	Endowed : fair on Anant 14th.
Wuddiyá, do. ...	Thal Kedár ...	Endowed : fair on Bhádon Sudi 3rd.
Sirakot do. ...	Bhág Ling ...	Fair on Bhádon sudi 14th.
Mar, Saun ...	Pachewar ...	Fair on Makar sankránt, commercial also.
Thal, Baraun ...	Báleswar ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand ; great fair Makar Sankránt.
Diindihát, Sira ...	Pábaneswar ...	Endowed : fairs Kárttik Sudi, Phálgun Badi 14th.
Askot ...	Malik Arjun ...	Endowed by Rájbar of Askot.
Champáwat ...	Báleswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Kurk Sankránt.
Ditto ...	Nágnáth ...	Endowed by Díp Chand : served by Pír of <i>kānpata</i> Jogis ; fair Chait 8th.
Chauki, Chárál ...	Ghatku ...	Endowed by Kalyán Chand : fair Asárh Sudi 8th.
Malohi, Nayán ...	Níleswar ...	Endowed by Gorkhális : fair Shíurátri.
Chaukot ...	Briddhkedár ...	Endowed by Rudr Chand : fair Kárttik, Baisákh <i>puṇamási</i> .
Kuna, Dwára ...	Bibhandeswar ...	Fairs Phálgun Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Dwára ...	Nágarjun ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand.
Baijnáth ...	Baijnáth ...	Endowed by Jagat Chand : fair Phálgun Badi 14th.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Bágeswar ...	Bágnáth ...	Endowed : great religious commercial fair on <i>uttarayani</i> .
Papoli, Nákuri ...	Ugra Rudra ...	A great fair on the Nág-panchami.
Utoda, Sálam ...	Uteswar ...	Endowed by Chand kajas : fair on Shiurátri.
Dárún ...	Jágeswar ...	Great fairs on Baisákh and Kárttik 14th : the largest endowment in Kumaon.
Ditto ...	Briddh Jágeswar ...	

GARHWÁL.

Srinagar ...	Kamaleswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Pradipt Sáh : fair Shiurátri.
Ditto ...	Kapila Muni ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	Gorakhnáth ...	Daily worship : served by Jogis.
Koteswar, Chalan-syún.	Koteswar ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair on Bikh Sankránt.
Idwálsyún ...	Bhilwa Kedár ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair : served by Gosháins.
Dyúl, Mawálsyún ...	Bineswar ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair Kárttik purnamási.
Pátal, Mandarsyún,	Ekásur ...	Daily worship : endowed by Mán Sáh : two fairs.
Gartara, Nágpur ...	Naleswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Fatehpát Sáh : served by Gosháins.
Jilásu, do. ...	Jileswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Pradipt Sáh.
Guptkáshi, do. ...	Visvanáth ...	Daily worship : endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Ger do. ...	Madmaheswar ...	Daily worship : connected with Kedárnáth.
Chaupatta do. ...	Tungnáth ...	Under this name there are temples on the peak, at Dharsil, Jákh, Nári and Thiang endowed.
Kála Pahér do. ...	Rudranáth ...	Also at Gangolvaon : endowed.
Gothala ...	Gopeswar ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Kshetrpál Pokhi do	Nágrája
Urgam do. ...	Kalpeswar ...	Of local importance.
Ditto do. ...	Briddh Kedár ...	Ditto.
Suhaikol do. ...	Sarbeswar ...	Connected with Gopeswar : served by Gosháins.
Pandukeswar ...	Pandukeswar ...	Of local importance.
Badrináth ...	Mahádeo ...	Served by Malia Brahmins.
Langúgarh ...	Bhairava ...	Endowed by Lalipát Sáh.
Langari, Chánpur,	Sileswar ...	Endowed by Pradipt Sáh : Sanyásis officiate.
Kaub, Pindarwár ...	Kaueswar ...	Endowed : confirmed by Gorkhális : fair Shiurátri.
Ming, do. ...	Lingeswar ...	Endowed : sanads lost : called after Ming Mishí.
Icholi, Pindarpát ...	Baitaleswár ...	Endowed : confirmed by Gorkhális.
Látugair, Lohba ...	Jhanankár ...	Endowed : confirmed : served by Gosháins.
Kedárnáth.	Kedárnáth ...	Endowed : separately noticed.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
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(2) *Temples to the female form of Siva.*

KUMAON.

Almora	...	Nanda	...	Fair on 7th to 9th Bhádou Sudi : endowed by Udyot Chand
Ditto	...	Putresvari	...	Endowed by Katyúris : fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Ditto	...	Kot kálíka	...	No fair.
Ditto	...	Yákahani	...	Endowed : daily worship.
Ditto	...	Ambika	...	No fair.
Tikhún	...	Syáma	...	Endowed by Gorkhális : fair Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Dúnagiri	...	Durgá	...	Fair in Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Uchyúr	...	Vrinda	...	Endowed of old : fair ditto.
Dhurka Dánda, Sálam.	...	Durga	...	Fair in Asárh 8th.
Amel, Kosiyan	...	Upharni	...	Another name of Nanda : fair Jeth Dusahra.
Hát, Bel	...	Kálíka	...	Has a large endowment from the Chand Rajas.
Mahar	...	Mallika	...	Fair : endowed.
Mar, Saun	...	Akásabhájini	...	A great fair on the last day of Chait.
Askot	...	Kálíka	...	Fair Pús Sudi 14th.
Tallades	...	Purnagiri	...	Endowed by Jagat Chand.
Páli, Dora	...	Naithána	...	Fair Asárh and Chait, 8th : has a village from Gorkhális.
Dhudiya, Giwár	...	Ugyári	...	Fair : endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Ranchulá, Katyúr,	...	Bhrámari	...	Fair : Chait-kuar, 1st to 9th : endowed by Jagat Chand.
Ranchula kot	...	Nanda	...	Fair : 8th Asárh Sudi.
Pungaraun	...	Kotgári	...	Fair : ditto, grant confirmed by Gorkhális.
Devi Dhúra	...	Váráhi	...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Sráwan Sudi purnamási.
Naini Tál	...	Naini	...	Fair 10th Jaith at Bhuwáli.

GARHWÁL.

Deurári, Nádalsyún	Mahisha mardini or Deurári Devi.	Fair : endowed by Ajayapál Sáh : served by Unyáls.
Srinagar	Jwálpa Devi	Fair : by Pradhuman Sáh : served by Thapalyáls.
Bhatgaon, Ghurdur-syún.	Kálíka	Fair : no sanads.
Near Nagár, Kap-holsyún.	Jwálpa Devi	Endowed by Pradhuman Sáh : Thapalyáls serve the goddess.
Dhani, Chalansyún,	Kalyáni	Endowed : sanads lost : idol on the river's bank.
Phegu, Nágpur	Nau Durga	Endowed in 1795 : fair on Naurátri : served by Dumágis.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Biraun, Nágpur...	Chamandi ...	Served by Dyúl Brahmans.
Julai, ditto ...	Jwálpa ...	Served by the village Brahmans.
Ukhimath, ditto ...	Ukha ...	Connected with Kedárnáth.
Urgam, ditto ...	Gauri ...	Separate establishment.
Maikbanda, ditto ..	Mabisha Mardini ...	Belongs to Kedárnáth.
Tarsáli, ditto ..	Chandika ...	Fairs : served by Dhaswál Brahmans.
Nafti, Chandpur ...	Upharni ...	Endowed : fair every Sankránt and Chait naurátría.
Karnprayág ...	Uma ...	Endowed by Jaikrit Sáh : served by Sati Brahmans.
Krúr, Dasoli ...	Nauda ...	Endowed by Shám Sáh : fair Nandásh-tami.
Hindoli, ditto ...	Ditto ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális fair.
Nauli, ditto ...	Láta ...	Endowment confirmed on Nandásh-tami.
Tapuban ...	Gauri ...	Served by Byágdhárkot Brahmans.
Joshimath ...	Nau Durga ...	Fair on Naurátrí.

(b) VAISHNAVA TEMPLES.

(1) *the male form of Vishnu.*

KUMAON.

Almora ...	Siddha Nar Singh...	Endowment by Gorkhális : served by Acháryas.
Ditto ...	Raghunáth ...	Endowment 1786 : served by a Brah-máchárya.
Ditto ...	Rámpaduk ...	Fair : Chait Sudi 9th.
Giwar ...	Rám Chandra ...	Fair.
Bágeswar ...	Beni Madhub ...	Fair : endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto ...	Triyugi Náráyan ...	Fair endowment by Chand Rajas.
Pungaraun ...	Kálinág ...	Fair : possession confirmed by Gorkhális.
Dwára ...	Badrínáth ...	An old foundation.

GARHWÁL.

Srinagar ...	Lakshmi Náráyan...	Eight temples of this name, served by Bairágis : the Sankara math was endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto ...	Badrínáth ...	Fair Janmáshdami : endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto ...	Sítaráma ...	Served by Bairágis.
Sivanandi, Dhanpur,	Lakshmi Náráyan...	Endowed by Pradipt Sáh : built by a Dobbál Brahman.
Lugai, ditto ...	Nar Siñh ...	Endowed : sanads lost : served by Bairágis : janmlila.
Dyúl, Sitonsyún ...	Lakshmanji ...	Endowed : confirmed by Pradhuman Sáh : fair.
Bidyakoti, Kand-wáleyún.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed by Fatehpat Sáh and founded by Bidyapati Dobbál.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Baniai, Nágpur ...	Agastya Muni ...	Endowed : served by Bijwál Brahmans : fair.
Chandrapuri, Nágpur.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed by Pradípt Sáh ; served by Bairágis.
Síla, Nágpur ...	Ditto ...	Endowed served by Jogis.
Hát, ditto ...	Náráyan ...	Endowed : by Mán Sáh : attached to Badrináth.
Khetrpál Pokhri ...	Nar Sinh ...	Of local importance only.
Urgam ditto ...	Dhyán Badri ...	Endowed as part of Badrináth and separately noticed.
Vishnu prayág, Painkhanda.	Vishnu ...	Endowed : fair Vikhbatí, makar sankránt, Dasahra.
Pandukeswar, Painkhanda.	Yogbadri ...	Endowed fair : served by Dakhini Bhats.
Badrináth, Painkhanda.	Badrináth ...	Endowed fair : separate notice.
Gulábkoti, Painkhanda.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed : possession confirmed by Gorkhális.
Joshimath do. ...	Nar Sinh ...	Endowed : connected with Badrináth.
Ditto do. ...	Básdeo ...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do. ...	Garura ...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do. ...	Bhagwati ...	Ditto ditto.
Tapuban do. ...	navishya Badri ...	Ditto ditto.
Animath ...	Briddhí Badri ...	Ditto ditto.
Nandprayág, Nágpur.	Náráyan ...	Ditto ditto.
Triyugi do. ...	Triyugi Náráyan ...	Endowed : separately noticed.
Maikhanda do. ...	Ditto Jáksh ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Rámjani Udepur ...	Ráma ...	Endowed by Gorkhális fair.
Háthisera, Chándpur.	Aubadri ...	Endowed : served by Tháplyáls, old temples.
Semli, Pindarpár ...	Badrináth ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Náráyanbuger, Kará-kot.	Náráyan ...	Connected with Badrináth.
Kimoli, Kapíri ...	Ditto	Served by Tháplyál Brahmanas.

(2) *To the female form of Vishnu.*

GARHWAL.

Cháin, Nágpur ...	Síta ...	Endowed : connected with Badrináth.
Badrináth ...	Lakshmi ...	Endowed : connected served by Dimris.

We have now to notice the forms that can hardly be assigned to any of the orthodox systems, but which still claim attention as collectively representing the genii, sprites and goblins from whom the Pasupati form of Siva was evolved. Although the constant communication with the plains through the pilgrims to the great shrines had a marked influence on the religion of the inhabitants of this portion of the

Himálaya, still the belief in demons and sprites, malignant and beneficent, has almost as firm a hold on the great mass of the people as ever it had and the worship of Goril, Chaumu and the Bhútinis is as general and sincere as that of Siva and Vishnu. Mr. Traill, in one of his reports, writes :—" An attempt to collect the numerous superstitious beliefs current in these hills (Kumaon Himálaya) would be an endless task, the result of which would by no means repay the labor bestowed, as these beliefs are for the most part rude and gross, displaying neither imagination nor refinement in their texture." Notwithstanding this adverse criticism an account of the people as they are would be imperfect without some allusion to their superstitions which also afford us a clue to the growth of the existing form of worship.

In one of Sanjaya's discourses on the character of Krishna, in the Mahábhárata, he says :—" Krishna is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is called Satya." Satyanáth. This name as Satyanáth occurs several times in the lists and is by some regarded as a Saiva form under the name Satyanáth and by others as a Vaishnava form under the name Satya Náráyan. Satyanáth is also called Siddh Satyanáth or merely the Siddh and would appear to me to represent one of those non-Bráhmanical deities affiliated to the regular system in course of time and adored indifferently by followers of the two great Hindu sects. Dewalgarh, some few miles from Srinagar, is generally acknowledged to be the oldest seat of local government in southern Garhwál, and it is here we have the oldest and most honored temple of Satyanáth. The service of the temple is now conducted by Jogis and their chief has the title of Pír. There is evidence to show that at a very early period this deity was a favourite object of worship with the petty Rájās of the country. It was here that one of the ancestors of the present Rája of Tihri met the Siddh and so pleased the god by his devotion to Ráj-rájeswari that the Siddh raised him up in the hollow of his hand and promised him the entire country so far as he could see. The Rája saw the hills from the Káli to Dehra Dún and from Tibet to Nagína in Bijnor, and though none of his descendants ever held possession of such an extensive tract of country, if we may except the short and troubled rule of Pradhuman Sáh,

still the fane¹ of the benevolent Siddh has ever since had many worshippers. It is said that during the Satya Yug the god was represented by a mighty grain of wheat, enveloped in gold and placed on the *sinhásan* or throne within the temple, but that since the Káli Yug commenced this practice has been abandoned.

Ráj-rájeswari is worshipped with Satyanáth and appears to be specially regarded as his Sakti. This goddess has from ancient times been an object of veneration to the petty Rájas of Garhwál, who were accustomed to assemble twice a year at her darbár in Dewalgarh and supplicate her protection over their respective countries. In the local legend connected with Satyanáth, the gift of the country "so far as he could see" was made by Satyanáth to the Rája of Srinagar as the fruit of the Rája's devotion to Ráj-rájeswari. The goddess is usually represented as seated on a throne, the three feet of which rest on figures of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The special worship takes place on the *naurátri* of Chait and Asar and at the two harvest seasons, and is conducted by Khasiyas.

Ghantakarn or Ghandyál is one of those anomalous forms worshipped by the lower classes principally. He has eleven temples to his name and in one of them is worshipped with Nágrája, which is commonly considered a Vaishnava form. He is mentioned in the account of Badrináth, also, as one of the attendants on Vishnu. At the same time, he is entered in my lists as a Saiva form and is ordinarily considered an attendant of Siva and by some as a manifestation of Ganesha. The name 'Ghantakarna' means 'he who had ears as broad as a bell' or 'who has bells in his ears.' He is supposed to be of great personal attractions and is worshipped under the form of a water-jar as the healer of cutaneous diseases. He is the same with the Vítarága Abjapáni of the Baudhdha system of Nepál whose symbol is also a water-jar. Services are held in his honour by Khasiya Brahmans or the villagers themselves at the two harvest seasons and on fixed days in Bhado. He is

¹ There are also temples to this deity at Thán in Patti Udepar; Bidoli in Bidolayún; Nawásu in Bachhansyún; Ránsi-Tarsáli in Káliphat; all in Garhwál, and at Mánli in Patti Nayán in Kumaon. The Thán Jogis have of late become grihasthas or householders and are now known as Sanwáns.

gate-keeper in many of the Garhwál temples and is worshipped on a ridge at Ghandyál in Patti Manyársyún by Naithána Brahmans, also at Thápli in Patwálsyún, Bhainswára in Khátsyún, Mána in Painkhanda, in Sili Chandpur, Dhajiyúli, Chauthán, and Ránigadh. Siddh-Baurái, another form of the same deity, has a temple dedicated to him at Kamera in Patti Katholsyún and endowed in 1744 A.D. It is served by Kánphata Jogis. Garíbnáth Siddh is worshipped at Síla in Patti Síla by Jogis, the Jákh Debta in Birsau and Tháing in Nágpur, and Kaila Pír by Gairi and Lakhera Brahmans at Lobhagarh. Their festivals take place at the harvest seasons.

The current legend regarding the origin of the local deity

Bholanáth.

Bholanáth and his consort Barhini forms one of the connecting links between the Bráhma-

manical system of the present day and the universal hierarchy of sprites and goblins common to all mountainous countries. With the better classes Bholanáth is recognized as a form of Mahádeo and Barhini as a form of his Sakti, thus meeting the requirements of the popular worship and the demands of the orthodox school, but it is evident that the idea of deifying mortals is an old one and in this case merely localised to explain the origin of a class of temples which are acknowledged not to belong to the orthodox forms of Mahádeo. One story tells us how Udai Chand, Raja of Almora, had two ráús, each of whom bore him a son. When the children arrived at man's estate, the elder of the two took to evil courses and was disinherited and left Kumaon. The youngest, in course of time, succeeded his father as Gyán Chand and his administration gave great satisfaction and relief to the people. Gyán Chand had been some years on the throne when his elder brother returned to Almora and in the guise of a religious mendicant took up his quarters near the Nail tank. In spite of the disguise several recognized the disinherited prince and conveyed the news of his arrival to his more prosperous brother. Gyán Chand became alarmed and gave order for the assassination of his brother, which was carried out by a man of the Báriya or gardener caste. The elder prince and his pregnant mistress were both slain near the temple of Síta Devi. This mistress was the wife of a Brahman and her connection with the Chand prince was considered something more than adulterous. After death, the elder brother became a Bhút or goblin under the

name Bholanáth, his mistress became a Bhúti under the name Barhini, which is, perhaps, a corruption of Brahmani, and their unborn child also became a Bhút. These three goblins vexed the people of Almora, but more especially the gardener caste, until at length eight temples were built and dedicated to them. These still exist and are called :—(1) Kálbbhairav ; (2) Batukbbhairav ; (3) Bálbhairav ; (4) Sábhbhairav ; (5) Garhibbhairav ; (6) Anandbbhairav ; (7) Gaurbhairav and (8) Khutkoniyabbhairav. These temples are much resorted to by the lower classes, especially by the gardener caste, who attribute all misfortunes that occur to the malign influence of Bholanáth and his companions and on this account attempt to propitiate them with worship more frequently than other classes do. A small iron trident is sometimes placed in the corner of a cottage as an emblem of Bholanáth and is usually resorted to when any sudden or unexpected calamity attacks the occupants. Another legend as to the origin of Bholanáth makes him a wandering mendicant who came to a Raja of Almora and, although the doors were shut, miraculously entered the inner apartment where were the Raja and his Ráuí. The Raja enraged at the intrusion and not remembering that the doors had been closed, slew the Jogi and again retired to rest, but soon found the couch on which he lay was possessed and was able to throw him off on to the ground. This was repeated several times and at length he left the room and next morning appealed to his courtiers for advice, and they informed him that he must have killed some very holy person and that it would be well to propitiate him and thus allay his wrath. The Raja accordingly built the eight temples to Bhairava in Almora and made arrangements for their support. My informant goes on to say that after the British conquest, owing to the confusion in the administration consequent on the new arrangements, the worship at these temples fell into disuse ; “ but Bholanáth showered such storms of stones on the British camp that the English gentlemen at once awoke to the importance of this deity and provided for his worship in a suitable manner ! ” The Chuniya Muniya Bhairava near Srinagar is served by Jogis and generally this class conducts the worship where it is not performed by Khasiyas. The festivals take place at the harvest seasons and in some temples at every *sankrant*. The eight gates of Siva's city are watched by Bhairavas and

the following list of these watchmen, obtained from a Madrasi mendicant in Garhwál, may be of interest :—

Names.	Colour of the body.	Vehicle on which he rides.	Sakti or female energy.
1. Gananoetra ...	Golden ...	Swan ...	Bráhmí.
2. Chanda ...	The sky at dawn,	He-goat ...	Mahesvari.
3. Kápa ...	Blood ...	Peacock ...	Kaumári.
4. Unmatta ...	Yellow ...	Lion ...	Vaishnavi.
5. Naya ...	Blue ...	Buffalo ...	Váráhi.
6. Kapáli ...	Ruby ...	Elephant ...	Maheśdri.
7. Bhishana ...	Black ...	Crow ...	Chámundi.
8. Sankara ...	Molten gold ...	Rat ...	Káli.

Mhasoba and Jokhai are worshiped in upper western Garhwál under the form of a ling-shaped boulder daubed with red and some what resemble Bhairava in their attributes.

Ganganáth is one of the favourite deities of the Doms and his origin is thus accounted for:—The son of Ganganáth. Bhabichand Raja of Doti quarrelled with his family and became a religious mendicant. In the course of his wanderings he arrived at Adoli, a village in Patti Sálam, and there saw and fell in love with the wife of one Krishna Joshi. This Joshi was a servant at Almora, and the Jogi disguised himself as a labourer and took service in the house where the woman lived. When Krishna heard of the intrigue he set out for Adoli and with the aid of one Jhaparua Lolár murdered his wife and her lover. Like Bholanáth and his companions, the Jogi, his mistress and the unborn child became goblins and vexed the people, so that they built a temple and forthwith instituted a regular service in honour of the three sprites. From Adoli the cult of Ganganáth spread over Kumaon and at Takuriya, Lwáli and Narai in his home Patti¹ we have temples to his honour. He is supposed especially to harass the young and beautiful, if they do not propitiate him. When any one is aggrieved by the wicked or powerful he goes to Ganganáth for aid, who invariably punishes the evil-doer. He sometimes possesses a follower and through him promises all that they desire to those who offer the following articles:—to Ganganáth himself a kid, cakes, sweetmeats, beads, a bag and a pair of Jogi's earrings; to his mistress Bhána, a petticoat, a *dopatta* and a nose-ring,

¹ Mahendra Singh, Bócha of Takuriya, is credited with the introduction of the cult of Ganganáth into Sálam.

and to the child a coat and anklets, altogether forming a fair spoil for the Ghantuwa or astrologer who conducts the ceremonies. During the ceremony the following verse is repeated thrice :—

“ *Ai garo bāya (bis) doti ko uthiyo, kālī tīr dyo (bis)*
Jogi re Ganginātha, kālī tīr dyo (bis.) ”

There is also a song reciting the adventures of the prince during his wanderings, each verse of which winds up with the above lines as a refrain. The person who acts the part of one possessed by any Bhūt is called ‘ *Dungariya*.’

The demon Masān is usually found at burning-grounds, which are as a rule placed at the confluence of streams : hence called *marghāt*. He has a temple at Kākarighāt on the Kosi in Kandārkhuwa, parganah Phaldākot, and numerous small memorials at all burning ghāts. Persons possessed without any assignable cause are for the time being said to be under his influence. Masān is supposed to be of a black colour and hideous appearance ; he comes from the remains of a funeral pyre and chases people passing by who sometimes die from fright, others linger for a few days and some even go mad. When a person becomes possessed by Masān, the people invoke the beneficent spirit of the house to come and take possession of some member of the family and all begin to dance. At length some one works himself into a state of frenzy and commences to torture and belabour the body of the person possessed by Masān until at length a cure is effected or the person perishes under the drastic treatment. Khabīsh resembles Masān in his malignant nature and fondness for charnel grounds. He is also met with in dark glens and forests in various shapes. Sometimes he imitates the bellow of a buffalo or the cry of a goat-herd or neat-herd and sometimes he grunts like the wild-pig. At other times he assumes the guise of a religious mendicant and joins travellers on their way, but his conversation is always unintelligible. Like Masān, he often frightens people and makes them ill and sometimes possesses unfortunate travellers who get benighted. Both these demons possess many of the attributes of Chāmunda Devi, one of the Śikti forms of Śiṣya, of whom some account has been given elsewhere.

Goril, who is also called Goriya, Gwel, Gwall and Gol, if we judge from his general repute and the number of temples to his name, is the most popular of all the deities worshipped by the lower classes in Kumaon. He has formal temples at Chaur, Garura and Bhanári in Borárau ; at Basot in Uchakot : Tarkhet in Malli Doti : Mánil in Nayán : Gol Chaur in Káli Kumaon : Kumaaur in Mahar and Gágár Gol in Katyúr. He is also worshipped at stated intervals at Hairiyagaon in Chhakháta, Ránibág in Chauthán, Silangi in Chaugaon, Thán in Katyúr and Damanda Uniyál in Patti Udepur of Garbwál. He has local names derived from some celebrated form or person like Siva : thus the Goril at Garura is also known as the Iriyakot Goril, that at Basot as the Hairka Goril from the caste of that name and that at Thán as Saman. The local legend as to his origin tells us that once upon a time Jhálrái, the Katyúri Raja of Champáwat, went to hunt in the forests near the Káli river. Unfortunate in the chase he came, weary and disappointed, to the village of Dubachaur and saw two buffaloes fighting together in a field. The Raja in vain tried to separate them and being very thirsty sent one of his servants to fetch some water, but none was found. A second servant volunteered to search the neighbouring hills and whilst wandering about heard the noise of two waterfalls and going towards them soon found himself in a little garden attached to a hermitage. The waterfalls were within the garden and pushing his way towards them, he found himself obliged to pass through the hermitage, and there he saw a beautiful woman so deeply immersed in contemplation on the deity as to be altogether lost to all external influences. Seeing her in this condition the servant resolved to break the spell and in a loud tone asked who she was. She slowly opened her eyes and as if recovering from a trance begged him not to cast his shadow over her and so disturb her meditations. He then told her who he was and why he had come to the hermitage and received permission to draw some water for the Rája. He then approached the water-jar bottom foremost to the waterfall, and the water and spray rebounded on to the maiden, who at once arose and said it was no wonder that everything was done upside down by the followers of a Rája who was not able to separate even two fighting buffaloes. The servant astonished at this remark

begged her to accompany him to his master and attempt the feat herself. The maiden consented and gliding onwards, as if in a dream, she reached the place where the buffaloes were still contending; then meditating on the deity she advanced and seized each by the horns and separated them. The Rájá was amazed and demanded of her what manner of woman she was, and she told him that she was Káli, the niece of a Rájá with whom she was engaged in great austerities for the purpose of propitiating the deity until disturbed by his servant.

The Rájá, thereon, resolved to marry the maiden and visited her uncle, whom he found to be an old leper suffering terribly from that loathsome disease. So strong, however, was his love for Káli that the Rájá remained for several days performing menial services for the old man, who was so pleased that he gave permission to the Rájá to marry his niece. She had devoted herself to a life of celibacy, but at her uncle's command married the Rájá and lived very happily with him. In due time Káli became pregnant, and the Rájá being obliged to absent himself from home charged her to ring a bell which he attached to his girdle, should a male child be born during his absence and he would at once return. The other wives of the Rájá were envious of Káli and determined to thwart her in every way, and one of them rang the bell though Káli had not yet been delivered. The Rájá at once returned and was very angry at having been deceived and set off on his travels again. In the meantime Káli gave birth to a beautiful son, but the other Ránis placed a bandage over her eyes and removing the child, showed her a pumpkin which they said she had given birth to. The boy was then placed in an iron cage and buried in a pit lined with salt, but lo! the salt turned to sugar and the boy ate thereof and flourished. But nothing daunted by this visible sign of protecting influence, the Ránis took cage and boy and flung them into the river, when again the cage floated down the current and came to land near a fisherman's hut. Now the fisherman was childless and deeming the boy a gift from the gods took him to his house and brought him up as his own child. The boy grew up to man's estate and one day asked his reputed father for a wooden horse, on which he rode to the ghát where the wicked Ránis used to go for water and broke all their water-jars, saying that he was

in a hurry to make his horse drink. They all laughed at the idea, but he retorted and said that if it were possible for a woman to give birth to a pumpkin, it was possible for a wooden horse to drink water. This story reached the ears of the Rájá, who sent for the boy and in presence of the entire court, the boy recounted the wrongs done to his mother by the Ránis and the deception that had been practised on the Rájá. The boy was at once recognized as the son of the Rájá and the Ránis paid the penalty of death by being boiled alive in cauldrons of oil. In course of time the young prince succeeded his father and as every one believed him possessed by a portion of the deity from the knowledge of the past shown by him in his discomfiture of the Ránis, he was an object of worship even during his own lifetime and since his death is recognized all over Kumaon. The river down which the iron cage floated is the Goriganga and hence his name Goril. A curious story is told to explain the neglect of the cult of Goril in Garhwál:—"One day Sudarshan Sáh heard the sound of drumming and dancing in one of his courtyards and on inquiring the cause was told that Goril had taken possession of one of his female slaves. The Rájá was wrath and taking a thick bambu cane so laid about him that the votaries of Goril declared that the deity had departed. The Rájá then prohibited the possession of any one by Goril, and now if any Garhwáli thinks himself possessed, he has only to call on the name of Sudarshan Sáh and the demon departs."

In some places a regular daily worship of Goril is established and assemblies are held on fixed dates. At Hairiyagaon there is a great fair and at Chaur and Silangi, the '*bagwáli*' or 'stone-slinging' festival is observed. The Goril of Thán, so well known in Katyúr, is sought after by sick people and every third or fourth year he is made the object of special worship. As a rule, the harvest seasons in Jeth and Mangsir and the triennial periods which fall at the same seasons are the times of worship commonly observed. Besides the more well-known temples already enumerated there are numerous small miniature temples erected on the hills above the villages in some secluded place and dedicated to these village gods. The ceremonies observed are very simple: when any one is attacked by sickness, one of his relatives takes a

handful of rice and a copper coin bound up in a piece of cloth and waves them three times round the sick person's head, asking that they may know what *bhút* has taken possession of the sick man. In each group of villages there is some cunning low-caste Brahman or Khasiya, often of bad character, who has taken upon himself the profession of Ghantuwa or astrologer, and to him the friends of the sick man resort with the bag of rice (called *pús*) and beg of him to say what *bhút* has possessed their relative and whence it came and how it is to be expelled. The Ghantuwa takes the rice in his right hand and then shaking it about and muttering some unintelligible words, declares it is Goril or Masán or Haru that afflicts the sick man, perhaps because he injured such and such a person, or because he was remiss in his dues to the temples and that he came of his own accord or was sent by some deceased relative. In such cases the Jagariya and his assistant are called in and they play a drum and tambourine whilst the relatives of the sick man dance until one is supposed to be possessed, and while in this state explains the cause of the *bhút's* anger. The result is commonly that an offering of a kid or sweetmeats is to be made, or a temple repaired or built, and if the sick man recovers this is invariably fulfilled; if he dies, the death is put down to *karm rog* or disease independent of the influence of the *bhúts*. If any one has been defrauded by a neighbour he, in like manner, brings the rice (*pús*) to the temple of Goril or some other of the popular local genii and places it before the stone which represents the deity and prays him to vex his enemy. This is an effective method of obtaining justice without the intervention of the courts, for if the person on whom the wrath of the deity has been invoked becomes ill, he has, at once, to go through the form of propitiating not only the deity but the man who invoked his power, which usually turns out to be an expensive process. Sometimes both the Dungariya, the person possessed and, therefore, for the time being, the slave of the *bhút*, or in common speech his 'horse,' and the sick person are branded with hot irons, a rude form of cautery considered efficacious in most diseases by barbarous tribes. Frequently the Ghantuwa diagnoses mere disease for which he prescribes the use of some simple herbs as a remedy and thus increases his reputation; if the sick man does not improve, he declares that the *bhút* is master, or

that the disease is such that neither *bhāt* nor man is responsible or it end that it must take its course.

Kshetrpāl or Bhumiya, the tutelary god of fields and boundaries, is a beneficent deity who does not as a rule force his worship on any one by possessing them or injuring them or their crops. Every village has a small temple, often no more than a few feet square, sacred to him. When a crop is sown, a handful of grain is sprinkled over a stone in the corner of the field nearest to the temple in order to protect the crop from hail, blight and the ravages of wild animals, and at harvest time he receives the first-fruits, to protect the garnered crop from rats and insect. He punishes the wicked and rewards the virtuous and is lord of the village, always interested in its prosperity and a partaker of the good things provided on all occasions of rejoicing, such as marriage, the birth of a child or any great good fortune. Unlike the other rural deities he seldom receives annual sacrifices, but is satisfied with the humblest offering of the fruits of the earth. Kshetrpāl has a temple connected with the great Jageswar grant as guardian of the sacred forest of Tankarakshetra within which the temple is situated. Here he is known as Saim or Sayam, the Kumaoni corruption of Swayambhu, the Bauddha form now worshipped in Nepāl. As such, he receives offerings of kids on certain fixed days. He has also a temple in Borārau where services are held every day supported by a small endowment. Saim does not always do duty as a Kshetrpāl and has separate legends and observances peculiar to himself, whilst at the same time they partake generally of the character common to all demon-worship in Kumaon. He sometimes possesses persons and his sign is that the hair of the scalp-lock becomes hopelessly entangled. In Kālī Kumaon, Saim is regarded as a follower of the Chand *bhūt* Haru.

Airi is a sylvan deity who is represented as hideous and repellent, with eyes on the crown of his head and four arms filled with various weapons. He remains concealed during the day, but at night comes forth from the hills and forests and wanders about accompanied by the fairies (*parī*) who join him in dance and song. Their feet are turned backwards, not forwards like those of men. During his rambles,

Airi is accompanied by his *jbámpánis* or litter-bearers Sau and Bhau and a pack of hunting dogs with bells around their necks. Whoever hears the dogs bark is certain to meet with some calamity. Airi himself is said to be much given to expectoration and his saliva is so venomous that it wounds those on whom it falls. The remedy for such wounds is the rite known elsewhere as '*jhár phúmk*,' when the affected part is swept or rubbed with the bough of a tree whilst incantations are sung. If this be not done quickly, the injured man dies, and in any case he has to abstain from rich and spiced food for several days. Those who see Airi face to face die of fright at his awful appearance or are burnt up by a flash of his eye, or are torn to pieces by his dogs, or have their livers extracted and eaten by the fairies who accompany him. But should any one be fortunate enough to see Airi and survive, the god discloses hidden treasure to him. The treasure-trove thus discovered varies in value, from gold mohars down to old bones.

Airi's temples are found on hills and desolate tracts and are never met with in inhabited places. In the middle of such temples are set up tridents, which represent Airi himself, and the tridents are surrounded by stones representing Sau, Bhau, the fairies, &c. But in some cases the deity and his followers are actually represented by carved images. The villagers worship him during the bright half of Chait, the expenses being met by a fund collected for the purpose. A bonfire is lighted, round which the people seat themselves. A kettle-drum is played, and one after another the members of the circle become possessed with Airi, or Sau, or Bhau, and leap and shout around the fire. Some even go so far as to brand themselves with heated iron spoons (*kálchis*) and sit down amongst the flames. Those who escape burning are believed to be truly possessed, while those who are burnt are considered mere pretenders to divine frenzy. The revels usually last for about ten nights, and until they are ended a lamp is kept burning in the shrine of the god. Those possessed with Airi are called Airi's horses or Airi's slaves (*dungariya*) and such persons are given alms so long as Airi's festival lasts. They dye a yard of cloth in red ochre (*geru*) and bind it around their heads; and also carry a wallet in which they place the alms they receive. While in this state they bathe twice and eat but once during the twenty-four

hours ; they allow no one to touch them, as they consider other men unclean, and no one except themselves is permitted to touch the trident and stones in Airi's temple, at least so long as the festival lasts. Milk, sweetmeats, cakes, cocoanuts, and other delicacies are offered at the shrine during the course of this festival. Kids are sometimes sacrificed, and a piece of red cotton stained in the blood of the sacrifice is set up as a banner near the sacred spot. It is not to be supposed that so poor a community allow the good things offered to the god to spoil in his temple ; a crowd of worshippers divide and devour the sacrificial offerings, water is sprinkled over the images or stones in the temple, and the following prayer is used :—"Hallowed God ! be pleased with me, forgive my trespasses and accept this kid that is offered thee. I am devoid of understanding ; thou art a knower of hearts." While this prayer is being said, a spell (mantra) is whispered in the ear of the kid that is about to be sacrificed :—

*"Asvam naiv gajam naiv sinham naiv cha naiv cha
Ajá putro balind dyát daivo durbal ghátaka :"*

"Thou are not a horse, nor an elephant nor a lion. Thou art only the son of a goat and I sacrifice thee: so god also destroys the weak."

A red mark is made on the kid's forehead, he is crowned with a garland, and (*akshat*) rice is scattered on his head, and at last some water is sprinkled over him. He shakes himself to get rid of it and this action is taken as a sign that the god has accepted him as an offering ; whereupon his head is severed from his body by a blow from a *kukri* (curved knife). If on the other hand he does not shake himself, or if he bleats, it is taken as a sign that the offering is not accepted, and he escapes. After the sacrifice the kid's tail is cut off and placed in the temple beside the trident or images. His head is given to the officiating priest, and his hind leg to the man who slays him, or (in some cases) to the head-man of the village, and the rest of his carcase is distributed amongst the spectators. A kid that has in any way been maimed cannot be offered as a sacrifice. There are temples to Airi or Chulalekh above Kandra and on Airdyau-dánda in Patti Súlam where festivals are held at the Shiurátri and Asojaurátri. This may be taken as the local indigenous form of the original mountane idea of Siva.

Kalbisht or Kaluwa is said to have been a neatherd of Kwat-yúra village near Binsar who flourished
 Kalbisht. some two hundred years ago. Although a neatherd by occupation he was by caste a Rajpút and had many enemies. They persuaded his brother-in-law Himmat to drive a peg into the hoof of one of Kal's buffaloes, intending that Kal should be killed in attempting to extract it, but no harm ensued. Himmat next attacked Kal from behind with an axe and so wounded him on the neck that he died, but not before he had torn the treacherous Himmat limb from limb. After his death Kal became a benevolent sprite and temples have been erected to his honour at Kaiphal-khán, where the murder took place, and in other villages. The only persons that he injured in his new existence were the enemies who compassed his death. In the vicinity of Kaiphal-khán his name is used by herdsmen as a charm against wild beasts and oppressed persons resort to his temple for justice against their oppressors. The latter when punished by sickness or injury to their crops or cattle attempt to propitiate Kal by building a temple to his honour, and thus his cult has spread through the neighbouring pattis.

Chaumu also is a tutelary god of cattle and has a temple to
 Chaumn. his honour at the boundary between Ryúni and Dwársaun. The story as to its origin relates how that about the middle of the fifteenth century one Ranbir Singh Rána was bringing a crystal *linga* from Champáwat to his home near Ránikhet. The stone was wrapped up in his turban and having occasion to remove his head-dress at some water near Dyáriglát, he reverently placed the turban and its contents on the ground close beside him. When he attempted to raise them again however, he found he could not do so, and after several fruitless efforts he returned home and told his friends what had occurred. His friends went back and after great labour they together succeeded in lifting the turban and *linga*; the latter they secreted in the trunk of an oak tree at Ryúni, until a temple should be ready for its reception. The stone was however dissatisfied with its quarters and in the night leapt up into the trunk of another tree higher up the hill. Now it happened that this other tree grew on the boundary between Ryúni and Dwársaun. So the people of Dwársaun combined with the people of Ryúni to build

a temple on the boundary of the two villages. In this temple the crystal *linga* was ultimately placed, and the offerings made to the stone are divided between the men of Ryúni and those of Dwársaun. Raja Ratanchand of Almora heard of the virtues of this stone and set out on a pilgrimage to visit it. But he was advised that the time was inauspicious and returned without reaching his goal. Then Chaumu appeared to him in a dream and said "I am a king, and thou art no more; what honor canst thou do me?"

More than one hundred bells are hung in Chaumu's temple besides seventy or eighty lamps and a festival is held there during the first nine days of the bright-halves of Asoj and Chait. Milk is sprinkled on the *linga*, goats are sacrificed and their heads are divided between the two villages of Ryúni and Dwársaun. The *linga* was formerly famed for its miraculous powers, but these have in latter times decreased, but people still take oaths by it. The following are some of the recorded miracles. People who have lost their cattle have found them on complaining to the *linga* and vowing sacrifices thereto. Others where female cattle have been in calf, and who have vowed sacrifices on condition that the calves should be born alive, have found this ceremony completely efficacious. Those who have offered bad milk before the image have lost their cattle, and those who have offered nothing at all, or who have neglected to worship the *li·ga*, have found that their milk would yield no curds. It is not permissible to offer Chaumu the milk of a cow for ten days after she has calved, nor to offer him milk milked from any cow in the evening. Those who have offered him such milk have lost their cow. Those who take their cows down to the Bhábar, or any place distant from the temple, must worship the peg to which their cattle is tied, just as if it were the *linga* itself: those who have neglected to do so suffer in the same way as those who have neglected the *linga* of Chaumu himself. A man who buys a cow at Dwársaun or Ryúni must continue the cult of Chaumu's *linga* in his own village, so long as the cow itself or any of its descendants survive, as it appears that every cow is dedicated to some deity. Men may not drink milk milked in the evening from a cow dedicated to Chaumu, but they may drink milk so milked from cows dedicated to

other deities. Badhán, like Chaumu, is a tutelary god of cattle. He does not take possession of any one nor does he vex the people

that do not worship him. On the eleventh day after the birth of a calf his *linga* is washed first with water and then with milk and cakes, rice and milk are offered in his temples. No animal sacrifices, however, are ever made to him.

Haru, a beneficent spirit, is much sought after by the Kumao-nis. He was, in olden days, known as Harishchand, Raja of Champawat, and the

following story is told to explain the origin of his worship:—The Rája had grown old in years and became desirous of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the deity, so he went to Hardwár and there became the disciple of a Sanyási and adopted a religious life. To him the local accounts attribute the building of the sacred ghát at Hardwár known as '*Hari ke pairi*.' From Hardwár he set out on the great pilgrimage and successively visited the four great *dháms*, Badrináth, to the north; Jagannáth, to the east; Rámnáth, to the south; and Dwárkanáth, to the west. On his return to Champawat, he continued his religious duties and taught the people the divine precepts and established a fraternity. His brother Látu and his servants Syúra, Pyúra, Ruda Kathayat, Kholiya, Bheliya, Mangaliya and Ujyáliya joined the brotherhood. Sayam or Saim, also, was a member and Baru. The Rája became the head of the community and owing to his great austerities was soon unable to move from the place where he sat in meditation on the deity. He acquired, however, such power by his mortifications that whatever he willed was accomplished; the barren became fruitful; the poor became wealthy; the miserable, happy; the blind were restored to sight; the lame learned to walk and the wicked became virtuous. When Harishchand and his companions died, they became good spirits and the same results followed from worshipping them, unmixed good and prosperity to the faithful. It is said that where Haru and his companions abide no calamity ever falls upon the inhabitants, hence the adage:—

"*Auna Haru harpat, jauna Haru kharpat.*"

"With Haru comes prosperity, with his departure, adversity."

There is a somewhat celebrated temple to Haru at Thán in Katyúr at which a considerable assembly takes place every third year. Látu is worshipped at Barwai in Waldiya and Bheliya at Bhatkot in Mahar.

At Taili Hát in Katyúr we have a place known as the Indra Chabútra, which consists of three separate platforms (*chabutra*) or level places, on one of which is a *silang* tree (*Olea acuminata*) and on another an image of Goril and certain figures known as the Katyúri Rajas, who are honoured by a festival every third year. Raja Dhám Dyau has a temple at Kanda in Sálam and there are several temples to Raja Brahm and Raja Dhám in parganah Páli. These two were the last independent Rajas of Katyúr. Their father died whilst they were still children and their mother Jiya appears to have been unable to teach them the duties of their position, for they grew up cruel, tyrannical and profligate. Hated by their subjects, they fell an easy prey to Bikramchand, who overran Katyúr and annexed it and Páli to the Chand possessions. A great battle was fought in which the brothers Dhám and Brahm and their sons Hari, Bhari, Súr, Sangrámi, Púr and Pratapi, with their servants, Bhíma Kathayat, Khekadás and Ujyáliya, perished and their bodies were thrown into the western Rámanga. These all became *bhúts* and are particularly revered in Páli and Katyúr. Haru being a Chand *Bhút* never enters a place where the Katyúris are, nor do the latter trouble a place already occupied by Haru.

In the northern parganahs of Kumaon we have the malignant sprite Rúniya, who wanders from village to village on coursers formed of huge boulders and at night especially exercises his noisy steeds. He only attacks females and should any woman attract his attentions, she invariably wastes away, haunted by her hateful lover and joins him in the spirit land. Other sprites worshipped in these northern parganahs are Bálchan, who has a temple at Dor in Juhár; Kálchanbhausi, who has a temple at Toli in Dánpur and is much revered by the people of Dánpur and Pothing; Naulo, who has temples at Jarkandár in Askot and at Bhatkot in Mahar; Kálsain at Madkot in Juhár, Kapkot in Dánpur, Rái in Mahar and Jarkandár in Askot; Chhurmál at Thán and Taili Hát in Katyúr, Dor in Juhár and

Jarkandár in Askot ; Hari at Mensain in Juhár, Hushkar or Huvishka at Jarkandár and Dhárchúla in Askot and Kokarasi at Khabela in Khat Dasan of Jaunsár. In the lower Pattis besides those already noticed we have a temple to Nágdhana above Saurphatka in Sálam, one to Chharaunj Dyáu at Chharaunj in the same Patti, one to Vidyanáthi Siddh at Chanoti in parganah Chhakháta, whilst the Siddhs, Pándavas and Puris are similarly worshipped in Garhwál, and Salgaur in Jaunsár. The mountains and remarkable peaks are themselves sometimes an object of worship: thus we have at Chhipula-dhúra or pass by mount Chhipula a temple to the god of the mountain, and on the mountain itself some nine or ten pools in which the Askot people bathe at the great fair held on the Anant 14th. At Tolma, in the Níti valley, is a temple to the Himálaya as a whole and below Dunagiri in the same valley one to the same peak. Heaps of stones and wood called *kath-pattiya* are frequently seen on hills or at cross-roads ; these are due to the offerings of travellers proceeding on a journey. The custom is said to have been established by the law-giver Yajnavalkya and when adding a stone to the heap the following invocation is made :—

“*Sákalya sthápítádevi Yajnabalkena pújitá*

Kásht páshán bhakshanti mama rakshán karotume.”

“Thou goddess whose home is this ridge, worshipped by Yajnavalkya, eater of wood and stone, preserve me ”

When a person has attended the funeral ceremonies of a relative and is about to return from the burning-ground, he takes a piece of the shroud worn by the deceased and hangs it on some tree near the ghát as an offering to the spirits which frequent such places. Another method of preventing the spirit of the deceased from giving any trouble is that a person of the funeral party when returning places a thorny bush in the road from the burning-ground wherever it is crossed by another path, and the nearest male relative of the deceased on seeing this puts a stone on it and pressing it down with his feet, prays the spirit of the deceased not to trouble them. The more malignant of the water-sprites or Gárdevis (from ‘*gár,*’ a river) are those who represent persons who have met their death from suicide, violence or accident. These wherever they die, haunt the scene of their death and terrify the passers by, sometimes even following them home and taking possession of their houses. The

ghosts of bachelors of mature age who have died unmarried are known as Tolas and are met with in solitary desert places. The beings known generally under the names Bhût, Bhutani, Acheri, &c., are sometimes malignant and sometimes beneficent. The Acheri particularly favours those who wear red garments, and a scarlet thread around the throat is held to be a sure preventive of colds and goitre. Traill writes:—"The optical illusions and shadows, seen in various mountainous countries, are also occasionally visible on some of the mountains in this province, which are accordingly celebrated as the peculiar resort of the Acheri, as the procession of elephants, horses, &c., which sometimes appear on the summits, are naturally ascribed to those ideal beings. A hill opposite to Srinagar is celebrated in this respect; the train of shadows which, from time to time, appears to move along its ridge, continues visible for some minutes, and is, in consequence, viewed by numbers of the inhabitants of the town. It is therefore certain that these shadows originate in physical causes, and are not created by the imagination of the individuals. The theory by which this illusion is explained in other places is particularly applicable here, as the shadows in question are invariably seen at the same hour, that is, when the sun is sinking below the horizon." In Jaunsár-Báwar, Dákini, who corresponds to the Tibetan Klahdoma, occupies a principal place amongst the sylvan malignant deities.

Sorcerers known as Bogsas or Bhoksas in Garhwál are supposed to have the same power of causing illness and injury as the Bhúts and Bhutanis.

Some are even said to be able to assume the form of a wild animal and thus accomplish the destruction of an enemy. It is said that Sudarshan Sah rid Garhwál of sorcerers in the following manner:—He called all the Bogsas together under pretence of needing their assistance in some ceremony and promised them all kinds of rewards should he succeed and so induced them to come themselves and bring all their books with them. When all were assembled that had any pretensions to power as sorcerers, he caused them to be bound hand and foot and thrown with their books and implements into the river and thus Garhwál was freed from their presence. Should a house or rock on the south overlook a house on the north and sickness arise in the latter, unless a public road or

stream intervenes, the evil influence of the former is said to have caused the illness (*bhed laga*) which can only be avoided by the removal of the obnoxious building or rock. This prejudice exists only with regard to objects in the southern quarter.

An account of the ceremony performed by Bádís or rope-dancers to bring prosperity on the villages to which they are attached is given in the *Bhagol Kurmáchal* and also in Traill's Report, from which latter the following extract is taken :—"Drought, want of fertility in the soil, murrain in cattle and other calamities incident to husbandry, are here invariably ascribed to the wrath of particular gods, to appease which recourse is had to various ceremonies. In the Kumaon district, offerings and singing and dancing are resorted to on such occasions. In Garhwál, the measures pursued with the same view are of a peculiar nature, deserving of more particular notice. In villages dedicated to the protection of Mahádeva propitiatory festivals are held in his honour. At these Bádís or rope-dancers are engaged to perform on the tight rope, and slide down an inclined rope stretched from the summit of a cliff to the valley beneath and made fast to posts driven into the ground. The Bádi sits astride on a wooden saddle, to which he is tied by thongs; the saddle is similarly secured to the *bast*, or sliding cable, along which it runs, by means of a deep groove; sand bags are tied to the Bádi's feet sufficient to secure his balance, and he is then after various ceremonies and the sacrifice of a kid, started off; the velocity of his descent is very great, and the saddle, however well greased, emits a volume of smoke throughout the greater part of his progress. The length and inclination of the *bast* necessarily vary with the nature of the cliff, but as the Bádi is remunerated at the rate of a rupee for every hundred cubits, hence termed a *tola*, a correct measurement always takes place: the longest *bast* which has fallen within my observation had twenty-one *tola*, or 2,100 cubits in length. From the precautions taken as above mentioned the only danger to be apprehended by the Bádi is from the breaking of the rope, to provide against which, the latter, commonly from one and a half to two inches in diameter, is made wholly by his own hand: the material used is the *bhábar* grass. Formerly if a Bádi fell to the ground in his course, he was immediately

despatched with a sword by the surrounding spectators, but this practice is now of course prohibited : no fatal accident has occurred from the performance of this ceremony since 1815, though it is probably celebrated at not less than fifty villages in each year. After the completion of the sliding, the *bast* or rope is cut up and distributed among the inhabitants of the village, who hang the pieces as charms at the eaves of their houses. The hair of the Bádi is also taken and preserved as possessing similar virtues. He being thus made the organ to obtain fertility for the lands of others, the Bádi is supposed to entail sterility on his own ; and it is firmly believed, that no grain sown with his hand can ever vegetate." Each district has its hereditary Bádi, who is supported by annual contributions of grain from the inhabitants, and by remuneration for his performance at the occasional festivals in question.

As might have been expected, we have numerous traces of
 Nága worship in these hills, but now chiefly
 connected with the special cult of Vishnu or

Siva. In Kumaon, there are Vaishnava temples dedicated to Nág at Bastir in Mahar ; to Kedár Kálinág, in Pungaraun : to Bini or Beni Nág, in Baraun ; to Karkotak Nág at Pandegaon in Chhakhá-ta ; to Vásuki Nág at Gadyára in Dánpur ; to Nágdeo Padamgír at Dol in Sálam and to Nágnáth at Lodh in Borarau, at Thán in Katyúr, at Champáwat and in Dhyánirau. Siva has a temple as Nágeswar at Kotiya in Borárou and in Dehra Dún. In Garhwál we have Vaishnava temples to Seshnág at Pandukeswar ; to Bhukul Nág at Ratgaon and to Sangal Nág at Talor, both in Pindarpár ; to Bánpa Nág at Margaon in Painkhanda ; to Lohandeu Nág at Jelam in the Níti valley and to Pushkara Nág at Kshetrpál Pokhri in Nágpur. Besides these, there are some sixty-five temples in Garhwál where Siva as Bhairava and Vishnu as Nágrája are conjointly worshipped with their Saktis. Siva has one separate temple as Nágeswar in Srinagar. The above enumeration clearly shows the importance of the non-Bráhmanical cults even to the present day and the curious blending of that element in the Vaishnava forms with the non-Bráhmanical element of the Saiva forms as Bhairava which is noticed elsewhere. Taken together we have over eighty temples in the two districts in which the various forms of Nágas are still an object of worship to the people. The Vishnu-

Purána¹ makes the Nágas, sons of the sage Kasyapa by Kadru, whose progeny "were a thousand, powerful, many-headed serpents of immeasurable might subject to Garura; the chief amongst whom were Sesha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Sankha, Sweta, Mahápadma, Kam-bala, Aswatara, Elápatra, Nága, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya and many other fierce and venomous serpents." The Váyu Purána, as noted by Wilson, names forty and other works contain many other names. Amongst the names given in the Vishnu Purána, the names of Sesha, Vāsuki, Sankha or Sangal, Sweta, Nága, Karkotaka and Dhananjaya occur in these hills. The domestic worship of the Nág occurs on the Nág-pançhami of 5th of the light half of Sráwan (August-September). For this purpose, a portion of the ground is freshly smeared with cow-dung and mud and the figures of five, seven or nine serpents are rudely drawn with sandal-wood powder or turmeric. To these offerings of flowers, sandal-wood, turmeric, parched rice or beans or powdered gram or *bājra* are made. Lamps are lighted and waved before them, incense is burned and food and fruit are placed before them. These observances take place both morning and evening and the night is spent in listening to stories in praise of the Nág. Occasionally a wandering Jogi brings a live serpent with him to which offerings are equally made and milk is given and milk is placed near holes in which snakes are known to live.* The Nága *stotra* or hymn of praise is added to the evening *Sandhya*. It is said that Krishna is represented by Vāsuki amongst the Sarpas and Ananta amongst the Nágas and that Sesha became Lakshmana in Rámá's time and Balaráma in Krishna's avatár. In the following account, the Mahásus are of Nága origin.

In Jaunsár Báwar, there are four deities known collectively as the Mahásu debtas, Básak, Pibásak, Buthiya
Mahásu. or Baitha and Chalta or Chalda. The first three abide in temples dedicated to them at Ranor in khat Báwar, at Tahnu in khat Pachgaon and at Anwar. The fourth or Chalta Mahásu took up his residence at Behrat in khat Kuru and moves from khat (sub-division) to khat as occasion arises. These deities came from Kashmír some four or five hundred years ago in this wise²:—Una Bhat lived in khat Mendrút and had a large family of

¹ Wilson, VII., 74: perhaps 'Nág,' with the meaning mountain, and 'Nága,' a mountaineer, may help us to the original seat of this race.
² From information locally procured for me by Mr. F. Fisher, C.S.

relatives and dependants. At this time, a demon named Kirbír Dána (Danava) made his appearance at the confluence of the Tons and Jumna near Kálsi and day by day eat some of Uná's people until only Una, his three sons and one daughter remained. Una fled to the forests of the Jumna and wandered about from place to place seeking means to destroy the demon and revenge the death of his relatives. One night the debta Mahásu appeared to him in a dream and said:—"Be of good cheer, O Una, proceed to Kashmír where the four Mahásus dwell and invoke their aid—they will destroy the demon, for no one else can." Una set out for Kashmír the next day and arrived at the place where the watchman of Mahásu lay fast asleep with two great iron clubs some hundred maunds in weight beside him. No one could approach Mahásu without the watchman's permission, so Una took up one of the clubs and placed it at the foot of the sleeping watchman, who soon awoke and demanded the name of the intruder and his business. Una at once answered:—"Mamu,¹ I am thy nephew." The watchman replied:—"Bháí, you are not my nephew, but as you have chosen to address me, what has brought you here?" Una told his story and the watchman dissuaded him from attempting the perilous journey, but finding Una resolved to proceed, gave him some rice and lentils and told him that he should first reach the forest of Ghagti and if troubled by storms, a handful of the rice and lentils sprinkled in the air would cause the storm to abate. He would next reach Kanani Tál or lake of Kananá, into which he was to spit and throw some of his hair. If his saliva turned into cowries and his hair into snakes, he would know that he was in the miracle-working land of Kashmír. There were but two dwellings in the great plain, one of the Mahásus and the other of Kelubír, an attendant and athlete. On Saturday he was to hide himself in Kelubír's house and about ten at night the four Mahásus might be seen arriving in palanquins and retiring to their house to rest. Early in the morning, the Mahásus went out to the sound of drums: first Básak to hold his court, then Pibásak, then Baitha and then Chalta. When the last came out Una should go to him and lay his case before him and be guided by his advice.

¹ Paternal uncle: hence the custom by which a person addresses another not related to him as *Mamu* exists to the present day in Jaunpur Bazar.

Una followed the instructions of the watchman and his petition was favourably received by the Mahásus, who eventually told him to return to his own country and they would destroy Kirbír. Chalta gave Una a handful of rice, an earthen vessel and his own staff, and told him that when hungry he need only strike the staff on the earth and water would come forth with which the rice might be prepared for food. This, too, would prove that Mahásu was with him, and if in addition when he arrived at Mendrát he threw some of the rice into the Tons, Kirbír could do him no harm. On the first Sunday after his arrival he should yoke an unbroken heifer to a plough and have it driven by an unmarried boy who had never before driven a plough and he would find that the plough would turn to gold and the share to silver. He should then plough five furrows, in each of which a stone image would be found representing the four Mahásus and their mother Deolári. Una on his return, did as directed and the images appeared in the furrows. Básak appeared first with his thigh transfixed by the ploughshare, then came Pibásak with a wound in his ear and then Baitha with his eye injured.¹ Chalta alone appeared sound and free, and hence the three first remain in the temples dedicated to them whilst Chalta is able to move about. Deolári, the mother, appeared in the fifth furrow and a temple to her name was erected in the field. Una worshipped the Mahásus and ordered his youngest son to serve them. He obeyed and became a Deopujári. The second son was directed to strike a gong and became a Rajput, whilst the third became a musician or Bajgi.² Then the Mahásus formed a garden (*gangári*) and filled it with narcissus plants from Kashmír to serve as offerings to them on festivals. Una then built houses for Kelu Bír, Kadásíri Bír, Sakrár Bír, and sixty-four other Bírs, who attended the Mahásus. The Mahásus then sought for Kirbír, but as he did not appear, Sakrár was sent to seize him, and was promised a loaf and a sweetmeat on every sankránt should he be successful. Kirbír still remained at large and Kelu Bír was then sent with a promise of four times the amount of offerings and that all goats sacrificed to the Mahásu should be killed at the door of his house.³ Kelu killed Kirbír and hung up his head in Mahásu's temple.

¹ They are so represented in the temples, by their descendants to the present day. observed.

² These names are borne.
³ These customs are still

Básak and Pibásak took Garhwál,¹ as their share and Jaunsár-Báwar fell to Baitha and Chalta. The temples to the Mahásus in Jaunsár were built by the zamindárs long after Una's time. There are temples to Sangru at Mandhan in khat Koru and Udpalta, whence he is carried about khats Samalta, Udpalta, Koru and Seri. The temples of the Mahásus are now served by Sársúti Brahmans and the offerings consist of male kids, coin, rice, water and narcissus flowers.

Notwithstanding the number and importance of the more orthodox forms of Vishnu and Siva in this portion of the Himálaya

the non-Bráhmanical deities enumerated

Conclusions.

in the preceding pages have for more worshippers and are more constantly addressed. Amongst the peasantry of the high-lands the cult of Vishnu is little known and Siva is worshipped under the form Bhairava or the ling: but the common resort in times of trouble or distress is Goril, Čhaumu, Haru and the other village gods. The truth is that popular religion in these hills is a worship of fear, and though Bhagwán is named as the great god, he is supposed to allow mischievous and malignant spirits to injure the person and property of the people. When famine and pestilence stalks abroad, the village temples are crowded and promises of oblations are made; if the evil be averted these promises are fulfilled, if not the deity is frequently abused and his shrine is neglected. The efforts of all are directed to appease the malevolence of these spirits who are supposed to lie in wait to take advantage of any error willingly or unwillingly committed. With the exception of the educated classes, perhaps, the great mass of the people of these hills are worshippers of unorthodox forms whose wrath is deprecated by offerings of male kids and young buffaloes. These are not presented as thank-offerings, but as the result of a compact that if such an event does or does not take place, the deity shall receive a certain reward; if the god fails in his part of the contract, he receives nothing. The ruder forms are always worshipped with bloody rites, and it is not yet forgotten that Káli in Gangoli received human sacrifices under the Chands. The ruder ritual has borrowed much from the Buddhist and Saiva Tantras, but is simpler than that in use in

¹ Temples exist at Bijoli and in Rawain.

temples. We may fully endorse the opinion recorded by Mr. Monier Williams in one of his recent essays :—‘ The truth is that evil of all kinds, difficulties, dangers and disasters, famines, diseases, pestilences and death are thought by an ordinary Hindu to proceed from devils and from devils alone. And these malignant beings are held to possess varying degrees of rank, power and malevolence. Some aim at destroying the entire world and threaten the sovereignty of the gods themselves. Some delight in killing men, women and children, out of a mere thirst for human blood. Some take pleasure in tormenting, or revel in the infliction of sickness, injury and misfortune. All make it their business to mar the progress of good works and useful undertakings. I verily believe that the religion of the mass of the Hindus is simple demonolatry men and women of all classes, except perhaps those educated by ourselves, are perpetually penetrated with the idea that from the cradle to the grave they are being pursued and persecuted not only by destructive demons, but by simply mischievous images and spiteful goblins.’ This, too, is the result of our examination of the popular religion in these hills.

The Sikhs have temples of the followers of Guru Rám Rái at Dehra and Srinagar : at Pípali in Mawál-
 Sikhs. syun : Jaigaon in Ajmer and Gúm in Langúr served by Udásis. There is also a shrine of Guru Nának at Nánakmatha in the Tarái. The establishment at Dehra is the most important. Some account of the circumstances which led to the settlement of Guru Rám Rai at Dehra has already been given.¹ He took up his residence there about 1675 A. D., or according to local tradition in 1686. Fateh Sáh, Raja of Garhwál, bestowed several villages in *jágír* on the Guru and also erected and endowed a *math* at Srinagar still in the possession of Udási fakirs of the Sikh sect. Amongst the many marvellous stories told of Rám Rai, the following may be mentioned :—A disciple was absent at sea and in danger of shipwreck called on the Guru for his aid and the Guru at once lay down upon his couch and directing his wife Panjáb Kuar not to disturb his body for three days, set out in the form of a fly and saved his disciple from shipwreck. His followers at Dehra, however, believing him to be dead, notwithstanding

¹ P. 551.

the remonstrances of Panjáb Kuar burned the body before the expiration of the three days. When the Guru returned in the form of a fly there was no body to enter and he cursed his followers, saying, 'O ye ungrateful disciples, as ye have disobeyed my orders and burned my body to ashes prematurely, henceforward your bodies also shall be burned.' Hence cremation is practised by his sect, and every year at the great festival the Guru appears as a fly to his followers. Panjáb Kuar continued the plan of the temple begun by Rám Rái and completed it in 1706 A.D. To her is also due the aqueduct¹ from Rajpur and the Khúrbura-tírh or fair. There are two great assemblies: one on the 5th of Chait (March-April) and another on the 8th of Bhádon (August-September), chiefly attended by Sikhs from the Panjáb. The Mahant goes out to meet them towards the Jumna and they come in procession with music and dancing and present their offerings. They then proceed to the Kánwali garden and are regaled with sweetmeats provided by the temple officials, and thence to the place where the standard of the Guru is placed, to which obeisance is made. They then proceed to the temple and march three times around it before entering and offering their presents, after which the Mahant provides them with food and lodging for the night. The next day the pilgrims bathe and a party proceeds to the Siddh-ban and cut down a new pole for the Guru's standard, which after being bathed in Ganges water is set up in place of the old one with great ceremony. Offerings are again presented and the Mahant distributes yellow turbans and all day and night Udásis chaunt the great deeds of Rám Rái in the temple. The offerings are collected and placed in the treasury to defray the expenses of the establishment and the maintenance of the pilgrim rest-houses. The fair held in August is intended to commemorate the death of Rám Rái and fragments of the offerings made are sent to his followers in all parts of India. The wives of Rám Rái are buried one at each corner of the building and their place of sepulture is now marked by four towers. The present Mahant Náráyan Dás is eighth in descent from Rám Rái. His duty is to burn incense in the temple, present the offerings, superintend the receipts

¹ Repaired and made of masonry by the British. Panjáb Kuar also excavated the tank at Khúrbura, where a bathing festival takes place in September and January.

and expenditure and direct the ceremonies to be observed on particular days.

The Jainas have a temple to Parasnáth and the Musalmáns a shrine (*takiya*) to Sháh Pir Káki at Srinagar and small mosques at Dehra, Almora, and Naini Tál and several places along the foot of the hills, but neither are of any account amongst the hill populations. There are Christian Churches in Dehra Dún, Chakráta, Mussooree, Páori, Almora, Pithoragarh, Lohaghát, Ránikhet, and Naini Tál, but many of these are chiefly intended for the use of British troops.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGION—(contd.)

CONTENTS.

THE Kumaon calendar. Solar year. Luni-solar year. Festivals governed by the luni-solar year in Chait, Baisákh, Jeth, Asárh, Saun, Bhado. *Náy-panchami*. *Sraddh-párah* of Asoj. *Asoj naurátri*. Kárttik. Mangsír. Pús. Mán. Phágun. Shiurátri. Festival at Jagesar Gossains. Jangamas. Kánphatas. Sákti ceremonial. Sacrifices. Holi. Festivals regulated by the solar year and held at each *Sunkránt*. Mín. Bikh. Kark. *Bagwáli*. Sinha. Makar. Domestic ritual. Introductory Daily worship. Invocation of blessing. Worship of Ganésa. Invitation, throne, &c. Worship of the Mátris The joyful ceremonies for ancestors. Consecration of the water vessel. Tying on the amulet. On the birth of a son. Worship of Shashti. Naming a boy. Birth-days Piercing the ear. The nine planets: their worship and ritual. Shaving the head. Becoming a religious student. Saluting the preceptor. Marriage First visit. The marriage ceremony. The second visit. The *Arha* marriage. The *Kumbh* marriage. Other ceremonies for special occasions. Rites for those born in the *Mála* or *Aslesha* lunar-mansions Funeral ceremonies.

Before proceeding with a description of the religious festivals observed in Kumaon, it appears desirable to offer some explanation of the calendar in use, for the success or otherwise of many ceremonies is formally stated to depend upon the correct calculation of the auspicious *tithi* chosen for its celebration. There are two modes of computing time¹ in common use, one founded on the sidereal divisions of the months and the other on an intricate adjustment of the solar to the lunar year. The astronomical solar year is determined by the period between two consecutive conjunctions of the sun with the *Yogatára* star of Aswini (*B. Arietis*), the first asterism of the constellation Aries, and each month commences when the sun enters a new constellation.²

¹ See further Thomas's Prinsep, II., 148; Wilson. II., 151; VII., 284; Calcutt. Review, I., 257; XII., 65.

² This is not a sign of the zodiac as understood by Europeans.

(*sankrant*). The following table gives the names of the seasons, months and constellations:—

Seasons.	Months.		Constellations.	
	In Sanskrit.	In local dialect.	Sanskrit.	Local names.
1. Vasanta ...	1. Chaitra .. 2. Vaisákha ...	1 Chait. 2. Baisákh.	12. Mīna ... 1. Mesha ..	Mīn, Halduwa. Mekh, Vikhupadi, Vikhoti, Vikh- bati, Vikh.
2. Grishma {	3. Jyeshtha ... 4. Ashádha ...	3. Jeth. 4. Asárh	2. Vrishā... 3. Mithuna.	Brish Brikh. Mithun.
3. Varsha ...	5. Srávana ... 6. Bhádra ..	5. Shaun, Shrá- ban	4. Karkata, 5. Sinha ..	Kark, Hariyálo, Halyáva. Sinh, Gbi, Walgiya.
4. Sarada ...	7. Aswina ... 8. Kárttika ...	6 Bhado. 7. Asoj. 8. Kárttik.	6. Kanya .. 7. Tula	Kanya, Khataruwa. Tulapati.
5. Hen anto ...	9. Magasiras or Agraháyana.	9. Mangeir.	8. Vrishika	Brishik.
6. Sirisa {	10. Pausha .. 11. Mágha ...	10. Pús. 11. Mán.	9. Dhanus, 10. Makar,	Dhan, Dhanush. Makar, Uttaráy- ni, Phúl, Ghu- gutiya, Kumbh.
	12. Phálguna ...	12. Phágun.	11. Kumbha,	

The true sidereal day is the time between the same point of the ecliptic rising twice, and is therefore equal throughout the year. This division is commonly used and is sub-divided into sixty *gharis* of sixty *palas* each, so that each *ghari* is equivalent to nearly twenty-four minutes. Each month contains as many days or parts of days as the sun continues in each constellation. The civil year rejects the fractions of a day: thus if the sun enters the first point of Aries at or after midnight of the 12th April a day is to be added to the expiring year, or if the sun enter on the morning of the 12th that day is rejected from the year. Each civil month commences at sunrise on the first day of the month, and not at the actual entrance of the sun into the constellation of the month. If the fraction exceeds thirty *gharis* (half a sidereal day), then the civil month is considered to begin one day later than the astronomical month. The length of the months is also affected by the difference of time calculated for the passage of the sun through the northern and southern degrees of the ecliptic, which in effect brings about a bissextile year of 366 days as nearly as possible once in four years. In Kumaon the months are doubly

irregular¹: with us June has always thirty days and July thirty-one days, but in Kumaon Asárh may have one year thirty-one days and the next year thirty-two days, for the sun may enter a constellation at any hour in the twenty-four, whilst the day always commences from sunrise. In 1878, the first day of the solar year fell on March 12th. The eras of the *Káli yug*, *Saka san* and *Nepál san* follow the solar year. The Saka year began on the 14th March, 1878 A.D., Julian style.

The Hindu luni-solar year resembles in a great measure the system of recording time in use in ancient Greece. The ordinary year, called *samvat-sara*, is divided into twelve lunar months, an intercalary month being supplied about once in every three years. The Greeks had a cycle of eight years in which there were three intercalary months, always inserted after the month Poseidon. The Hindu year commences at the true instant of the conjunction of the sun and moon; that is, on the new moon which immediately precedes the commencement of the solar year, falling, therefore, somewhere in Chait. The day of conjunction is the last day of the expired month, the first of the new month being the day after conjunction. In Upper India, following the *Súrya Siddhánta*, the month commences with the full moon (*purnima*) preceding the last conjunction; so that New year's day always falls in the middle of the lunar month Chait and the year begins with the *sudi* or light-half of that month. Thus the first day of the Samvat year 1935 fell on Chait Sudi 1st or April 3rd, 1878, corresponding to the 23rd of Chait of the solar year. The lunar months are always named after the solar months within which the conjunction happens, so that when two new months fall within one solar month (for example on the first and thirtieth days), the name of the corresponding solar month is repeated, the year being then intercalary or containing thirteen months. The intercalated or added (*adhika*) month takes its place in the middle of the natural (*nija*) month, so that of the four fortnights, the first and last belong to the natural month. In the Greek system, a month was omitted on each 160th year, similarly in the Hindu system it happens that in each period of 160

¹ In the year 1878, the number of days in each month was as follow:—
Chait, 31: Baisakh, 31: Jeth, 31: Asárh, 32: Shaun, 31: Bhado, 31: Asoj, 31:
Kárttik, 30: Mangsir, 29: Pús, 29: Mán, 30: Phágun, 29.

years there is a month which has no full moon and is therefore expunged, but it also happens that in the same year there is also an intercalary month. Prinsep writes:—"The lunar month, whatever be its civil duration, is divided into thirty *tithis* or lunar days which are subject to similar rules regarding intercalation and omission. When two *tithis* end in the same solar day, the intermediate one is struck out of the calendar and called a *ksháya-tithi*: when no *tithi* begins or ends in a solar day, the *tithi* is repeated on two successive solar days and the first is called *adhika*. When a *tithi* begins before or at sunrise, it belongs to the solar day at or about to begin: when after sunrise it is coupled with the next solar day, provided it does not end on the same day, in which case it would be expunged from the column of *tithis*. To render this singular mode of computation more perplexing, although the *tithis* are computed according to apparent time, yet they are registered in civil time. It is usual, however, to make account of the days in the semi-lunar periods by the common civil reckoning, beginning (as with the years) after the completion of each diurnal period. Thus the day on which the full moon occurs is the *sudi* 14th or 15th or the last day of the light-half and following is the first of the *badi* or dark-half." A *tithi* is expunged, on an average, once in sixty-four days, so that five or six *tithis* are omitted in a year; one *tithi* is equal to 0.984 of a day or sixty-four *tithis* make sixty-three days nearly. The principal era to which the luni-solar year is adapted is that of Vikramáditya: it is also used in calculating nativities, moveable festivals and in most orthodox religious observances. In 1878, the beginning of the year fell on the 3rd of April. In some calendars that I have met with the months begin with the light half and end with the dark half all through, so that the day after the full moon of Chait would be the first day of the dark half of the same month, but the usual practice is to make it the first day of the dark half of Baisákh.

The general use of the Saka era in Kumaon shows that it is the older of the two amongst the native Khasiya population, though now ousted from its position in orthodox religious observances. Chait is considered the first month of the year in Kumaon and Baisákh in the plains: thus New Year's day falls on the first of Chait, though in the almanacs as a rule the 28rd Chait is the first

day entered. The names of the months are like those in the plains' system except that September is called Asoj in Kumaon instead of Asan or Kuár and November is called Mangsír instead of Aghan. The differences that have arisen between the Hindu mode of solar reckoning and that of the Romans is due to the precession of the equinoxes not having been understood by the Hindus. The initial moment of the year was placed in former times on the vernal equinox or point of intersection of the equatorial and equinoctial lines. This point varies about 50" every year, so that as a sign of the zodiac contains 30°, the vernal equinox passes through a sign in 2,160 years. In the earliest ages known to us the vernal equinox was in Taurus, then in Aries and it is now in Pisces. In the Káli year 3000 or 499 A. D., the vernal equinox coincided, according to Hindus, with the beginning of Aswini and the European year began on the vernal equinox on the 20th March. Since then Europeans have arbitrarily changed the beginning of the year to the 1st of January, a day of no particular solar, lunar or sidereal importance. The Kumaonis also have abandoned the vernal equinox and have made the conjunction of the sun with *B. Arietis* their starting-point. Even in this matter they are in error, for as a matter of fact the conjunction does not take place on the day assumed for it in their tables. The vernal equinox is removed from the first of Baisákh by a period of about twenty-two days and the moment of ecliptic conjunction of the sun with *B. Arietis* is about seven days in advance of the date assigned to it. For all practical purposes, the rules given by Prinsep¹ for ascertaining the day in a Hindu solar year or the Christian date corresponding to a date in a Hindu luni-solar year will be found quite sufficient. In the following account of the religious festivals in Kumaon we shall note those which are regulated by the solar calendar separately from those which follow the luni-solar calendar and commence with the month of Chait.

The eleventh of the dark half of Chait is known as the Chait. *Pápmochani ekadasi* and is observed by those who keep the elevenths of every month sacred. The first nine nights of the *sudi* or light half of Chait are known as the Chait *naurdátri* and are sacred to the worship of the

¹ Useful tables, pp. 155, 177, 186.

Sákti form of Siva as Nau Durga, the nine forms of Durga. These are in common acceptation here :—Sailaputri, Brahmacháriní, Chandraghanta, Kushmánda, Skandamáta, Kátyáyini, Kálrátri, Mahágauri and Siddhrátri. Durga is also worshipped under her other forms as Káli, Chandika, &c., at this season. Those who eat flesh, sacrifice kids to the goddess, using the Nirriti name in the presentation, and those who do not eat flesh offer grain and flowers and use the name of one of the milder forms in the consecration. On the ninth of Chait *sudi* known as the *Rámnaumi*, festivals are held at the temples of the Vaishnava form Rámapádak in Almora, Uliyagaon and Mási. The Chait *naurdátri* is also the season of the great *sangat* or fair at the temples of Guru Rám Rái in Dehra and Srinagar. The eleventh of the light half is known as *kámada* when widows worship Vishnu and offer grain, fruit and flowers to the deity either in a temple or to a *salagrám* stone in their own home. The day of the full moon is observed as a festival in the temple of Akáshbhájiní in Saun. On this day also the houses of the pious are freshly plastered with a mixture of earth and cow-dung and no animal is yoked : hence the name *Ajota*.

The eleventh of the dark half of Baisákh is known as the *Barathini ekadasi* and is observed by widows like the *kámada* of the light half of Chait. The third of the light half is called the *Akshai* or *Alkhai tritíya* and no one ploughs on that day lest some misfortune might occur. The Sikhs call it the *Sattwa-tíj* and observe it as a festival. The *Ganga-saptami* or seventh devoted to the river Ganges is marked by special services in several places along the Ganges. The observances prescribed for the *Mohani-ekadasi*, or eleventh styled *Mohani*, are seldom carried out in Kumaon except by those who, having suffered much in this life, are desirous of obtaining a better position at their next birth. Old men and women amongst the poorer classes worship Vishnu on this day. The fourteenth of the light half is known as the *Nar-Sinha chaturdasi* which is observed in the Vaishnava temples. The day of the full moon called the *Mádho purnima* is also held sacred and assemblies are held at several of the Saiva and Nága temples on this day, such as Pinákeswar, Gananáth, Bhairava in Phaldakot, Bhagoti in Dhaundyalýúñ and Síteswar, also at Vúsuki Nág in Dánpur and Nágdeo in Sálam.

The eleventh of the dark half of Jeth is called the *Apara ekadasi* or 'super-excellent eleventh,' the best of all the elevenths of the dark half which are held sacred by the pious. No noted fair takes place on this day and it is merely a nominal festival in these hills. The last day of the dark half is called *Bat-sávitri amáwas*, when *Sávitri*, the personified form of the sacred *Gáyatri* verse, is worshipped by a few. The second of the light half of Jeth is known as the *Anadhya dwitiya*, and on this day no new task is given by a teacher to his pupils. The tenth of the light half is called the Jeth *Dasahra*, which is generally observed throughout the lower pattis. Special assemblies are held on this day at the temples of Uma at Karnprayág, Uparde at Amel, Bágeswar, Koteswar and Síta at Sítabani in Kota, &c. This *Dasahra* fell on the 10th June, 1878, and marks the birth of Ganga, the worship of the *Nágas* and *Mánasa*. The eleventh is called the *Nirjalá ekadasi*, when drinking water is forbidden to those who profess to be devout. The day of the full moon is like all other similar dates observed by plastering the floor with cow-dung and earth and giving presents (*nishrau* or *nirshau*) of rice and money to Brahmans.

The eleventh of the dark half of Asárh is known as the *Yogini ekadasi*, a nominal feast only observed by those who have vowed to keep holy every eleventh throughout the year. During this month festivals are held in the temples dedicated to Bhairava and Nágrája in Garhwál. The eleventh of the light half of Asárh is known as the *Harisayaní ekadasi*, the day when Vishnu falls asleep, which like the *Hari-bodhini ekadasi*, or eleventh of the light half of Kárttik, when Vishnu awakes from his sleep, is esteemed specially sacred amongst 'elevenths' and is generally observed throughout these districts. The day of the full moon is observed in the same way as in Jeth as a domestic festival.

The eleventh of the dark half of Sáwan or Saun has the local name *kamika*, but is merely observed as a day of rest and one of the *ajota* days when the cattle are not harnessed. When the thirteenth of any month falls on a Saturday it is called *Santriyaodasi* and is held sacred to Siva, no matter in what month or in what half of the month it

takes place. This conjunction occurred on the 27th July, 1878. Similarly, when the last day of the dark half of the month occurs on a Monday, it is called the *somvāti amāwas*, which is generally observed as a day of rest and the *srāddh* of ancestors is performed without, however, making the *pindas* as prescribed for the *Śrāddh-pakṣh* of Bhādo. On this day also an iron anklet called *dhagut* is worn by children to guard them against the evil eye and the attentions of bhūts or sprites. This conjunction took place on the 29th July and 23rd December, 1878. The eleventh of the light half is known as the *Putrdu ekadasi*, but has no special importance. On the day of the full moon, after bathing in the morning, Hindus retire to some place near running water and making a mixture of cow-dung and the earth in which the *tulsi* plant has grown, anoint their bodies; they then wash themselves, change their sacrificial threads and perform the ceremony of *Rikh-tarpan* or worship of the seven Rishis or sages. They then bind *rākhis* or bracelets of silk or common thread around their wrists and feed and give presents to Brahmans. The common name for this festival in Kumaon is *Upa-kurma*, equivalent to the *salauna* or *Rakṣābandhan* or *Rākhibandhan* of other districts. On this day festivals take place at the Sun temple in Sūi, Bisang, Bārāhi Devi at Devi Dhura and Patuwa in Sūi. A commercial fair takes place at Devi Dhura on the *Sudi purnima*.

The fourth of the dark half of Bhādo is known as the *Sankasht chaturthi* when Ganesha is worshipped and offerings of *dib* grass and the sweetmeat called *ladu* composed of sugar and sesamum seed are made. These sweetmeats are here called *modak*, of which ten are usually presented, and of these five belong to the officiating priest and five to the worshipper. This observance is common amongst all Hindus. The eighth of the dark half is the well-known *Janamashtami*, a great festival amongst the Vaishnavas, held in honour of the birth of Krishna. The eve of this festival is spent in worship in the temples: it fell on the night of the 20th of August in 1878. Local festivals are also held during this month in honour of Kelu Pir, Ganganāth, Kārttikeya, Dipa Devi and Pushkar Nāg. The eleventh of the dark half is known as the *Ajāmbika ekadasi* and that last day is called the *Kushdwarthi amāwas*, when the *kusha*

grass is collected by Brahmans for use in their ceremonies. Locally amongst the Tiwári Brahmans the ceremony of changing the sacrificial thread is performed on the third of the light half of Bhado, which is commonly known as the *Havitáli tritiya* from the *Hastanākshatra* or asterism. The fourth is known as the *Ganesh-chaturthi* and is the date of a fair at Thal Kedár in Waldiya and at Dhvajpatikeswar near Jarkandár in Askot. The fifth, which fell on the first day of September, 1878, is known as the *Nág* or *Rikhi* or *Birura-panchami*. This is the great day on which the serpents

are worshipped and the date of the fair in honour of Agyára Mahárudra at Papoli in Nákura and Karkotak Nág in Chbakháta. Rikheswar is a title of Siva as lord of the Nágas, a form in which he is represented as surrounded by serpents and crowned with a chaplet of hooded snakes. The people paint figures of serpents and birds on the walls of their houses and seven days before this feast steep a mixture of wheat, gram and a sort of pulse called *gahat* (*Dolichos uniflorus*) in water. On the morning of the *Nág-panchami* they take a wisp of grass and tying it up in the form of a snake dip it in the water in which the grain has been steeped (*birura*) and place it with money and sweetmeats as an offering before the serpents.

The chief festival, however, in Bhado is that held on the *Nand-ashtami* or eighth of the *Sudi* or light half. It is popular all over the upper pattis of the two districts and is the occasion of a great assembly in Almora. This fair fell on the 4th September, 1878. Great numbers of kids are sacrificed and occasionally young male buffaloes. At Almora a young buffalo is sacrificed and Raja Bhím Singh, the representative of the Chand Rajas, gives the first blow with a talwar and afterwards the others kill the animal. In several villages this is made the occasion of a cruel custom. The animal is fed for the preceding day on a mixture of *dál* and rice and on the day of the sacrifice is allowed sweetmeats and, decked with a garland around its neck, is worshipped. The headman of the village then lays a talwar across its neck and the beast is let loose, when all proceed to chase it and pelt it with stones and huck it with knives until it dies. This custom especially prevails in villages where the form Mahikh-murdani is worshipped,

'she who slew the buffalo-demon Mahisha.' A similar custom, however, called *dhurangi* obtains in the Bhotiya parganahs of Kumaon where there is no trace of the buffalo-legend. There, when a man dies, his relatives assemble at the end of the year in which the death occurred and the nearest male relative dances naked with a drawn sword to the music of a drum, in which he is assisted by others for a whole day and night. The following day a buffalo is brought and made intoxicated with bhang and spirits and beaten with stones, sticks and weapons until it dies. It is probable that this custom of slaying the buffalo is an old one unconnected with any Bráhmancial deity. A story fabricated not very long ago in connection with the Nanda temple at Almora is both amusing and instructive as to the growth of these legends. My informant tells how the worship of Nanda at Almora had been kept up ever since it was established there by Kalyán Chaud, but that when the British took possession of Kumaon, the revenue-free villages attached to the temple were sequestered by Mr. Traill.¹ Three years afterwards (1818) Mr. Traill was on a visit to the Bhotiya valley of Juhár, and whilst passing by Nanda-kot, where Nanda Devi is supposed to hold her court, was struck blind by the dazzling colour of the snow. The people all told him that unless the worship of the goddess were restored his temporary snow-blindness would remain for ever, and on his promising to this effect, his eyes were opened and healed. In Almora, there is this peculiarity in the worship of Nanda, that two images are made of the stock of the plantain tree and on the morrow of the festival, these are thrown or, as the people say, sent to sleep on a waste space below the fort of Lalmandi (Fort Moira) and thus disposed of.

A ceremony known as the *Durbáshtami* sometimes take place on the *Nandáshtami* and sometimes on the *Janmáshtami* or other holy eighth of this month. On this day women make a necklace of *dúb* grass which they place around their neck and after ablution and worship give it with the *sankalp* or invocation and a present to Brahmans. They then wear instead a necklace of silk or fine thread according to their means. They also put on their left arms a bracelet of

¹ On the British conquest in 1815, all claims to hold land free of revenue were examined and in many cases, owing to the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory evidence in support of the claim, considerable delay arose in issuing orders.

thread with seven knots known as *dor*. Men wear a similar bracelet of fourteen knots on their right arms which is called *anant*, as they first wear it on the *anant chaturdasi* or fourteenth of the light half, which is further observed as a festival at Beninág in Baraun, Bhagling in Sor and Chhipula in Askot and also at the temples to Ghantakarn in Garhwal. The eleventh is locally known as the *Páreshvapari ekadasi* and the twelfth as the *Báman* or *Shrávan dvádasi* from the *Srávana nakshatra* or asterism, but both are merely nominal festivals. The day of the full moon is observed as in other months.

The entire dark half of Asoj is known as the *sráddh-paksh* or fortnight devoted to the repose of the manes of ancestors. It is also called the *Sráddh-paksh of Asoj*. *Mahálaya párbán sráddh* from the formula used each day in worshipping the manes. The ninth is known as the *Sráddhya naumi* when the ceremonies are performed for a mother. On this day, the children by a legal wife make small balls of cooked rice and the children by a concubine make the same of raw rice ground with water on a stone. These cakes or balls are called *pinda* and are worshipped in remembrance of the deceased. They are then given to a cow to eat or are thrown into a river or on to some secluded waste piece of ground. The practice of making *pinda* of boiled rice is, however, confined to those castes who claim connection with similar castes in the plains and is unknown amongst the Khasiyas, who make the *pinda* of raw rice as already noticed for the offspring of a concubine. If a father has died his *sráddh* is performed on the same date of the fortnight: thus if he died on the third of Magh *sudi*, his *sráddh* in the *sráddh-paksh* or *kunyangat* will be held on the third, but if he died on the ninth or any succeeding date, if the mother be already dead, as a father's *sráddh* cannot be held after a mother's, the ceremony must be observed on the eighth. In addition to this the anniversary of the death of a father is always separately observed by the better classes and is called '*ekodrisht*' or '*ekodrisht*,' when 'he alone is looked at' or is made the object of worship. If he died during the *sráddh-paksh*, the day is called '*ekodrisht khyá sráddh*,' and though it falls on the ninth or succeeding day is observed as the anniversary. The last day of the dark half is called *Amárus*

śrāddhiya, when the names of all ancestors are mentioned and worshipped, but *pindas* are made and offered only for the three male paternal ancestors, father, grand-father and great-grand-father. The three ascending cognates and agnates are all honoured on this day, which is the only one observed by Doms. The *śrāddh* of girls who die before marriage is never made, and of boys only if they have been invested with the sacrificial thread. The *śrāddh* of a girl who has married is made by her husband's brother's family, if she dies childless her husband's brother's son, or if her husband has married twice and has offspring, her step-son (*sautela*) performs the ceremony. In default of these, the elder or other brother of the husband will officiate; her own brothers never can take part in any ceremony connected with a sister who married. The eleventh of the *śrāddh-pakṣh* is known as the *Indriya ekādasi*, but has no particular observances attached to it apparently.

The first nine nights of the light half of Asoj called the *Asoj naurātri* are, like the first nine nights of Chait, specially devoted to the worship of Sakti. The first day is called *Devi sthapana*, on which the idol is set up and the preparations are made. The eighth is the '*mahā-shtami*' or great eighth, when the pious fast all day and make ready for the great or last day, when kids are sacrificed and the proceedings continue during the whole night. The tenth of the light half of Asoj is here called the *Bijayadasami* or the tenth of victory, and on this day a festival is held to commemorate the commencement of Rāmā's expedition to Ceylon (Lanka) for the release of Sita. It is locally known as *Páyata* or simply *Pcit*, from the well-known sweetmeat *petha* which forms an important item of the feast given to friends and relatives on this day. Some also now pay honour to the young green sprouts of the more useful crops, such as wheat, gram, mustard, as well as on the *kark sankrānt*, when the custom is universally observed. The village gods Goril and Ghatku or Ghatokacha have festivals on the *mahā-shtami*. The eleventh is known as the *Pápānkusha ekādasa* or eleventh of the *ankus* (elephant goad) of sin, and in some copies as *Pārshvapari*. The day of the full moon is called *Kojāgri*, and from this day the gambling of the Dewāli commences.

The eleventh of the dark half of Kárttik is known as the *Ráma ekadasi* or eleventh of *Ráma* and Kárttik.

Lakshmi. The entire dark half is called the *Dipa-paksh* or 'fortnight of lamps.' The *Pádma-Purána* alludes to the eleventh or *Ráma* as appropriate to the gift of lighted lamps as well as to the *Nark chaturdasi* or fourteenth and fifteenth. The thirteenth is set apart for the gift of lamps to Yama, and flowers should be offered on the two following days, when bathing also is enjoined. The *Dipáwali amáwas* or last day of the dark half fell on the 25th October, 1878, and is known as the *Sukhrátri* or happy night which Vishnu passed in dalliance with Lakshmi and also as the *Diwáli*. Women take part in the observances of the night and some keep the previous day as a fast and devoutly prepare the materials for the night's worship when none are allowed to sleep. Even the lighting of lamps for the purpose of gambling in any place dedicated to Vishnu is considered to be a pious and meritorious act at this season. The Vaishnava friars known generically as *Bairágis* minister at most of the Vaishnava shrines and festivals and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the chief of the Sriranga temple and *math* near Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency.

The *Kárttika Mháatmya* of the *Pádma-Purána* is devoted to a description of the rites and ceremonies to be observed during Kárttik. "In this month whatever gifts are made, whatever observances are practised, if they be in honour of Vishnu, are sure of obtaining the end desired and realizing an imperishable reward." The first day of the light half is devoted to the memory of the *Daitya* Raja Bali who was subdued by Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation and to Krishna or Kanhaiya as Gobardhan. When Bali was sent to *Pátála*, he was allowed as a boon to have this day held sacred in his honour. The door-step is smeared with cow-dung and the images of Bali and his family are rudely drawn thereon and receive domestic worship. The second is known as the *Yama-durtiya* when Yama came down to visit his sister Yamuna and she received the boon that all brothers who visited sisters on that day and interchanged presents should escape hell. On the eighth a commercial fair is held at Askot. The ninth is known as the *Kush-mánda-naumi* when pumpkins are offered to Devi, and on the

eleventh called the *Haribodini*, the waking of Vishnu from his periodical slumbers, is celebrated. The fourteenth is known as the *Vaikunth-chaturdasi*, for he who dies on this day goes straight to the paradise of Vishnu. Noted festivals are held on the Vaikunth fourteenth at Kamaleswar in Srinagar and Mallik Arjun in Askot. The last day of the light half or *puṇima* is like the *puṇima* of Baisákh, a great day for bathing, and special assemblies are then held at the temples of Piṇákeswar, Gananáth, Síteswar, Vásuki Ráj and Nágdeo Padamgír.

The eleventh of the dark half of Mangsír is known as the *Utpatti ekadasi*, but is not particularly observed. The eleventh of the light half is called the *Moksha ekadasi* and has some local celebrity. The twelfth or *Báráhi dváddasi* is so called in remembrance of Vishnu's boar incarnation. The day of the full moon has no peculiar observance attached to it. The only other festivals during this month are those held at the harvest feasts. No important agricultural operation takes place without the intervention of some religious observance. An astrologer is called in who fixes the auspicious day, generally with reference to the initial letter of the name of the owner of the field, but if this does not suit, his brother or some near relation whose name is more convenient for the purpose, takes the owner's place in the ceremony. Tuesdays and Saturdays are generally considered unlucky days. On the day fixed for the commencement of ploughing the ceremonies known as *kudkhyo* and *halkhyo* take place. The *kudkhyo* takes place in the morning or evening and begins by lighting a lamp before the household deity and offering rice, flowers and balls made of turmeric, borax and lemon-juice called *pitya*. The conch is then sounded and the owner of the field or relative whose lucky day it is takes three or four pounds of seed from a basin and carries it to the edge of the field prepared for its reception. He then scrapes a portion of the earth with a *kutala* (whence the name *kudkhyo*) and sows a portion. One to five lamps are then placed on the ground and the surplus seed is given away. At the *halkhyo* ceremony, the *pitya* are placed on the ploughman, plough and plough-cattle and four or five furrows are ploughed and sown and the farm-servants are fed. The beginning of the harvest is celebrated by

the *kalái*, when ten or twelve ears of the new grain are brought from the fields and offered to the household deity. Pots of cow-dung are placed over the doorway and near the household deity and four ears crossed two by two are placed in them. After the harvest is over one or two *supas* or sieves of grain are distributed amongst the servants. All these ceremonies are accompanied by simple prayer for prosperity in general and on the work about to be performed in particular.

The eleventh of the dark half of Púis is called the *Saphala*
ekádasi and the eleventh of the light half
 Púis. is known as the *Bhojni ekádasi*. The fourth
 of the dark of half of Mán or Mágh is known as the *Sankasht*
 Mán. *chaturthi*, which like the similarly named
 day in Bhado is sacred to Ganesh. The
 eleventh is the *Shat-tila ekádasi* when the devout are allowed but
 six grains of sesamum seed as food for the whole day. The first
 of the light half fell on the 23rd of February in 1879. The fifth of
 the light half called the *Sri* or *Basant-panchami* marks in popular
 use the commencement of the season of the Holi. The name
 'Sri' is derived from one of the titles of Lakshmi, the goddess of
 wealth and prosperity, and according to some includes Sarasvati,
 the goddess of learning. Even in Kumaon where the customs and
 ideas of the plains have not yet thoroughly permeated the masses,
 amongst some classes, young children beginning to learn are
 taught to honour Sarasvati on this day, whilst the Baniya worships
 his scales, the soldier his weapon, the clerk his pen, the ploughman
 his plough and others the principal emblem of their professions or
 callings. The name *Basant-panchami* connects the festival with
 the advent of spring and the young shoots of barley, at this time
 a few inches in length, are taken up and worn in the head-dress.
 The *Basant-panchami* corresponds closely with the old Latin feast,
 the fifth of the ides of February which was fixed as the beginning
 of spring in the Roman calendar. On this day, people wear clothes
 of a yellow colour in honour of spring and indulge in feasts and
 visiting their friends. From the fourth to the eighth of the light
 half of Mágh festivals are held which are known collectively as
 the *Panch parbb*: they are the *Ganesh chaturthi*, the *Basant-*
panchami, the *Súrya shashthi* or *khaskthi*, the *Achala saptami*

and the *Bhīshmashtami*. The *Ganesh chaturthi* is observed by few in Kumaon, but the *Basant-panchami* is held in honour all over the two districts. The *Sūrya shashthi* is held on the same day as the *Sītala shashthi* of the plains, but has no connection with it. Here it is observed by the Sauras only or occasionally old widows and others similarly situated who worship the sun on this day. The only noted festival in connection with it is that at the temple of the sun at Paban or Pabhain in Bel. The *Achala sapṭami* or "immoveable seventh," so called because it is said to be always held sacred, is seldom observed here. It is also called the *Jayanti sapṭami* or 'seventh of victory,' and festivals are held on this day at the Kamalesvar temple in Srinagar and the temple to Jayanti at Jayakot in Borārau. The *Bhīshmashtami* seems to be altogether unobserved if we except the entirely local ceremonies held in some few places and utterly unknown to the people at large. The eleventh is known as the *Bhīma ekādasi* and this and the full moon are very seldom observed.

The eleventh of the dark half of Phāgun is called the *Bijaya ekādasi* or 'eleventh of victory.' The fourteenth is everywhere sacred to Siva. This is the day when all sins are expiated and exemption from metempsychosis is obtained. It is the anniversary of the apparition of the ling which descended from heaven to confound the rival disputants, Brahma and Vishnu, a scene which is described at length in the *Linga Purāna*.¹ The day preceding is devoted by the pious and educated to fasting and all night long the deity is worshipped, and it is not until ablutions are performed next morning and offerings are made to the idol and the attendant priests that the worshippers are allowed to eat. The day is then kept as a holiday. In the great Saiva establishments the ceremonies are conducted with great splendour and are held to be especially sacred on this day, more particularly in those which were established before the Muhammadan invasion of India. These temples as enumerated by the local pandits are as follows :—(1) Rāmeswar near Cape Komorin ; (2) Kedārnāth in Garhwāl ; (3) Mahākāla in Ujjain ; (4) Somnāth in Gujrāt ; (5) Mallikarjun in the Dakhin ; (6) Bhīma Sankara ; (7) Onkārnāth on the Nerbudda ; (8) Visvanāth in Benares ; (9) Bhubaneswar in

¹ Translated in Muir, IV., 388.

Orissa ; (10) Vaidyanáth in Bengal, beyond Dacca ; (11) Bágeswar in Kumaon, and (12) Jageswar in Kumaon. As a rule, however, there is only a simple service in some temple or a ling is made of clay and worshipped at home. The elaborate ritual laid down in the *Bárshik pustak*, the authority in these hills, is seldom observed and only carried out by the wealthy through their *purohit*, or family-priest; the mass of the people neither now understand it nor have they the means to pay the fees of the hereditary expounders. The ceremonies observed comprise an offering of mustard or uncooked rice with flowers and water and then the mystical formula known as *pránáyám*, the first part of which comprises the '*ang-nyás—kar-nyás*.' This consists of separate sets of salutations to the seven members of the body (*ang*) and to the seven members of the hand (*kar*), each of which is accompanied by a mystical mantra in which the deities of one of the seven worlds is saluted in order that they may come and take up their abode for the time in the member of the worshipper dedicated to them. This formula will be better understood from the following table :—

The seven spheres of the	Sanskrit names.	Hindi equivalents.	Members of the hand.	Members of the body.
1. Earth ...	Bhúr-loka ..	Bhu	Thumb (<i>angusht</i>),	Chest (<i>hridaya</i>).
2. Sky ...	Bhuvar-loka ..	Bhuv	Fore-finger (<i>tar-jan</i>).	Head (<i>sir</i>).
3. Planets ...	Swar-loka ...	Sva	Second ditto (<i>madhyama</i>).	Scalp-lock (<i>si-hha</i>).
4. Saints ...	Mahar-loka ...	Mah	Third ditto (<i>and-mika</i>).	Throat (<i>kanth</i>).
5. Sons of Brahma.	Jano-loka ...	Jan	Fourth ditto (<i>kanishika</i>).	Eye (<i>netr</i>).
6. Penance...	Tapo-loka ...	Tap	Palm (<i>kartal</i>)	Navel (<i>ndbhi</i>).
7. Truth ...	Satya-loka ..	Satyam	Back of hand (<i>karprishth</i>).	Back (<i>pith</i>).

The *kar-nyás* is performed first and is made by holding the nose by the right hand and then first holding up the thumb of the left hand and then applying the thumb to each finger, the palm and back of the hand successively, mentally repeating this salutation or *namaskár* :—'*Om Bhu : angushtábhyám nam,*' for the thumb : '*Om Bhuv : tarjantábhyám nam,*' for the fore-finger and so on changing the name of the sphere to that appropriated to the particular member. The '*ang-nyás*' is in all respects the same and a similar mantra is used whilst saluting

each of the seven members of the body. Other gesticulations are bringing the right hand around the head and clapping the hands three times which is supposed to purify all beings; also snapping the thumb against the two fore-fingers thrice with appropriate mantras which brings the ling into one's self.

The earth, air and sky are represented by the mystic syllables *bhūr, bhuvah, svar*, whilst these again are held by some to represent the old trinity Agni, Indra and Sūrya, who even amongst the non-Bráhmanical tribes attained to considerable popularity. Again in the mystic word 'Om' we have according to some A. U. M., representing the initial letters of the names of Agni, Varuna (a form of Indra) and Mitra (one with the sun): others refer these letters to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who comprise the *Tri-mūrti* of advanced Bráhmanism. A triad is also worshipped at the temple of Jagannáth in Orissa, the forms of which represent the double cursive form of 'Om' as ordinarily written in manuscript. In a note to his translation of the *Málati* and *Mádhava* of Bhavabhūti, Professor Wilson¹ explains '*Nyāsa*' as "a form of gesticulation made with a short and mystic prayer to the heart, the head, the crown of the head and the eye, as *Om sirase nama*, 'Om! salutation to the head'; with the addition of the *kavacha*, the armour or syllable *phat*, and the *astra*, the weapon or syllable *hun*. "The entire *mantra*, the prayer or incantation, is then '*Om sirase nama, hun, phat*.'" These formulæ were specially used by the sect of Yogis or Pásupatas, "the oldest sect probably now existing amongst the Hindus and with whose tenets and practices Bhavabhūti appears to have been thoroughly acquainted." Again Cunningham² in his *Ladák* gives the *mantra* addressed to the Bodhisattwas by the Buddhists of Tibet, taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype block, which ends with the line:—

'*Om Vajra-krodha, háyagriva, hulu, hulu, hun, phat*.

This is clearly derivable from the non-Bráhmanical worship of deities of montane origin.

At the *mahápúja* on the Shiurátri at Jageswar, the idol is bathed in succession with milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar; cold and hot water being

¹ Works, XII., 5, 11, 53.

² P. 386.

used alternately between each bathing. Each bathing has its appropriate invocation, prayer and offering which are in all respects the same as those prescribed in the plains.¹ Another form of worship is the 'jap' or recitation of the one hundred and eight names of Siva, such as Rudra, Isána, Hara, Pasupati, &c. These are counted off on a rosary made of the seeds of the *rudrāksha* (*Abrus precatorius*). As a rule, however, few remember this litany and the worshipper is satisfied by repeating a single name as often as he cares, thus " *Om siváya om,*" or " *Om mahádeo*" is the favourite ejaculation of the 'jap' in Kumaon. The leaves of the *bel* (*Ægle marmelos*) and the flowers of the *dhatúra* (*Datura alba*), the *kapúr nali* or *Kapúr nai* (*Hedychium spicatum*), the *játi* or *jai* (*Murraya exotica*?) and the rose are specially sacred to Siva and form a part of the *argha* or offerings made during his worship. There can be no doubt but that the present system of Saiva worship though popular and universal is of modern origin, and on this point we may cite the testimony of Professor Wilson:²—"Notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of the *Sivardatri*, it is evidently sectarial and comparatively modern, as well as a merely local institution, and consequently offers no points of analogy to the practices of antiquity. It is said in the *Kalpa Druma* that two of the mantras are from the Rig Vedas, but they are not cited, and it may be well doubted if any of the Vedas recognise any such worship of Siva. The great authorities for it are the Puránas, and the Tantras; the former—the Siva, Linga, Pádma, Matsya and Váyu—are quoted chiefly for the general enunciations of the efficacy of the rite, and the great rewards attending its performance: the latter for the mantras: the use of mystical formulæ, of mysterious letters and syllables, and the practice of *Nyása* and other absurd gesticulations being derived mostly, if not exclusively, from them, as the *Isána Samhita*, the *Siva Rahasya*, the *Rudra Yámala*, *Mantra-mahodadhi* and other Tántrika works. The age of these compositions is unquestionably not very remote, and the ceremonies for which they are the only authorities can have no claims to be considered as parts of the primitive system. This does not impair the popularity of the rite, and the importance attached to it is evinced by the copious details which are given by the compilers of the *Tithi-Tattwa*

¹ See Wilson, II., 214: the prayers there given are paraphrased in the *Bérshik pustak*.

² *Ibid*, 219.

and *Kalpa Druma* regarding it and by the manner in which it is observed in all parts of India."

The Gosáins¹ founded by Sankara Achárya are still a powerful body in these hills. Sankara Achárya had four

Gosáins.

principal disciples who are usually named Padmapáda, Hastámalaka, Suresvara or Mandana, and Trotaka. Of these the first had two pupils, Tírtha and Ashrama; the second had also two, Vana and Aranya; the third had three, Sárasvati, Puri and Bháratí, and the fourth had three, Gír or Giri, Párvata and Ságara. These pupils became the heads of the order of Dásnámi Dandins or 'ten-named mendicants,' and any one joining the fraternity adopts one of the names. Formerly all supported themselves by alms and were celibates. Now some have married and become householders or have taken to trade or arms as a profession and are not acknowledged as brethren except perhaps in western India. The Gosáins proper are called Dandins from the *dandi* or staff carried by them in their travels. They are ruled by an assembly called the Dásnáma composed of representatives of the ten divisions which has complete control over all the *maths* of the order. On the death of a Mahant his successor is usually elected by the members of the *math* to which he belonged or, in some cases, the *chela* or pupil succeeds. The chief *math* of the order represented in Garhwál is at Sringeri on the Tungabhadra river in the Madras Presidency. They serve at Rudrnáth, Kalpeswar, Kamaleswar, Bhil-kedár, and indeed most of the principal temples dedicated to Siva.

The Jangamas or Lingadháris, so called from their wearing a miniature ling on their breast or arm, ac-

Jangamas.

knowledge the spiritual supremacy of Basava, who was minister of Bijjala Deva Kalachuri Raja of Kalyána and murdered his master in 1135 A.D. Basava wrote the Bāsava-Purána and his nephew, the Channa-Bāsava Purána, which are still the great authorities of the sect. The name Basava is a Kánarese corruption of the Sanskrit '*vrishabha*,' and the Bāsava-Purána is written in praise of the bull Nandi, the companion and servant of Siva. The Jangamas style themselves Puritan followers of Siva

¹ The name is derived according to some from 'go,' passion, and 'swámi,' master; he who has his passions under control.

under the form of a ling and call all others idolators. They say that they reverence the Vedas and the writings of Sankara Acharya, but they reject the Mahábhárata, Rámáyana and Bhágavata as the invention of Brahmans. They consider both Sankara Acharya and Basava to have been emanations of Siva. Basava himself was a Saiva Brahman and devoted himself to the worship of Siva under the form of a ling as the one god approachable by all. He denounced the Brahmans as worshippers of many gods, goddesses, deified mortals and even of cows, monkeys, rats, and snakes. He denied the use of fasts and penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, rosaries and holy-water. He set aside the Vedas as the supreme authority and taught that all human beings are equal, and hence men of all castes and even women can become spiritual guides amongst the Jangamas. Marriage is imperative with Brahmans, but permissive only with the followers of Basava. Child-marriage is unknown and betrothal in childhood unnecessary. Polygamy is permissible with the consent of a childless wife. A widow is treated with respect and may marry again, though whilst a widow she may not retain the jacket, perfumes, paints, black glass armlets, nose and toe rings which form the peculiar garb of the married woman. A Jangam always returns a woman's salutation and only a breach of chastity can cause her to lose her position. The Jangamas are also called Vira Saivas to distinguish them from the Arádhyas, another division of the followers of Basava who call themselves descendants of Brahmans and could not be induced to lay aside the Bráhmanical thread, the rite of assuming which requires the recital of the *gáyatri* or hymn to the sun : hence the Jangamas regard this section as idolators and reject their assistance. Those who totally reject the authority of Brahmans are called Sáurányas and Viseshas. The Sámánya or ordinary Jangam may eat and drink wine and betel and may eat in any one's house, but can marry only in his own caste. The Viseshas is the guru or spiritual preceptor of the rest. The lesser vows are addressed to the linga, the guru and the Jangam or brother in the faith. The linga represents the deity and the guru he who breathes the sacred spell into the ear and makes the neophyte one with the deity : hence he is revered above the natural parents. The lingas in temples are fixed there and therefore called *Sháivira* : hence

the lingas of Basava are called *jangama* or able to move about, and the followers Jangamas or living incarnations of the ling. The Arádhya retain as much of the Bráhmancial ceremonial as possible, they look down on women and admit no proselytes, they call themselves Vaidikas and say that the Jangamas are Veda-bahyas. The latter declare that every one has a right to read the Vedas for himself and that the Arádhya are poor blind leaders of the blind who have wrested the scriptures to the destruction of themselves and others.

The Jangama worships Siva as Sadashiv, the form found in Kedár, who is invisible, but pervades all nature. By him the ling is revered as a reliquary and brings no impure thought. He abhors Máya or Káli, who is one with Yona and is opposed to licentiousness in morals or manners. He aims at release from fleshly lusts by restraining the passions; he attends to the rules regarding funerals, marriage and the placing of infants in the creed, and is, as a rule, decent, sober and devout. Burial is substituted for cremation and Brahmans are set aside as priests. The Vira-Saivas illustrate their creed by the following allegory :— ‘The guru is the cow whose mouth is the fellow-worshipper and whose udder is the ling. The cow confers benefits by means of its udder, but this is filled through the mouth and body, and therefore if a Vira-Saiva desires the image to benefit him, he must feed the mouth, or in other words sustain and comfort his fellow-worshippers, and then the blessing will be conveyed to him through the teacher.’ When the Bráhmancial Siva is mentioned in their books it is only to show that the true Vira-Saivas are more than a match for the Bhu-suras or gods or the earth as the Brahmans style themselves. The ordinary Saiva temples are in some cases served by orthodox Smárta (Saiva) Bráhmans. The Jangamas still serve some of the principal temples in Garhwal.¹

¹ The chief authorities for the Lingáyat system are :—

The Bāsava-Purāna of the Lingáyats translated by the Rev. G. Würth, J.B.B.R.A.S., VIII., 63

The Channa-Bāsava Purāna translated by the same. *Ibid.*

The creeds, customs and literature of the Jangamas, by C. P. Brown, M.J.L.S.XI. 143: J.R.A.S. V s. 141.

The Bāsava-Purāna, the principal book of the Jangamas, by the same. *Ibid.*, XII. 193.

On the Gosáins by J. Warden, M. J. L. S. XIV. 67.

Castes of Malabar. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 172.

The Kánphata Jogis conduct the worship in all the Bhairava temples that are not ministered to by Khasiyas. Their principal seat is at Danodhar on the edge of the Ran of Kachh about twenty miles north-west of Bhúj in the Bombay Presidency. They wear brick-dust coloured garments and are remarkable for the large earrings of rhinoceros horn, agate or gold worn by them and from which they are named. They are very numerous in these hills and possess several large establishments. They follow the Tántrika ritual, which is distinguished by its licentiousness. Both the ling and the Yona are worshipped by them and they declare that it is unnecessary to restrain the passions to arrive at release from metempsychosis. They are the great priests of the lower Sákti forms of Bhairava and even of the village gods. They eat flesh and drink wine and indulge in the orgies of the left-handed sect. Departing from the original idea of the female being only the personified energy of the male, she is made herself the entire manifestation and, as we have seen in the case of Durga, receives personal worship, to which that of the corresponding male deity is almost always subordinate. The Sáktas are divided into two great classes, both of which are represented in these districts the Dakshinácháris and Vámácháris. The first comprise those who follow the right hand or open orthodox ritual of the Puránas in their worship of Sakti, whilst the latter or left-hand branch adopt a secret ceremonial which they do not care openly to avow. The distinction between the two classes is not so apparent in the mass of the Sáktas here as amongst the extreme of either class. The more respectable and intelligent, whatever their practice in secret may be, never profess in public any attachment to the grosser ceremonial of the left-hand Sáktas, and it is only fair to say that they generally reprobate it as opposed to the spirit of the more orthodox writings. As a rule the worshipper simply offers up a prayer and on great occasions presents one, two, five or eight kids, which are slaughtered and afterwards form the consecrated food of which all may partake. The left-hand ritual is more common in Garhwál, where there are some sixty-five temples dedicated to Nágrája and Bhairava and some sixty dedicated to Bhairava alone, whilst there are not twenty temples to these forms in Kumaon. Nágrája is supposed

to represent Vishnu and Bhairava is held to be a form of Siva, and these with their personified energies are considered present in each of these temples, though in the actual ceremony the worship is chiefly directed to the female form of Siva's Sákṭi. In all the rites, the use of some or all the elements of the five-fold *makāra*, viz., *matsya* (fish), *māṁsa* (flesh), *madhya* (wine), *maithuna* (women) and *mudra* (certain mystical gesticulations), are prescribed. Each step in the service is accompanied by its appropriate mantra in imitation of those used with the five-fold offerings of the regular services. In the great service of the *Sri Chakra* or *Pūrṇābhīshek*,¹ the ritual, as laid down in the *Daskarm*, places the worshippers, male and female, in a circle around the officiating priest as representatives of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis. The priest then brings in a naked woman, to whom offerings are made as the living representative of Sákṭi, and the ceremony ends in orgies which may be better imagined than described. It is not therefore astonishing that temple priests are, as a rule, regarded as a degraded, impure class, cloaking debauchery and the indulgence in wine, women and flesh under the name of religion. Garhwāl is more frequented by pilgrims and wandering religious mendicants, and this is given as a reason for the more frequent public exhibition of their ceremonies there. In Kumaon the custom exists, but it is generally observed in secret, and none but the initiated are admitted even to the public ceremonies. The Tantras prescribe for the private ceremony that a worshipper may take:—"a dancing-girl, a prostitute, a female devotee, a washerwoman or a barber's wife," and seating her before him naked, go through the various rites and partake with her of the five-fold *makāra*.

The *baḷi-dāna* or oblation when offered by Vaishnavas consists of curds, grain, fruits and flowers, but when offered by the Saiva Sákṭas here usually assumes the form of living victims, the young of buffaloes or more generally of goats. At Purnagiri in Tallades, Hāt in Gangoli and Ranchula Kot in Katyúr, the consort of Siva, in her most terrible form, has attained an unenviable notoriety as having

¹ See for further details Wilson, I., 253, and Ward, III., 194, ed. 1822: the descriptions there given fairly represent the practise in the hills.

been in former times appeased by human sacrifices. In the neighbouring country of Nepál,¹ it is recorded that the custom of offering human sacrifices to Bachhla Devi, another form of Káli, was introduced by Siva-deva-barma, and that when one of his successors, Viswadeva-barma, considered it a piece of great cruelty and desired to abolish it "Nara-siva made a great noise. Whereupon the Raja went to see what was the matter and the Nara-siva came to seize him. The Raja, being pleased at this, gave him a large *jágr* which remains to the present day." In Bhavabhúti's charming drama of *Málati and Mádhava* we have an account of the attempt made by Aghoraghanta to offer *Málati* as a sacrifice to *Chámunda Devi* when she is rescued by *Mádhava*.² In the collection of legends known as the *Katha Sarit Ságara* frequent mention is made of the sacrifice of human victims by the barbarous tribes inhabiting the forests and mountains, and we know that up to the present day the practice has existed amongst the wild tribes in *Khondistán*. In the *Dasa Kumára Charitra*, also, we are told of *Praháravarma*, Raja of *Mithila*, being attacked by the *Savaras* and losing two of his children who were about to be offered by the barbarians to *Chandi Devi* when they were fortunately rescued by a Brahman. The *Kálíka Purána*, too, gives minute directions for the offering of a human being to Káli, whom, it is said, his blood satisfies for a thousand years. Both at *Purnagiri* and *Hát* a connection and oneness with the great Káli of *Calcutta* is asserted and cocoanuts are much esteemed as a subsidiary oblation. In the latter place the sacrificial weapon used in the human sacrifices is still preserved.³

The Holi commences on the eighth or ninth and ends on the last day of *Phálgun Sudi*, locally known as *Holi*. the *chharari* day. Some derive the name *Holi* from the demon *Holika*, who is one with *Pútana*; but the *Bhavishyottara Purána*, which has a whole section devoted to this festival, gives a different account which may be thus briefly summarised:—In the time of *Yuddhishtira* there was a Raja named *Raghu* who governed so wisely that his people were always happy, until

¹ Wright's *Nepál*, 126, 130: *Sivadeva* lived about the tenth century. ² Those who are desirous of investigating the subject of human sacrifices further are referred to Wilson's works, I, 264; II, 247; III, 353; IV, 143; Max Müller's *History of ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 408; Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, I., 355; II., 184; IV., 289; Wheeler's *History of India*, I, 403; Wilson's *India*, 68, and Colebrooke's *Essays*, 34.

one day the Rákshasi Dundha came and troubled them and their children. They prayed the Raja to aid them and he consulted the Muni Nárada, who directed them to go forth in full confidence on the last day of the light half of Phálgun and laugh, sport and rejoice. Then they should set up a bonfire and circumambulate it according to rule, then every one should "utter without fear whatever comes into his mind. In various ways and in their own speech let them freely indulge their tongues and sing and sing again a thousand times whatever songs they will. Appalled by those vociferations, by the oblations to fire and by the laughter of the children," the Rákshasi was to be destroyed. "Inasmuch as the oblation of fire (*homá*) offered by the Brahmins upon this day effaces sin and confers peace upon the world (*loka*), therefore shall the day be called *holika*." The Kumáonis take full advantage of the license thus afforded and under the influence of *bhang* proceed from village to village singing obscene songs and telling stories. The red-powder or *gulál* which is used in the sports during the festival is made from the flowers of the rhododendron. Although preparations commence on the eighth or ninth, the real festival does not begin until the eleventh, known as the *chírbandhan* day, or *amardki ekádasi*. On this day, people take two small pieces of cloth from each house, one white and the other coloured, and after offering them before the Sakti of Bhairava make use of them thus:—A pole is taken and split at the top so as to admit of two sticks being placed transversely at right angles to each other and from these the pieces of cotton are suspended. The pole is then planted on a level piece of ground and the people circumambulate the pole, singing the Holi songs in honor of Kanhaiya and his Gopis and burn it on the last day. This ceremony is observed by the castes who assume connection with the plains castes, but the lower class of Khasiyas, where they observe the festival, simply set up the triangular standard crowned by an iron trident, the special emblem of Pasupati, which they also use at marriage ceremonies. The Holi is chiefly observed in the lower pattis and is unknown in the upper hills. The *Tika* holi takes place two days after the *chharari* or last day of the Holi, when thank offerings are made, according to ability, on account of the birth of a child, a marriage or any other good fortune. The

expenses of these festivals are usually met by a cess on each house which is presented to the officiating Brahman for his services, and he, in return, gives to each person the *tilak* or frontal mark, made from a compound of turmeric. The practice of the orthodox and educated in no way differs from that current in the plains. This is clearly another of those non-Bráhmaṇical ceremonies connected with the montane Pásupati cult which have survived.

Each *sankránt* or the passage of the sun from one constellation into another is marked by festivals. Festivals regulated by the solar calendar. Most of the Bhairava temples in Garhwál and even such as Narmadeswar, Briddh Kedár and Náráyan have special assemblies on every *sankránt* throughout the year, whilst others hold special services only on particular *sankránts*, such as the Bikh, Mekh and Makar. Generally the festivals of the village deities as well as all civil duties and engagements are regulated by the calendar for the solar year.

The *Mín* or *Chait sankránt* fell on the 12th March, 1878, and on the 13th, girls under nine years of age and boys who have not yet been invested with the sacrificial thread (*janeó*) visit their relations, to whom they offer flowers and smear rice coloured with turmeric (*haldu*) on the threshold of their doors: hence the name *Halduwa sankránt*. In return, the children receive food and clothing. The low castes Hurkiya and Dholi, the dancers and musicians of the hills, also, go about from village to village during the whole of this month singing and dancing and receive in return presents of clothes, food and money.

The *Mekh* or *Baisákh sankránt* fell on the 12th April, 1878. It is also called the *Vishupadi*, *Vikhpadi*, *Bikh sankránt*. *Vijoti*, *Vikhoti* or *Bikh sankránt*. On this day, an iron rod is heated and applied to the navels of children in order to drive out the poison (*bikh*) caused by windy colic and hence the local name *Bikh sankránt*. It is a great day of rejoicing for both Saivas and Vaishnavas and fairs are held at the shrines of Uma at Karnprayág, Sítaswar in Kota, Tungnáth, Rudrnáth, Gauri, Jwálpa, Káli, Chandika, &c., as well as at Badrináth, Vishnuprayág, Dhyánbadri and the temples of Náráyan and Ráma. Most of the more important temples have special services on the *Bikh* and *Makar sankránts*. The latter represents the old computation by

which the entrance of the sun into the sign of Capricorn was considered the commencement of the new year and the former the new system by which the entrance of the sun into the sign *Mesha* or Aries begins the new year: hence both days are held sacred throughout both districts. I have not noticed that any special festival is held on the *Brish* or *Jeth sankránt* or on the *Mithun* or *Asárh sankránt* except one, on the latter date, at the Kailás hill above Bhím Tál, though, as already noted, there are numerous temples where services are held on every *sankránt* throughout the year.

The *Kark sankránt* fell in 1878, on the 15th July. It is known

Kark sankránt. also as the *Harela*, *Hariyálo* or *Haryádo sankránt* from the following custom:—On

the 24th *Asárh* the cultivators sow barley, maize, pulse (*gahat*) or mustard (*lat*) in a basket of earth and on the last day of the month, they place amidst the new sprouts small clay images of Mahádeo and Párvati and worship them in remembrance of the marriage of those deities. On the following day or the *Kark sankránt*, they cut down the green stems and wear them in their head-dress and hence the name *Harela*. This custom is in every way similar to the practice of wearing the rose, observed in Great Britain. The *Kark sankránt* was the great day of the *bagwáli* or stone-throwing festival for Chamdyol in Patti Gumdes, Rámgar in Patti Rámgar, at the Náráyani temple in Siloti and at Bhím Tál in Chhakháta.

Bagwáli.

It was also held at Debi Dhúra on the full moon of Shaun at Champáwat, Patua in Súi and Siyál De Pokhar in Dwára on *Bhayya dúj* or Kárttik Sudi 2nd. The *bagwáli* was known as the *siti* in Nepál¹ and is said to have been established there at a very early period by Raja Gunakáma Deva, who received in a dream a command to that effect from Sri Skandaswámi, the god of war. He appears to have revived the custom of the *kilátari* game which was introduced by Bhuktamána, the founder of the Gwála dynasty, as a portion of the games held in the Sleshmántak forest, sacred to the Pasupati form of Siva. Gunakáma drew up strict rules for the conduct of the fray which were at first carried out with the greatest rigour and the prisoners captured on either side were offered as sacrifices to Devi. The game was played from Jeth to Siti-khashti, and though the murder

¹ Wrights, 106, 156.

of the prisoners soon fell into abeyance, many grievous accidents occurred until at length the custom was abolished by Sir Jung Bahádur on account of Mr. Colvin, the Resident, having been struck by a stone whilst looking on. In these districts it was the custom for several villages to unite and defend the passage across a river against a similar force from the other side. As the hill-men are good slingers injuries occurred and even fatal accidents, so that the custom was prohibited, and now the combatants amuse themselves merely by pelting stones at some boulder or conspicuous tree.

In Juhár, the Bhotiyas offer a goat, a pig, a buffalo, a cock and a pumpkin¹ which they call *panch bali* to the village god, on the *kark sankránt*. The day is given up to feasting and drinking spirits and towards evening they take a dog and make him drunk with spirits and bhang or hemp and having fed him with sweet-meats, lead him round the village and let him loose. They then chase and kill him with sticks and stones and believe that by so doing no disease or misfortune will visit the village during the year. The festivals on this day at Baleswar in Chárál, and at Dher-náth in Súi Bisang, are attended by all the neighbouring villagers.

The *Sinha* or *Bhado sankránt* took place on the 15th August, 1878. It is also locally known as the *Ghi* or *Ghyúshgydn sankránt*, because on this day even the poorest classes eat *ghi* or clarified butter, and has the name *Walgiya* because curds and vegetables are then offered by all persons to those in authority over them. There is a fair on this day at the temple of Vaishnavi Devi at Naikuni in Seti.

The *Kanya* or *Asoj sankránt* fell on the 15th September, 1878. It is also locally known as the *Khataruwa sankránt* from the people gathering hay and fuel on this day. From a portion of these first fruits after the rains a bonfire is made into which the children throw cucumbers and flowers and make money by singing and dancing. The following story is told in explanation of this custom :—"In former days one of the Chand Rajas sent a force to invade Garhwál and gave strict injunctions to his general to convey speedily the news of any victory that should be gained. The general told the Raja

¹ *Kumila* or *petha*, Cucurbita pepo (Roxb.).

that when he saw the hills around blazing with bonfires he might know that Garhwál had been conquered, and for this purpose heaps of fuel were collected on all the higher peaks along the line of march and placed under charge of guards. The object of the expedition was attained on the *Kanya sankránt* and the fuel was fired and peak answered peak until in a few hours a bonfire was blazing on every hill from Garhwál to Almora. The Raja was so pleased at the success of his troops and the rapidity with which the news of the victory was communicated that he gave orders to continue the custom on each anniversary." Hence this custom has been observed ever since in Kumaon, but not in Garhwál.

The *Makar* or *Mágh sankránt* took place on the 12th January,

1878. It is also known as the *Ghugutiya*,

Makar sankránt.

Phúl, and *Uttardýini* or *Uttraini sankránt*.

The name '*Ghugutiya*' is given from the small images of flour baked in sesamum oil or ghi and made to resemble birds which are strung as necklaces and placed around the necks of children on this day. On the morrow or the second day of *Mágh* the children call the crow and other birds and feed them with the necklaces and eat a portion themselves. The name '*Phúl*' *sankránt* is derived from the custom of placing flowers, especially those of the rhododendron, at the threshold of friends and relations who, in return, give presents of rice and grain. The name '*Uttardýini*' is derived from its being the beginning of the winter solstice according to the Hindu system and as with us commences with the entry of the sun into the sign Capricorn. The name '*Makara*' is the Hindu equivalent for the constellation corresponding to Capricorn and is represented by a figure half fish and half goat. The whole of *Mágh* is specially devoted to the worship of Vishnu and the sun and according to the *Pádma-Purána* bathing during this month is particularly efficacious. The great commercial fairs at *Bágeswar* and *Thal Baleswar* are held on this day. Amongst the Sikhs, the *Makar sankránt* is the occasion of a fair at *Rikhikes* on the *Ganges* connected with the *Dehra* establishment.

The ritual in use in the domestic ceremonies which are obligatory on all the four castes afford us some

Domestic ritual.

firm basis from which we may judge of the

character of the existing form of worship amongst those who

consider themselves one with orthodox Hindus. The ritual for temple use has been compiled by a class for their own purposes and usually with the object of setting forth the preferential cult of some particular deity or of inculcating the tenets of some particular sect, and although the general outline of the ceremony is the same in all, the details vary considerably. The village-deities have no formal ritual committed to writing and in general use, so that the ceremony is a meagre imitation of that in use in the orthodox temples and varies with the celebrant. The authorized domestic ritual in use in Kumaon fairly represents the ceremonial observed by those who consider themselves one in faith with the orthodox Hindus of the plains. It will show no great divergence in ordinary ceremonies from the procedure observed in the plains, for which, however, I have not been able to procure an authority that could be relied upon. The work¹ consulted is the *Dasa-karmādi paddhuti*, or 'Manual of the ten rites, &c.,' which is held in great esteem in this portion of the Himālaya. It gives the ritual to be observed on every occasion from conception until marriage. Each ceremony has certain preparatory services common to all and which occupy the first ten chapters of the Manual, viz. :—(1), *Svasti-vāchana* ; (2), *Ganesha-pūja* ; (3), *Mātri-pūja* ; (4), *Nandi-srāddha* ; (5), *Punyāhāvāchana* ; (6), *Kalasa-sthāpana* ; (7), *Rakshā-riddhāna* ; (8), *Ghritachchhāya* ; (9), *Kusha-kandika* ; and (10), *Kusha-kandikopayogi sangraha*. In practice, however, the ceremony is shortened by the omission of several of these services and, as a rule, the second, third and fourth chapters with the sixth and seventh are alone read. With regard to these and all other observances their length and character would seem to depend on the means and inclination of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed. The poor man obtains a very shortened service for his few coins, whilst the wealthy can command the entire ritual and the services of numerous and skilled celebrants. The rich and dissolute can afford to keep Brahmans in their employment who vicariously perform for them all the intricate and tedious ceremonies prescribed by the Hindu ritual

¹ The copy used by me contains the preparatory ceremonies (pp. 1-28) ; those held on the birth of a son (pp. 29-61) ; those on his assuming the sacrificial thread (pp. 69-132), and those on marriage (pp. 150-205), besides other services for special occasions. This work has since been lithographed at the Naini Tāl press.

and at once relieve their masters from a disagreeable duty and ensure for them the fruits of a devout life. It will be seen, however, that the first six chapters referred to form a necessary part of the ritual of every important ceremony and are repeated numbers of times at different stages. They are referred to hereafter as the 'preparatory ceremonies' and are closed with a *sankalpam* or dedication to the particular object in view at the time, so that the merit acquired by performing them may aid in the attainment of the object aimed at.

Before commencing an account of the ceremonies proper to particular objects and seasons it will be convenient to refer here to those known as *nitya*

karm or obligatory, to be observed at morn, noon and eve. The necessities of every-day life, however, contrive that one recital before taking food, either in the morning or in the evening, shall be considered sufficient, and we shall now describe the morning service, which with a few slight changes serves for all. The usual morning routine is first gone through by drawing up the sacrificial thread and placing it on the left ear before retiring, next washing the teeth, bathing and applying the frontal marks with powder sandal, or red sandars and rice. The *sandhya* or office of domestic worship then commences and is opened by placing some water in the hollow of the right-hand from which a sup is taken (*achamanam*) whilst mentally repeating the man-

Achamanam. tra :—' *Om*, to the Rig-veda, hail : ' a second is then taken with the words :—' *Om*, to the Yajur-veda, hail : ' and a third with the words :—' *Om*, to the Sama-veda, hail.' A fourth is then taken whilst repeating the formula :—' *Om*, to the Athar-veda, hail,' and is rejected immediately on completing the invocation. The *choti* or tuft of hair left on the top of the head is then laid hold of whilst the following mantra is mentally repeated :—' Invoking the thousand names of Brahma, the hundred names of the top-knot, the thousand names of Vishnu I tie my top-knot.' The mouth is then cleansed by passing the thumb of the right-hand over the moustache to each side from the parting. Then

Sparsa. follows the sprinkling (*indriya sparsa*) of the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, navel, breast, throat, head, arms and palms and back of the hands with water

and the salutation 'Om' prefixed to the name of each member¹ and mental prayer for its health and strength.

The worshipper then touches the ground with the third finger of his right-hand whilst repeating the mantra:—"O thou who hast made this earth and all it contains and protectest all by thy power make me pure." Water is next taken in the hand whilst he mentally recites the mantra:—"May any evil or trouble which is due to me this day be by thy power prevented." This is followed by the first *abhishek* or aspersion in which water is taken in the left hand and sprinkled with the right hand over each member as before with the purificatory mantra:—"Om *bhū*, protect my head; *om bhuvah*, protect my eyes; *om svah*, protect my throat; *om mahah*, protect my breast; *om janah*, protect my navel; *om tapah*, protect my feet; *om satyam*, protect my head; *om kham*, Brahma protect me everywhere." This is known as the *pūrva-kā-mārijjana-mantra*. The *kāra-nyās* in which the members of the hand are mentally assigned to the protection of the mantra follows.

The first motion consists in placing the first finger of each hand inside and against the middle joint of the thumb and drawing it gently to the top of the thumb whilst repeating mentally the mantra²:—"Om *bhūh angushtābhyam namaḥ*. The second motion is made by drawing the thumb from the first joint of the forefinger to the top whilst repeating mentally the mantra:—"Bhuvā tarjanībhyam namaḥ. The remaining motions are similar and for the second finger the mantra:—"Svā madhyamābhyam namaḥ" is repeated; for the third:—"Tat sabiturvarenyam anūmikhābhyam namaḥ, and for the fourth:—"Bhargō devasya dhīmahi kanishthikābhyam namaḥ. Then the palms and backs of the hands are touched whilst the mantra:—"Dhīyonyonah prachodayāt karatula karaprishthābhyam namaḥ" is repeated.

¹ Om vāk, vāk; Om prāna, prāna; Om chakshu, chakshu; Om srotam, srotam; Om nabhi; Om hridaya; Om hantah; Om sira; Om bāhūbhyam Yacobulam; Om karatula karaprishthe.

² Bhur, bhuvah, svah are the three mystical words known as the *vyāhriti mātra* and are untranslatable. They may be connected with the name of the deity as lord of earth, sky and heaven. The mantras here given simply mean 'Om, glory to the thumb': to the first finger and to the second finger, &c. The *gāyatri* verse is then brought in and divided into three portions as a preface to the salutation to the remaining parts of the hand. In full it is 'Tat sabiturvarenyam bhargō devasya dhīmahi dhīnyonyonah prachodayāt' and occurs in Rig-Veda, III., 62, 10. From being addressed to the sun it is called *Savitri* and is personified as a goddess. Hereafter we shall see that other verses also are called *gāyatri*.

The *anga-nyds* or mental assignment of the members of the body to the protection of the great mantras is as follows :—*Om bhúh*, glory to the heart; *bhuvah*, glory to the head; *sváhá* (hail); *svah*, to the top-knot, *vashat* (here meaning hail); *tat sabitur varenyam*, to the navel or the armour of the mantras, *hún*; *bhargodevasya dhímahi*, to the eyes, *vaushat*; *dhiyo yo nah práchodayat*, to the weapon of the mantras, *phat, phat, phat* accompanied by clapping the hands three times: a clearly Tantrik observance. Next comes the *dhyána* or *aghamarshan* or meditation in which with clasped hands and closed eyes the celebrant mentally recites and considers the verses commencing :—*Aum ritancha satyanchámdhát, &c.*

In Kumaon, the *pránáyám* is prefaced by a short address (*chhanda*) to the personified '*Om*,' the Brahmarishis, Vaidik metres and the supreme being.¹ Water is taken in the hand whilst the address is mentally recited, after which the water is thrown away. The first motion of the *pránáyám* is made by placing the fore-finger of the right-hand on the right nostril and exhaling with the other nostril whilst a mystical mantra² is mentally repeated. This occurs three times whilst exhaling and three times whilst inhaling.

A second *abhishek* or purificatory aspersion of the body generally takes place next with the mantra :—*Om apohishtá mayo bhuvah snán urjjiye, &c.* Then water is taken in the hand and applied to the nose with the mantra :—*Drupadáddivimunchán sannannátho malá-dishu pútam pavitrenovájyam ápah suddhanta menasah.*

Next the *anjali* is performed in which water is taken in the hollow of both hands and whilst the *gáyatri*-mantra is slowly recited the water is poured through the fingers on the ground. The celebrant should stand with his face towards the east whilst the verse is

¹ *Om kárasya brahmárikshik gáyatrichhándah paramátmá devatá pránáyámé viniyogah.* ² *Om bhúh, om bhuvah, om svah, om mahah, om janah, om tapah, om satyam tat sabiturvarenyam bhargodevasya dhímahi dhiyo yo nah práchodayat apo jyoti raso 'mritam brahm bhúr bhuvah svarom.* A mixture of the *vyáhrítí* and *gáyatri* mantras with some additions.

chaunted and should repeat it three times. This is followed by the *Upasthāna* or approaching the deity in worship in which the celebrant draws the fore-arms parallel to the body with the palms of the hands open and the thumbs on a level with the ears whilst the mantra is repeated :—*Om udvayantamasas, &c.*

Next the head, navel, heart, top-knot and forehead are touched with appropriate mantras.¹ The sacrificial thread is then wound around the right-hand three times whilst the *gáyatri* is repeated either 8 or 10 or 28 or 108 or 1,000 times according to the inclination of the worshipper. Water is again taken in the hand and if the *gáyatri* have been repeated a fixed number of times, the morning's devotion ends with the formula :—*Brahma svarupine bhagván prītostu* ; if at mid-day, with *Vishnu, &c.*, and if at evening with *Rudra, &c.*, whatever the number may be. Where no account of the number of times is kept the conclusion² is :—“ O Lord, the treasure of mercy, through whose compassionate goodness whatever is worthy in my devotions is accounted for righteousness, may the four objects of existence (religious merit, wealth, pleasure and final emancipation) be attained by me this day.” Whilst these prayers are being repeated the water is allowed to trickle slowly on to the ground. The *sandhya* closes with the *dandavat* or salutation³ and the *āchamanam* or rinsing of the mouth as in the beginning.

The *Svasti-vāchana* is seldom read in Kumaon. It opens with the direction that the celebrant should at an auspicious moment bathe, put on clean clothes, affix the frontal mark and seated with his face towards the east in a properly prepared place, recite the invocation of blessings.⁴ The *Ganesha-pūja* follows and is universally observed on all occasions as the *pradhān-anga* or leading section of every rite. The rubric directs that the celebrant should rise early on the morning of the ceremony and having

¹ *Agnī mukhe, brahma hridaye, viṣṇu sikhāyān, rudro lalāte.* ² *He*
īvara dayānidhe bhavat kṛpayānena japopāsādi karmāṇā dharmārtha kāmā
mokṣānām sadhyah siddhir bhavennah. ³ The hands are clasped in front
 of the breast whilst this mantra is repeated :—*Om namaḥ sambhavadāyacha*
mayobhavāyacha namaḥ saṅkarāyacha mayaskarāyacha namah sīvāyacha sivatard-
yacha, devagāta bidogātu mitrah manasārgya mimandeeva yajna gvan svadhā
bātadhā. ⁴ The *vāchana* consists of numerous verses in praise of the gods.

bathed and put on clean clothes should after performing the
*nitya-kurm*¹ light a lamp and commence
Ganesha-puja.

the worship of Ganesha, which should precede every other rite. First adore Vishnu with the following verse :—"Thou who art clothed in white, moon-coloured, four-armed, of pleasing face, the remover of obstructions, the bestower of good fortune and victory, what can oppose thee Janárdan, of the colour of the lotus, who dwellest in the hearts of thy votaries." Next follows the adoration of Ganesha with the verse :—"O *Bakrtund*, great bodied, bright like a krór of suns, o thou that preventeth harm, be thou present always in every work." Then the ceremony known as *Argha sthápana* or consecrating the *argha*² takes place. Take

Argha-sthápana. some powdered sandal wood and draw on the ground the figure of a triangle and around it a square and again a circle, then place on them sandal, rice and flowers. Next place the *argha* filled with water in the middle and say :—"In this water may the waters of the Ganga, Jamuna, Godáveri, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu and Káveri be present." Next put sandal, rice and flowers in the water of the *argha*. Then set up a brazen vessel on which the image of the sun has been drawn (with sandal or red sandars) in the form of interlaced triangles, the apices of which will represent his rays and a circle around them his form, and before presenting to it the water of the *argha* with flowers recite mentally the *dhyaána-mantra*³ and in offering the water of the *argha*, the *mantra*⁴ in which the sun is invoked as the thousand-rayed, full of brightness, lord of the world, &c., and is asked to accept the domestic *argha* of his worshipper. Next sprinkle mustard-seed, sesamum and rice in order that no evil spirit may approach and interrupt the ceremony and use the *mantra*⁵ for keeping off demons and goblins. Then crack the thumb and second finger together three times behind the back in order that the goblins behind may be driven away. The earth should next be saluted and afterwards

¹ The *sandhya*, already noticed.

² A small cup usually made of brass.

³ *Aravindapankajē nishānah kamale abhīti varaukarairdudhānah svarrahita-mānīlās trivetro ravirā kalpaśatākul batānnah.*

⁴ *Ehi sūryā sahasrāṇśo*

tejorāśe jagatpate anukampayamān bhoktyā grīhānārghañ divākarah.

⁵ *Apah-*

rāmanā bhūtāni pīśāchān sarvatodisū sarvāhām atirochena brahmakarmasamāra-bhāt pākṣāṇḍā kāriṇo bhūtā bhūmanve chāntarīkṣagāhā divilokesthīdāye cha tenu-tyanta itirājnyā niryochehhatāñ cā bhūtānān vartma dadyāt savāmatah.

Vishnu with the verse:—"O thou whose throne is the lotus, &c.' Fill the *argha* once more and sprinkle all the materials for worship and go through the *pránáyám*. Next take sesamum, *kusha*-grass, barley and water, and make the great dedication¹ with the mantra:—"Om Vishnu, Vishnu, Vishnu, adoration to the supreme, the first eternal male,' &c., with the usual definition of place, time and person, *viz.*, in the island Jambu, the division Bharatá, the country of the Aryas, in this holy place, the Himavat and hills, in the latter half of the life of Brahma, in the holy *Váráha-kalpa*, at the end of the Krita, Treta and Dwápar *Yugas*, &c., giving the year, season, month, fortnight, day and hour of the ceremony with the name of the person in whose behalf the ceremony is performed, his father and grandfather's name, caste and family, and the ceremony itself, with the prayer that the benefits to be derived from its performance may be bestowed on him.

The worship of Ganesha now proceeds, each step in the ceremony being accompanied by an appropriate mantra. First the *pítla* or triangle is addressed with the mantra containing the names of Ganesha as son of Siva:—"Om sprung from the fierce, from the blazing, Nandi, from the giver of pleasure, from Kámarupa, from Satya, from the terrible, from the bright, glory to thee who removeth all obstacles, who sitteth on the lotus. I meditate on thee, the one-toothed, elephant-headed, large-eared, four-armed, holder of the noose and goad, perfect

Aváhana. Vináyak." This is followed by the invitation (*aváhana*) to Ganesha to be present and take the place prepared for him with the mantra:—"Bináyaka namastestu umámalasamudbhavah imámayáñkritáñpúján grihána sura-sattama.—'Glory to thee Binayak, born of Uma, accept my worship, best of gods.' Next comes the *Asana.* *asana* or throne to which the deity is invited with the mantra:—"Nánáratnasamayuktāñ muktāhāra vibhū-shitāñ svarṇasīñhāsanañ chāru prītyarthañ pratigrihyatāñ.—

¹ Om viṣṇuḥ viṣṇuḥ viṣṇuḥ namaḥ paramātmāne śrīpurāṇapurushottamāya Om tatou dūtāprīṭhiyāñ jambūdvīpe bhāratakhānde āryāvartte puṇya kṣhetre himavati parvatīkōṭe śrībrahmaṇodvīṭītya-parārdhe śrīśvetavārāṇakalpe kṛitatre'ādīkāparante saplame vaiśvātamanāntare aśtāvīṇsatītam kalpa-guṇya prathamachārāṇe śaśh-tayudānāñmadhye, &c.

'Accept this golden throne, set with various gems and adorned with strings of pearls all for love of thee.

Pádyā.

Next water (*pádyā*) is offered with the mantra :—*Gaurīpriya namastestu śaṅkarapriya sarvadá bhaktyápádyāṁ mayádattan gṛihāṇa praṇatapriya.*—'Glory to thee beloved of Gauri, ever beloved of Sankara, accept the water presented by me thy poor worshipper.' Next the *argha* with the

Argha.

mantra :—*Vratamuddiśya deveśa gandhā pushpāksh itairyutaṁ gṛihāṇa arghaṁ mayálatatṁ sarvasiddhipradobhava.*—'O lord of gods, accept this *argha* furnished with sandal, flowers and rice, grant my request, o chief of saints.' Then the ablution (*snána*) with the

Snána.

mantra :—*Snánaṁ pañchámṛitair deva gṛihāṇa gaṇāndyaka anāthānāthá sarvavajna gīrvāṇa paripūjita, om gaṇāntīwá gaṇapati gvan havámahe priyāntwá priyapati gvan havámahe nidhīnāntwá nidhipati gvan havámahe vasomama śhamajāni garbbhadhamá twamajási garbbhadham.*—'O god, leader of the heavenly troops, protector of the defenceless, omniscient, thou that delightest in invocations, accept this ablution made with the five kinds of ambrosia.¹ *Om* thou who art leader of the attendants of Siva, thou who art lord of the beloved, lord of the treasures of Kuvera, dwell thou with me, &c.'

Next sprinkle a little water with a spoon (*śchamanī*) on the image of Ganesha and proceed to clothe it

Bastra.

(*bastra*) with the mantra :—*Rakta bastrayugaṁ deva devān-gasadṛiśaprabham bhaktyúdattaṁ gṛihāṇetaṁ lambodara harapriya:*—'O God Lambodar, beloved of Siva, accept these lawful scarlet garments, the gift of thy worshipper.' Then the

Janeo.

janeo or sacrificial thread is placed on the image with the mantra—*Rājataṁ brahmaśātrāṇcha káśhchanasya uttariyakam gṛihāṇa chāru sarvavajna bhaktánāṁ śiddhidāyaka.*—'Ogiver of happiness to thy worshippers, omniscient, beloved, accept this royal garment of gold brocade and thread. Next sandal (*gandha*) with the mantra :—*Gandhaṁ*

Gandha.

karpūr sanyuktaṁ divyaṁ chandanamuttamam vilepanaṁ suraśreshtha príttyarthān

¹ Milk, curds, butter, honey and sugar.

pratigrihyatām.—‘O best of gods, let this agreeable sandal mixed with camphor be accepted as an unguent for thy person, for the love I bear thee.’ Next rice (*akshatā*) with the mantra:—*Akshatān dha-*

Akshatā. *valān deva suragandharvavapūjita sarvadeva namaskāryya grīhānamadanugrahāt*.—‘Thou

who art worshipped by the gods, Gandharvas and all the deities, accept my offering of white rice.’ Next flowers (*pushpāni*) with the

Pushpāni. *mantra:—Sugandhīnisu pushpāni mla-*

pushpāni pratigrihyatām.—‘O Lord accept the sweet-smelling garlands and flowers brought by me for thy worship.’ Then incense (*dhūpa*) with the mantra:—*Daśāṅgaṁ guḡulaṁ dhūpaṁ sugandhī-*

Dhūpa. *sumanoharam umāsutanamastubhyaṁ dhū-*

paṁ me pratigrihyatām.—‘O son of Uma, accept the incense consisting of ten ingredients, ‘bdellium, frankincense, fragrant grasses and very pleasing perfumes collected for thy honour.’ Then a lamp (*dīpa*) with the mantra:—*Grīhāṇa*

Dīpa. *māṅgalaṁ dīpaṁ ghṛītavarttisamanvitam dīpaṁ jñānapradaṁ devarudrapriyanamo-*

tute.—‘Accept this lamp, supplied with clarified butter, the bestower of knowledge, established in thy honour, O beloved of the gods.’

Then sweetmeats (*naivedya*) with the mantra:—*Sagurān sagh-*

Naivedya. *ṛitāṁścha eva modakān ghṛītapāchitān naive-*

dyaṁ saphalān dattān grihyatān vighnā-
śana.—‘O thou who removest difficulties accept these sweetmeats cooked in clarified butter.’ One of the sweetmeats should then be taken up and placed before the image of Ganesha, who should also receive some article of value. Then repeat the *mūla*-mantra, which consists of a mental recitation (*jap*) of the formula *Om Ganēśāya namaḥ*—‘Om, glory to Ganesha.’ Next *pān* (*tāmbūla*)

Pān. *is presented with the mantra:—Pūṣṭīphala-*

samyuktān tāmbūlān pratigrihyatām.—‘May this *pān* with betel and the leaves of the betel and spices be accepted.’ When presenting the sweetmeats which are usually ten in number (hence the name *daśamodaka*) the following formula is used:—‘I (so and so) for this (so and so) purpose bestow on this Brahman for the sake of Ganesha

these sweetmeats, rice, flowers and goods with this mantra :—*Vighnesa viprarūpeṇa gṛihāṇa daśamodakān dakṣiṇāghṛitatāmbūlugurayuktān mameshtada.*—‘O Vighnesa (obstacle-lord), in Brahman form, accept these ten sweetmeats with the gifts, clarified butter and *pān* presented by me.’ In reply the celebrant accepts the gift on the part of Ganeshā and says :—*Dātā vighneśvuro devo gṛihīta sarvvavighnarāṭmāt idam mayādattam pari pūrṇaṇ tadastumē.*—Next follows

Prārthana.

the prayer (*prārthana*) :—*Bindāyaka namastubhyam satatam modakapriya avighnaṇ kurume devasarvakāryyeshusarvvadā.*—‘Glory to thee Vināyak, fond of sweetmeats, always protect me from difficulties everywhere.’

This is followed by an offering of a stalk of *dūb* grass with the

Dūb.

mantra :—*Om gaṇādhiya namastestu om umāputra namastestu om aghandāna namastestu om bindāyaka namastestu om īśaputra namastestu om sarvasiddhipradāyaka namastestu om ekadanta namastestu om ibhābakra namostu om māshakavāhana namastestu om kumārāgurotubhyam namastestu om chaturthīśa namostute om kāṇḍātkāṇḍāt prarohanti parushaḥ parushas pari evānodūrve pratanu sahasreṇa śatenacha.*—‘Om, glory to the lord of the heavenly hosts, the son of Uma, the remover of obstacles, Vināyak, the son of Isa, the bestower of happiness, the one-toothed, with an elephant’s head, having a rat as his vehicle, to Skanda and Vrihaspat, to the lord of the fourth day, to these stalks of *dūb* budding at every knot with hundreds and thousands of shoots.’

Next follows the *nīrājana* or waving of a lamp before the image,

Nīrājana.

which is accompanied by the following mantra :—*Antas tejo bahis teja ekaḥ krityāmita-prabham ārdṛtrikam idam deva gṛihāṇāmadanugrahāt, Om agnirjyotirjyotir agniḥ svāhā sūryyo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryyaḥ svāhā agnir varchho jyotir varchchaḥ svāhā sūryyo varchcho jyotir varchchaḥ svāhā sūryyo jyotir jyotiḥ svāhā.*—‘O god accept this ceremony of waving the light (*ārdṛtriku*) before thee who art light, hail to Agni who is light, to the Sun who is light.’ Then follows the offering of flowers in the

Pushpān-jal.

hollow of both hands (*pushpān-jal*) with the mantra :—*Sumukhaścha ekadantaścha kapilo gajakarṇakaḥ lambodaraścha bikāṭo vighnandāro bindāyakaḥ dhūmra*

keturgaṇādhyaśho bhālachandrogaḥjananah. This verse gives twelve names¹ of Ganesha and it is promised that whoever reads them or even hears them read when commencing to study or in making the preparations for a wedding, in coming in or going out, in war or in trouble will never meet with any obstacle that he cannot overcome. As the axe is to the jungle-creeper so this verse containing the names of Ganesha is to all obstacles and difficulties. Next comes the gift of money as an honorarium to the celebrant with the

Dakṣiṇa-saṅkalpam. formula as in the first *saṅkalpam* and the

usual definition of place, time, name, caste, &c., of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed and that it is for the sake of Ganesha. The celebrant in return on the part of Ganesha, asperses his client and places flowers, rice, &c., on his head, concluding with the mantra :—*Om gaṇānāntwāgaṇapati gvaṇ havāmahe priyānāntwāpriyapati gvaṇ havāmahe*, &c., as before.

The ritual for the *Mātri-pūja* comes into use after the

Mātri-pūja. service for Ganesha and usually forms a part of the preface to any other ceremony.

The celebrant takes a plank and cleans it with rice-flour and

¹ The usual names are Sumukh (beautiful faced), Ekdant (one-toothed), Kapil (red and yellow complexion), Gajakarnaka (elephant-eared) Lambodar (corpulent), Baikrit (misshapen), Vighnanāśa (deliverer from difficulties), Bināyaka (leader), Dhūma-ketu (smoke-bannered), Bhālachandra (better moon), Gaḥjanānd (elephant visaged), Gaṇadīśa (lord of the celestial hosts). The following is a rough translation of the address :—

1. Whosoever shall worship thee under these twelve names and even whosoever shall attend and hear them read shall certainly prosper in this world.
2. Whosoever shall repeat these twelve names on the day of marriage or on the birth of a child, or on proceeding on a journey or on going to battle or in sickness or on entering a new house or business shall be freed from the effects of evil.
3. O Bakrtund, o Mahākāya, resplendent like a thousand suns, prosper my work always, everywhere.
4. O thou of the great body and short in stature, whose head is like that of an elephant. Thy breath like nectar attracts the insects hovering in the ether to thy lips. Thou art able with one blow of thy tusk to destroy the enemies of thy suppliants. Thou that art the adopted son of Devī hast vermilion on thy brow and art ever liberal. Thou art such o Ganesha that I bow to thee, the beautiful one of a yellow complexion and three-eyed.
5. Presenting this lamp I wave it before thee. Thou o Lambodar who art the ruler of the universe, the adopted son of Pārvatī, aid me.
6. All men worship thee and adore thy feet; thou that livest on sweets, and art borne on a rat and whose abode is magnificent, aid me.
7. Thou that bestowest wealth and accomplisheth the desires of thy worshippers, aid me.
8. Thou wieldest the trident and hast ever been merciful to me. Most assuredly all who worship thee shall obtain every happiness.

then draws sixteen figures representing the *Mātris* and to the right of them a figure of Ganesha. Then in the upper right-hand corner the sun is represented as in the Ganesha-*pūja* and in the upper left-hand corner the moon by a number of lines intersecting a central point and having their extremities connected by a series of semi-circles. The celebrant then makes a brush from five or six stocks of *dūb*-grass and dipping it in cow-dung touches each of the figures which represent the *Mātris*. Then the *arghasthāpanam*, *prānāyātm* and *saṅkalpam* as in the preceding ceremony are gone through with the formula as to place, time, caste of celebrant, and object, &c., of the ceremony which is addressed to Ganesha and Gauri and the other *Mātris*. Then the latter are praised in certain verses¹ known as the *pratishthā*,

Pratishthā.

then again in the *dhyānam* or meditation and again by name whilst presenting a flower to each :—" *Om gaṇapatayenamah*," followed by Gauri, Padmā, Sachi, Medhā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātri, Lokmātri, Dhriti, Pushti, Tushti, and the household female deities. The formulæ connected with the invitation, &c., in the preceding ceremony is then gone through, viz. :—*āvāhana*, *āsana*, *pādya*, *argha*, *snāna*, *āchamana*, *bustra*, *gandha*, *akshata*, *pushpāni*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *naivedya* and gifts. Next

Basoddhara.

comes the *basoddhara*, which is performed by taking a mixture of clarified butter and a little sugar and having warmed it in the *argha*, letting it stream down the board some three, five or seven times. The celebrant then receives a piece of money from the person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed and dipping it in the clarified butter (*gha*) impresses a mark on the forehead and throat of the person from whom he receives it and keeps the coin. Then comes the *nirājana* or waving of a lamp before the figures as in the preceding ceremony. Next follows the offering of flowers in the upturned palms of the hands (*pushpān-jalī*), winding up with a hymn in honor of the sixteen *Mātris* and gifts to the celebrant, who in return places flowers from the offerings on the head of the giver.

¹ Rice is here taken and sprinkled over each figure whilst the *pratishthā* is spoken and during the *dhyānam* the hands are clasped reverently in front of the breast and the head lowered and eyes closed.

The *Nándri* or *Nandi śráddh* is also called the *Abhyudika śráddh*, and though not universally observed here is sometimes introduced into the preparatory ceremonies. It opens with an invocation of Ganesha. The celebrant then draws a figure of a conch and discus on the ground and makes an *āsana* or throne of three stalks of *dúb*-grass, on which he places a *pátra* or small brass-vessel like a *lotá* and on it the *pavitra*.¹ Water, barley and sesamum are then applied, with appropriate mantras, and in silence, sandal, rice and flowers. The materials for the ceremony are then sprinkled with holy water whilst repeating a prayer. Next comes the *pránáyám*, a prayer for the presence of the deities in the house, a story of the adventures of seven hunters on the Kálanjar hill and the *sankalpam* or dedication. Then the enumeration of the ancestors for three generations on both the paternal and maternal side² and their adoration. This is accompanied by the invitation, &c., as in the preceding ceremonies for each of the twelve ancestors named and by special mantras which are too tedious for enumeration here.

The *kalasa-sthápana* or consecration of the water-pot is usually observed and commences with the washing of the *kalasa* or vessel with sandal, curds and rice and covering it with a cloth. Beneath it is placed a mixture of seven sorts of grain and then the person who causes the ceremony to be undertaken places his-right hand on the ground whilst the celebrant repeats the mantra:—‘*Om mahidyauh prithivíchana imanyijnah mimikshatám pipritán-nobharímabhih.*’ Then barley is thrown into the vessel and a hymn is chaunted whilst water is poured over the vessel. Then the

¹ The *pavitra* is made from a single stalk of *kusha* grass tied in a knot of the form of a figure of eight. Each stalk has three leaves which some suppose are emblematic of the deity.

² In the male line an addition is made to the name to show the degree: thus the father has the addition *basu svarúpa*, the grandfather that of *rudra svarúpa*, and the great-grandfather that of *aditya svarúpa*. Another addition is made to show the caste: thus a Brahman is called *sarmmah*, a Kshatriya is called *barmmah*, and a Vaisya or Sudra is called *guptah*. Amongst Brahmans the real names of females are not given: the first wife of a Brahman is called *sundari* and the second and others *mundari*. In other castes the real names are given as in the case of males. Thus Ramapati Brahman's father known in life as Krishnadatta would, at a ceremony undertaken by Ramapati, be called *Krishnadattu sarmmah basu svarúpa*, and Ramapati's mother, if the first wife of his father, would be called *Krishnadattu sundari basu svarúpa*.

*kusha-brahma*¹ is placed on it and sandal, *dúb*, turmeric, milk, curds, clarified butter, the five leaves (*pípal*, *khair*, *apdmárg*, *udumbar* and *palás*), the earth from seven places (where cows, elephants, white-ants, &c., live), the five gems,² coin and articles of dress with appropriate mantras. Then Varuna is invoked and the water, &c., in the *kalasa* is stirred whilst these verses are recited in honour of the vessel :— Vishnu dwells in thy mouth, Rudra in thy neck and in thy bottom Brahma : in thy midst dwell the company of the Mátris : within thee are the seven oceans, seven islands, the four Vedas and the Vedāngas. Thou wert produced at the churning of the ocean and received by Vishnu, thy waters contain all places of pilgrimage, all the gods dwell in thee, all created things stand through thee and come to thee. Thou art Siva, Vishnu and Prajapati, the sun, Vasu, Rudra ; all the deities and all the Maruts exist through thee. Thou makest works fructuous and through thy favour I perform this ceremony. Accept my oblations, be favourable to my undertaking and remain now and ever with me.' Then the vessel is worshipped with praise and prayer to the same intent. Next the *arghashthāpana*, *prāndyāma* and dedication as in the previous ceremonies take place and again the *kalasa* is declared to be the abode of all the gods to whom the invitation, &c., as in the previous ceremony are given, viz. :—to Brahma, Varuna, Aditya, Soma, Bhauma, Buddha, Vrihaspati, Sukra, Sanaischar, Rāhu, Ketu, Adhidevatās, Pratyadhidevatās, Indra, the ten Dikpālas and the five Lokpālas. Then follows the waving of a lamp, offering of flowers and gifts with a dedication as before.

The ceremony of *rakshāvidhāna* commonly known as *rakshā-bandī* is seldom carried out in its entirety except by the wealthy. It consists in wearing as an amulet a bracelet of thread on the right wrist and the rite commences with making a mixture of barley, *kusha*-grass, *dúb*-grass, mustard, sandal or red sandars, rice, cow-dung and curds, which is offered on a brazen platter to the bracelet forming

¹ This consists of fifty stalks of the grass tied together and separated at one end into four parts by pieces of the grass placed at right angles to each other and to the bundle itself. The projecting edges of these pieces prevent the bundle falling completely into the pot or vessel.

² Gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl, but it may easily be supposed that these are seldom given.

its *pratishthá*. Then the person about to put on the bracelet invokes the presence of various deities to protect him from evil and says:—"To the east let Gobind protect me; to the south-east, Garurdhvaj; to the south, Váráha; to the south-west Nar Sinha; to the west Keshava; to the north-west Mádhusúdana; to the north Sridhara, and to the north-east Gadádhar, above let Gobardhan protect me; below, Dharanidhar and in the ten quarters of the world Basdeo who is known as Janárdan. Let the conch protect me in front and the lotus behind; on the left, the club and on the right, the discus. Let Upendra protect my Brahman and Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation protect my Achárya; let Achyuta protect the Rígveda; Adhokshaja, the Yajurveda; Krishna, the Sámaveda, Mádho, the Atharvaveda and Aniruddh the other Brahmins. May Pundaríka protect the performer of the sacrifice and his wife and let Hari protect all defenceless places." The rubric goes on to say that the defence of the unprotected can always be effected by using mantras from the Vedas and the seeds of white mustard. In Kumaon a few coins are with turmeric, betel and white mustard seed tied up in a small bag (*potali*) of white cloth and attached to the *raksha* or bracelet until the work in hand, whether marriage or other ceremony, be accomplished. When this takes place the bag is opened and the contents are given to the officiating priest. The mantra commonly used in tying on the *raksha* is as follows:—"Yena baddho bálárájadánavendro mahábalah tena twám abhibadhnámi rakshemáchalumáchala."

The ceremony known as *játkarm* takes place on the birth of a son and is the next more important of those observed in Kumaon. It is divided into several sections which are considerably abbreviated in practice. The rite should be performed either on the day of the boy's birth or on the sixth day afterwards. If the father be at home, he should rise early and bathe in his clothes and make the dedication as already described for the boy's long life, health and wisdom. He should then worship Ganesha and make this his object that the boy should always be good, strong and wise, and that if the mother has become impure by violating any of the laws as to conduct or what should not be eaten, that

Játkarm.

her sin should be forgiven her and its consequences should not be visited on her boy. With the same object he performs the *Mātri-pūja* and the *Nāndri-śrāddh* already described. Sometimes the *Punyāhavāchana* follows, which is merely the citation, feeding and rewarding some Brahmans to be witnesses that the rite has been actually performed. The *Kalasa-sthāpana* already described follows and after it the *naugrahan* or nine planets are invoked to be present and assist. A vessel of some bright material is brought, and in it is placed a mixture of clarified butter and honey, with which the tongue of the child is anointed either with a golden skewer or the third finger of the right hand, whilst a prayer is read asking for all material blessings for the boy. The father then presents a coin to the celebrant, who dips it in a mixture of clarified butter and charcoal and applies it to the forehead and throat of both father and son and then with a prayer places flowers on their heads. The father then takes the boy in his lap and touches his breast, head, shoulders and back, whilst appropriate mantras praying for strength for those parts of the body are read by the celebrant. A present is again given to the celebrant and after it the umbilical cord is cut, leaving four finger-breadths untouched. The *abhishek* or purification is then performed by asperging the assemblage with a brush formed from *dūb*-grass and dipped in the water of the *argha*. The frontal mark is then given with red sandars and a flower is presented with a verse committing the donee to the protection of the great god.

The *Shashthī-mahotsava* or great rejoicing in honour of *Shashthī* is held on the sixth day after the child's birth. If the father cannot afford to engage the services of a priest he can perform the ceremony himself, but usually he sends for his *purohit* and commits its duties to him. The father rises early and bathes, performing the *nitya-karm* as usual. He fasts all day and towards evening makes a ball of clay and smears it with cow-dung. He then takes a plank of wood and having cleaned it with rice-flour draws on it images of Skanda, Pradyuman and Shashthī. He then surrounds each figure with a hedge of cow-dung about a finger-breadth high and sticks upright in this hedge grains of

barley. The image of Shashthī is then smeared with cow-dung in which cowries or coins are placed, which is followed by the *Dvāra-mātri-pūja*. The father of the boy collects the materials for worship near the door of the house and there drawing the figures with rice consecrates an *argha* and dedicates the rite to the day's ceremony. The goddesses are then installed :—‘ *Om bhūrbhuvahsvah Dvāra-mātris* be established here and grant our reasonable desires.’ Then a short meditation takes place followed, by an ‘ *Om*, hail’ to Kumāri, Dhanadā, Nandā, Vipulā, Mangalā, Achalā and Padmā, and the usual invitation, &c., as far as the dedication. Next comes the Ganesha-pūja with rinsing of the mouth and a dedication, then the *Mātri-pūja* with similar detail, the *Punyāha-vāchana* and *Kalasa-sthāpana* with an invitation to the nine planets to be present. The worship of Skanda and Pradyuman then proceeds with the usual installation address (*pratishthā*), meditation, invitation, &c., and prayer (*prārthana*) during the offering of flowers. This is followed by the *Shatkritika-pūja* or worship of the six nymphs, the foster-mothers of Skanda, with an enumeration of his names and an invocation to Siva, Sambhūta, Sannata, Prita, Anusūya and Kshama. Next comes the worship of Shashthī with the usual consecration of the *argha*, *prānāyām*, dedication and installation.

The *pratishthā* in honour of Shashthī is as follows :—“ *Om bhūrbhuvah svah (vyādhriti-mantra)*, o Shashthī-devi, come here to this magical place which is smeared with cow-dung, remain here, consent to be honoured here. Then follows the unintelligible mystical formula *ॐ आ ह्रीं क्लीं यं रं लं वं शं षं हूं वं हंसः सोहं* followed by “ May Shashthī-Devi in spirit and essence be here and may the regents of all the senses be present.” The mental assignment of the different parts of the body to its own peculiar tutelary deity (*nyāsa*) follows and should be made with the following formula :—*Om khā*, glory to the heart ; *Om khī*, to the head *svāhā*, (here meaning ‘ Hail’) ; *Om khū*, to the top-knot, *vashat* (here meaning ‘ Hail’) ; *Om khai*, to the mystical armour of the mantra, *kūn* ; *Om khau*, to the eyes, *vaushat* (like *vashat*) ; *Om kha*, to the mystical weapon of the mantra, *phat*. This differs little from the *Anganyāsa* formula. Then follows the meditation on Shashthī as Mahā-devi,

of the large breasts, four-armed, the consort of Siva, swollen out like a peacock, clad in yellow clothes, beautiful, bearing a lance in her hand, Mahesvari, &c. The above fairly represents the character of the mantras used in the ceremonies and that these are of Tántrika origin and common alike to Buddhism and the Hinduism of the present day may be distinctly shown. Cunningham in his *Ladák* (p. 384) gives several mantras collected by him from Tibeto-Buddhist sources which in form and character are the same as those in use in the Kumaon Himálaya. Compare his mantra of Shakya Thubba (Buddha):—*Namaḥ Sámanta buddhánám sarva-klesha nishuddhana sarva dharma vahiprapta gagana sama sama sváhá*—‘glory to the chief of Buddhas, reliever of all suffering, master of all virtue, equal, equal to the heavens, hail.’ Again we have:—*Namaḥ sámanta vajránám chanda maha roshana hún*—“glory to the chief of Vajras, fierce and greatly hungry, hail”; and:—*Om vajra—krodha, háyagriva hulu hulu hún phat—Om* wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, *hulu hulu hún phat*. This last ‘is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageswara), to the celestial Bodhisattwas, Padmapáni and Vajrapáni (the lotus and sceptre bearers) and to the Tántrika divinity Iswara.’ The same ideas permeate the mystical formulæ used by Musalmáns of the lower classes, descendants of Hindu converts, only the names of Jibráíl, Azráíl, &c., are used instead of the names of the Indian and Tibetan spell compelling deities. After the worship of Shashthí has been finished a garland of sweetmeats is thrown around the neck of a male kid. The ears of the kid are pulled until it bleats loudly some five or six times in order to frighten and drive away the evil spirits who are supposed to seek to disturb the ceremony. Shashthí is again addressed to protect the boy from evils by flood or field, by hill or dale, from wild animals by night or day; whilst the father takes the child in his lap and again touching the several parts of the body listens to the appropriate prayers for strength, wealth and long life. The ceremony ends with a story illustrating its origin.

The *námkarana* or naming the child takes place on the tenth to the twelfth day after birth. In Kumaon,

Námkarana.

it is held almost universally on the eleventh day. The ritual opens with a series of somewhat abstruse general rules for selecting names, the actual practice with regard to which

is noticed elsewhere. The Ganesha-*pūja* is as usual first performed, stating the particular object for which it is undertaken. Then follows the *Nándri-śrāddh* and an oblation to the fire made with clarified butter. Then a mixture called the *pancha-gavya* is formed of the following ingredients:—the urine of a slate-coloured cow, the dung of a black cow, the milk of a copper-coloured cow, the curds of a white cow and the clarified butter of a pie-bald cow. This mixture is made up into small balls and a portion used as a burnt-offering (*homa*) and the remainder is strewn about the house and byres and also thrown on the mother of the boy to purify her. A *homa* is then made of coins which are thrown into the fire and afterwards become the property of the celebrant. The child's name is next settled and written on a small piece of clean cloth and also whispered in his ear:—"Thy name is so and so, may thou have long life, health and prosperity." Gifts are then made to the celebrant and all retire to the courtyard, where a figure of the sun such as already described is drawn on the ground and revered with the usual ceremony. The boy is allowed to see the sun this day and is made to plant his foot on a piece of money placed on the ground (*bhūmi upavesanam*) whilst calling on the names of the deities that hereafter he may be able to esteem money as the dirt under his feet. The party then return to the house, where the *jīva mātṛi-pūja* is performed. It consists in the rinsing of the mouth followed by the consecration of the *argha* and a dedication as in the *mātṛi-pūja*, but the figures are only seven in number and are drawn on the wall of the house, not on wood, and the deities honoured are Kalyáni, Mangalá, Bhadrá, Punyá, Punyamukhá, Jayá and Vijayá. These are worshipped with the usual ceremonies including the invitation, &c., and the *basoddhara* already described and then gifts are made to Brahmans.

The *janmotsava* takes place on the anniversary of the birth of a male and the ceremony connected with it may be performed either by the person whose birth-day is celebrated or by the family *purohit* on his behalf. In either case the person for whose benefit the rite is performed must rise early in the morning and have his body anointed with a mixture of sesamum, black mustard and water and then bathe in warm water and put on clean clothes. When

bathing, a prayer is read which brings in the place and date, his name, caste and race, and asks for long life and prosperity, and to be truly effective this prayer should be said when the past year of the native's life merges into the coming year. Then the names of the principal deities are repeated in the form of a short litany and their aid and assistance during the ensuing year are invoked. Should the anniversary fall on a Tuesday or Saturday which are regarded as unlucky days, the ceremony cannot take place, but in its stead, the person who desires to derive benefit from the rite should bestow gifts on Brahmans and in charity and in this way he shall obtain all the advantages which the performance of the complete ceremony is supposed to ensure. It is only in this abbreviated form, moreover, that the majority of Hindus in Kumaon observe this rite.

The *karnbedh* or piercing the ear may, according to the family or tribal custom, take place at any time between the third and seventh year.

The rite is said to have been established by Vyása and the date for its performance is always fixed by the family astrologer. The father of the boy must rise early and perform the Ganesha-*púja* and state precisely the object by giving place, time, name, &c., and declaring that it is for the increase in length of life, strength, wisdom and good fortune of his son, whose name is also given. He then goes through the *Mútri-púja*, *Nándri-tráddh*, &c., as in the preparatory ceremonies already described. The mother takes the child in her lap and gives him sweetments whilst the operation of piercing the ear is performed : first the right and then the left ear with appropriate mantras, winding up with the usual gifts to the astrologer and *purohit*. Then follows the *abhishek* or aspersion and the presentation of flowers and the *mahánirájana*, in which the family barber appears with a brazen tray bearing five lamps made of dough, four at the corners of a square and one in the centre in which the wick floats in molten clarified butter. These are waved in the manner of a censer in front of the assembly, who each make an offering to the barber according to his ability.¹

¹ I omit the ceremony styled *Aksharavikára vidyárambhav*, which takes place when a boy first goes to school, as it is not in general use. It consists principally of an enumeration of all the books, teachers and schools of philosophy known to the compiler with laudatory verses and prayers that they should be present and assist in the ceremony and in the youth's studies.

The *Upanayana* or ceremony of putting on the *janeu* or sacrificial thread is always preceded by the worship of the planets. For this purpose a *yajnasála* or hall of sacrifice is prepared to the east or north of the house and purified with the *panchagavya*,¹ whilst prayers are read as each article of the mixture is used. As a rule, however, the ceremony is performed in the cow-shed, in the northern corner of which a very simple miniature altar of three steps² known as the *grahabedi* is raised. On the top of the altar the figure of a lotus with eight petals is drawn and each petal is coloured to represent a planet, red for the sun ; white for the moon ; reddish-brown for Bhauma (Mars) ; whitish yellow for Budh (Mercury) ; yellow for Vrihaspat or Guru (Jupiter) ; white for Sukra (Venus) ; black for Saníchar (Saturn) and for Ráhu (an eclipse) and brown for Ketu (a comet). For the other deities the intervals between the petals are used. Offerings of rice and curds are then made to each and the usual invitation, &c., are made. On the morning of the day after these preparations have been completed, the usual preparatory ceremonies already described are gone through, including the *Nitya-karm*, *Ganesha-púja*, *Mátri-púja*, *Nándri-sáddh* and *Punyáha-váchana*. Then the person who causes the ceremony to be performed gives the *tilak* or frontal-mark to the *purohit* also the *argha*, flowers, rice, sandal and presents of coin, ornaments and wearing apparel and requests him to preside at the ceremony.³ The parents of the child with the celebrant and the assembled friends then march round the *yajna-sála* to the sound of conches and other instruments and enter by the western door; when the ceremony of purifying the hall with the *panchagavya* is again performed. To the south-west of the *grahabedi* a small *homa-bedi* or altar for burnt sacrifice is built and a fire is lighted thereon.

The celebrant then performs the *Kalasa-sthápana* and appoints the *pradhán-díp* or guardian of the lamp to stand in the east and prevent the
The worship.

¹ Already described. ² The lowest step is two finger-breadths high and broad, the next is of the same height but four finger breadths broad, and the last is four finger breadths higher than the second and one cubit square at the top.
³ Arrangements are made in the ritual for the presence of the *Achárya*, Brahman, Ritwik or prompter and *Sadasya*, but as a rule all these offices are performed by one person. The ritual for this ceremony extends over eighty pages of my manuscript and is said to occupy three days in recital.

lamps going out, lest the ceremony should be interrupted by sprites and goblins. The worship commences by the celebrant presenting to each leaf of the lotus on the *graha-bedi*, a piece of metal stamped with the conventional image of the particular planet to which the leaf is sacred. (Then the greatness of each planet is praised and litanies are read and each is invited to be present in the place assigned to it on the *graha-bedi*.) All face towards the sun and the figure of the sun towards the east. These are then addressed in the *Agnyuttáranam-mantra* and then washed with the five *amrita*, each ingredient as it is applied being accompanied by a separate mantra. Then cold-water is offered and the dedication made with the hymn of praise to:—Om kár, Brahmarishi, Gáyatri, Chhandah and the supreme deities; the Vyáhríti-mantra, Visvá-mitra, Jamadagni, the metres known as the *gáyatri*, *ushnih* and *anushtubh* and the deities Agni, Váyu and Súryyá, who are asked to assist in the ceremony. Then the *vyáhríti*-mantra is recited separately and together thus:—*Om bhú* I invite and set up the sun; *om bhuvah* I invite, &c.; *om svah* I, &c.; *om bhúrbbhuvahsvah*, I, &c., and the figure of the sun is placed on a small circular altar erected in the middle of the *graha-bedi*, then the invitation is made with the mantra:—*Om akrishne*, &c. Next Agni is addressed as *adhideva* of the sun and invited to be seated on his right hand with the *vyáhríti*-mantra separately and together as in the case of the sun and also a special mantra for the invitation:—‘*Om Agnim dútam*,’ &c. Next on the left side Rudra is invited as the *pratyadhi deva* in the same manner and the invitation mantra commences:—‘*Om tryambakam*,’ &c. Next in the south-east corner the figure of Soma is set up with a similar ceremony on a small square altar. Next comes Angáraka or Bhauma on a triangular altar, Budh on an arrow-shaped altar, four finger-breadths long, Guru or Vrihaspati on an altar six finger-breadths square, Sukra on a five-cornered altar, nine finger-breadths across, Sani on a bow-shaped altar two finger-breadths broad, Ráhu on a sword-shaped altar, and Ketu on one like a standard. Then the other deities are invited: first the protecting deities, Ganesha, Durga, Kshetrápál, Váyu, Akásha, and Aswini. Then the guardians of the rite, Indra on the east, Agni on the south-east, Yama on the south, Nirriti on the south-west, Varuna on the west, Váyu on

the north-west, Kuvera on the north and Isa on the north-east. Next Brahma is invited to take his place in the upper part of the central space on the *graha-bedi* and Ananta in the lower portion. Next in the north-eastern corner already sacred to Isa, the *Kulasasthāpana* is made and the figure of Varuna is placed on the cover over the mouth of the vessel. All this is done with the same tedious ceremony.

The thread from which the bracelet is made (*rakshā-sūtra*) is now tied round the neck of the vessel
 The meditation. (*kalasa*). Then rice is taken in the hand and sprinkled over all the figures whilst they are asked to come and take their place in the vessel and in the bracelet. Then follows the dedication of the rite to the ceremony about to be performed on behalf of the boy. Next the *dhyāna* or meditation is given :—" *Om* who sittest in the position called *padmāsana* (i. e., with thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh and the thumb of the other on the heart and the eyes looking towards the nose), with hand like a lotus, sprung from a lotus, who driveth the chariot yoked with seven steeds, two-armed, ever present *Ravi*. *Om* thou who art white clothed in white garments, driving white horses, adorned with white, bearing a club, two-armed, ready to do what is right, *Sasī*. *Om* thou with the reddish garland and clothes, bearing a pike, lance, and club, four-armed, moving like a goat, granter of requests, *Dharā-suta*. *Om* thou clothed in yellow garments encircled with yellow garlands, sprung from the pericarp of the lotus, club-holder, two-armed, seated on a lion, granter of requests, *Budha*. *Om* Guru of the Devas and Daityas, clothed in white and yellow, four-armed, who grantest the wishes of ascetics, with rosary, thread and alms-dish. *Om* thou who shinest like a sapphire, holding a lance, granter of requests, vulture-borne, arrow-discharger, *Arka-suta*. *Om* thou that art clad in blue, whose body is blue, crested with a diadem, bright, seated on a blue lion, such a *Rāhu* is praised here. *Om* thou who art of a brown colour, two-armed, club-wielder, with distorted face, always mounted on a vulture, granter of desire, *Ketu*." A second meditation to the same import is then prescribed and others for Varuna, &c. Then to all the deities named the *āsana*, &c., as far as the flower-offering are given and Vyāsa is quoted in praise of the nine planets. When

procurable, cocoanuts should now be offered with fruit, flowers, and goods as well as the food supposed to be agreeable to each deity: thus for the sun, balls of rice and molasses are provided: the moon receives a *batî* of rice, clarified butter and milk; Bhauma, one made of rice, molasses, clarified butter and milk (*utkarika*); Budh, one made of milk and rice; Vrihaspati, simply clarified butter and rice; Sukra, curds and rice; Sani obtains a mixture of rice, clarified butter and vegetables; Râhu has goat's flesh; Ketu, rice of various colours; whilst the remainder obtain milk and rice. If these different ingredients are not procurable an offering of milk and rice is made to all.

The celebrant then approaches the *homa-bedi* and looking towards the east makes the usual rinsing of the mouth and then proceeds through the whole ceremony of consecrating the materials for the sacrifice from the appointment of the Brahman (*brahmopavesana*) to the general aspersion (*paryukshana*), after which gifts are made to the celebrant. A kind of preface is then read giving the names of the several deities and the materials with which they should be worshipped. This is followed by the *Agni-sthâpana* by which Agni is invited in the different forms in which he is present on the altar as each of the nine planets receives worship and the throne, &c., are presented to him. Lines which represent the tongues of flame on the altar are then drawn and adored and the father of the boy receives fire from the celebrant and bending the right knee so as to allow the thigh to lie flat on the ground before the altar, meditates on Prajâpati, and commences the burnt-sacrifices by the offer of the *âghârâv-homa* with clarified butter. Fuel¹ (*samidh*) for the altar is supplied from the wood of the following trees and plants:—*Arka* (*Calatropis gigantea*), *Palâs* (*Butea frondosa*), *khair* (*Acacia catechu*), *Apâmârg* (*Achyranthes aspera*), *pîpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) and *Udambar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *samî* (*Acacia suma*), *dûb* (*Cynodon Dactylon*) and *kusha* (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). These pieces of wood and plants must not be crooked, broken, worm-eaten, &c., and must be steeped in curds, honey and clarified butter before they are offered to the nine planets as a *homa*. If the wood

¹ The wood of these trees is supposed to be cut up into pieces measuring a span of the hand of the boy who is the subject of the rite. Three stalks of *dûb* or *kusha* make one *samidh*.

of the other trees mentioned is not procurable that of the *palās* or *khair* may be used alone. There are three positions for the hand during the *homa*:—(1) the *mrigī* (doe), (2) the *hansī* (female swan) and (3) *sūkārī* (sow). In the *sūkārī* the hand is closed and the fingers lie in the palm of the hand; the *mrigī* extends the little-finger whilst the remaining fingers continue within the palm of the hand, and the *hansī* extends the fore-finger whilst the hand is closed. The *mrigī-mudra* comes into use in all ceremonies undertaken in order to avoid threatened dangers or the retribution due to evil deeds: the *hansī-mudra* in the rites observed for increase in health, wealth or prosperity, and the *sūkārī-mudra* in spells for malevolent purposes, in incantations against an enemy and for causing any mental or bodily misfortune to him. If the *homa* takes place without its proper spell (*mudra*) the offering is fruitless and misfortune shall assuredly occur to both the celebrant and his client.

The *homa* is then offered in the name of each deity with a short dedication and mantra whilst the name of the presiding Rishi supposed to be present is given as well as the form of Agni. As this ceremony is gone through forty-two times, the result may be tabulated as follows:—

The nine planets.

No.	Name of deity.	Material employed in the <i>homa</i> .	Initial words of mantra.	Presiding Rishi.	Form of Agni.
1	Sun ...	<i>Arka</i> ...	<i>Om Akṛishne, &c.</i>	Hiranyastūpa	Kapila.
2	Moon ...	<i>Palās</i> ...	<i>Om imam devāḥ asapainā gvan, &c.</i>	Gautama.	Pingala.
3	Bhauma ...	<i>Khair</i> ...	<i>Om agnimurddhā, &c.</i>	Virūpāksha.	Dhūmraketu.
4	Budha ...	<i>Āpāmārg</i> ...	<i>Om udbudhyasvāgne, &c.</i>	Parameśthi.	Jāthara.
5	Vriha-pati,	<i>Pīpal</i> ...	<i>Om vrihaspate, &c.</i>	Gṛtsamada.	Śikhi.
6	Sukra ...	<i>Udambar</i> ..	<i>Om annat parisrutorasam, &c.</i>	Prajāpati, Aśvi, Sarasvatī and Indra.	Hātaka.
7	Śani ...	<i>Sami</i> ...	<i>Om sannodevtrabhish-tayān, &c.</i>	Dadhyaṅgātharvan.	Mahāteja.
8	Kāhu ..	<i>Dāb</i> ...	<i>Om kaydnaschitra, &c.</i>	Vāmadeva.	Hutāsana.
9	Ketu ...	<i>Kusha</i> ...	<i>Om ketum, &c.</i>	Madhuchhanda.	Rohita.

The Adhidevatās.

For these and the succeeding deities *palās* is the wood prescribed and no particular form of Agni is mentioned.

Number.	Name of deity.	Initial words of mantra.	Presiding Rishi.
10	Agni ...	<i>Om agnim hātam, &c. ...</i>	Kanva and Medhātithi.
11	Apas ...	<i>Om apovantara, &c. ...</i>	Vrihaspati.
12	Prithivi ...	<i>Om syonāprithivī, &c. ...</i>	Medhātithi.
13	Vishnu ...	<i>Om idamvishnurvichakrama, &c. ...</i>	As in 10.
14	Indra ...	<i>Om saJoshāh, &c. ...</i>	As in 4.
15	Indrāni ...	<i>Om aditya, &c. ...</i>	Ditto 7.
16	Prajāpati ...	<i>Om prajāpāte, &c. ...</i>	Hiranyagarbha.
17	Sarpa ...	<i>Om namostu sarpebhyo, &c. ...</i>	Devārishi.
18	Brahmā ...	<i>Om brahmayajñanam, &c. ...</i>	Prajāpati.

The Pratyadhidevatās.

19	Rudra ...	<i>Om tryambakam, &c. ...</i>	Vasishtha.
20	Umā ...	<i>Om erischatē lakshmi, &c. ...</i>	Uttaranārāyana.
21	Skandā ...	<i>Om yadakrandah prathamam, &c. ...</i>	Bhārgava, Jamadagni and Dīrghatamasa.
22	Purusha ...	<i>Om sahasra śrīshapurushah, &c. ...</i>	Asyanārāyana.
23	Brahmā ...	<i>As in 18</i>	As in 18.
24	Indra ...	<i>Om trātāram indram, &c. ...</i>	Gārgya.
25	Yama ...	<i>Om asiyamoh, &c. ...</i>	As in 21.
26	Kāla ...	<i>Om kārshirasi, &c. ...</i>	Ditto 15.
27	Chitrāgupta ...	<i>Om chitrāvaso, &c. ...</i>	Ditto 4.

Other deities.

28	Vināyaka ...	<i>Om gandāntwā, &c. ...</i>	As in 18.
29	Durga ...	<i>Om jātavedase, &c. ...</i>	Kasyapa.
30	Vāyu ...	<i>Om vātovā, &c. ...</i>	Gandharvās.
31	Ākāsha ...	<i>Om urddhvāh, &c. ...</i>	As in 18.
32	Asoman ...	<i>Om yāvānkusa, &c. ...</i>	Medhātithi.

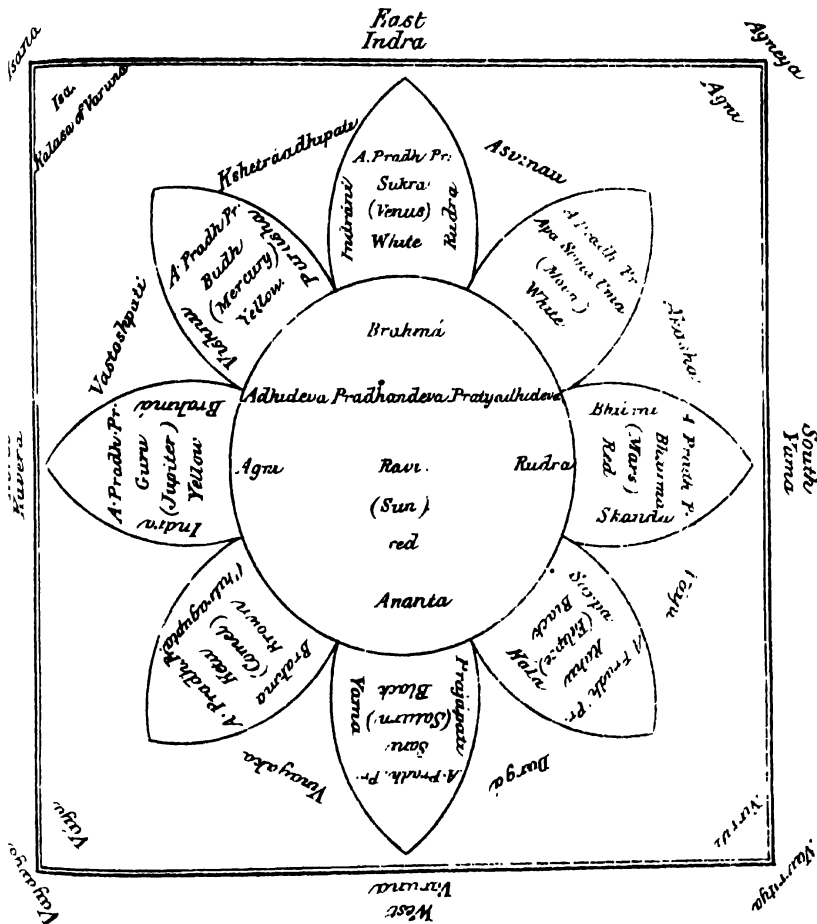
Dikpālās.

Sesamum and clarified butter are here added to the offering of *palās*.

33	Indra ...	As in 24	As in 24.
34	Agni ...	Ditto 10	Ditto 3.
35	Yama ...	Ditto 25	Ditto 21.
36	Nirriti ...	<i>Om eshate nirrite, &c. ...</i>	Varuna.
37	Varuna ...	<i>Om imamevaruna, &c. ...</i>	Sunahsepha.
38	Vāyu ...	As in 30	As in 30.
39	Kuvera ...	<i>Om vuya gvan, &c. ...</i>	Bandhurishi.
40	Isāna ...	<i>Om tamisānum, &c. ...</i>	Gautama.
41	Brahmā ...	As in 18	As in 18.
42	Ananta ...	Ditto 17	Ditto 17.

Should any error occur in naming the deities in the order above given, the entire ceremony must be gone through again, but no penalty is attached to the use of the materials for the *samīdhi* in other than the prescribed form.

The position assigned to each deity on the *graha-bedi* will better be understood from the following diagram. In the petals of the lotus, the letter 'A' stands for 'Adhideva': the letters 'Pradh' for 'Pradhādeva' and the letters 'Pr.' for 'Pratyadhideva,' the titles given to each triad :—



We have next a *homa* of clarified butter with the *vydhriti*-mantra repeated nine times: hence the name *navahuti-homa*. Another offering of clarified butter is made with the mantra:— 'Om to Agni who causeth a good sacrifice *svāhá*.' Then a *pārma-pātra*, or vessel, is presented to the celebrant with a dedication that

all imperfections in the ceremony may be forgiven and the rite be

Baliyadán. completed. The *baliyadán* follows and comprises offerings of milk or rice and curds to

the north of the *graha-bedi* or near the *homa-bedi*. A portion of the mixture is taken and placed on a brazen platter or stone in the name of the sun with the address:—‘*Bhó bhó* Sun accept this offering; be thou the bestower of long life, the giver of forgiveness, the alleviator of trouble, the giver of good fortune and the increaser of prosperity to thy worshipper.’ Above this an offering is placed for the moon with the same address and so on for each of the forty-two deities assembled and to whom a *homa* has been offered. It will be noticed that a *homa* is not offered either to Kshetrapál or Vatoshpáti. To the former, however, a *bali* is presented with considerable ceremony; a mixture of clarified butter and rice known as *khichri* is placed on a platter of leaves and on it four lamps of wheaten dough with clarified butter for oil and a few coins. Then an ignorant Brahman or a Sudra is honoured with an offering of sandal which, as a rule, is smeared over his face to make him look hideous. The *dhyána* or meditation on Kshetrapál follows, after which the offering is taken and presented with the mantra.¹ “Om glory to the venerable Kshetrapála * * * to all-sprites, goblins, demons and their followers, glory to this offering of clarified butter and rice with its lights, gifts and betel. Hail Kshetrapála * * filled with the howling of the fierce-mouth protect me, eat this offering of *khichri* with its light prepared for thee. Protect the person who causes this ceremony to be made, be for him and his child and those belonging to him the bestower of long life,” &c.

After this follows the *púrñdhuti-homa* in which Bharadvája is the Rishi and the deity is Mahávaisvánara.

Púrñdhuti-homa.

The offering is prefaced by the usual dedication of time, place, person and object, followed by the hymn in four verses beginning:—‘*Om mûrddhánam divo,*’ &c., and ending with ‘*Om púrñá,*’ &c., whence the name. The *Agni pûja* comes

¹ *Om namo bhagavate kshetrapáláya* वां वां वूं वूं वौ वः *bhátapretapísá-cha-ghántádhini betáládi parivárayutáya esha sadipañ sadakshināñ satámbúlañ kṛisavánnā balisránnā bhó bhó kshetrapála maru maru, turu turu lala lala shasha shasha pñēkárápéríta din-mukha raksha raksha grahamukhahakarmmañi amuñēadipañ kṛisoránnabálim bhaksha bhaksha yajamánāñpahi* (bis) *mamáṛa saputra saporivdrasya yajamánaryává, &c.*

next in which Agni is addressed on behalf of the boy :—‘ *Om* Agni thou that protectest the body, protect my body ; *Om* Agni

Agni-péja.

that grantest long life grant me long life ;

Om Agni that bestowest energy bestow on

me energy ; complete whatever is deficient in my oblation ; *Om*

holy Savitá accept my sacrifice, holy Sarasvatī accept my sacrifice ;

ye twin Asvins, crowned with lotuses accept my sacrifice.’ Then

warming his hands in the flame of the altar he applies them in

succession to the various parts of his body saying :—“ May each

member of my body increase in condition.” Similarly the mouth,

nostrils, eyes, ears and arms are separately addressed to the same

intent. After this the rite called *tryáyusha* is celebrated. It

Tryáyusha.

consists in the application of the *tilak* or

frontal mark to the head and throat of

both the boy for whom the ceremony is performed and his father.

The material for the *tilak* is taken from the ashes of the *homa* and

then mixed with clarified butter and applied by the celebrant.

This is followed by the distribution of gifts which are divided

amongst all the Brahmans present. But in addition to the ordinary

presents suitable to the occasion, the wealthy and devout are

instructed that the following are specially acceptable to each of the

nine planets :—to the sun, a brown cow ; to the moon, a conch ; to

Bhauṃa, a red bullock ; to Budh, gold ; to Vrihaspati, yellow clothes

and gold ; to Sukra, a white horse ; to Sani, a black cow ; to Ráhu, a

sword, and to Ketu, a goat. These subsequently become the property

of the officiating priests, but it is allowed to commute these

gifts in detail for a sum of money which is made over to the

priests with the usual dedication of place, time, person and object,

and that the money is in lieu of the gifts due to each of the nine

planets. All then march around the altar singing :—“ *Om*, go, go,

best of gods, omnipotent in thy own home, where Brahma and

the other gods are, there go thou Hutásana.” The planets are then

worshipped and afterwards the celebrant and his assistants as-

perges the assembly with water taken from the *kalasa* whilst

chaunting a hymn¹. This is followed by a mantra² in which all

the deities are invoked that the aspersion may be fructuous and

¹ This is called a Vaidik hymn and commences :—‘ *Om sarvesamudráṃ paritas
tīrthāni jaladánadāḥ*,’ &c. : it contains thirty-four verses.

² Called Paurá-

nika-mantra.

their protection be extended to all. The *tilak* of sandal is then given by the celebrant to the men of the assembly with the mantra¹:—" *Om*, may it be well with thee, be thou fortunate; may Mahálakshmi be pleased with thee; may the gods always protect thee; may good fortune be always with thee everywhere; may evil planets, sins, impurities and causes of quarrel seeing the mark on thy forehead be powerless to harm thee." The rice is applied with the mantra:—" *Om* may this rice protect thee." The *tilak* is given to women merely as an ornament without any mantra, but the rice is applied with the mantra used for men. The mantra-*páthah* follows, of which twenty-one verses are for the men and three for the women whose husbands are alive at the time; when finished, flowers are distributed to all present. After this the ceremony of fastening on the bracelet (*rakshábandhan*) takes place as described and the *bhúyasi-danam* with its gifts in which all the dancers and the musicians share. The worship of the planets concludes as usual with a feast to Brahmans.

The rite known as *chúrākaraṇa* or shaving of the head is also included amongst those preparatory to the assumption of the sacrificial thread. The favourable moment is fixed by the family astrologer and when arranged for, the father of the boy commences the rite the night before by going through the Ganesha-*púja*. He then takes ten small bags of cloth and wrapping up in them portions of turmeric, *dúb-grass*, mustard and a coin, ties them in the hair of the boy with the mantra:—"To-morrow you will be cut off," &c. Three are tied on the right side of the head, three on the left side, three at the back of the head and one on the top. The next morning all proceed to the *yajnasála* in which the *graha-bedi* of the previous ceremony was erected. The duties of the day are opened with the rinsing of the mouth, next the *argha* is set up and consecrated and the *pránáyám* is gone through followed by the dedication.

In the last rite, the celebrant defines the object by stating that the ceremony is performed for the *chúrā-karaṇa* and *upanayana* of so and so, the son of so and so, &c. Next follow the whole of the usual preparatory ceremonies as far as the *Punyáha-váchanam*. The celebrant now approaches the *chúrā-karaṇa-bedi* and again

¹ *Om bhādrasvati, &c.*

consecrates the *argha* and makes a dedication to Agni and then lights a fire upon the *bedi* or altar. The father now takes the boy in his arms and the mother seats herself to his left and all assist in the installation of the altar and the invitation, &c., is gone through as before. Then an offering of clarified butter is thrown on the fire with the mantra:—‘*Om prajāpataye*,’ &c., and gifts are bestowed on the celebrant. The hair of the child, except the top-knot, is now cut off whilst an appropriate service is read. The hair is then buried with cow-dung near some water and the boy is bathed and clothed in his best and placed near the celebrant and is held to be entitled to the name *mānavak* or religious student. The ceremony as usual winds up with gifts to the celebrant and assembled Brahmans, replied to by a mantra and the gift of a flower (*asisham*).

According to the *Pāraskarasūtra*, the son of a Brahman may assume the garb of a student. Assume the *jāneo* at seven or eight years of age, the son of a Kshatriya at eleven years of age and the son of a Vaisya at twelve years. These limits can be doubled where necessity exists, but the ceremony cannot take place after the second limit has expired. The father and son now approach the *upanayana-bedi* and the boy presents the *tilpātra* to the altar. This *tilpātra* is an iron pot containing sesamum oil in which coins have been placed and which form a portion of the honorarium of the celebrant. The invitation, &c., is again recited and the dedication is made to ensuring the success of the young student in his studies. Next follows a formal burnt-sacrifice of clarified butter. The celebrant then receives from the father of the boy a loin-cloth, belt, sacrificial-thread, waist-thread, walking-stick and bason for receiving alms and gives them one by one to the boy with a mantra for each. Separate woods are prescribed for the walking-stick according to caste; for the Brahman, *palās*; for the Kshatriya, *bel*; and for the Vaisya, *gular*. The celebrant then asperges the head and breast of the boy and accepts him as one duly prepared and fit to be raised to the degree of a religious student. The boy next seats himself to the north of the celebrant and his father goes through the *Agni-pūja* and offers a sacrifice of clarified butter and presents gifts to the Brahmans. The title *bat* is given to the student who has assumed the sacrificial

thread. The astrologer fixes the *lagnadán* or propitious moment for repeating the *gáyatri*, and when it comes the boy seats

Saluting the religious himself in front of the celebrant and turning his face towards the north-east salutes

the celebrant and presents gifts to his *purohit*. He then crosses his arms and places his right hand on the right foot and his left hand on the left foot of the *purohit* and bows his head down until it touches his hands. The *purohit* then gives the *asisham* and for a Brahman reads the *gáyatri* three times, thus :—

(1) *Om bhúrbhuvah svah tat sabiturbarenyam.*

(2) Repeat first line adding *bhargodevasya dhímahi.*

(3) Repeat both preceding and add *dhiyo yo nah prachodayát.*

The Kshatriya *gáyatri* is as follows :—

Om devasya savitur matimá sarvam visvadevyam dhiyá bhagam manámohe.

The Vaisya *gáyatri* is as follows :—

Om visvárúpánipratimunchate kavíh práśá bídbhadram dwipadechatushpade binákamushyat savitá barenyo nuprayána mushaso virájati.

The boy again brings presents and falls at the feet of his *purohit* and prays that with his teacher's aid he may become a learned man. The *purohit* then instructs his pupil in the *Sandhya* already described. Next the *samidha* or small faggot of sticks from five trees previously mentioned is taken by the boy and with one of the pieces he touches his eyes and then dips one end of it in clarified butter and again the other and then places it on the fire on the altar. Similarly the ears, nose, hands, arms, forehead, lips, and breasts are touched in order and the sticks are burned. The celebrant then applies the *tryáyusham* or frontal and throat-marks with the ashes of the *homa* and clarified butter. The boy then goes through the *dandawat* or salutation as already described and again receives the *asisham*. He then addresses Agni, stating his name, caste, parentage, &c., and asks the deity to take him under his protection and again prostrates himself before his *purohit*, who usually delivers a homily on general conduct. The boy then begs from his friends and presents the results to his *purohit* saying :—
“ O Mahárája accept these alms which I have received.”

Then commences the rite connected with the first study of the Vedas, the *Vedárambha*. Gautama has said that the Veda of the division to which the student belongs should first be read by him. The celebrant prepares the altar called the *Vedárambh-bedī*, for which the usual Ganesha-pūja is performed and a fire is lighted thereon. The flame is then fed with the numerous offerings made in the names of the deities invoked to be present and assist, for whom the whole invitation, &c., is repeated, followed with the usual gifts and dedication. Then comes the worship of the Vedas themselves with invitation, &c., followed by the worship of Ganesha, Sarasvati, Lakshmi and Kātyāyāni, accompanied with the usual installation address (*pratishthā*), invitation, &c. Then the boy looking towards the north-east performs the *pránáyām* and recites the *gáyatri* and mantras in honour of the four Vedas, commencing with that belonging to his own division. He next recites the *mahá-vyáhrīti* with the *gáyatri* three times, i. e., the *gáyatri* with the *namaskár*:—"Om bhū, Om bhuvah, Om svah." He is then told to go to Benares and study there and for form's sake actually advances a short distance on the road and then returns, when the ceremony is closed with the usual distribution of gifts.

Next comes the *samávartana*, which commences with the gift of a cow to the celebrant. The boy takes hold of the cow's tail with one hand and holding water in the other repeats a short formula and gives the cow to the celebrant. There is in this rite also an altar or *bedī*, the consecration of which takes place exactly as in the previous rite. The father, son and celebrant approach the altar and the son coming forward and laying hold of his right ear with his left hand and with his left ear with his right hand says he has ceased to do evil and wishes to learn to do well (*vyastipāni*). The celebrant answers "may you have long life." The celebrant then asperges the boy and his relatives from the water of the *uda-kumbh* or small vessel for holy-water usually placed near the *kalasa*, and subsequently takes whatever water remains and pours it through a metal sieve called *sahasradhāra* on the head of the boy. These operations are each accompanied by a mantra, as also the taking off of the belt (*mekhala*) and the applying of the *tilak* to the twelve parts of the body:—(1) the head in which Kesho resides; (2) the

belly with Náráyan; (3) the heart with Mádho; (4) the right side with Vishnu; (5) the left side with Váman; (6) the hollow below the throat with Gobind; (7) the right arm with Madhusúdan; (8) the left arm with Sridhara; (9) the root of the ears with Trivikrama; (10) the back with Padmanábha; (11) the naval with Dámodar, and (12) top of the head with Vásudeva.

The boy then clothes himself, and the celebrant repeating appropriate mantras directs the boy to remain pure for three whole days, i. e., not touching a Sudra or a dead body, &c. On the fourth day they again assemble, and the *homa* known as *púrṇáhuti* is made, and again the entire ceremony of consecrating the *graha-bedi* is gone through as well as the worship of the nine planets and *jívamátrīs*, and the boy's sister or mother performs the *mahánirájana* before him, and all winds up with the usual gifts and a feast.

The ceremonies connected with marriage come next and occupy no inconsiderable place in the services.

Viváha-karm.

They include those arranged in the follow-

ing five divisions:—

- (1) Agni-*púja*; clothing, perfuming and anointing the body; the *purohit* of the boy shall then ask the other the name and caste of the girl and communicate the same information regarding the boy.
- (2) Presentation of a cow and coin in honor of the girl: procession from the house to the *Agni-bedi*.
- (3) Invitation to the father of the bride and formal conclusion of the arrangements; then circumambulation of the fire-altar and performing the *Kusa-kandika*.
- (4) The bride sits to the right, and the bridegroom sits to the left close together, while a *homa* is made.
- (5) Next follows the *sanoravaprásanam*, *púrṇapátra*, gifts to Brahmans, and the verses suited to the ceremony.

Commencing with the first group we have the *Vágdána-bidhī* or rules for the preliminaries to a marriage.

Vágdána.

Some days before the wedding takes place the father of the girl performs the Ganesha-*púja* and the dedication declaring the object to be the correct and successful issue of the *Vágdána*, with detail of his own caste, name, race, and that of the boy to whom he has given his girl. The girl then performs

the *Indráni-púja* before a likeness of that deity drawn on gold or other metal. Next day the *sarvvárambha* or the beginning to collect the materials necessary for the wedding commences. The father of the bride takes a mixture of turmeric and *ldhi* with water and anoints the body of the girl and performs the *Ganesha-púja*. The same is done by the father of the boy to the boy, and in addition he takes three small bags (*potali*) of cloth containing coin, betel, turmeric, *roli*, and rice,¹ one of which is buried within the hearth where the food is cooked; a second is suspended from a handle of the *karáhi* or iron-pan in which the food is cooked, and the third is attached to the handle of the spoon. The object of these proceedings is to keep off ghosts and demons from the feast. Thin cakes are prepared of wheaten flour (*sunwála*) and thicker cakes (*púri*) of the same, which, with sesamum and balls of a mixture of rice-flour, ghi, and molasses (*laddu* and *chhol*) are made by the women.

Next comes the *púrvánga* which takes place on the day before or on the morning of the wedding. The

First visit.

parents of both children, each in their own house, commence with the *Ganesha-púja*, followed by the *Mátri-púja*, *Nandi sráddh*, *Punyáhaváchana*, *Kulasa-sthápana* and *Navagraha-púja* as already described. The parents of the girl seldom perform more than the first two, and remain fasting until the *Kanyadán* has taken place. The father of the girl then through his daughter adores *Gauri*, *Maheswari*, and *Indráni*, and ties a *potali* on her left hand. The father of the boy binds a similar bag on the right wrist of the boy, and also on the left hand of the boy's mother. Four days afterwards the bags are removed. On the morning of the wedding day the family astrologer sends a water-clock to mark the exact moment with other presents to the father of the girl, and declares his intention of being present with the marriage procession at a certain hour. The boy is then dressed in his best, perfumed, anointed, and painted and placed in a palanquin, and, accompanied by the friends of the family and musicians, he sets out for the bride's house. He is met on the road by a deputation from the bride's father, conveying some presents for the bridegroom, and near the village by a relative of the bride, who interchanges further presents. The procession then halts for rest whilst

¹ These are the contents of the *potali* commonly used, though a much more elaborate inventory is given in the ritual.

which is usually erected outside the marriage hall and whilst man-

tras are recited by the celebrant circumambulate the outer circle. This being done the *āghārdv-homa* follows which comprises twelve offerings conjointly made by bride and bridegroom, the former of whom holds her husband's arm whilst he places each offering on the altar and the celebrant recites the prescribed prayers. Next come the usual gifts and return in flowers and rice. Then follows the *Rāshtrabhrit-homa*, which also consists of twelve offerings, conjointly made, winding up with presents as before. Also the *Jayā-homa* with its thirteen offerings, the *Abhyātāna-homa* with its eighteen offerings, the *I'anchaka-homa* with its five offerings and the *Lājā-homa* with its offerings of flowers and fruit. Then the altar is again circumambulated and parched rice sprinkled from a sieve on the pair as they move slowly around. The bridegroom then lifts the bride and places her a short distance apart, when her brother approaches and gives her some parched rice with which she makes a *homa*. The bridegroom then asperges his bride with water from the *kalasa* whilst repeating the mantra :—" *Om āpah Siva sivattama,*" &c., and also touches her chest and head with appropriate mantras. She then goes to the left of her husband and lays hold of his garments, whilst another mantra is read and the *Brahma-homa* is made by the bridegroom. The bride then washes her husband's feet, who in return makes her a present, and each applies the *tilak* to the other and eat curds and molasses together. After washing of hands the *Pūrnapātra* takes place, in which forgiveness is craved for all defects in the ceremony or in the amount of gifts, &c., and the *mantra-pāt* or leaf is placed on the bridegroom's head by the celebrant with the prayer that he may be well and have long life, and for this the celebrant is again rewarded. Then follows aspersion, the giving and receiving of the *tilak*, &c., and the bridegroom is told to look well at his bride. A homily is now given regarding their conduct, the one towards the other, that they should above every thing keep themselves pure for three nights or until the *chaturthī-karm* had taken place.

The party then proceed indoors and the *Ganesha-pūja*, *Jivamdtri* and *basodhara* rites are performed ; the *mahānīrājana* also takes place by the bride's mother, who presents sweetmeats and opening

the knot in their garments gives a portion of the sweetmeats to both bride and bridegroom, who then retire. Next morning the young married couple arise early and after domestic worship again tie

Dwāra-mātri-pūja. their garments together and perform the

Dwāra-mātri-pūja at the bride's father's home. The door-leaf is cleaned with rice flour and on it figures of the Mātris are drawn and revered conjointly, the bride assisting by holding her husband's arm. Again she alone prepares the threshold and performs the *dehliya-pūja*, by sprinkling rice and flowers. After breakfast both proceed to the bridegroom's house, where in the presence of a child who bears on his head a small lota of water with a green branch on it, indicative of prosperity, he formally commits his wife and her dowry to the safe keeping of his mother.

The *Dwāra-mātri-pūja* again takes place and after entering the house the Ganesha-pūja is performed with the dedication that the moment may be propitious and the usual gifts, &c., winding up with the *mahānīrājana* by the sister of the bridegroom and the aspersion of the assembly by the celebrant. After this gifts are distributed and all the attendants are permitted to disperse. On

Chaturthi-karm. the fourth day the *chaturthi-karm* takes

place, which consists of the usual preparatory ceremonies followed by the removal of the *potali* or small bags from the wrists of the bride and bridegroom preceded by a *homa* and followed by the *pūrnāpātra* which concludes the ceremony.

The next ceremony is the *dwirāgamana* or 'second-coming'

Dwirāgamana. commonly known in these Provinces as the *gaundā*. The instructions direct that on a

propitious day the boy's parents shall cook certain cakes called *phenika* and placing them in a basket, the boy proceeds with them to his father-in-law's house, where he salutes all the family and presents the food. Early in the morning he performs the Ganesha-pūja and at a favourable time places his wife near him. The *tilak* is then interchanged between him and the relatives of his wife and formal salutations take place. He then takes his wife and whatever portion of the dowry that is now given to his own house, and on arriving at the threshold the garments of both are again knotted together. Both are then seated together and the husband rinses his mouth, consecrates the *argha* and performs the

prándyám and dedication to the *dwirágamana* and the *dwára-mátri-púja*. Ganesha and the Matris are then worshipped and the fixing of the favourable time is again gone through that the whole rite may be undertaken at the auspicious moment and be free from defects. Gifts are then made to the family *purohit* and astrologer as if to the deity and the couple go within while the *Svasti-váchana* is read. On entering the inner apartments the young couple worship the *Jíva-mátri*s whose figures are drawn on the walls. The *kulasa* is then consecrated and the couple circumambulate the vessel and the usual offerings and dedication are made; winding up with the aspersion, after which the knots on the garments are untied and the couple feast and retire to rest.

Should any one desire to marry a third time, whether his other wives are alive or not, he must go through the ceremony known as *arka-viváha*. marriage to the *arka* plant (*Calatropis gigantea*). The aspirant for a third marriage either builds a small altar near a plant of the *arka* or brings a branch home and places it in the ground near an altar. He then goes through all the preparatory ceremonies and also the *Súryya-puja* with its invitation, &c., and *prárthana* or adoration with hands clasped and appropriate mantras. He then circumambulates the altar and asks the caste, &c., as in the regular ceremony; a *purohit* answers on the part of the *arka* that it is of the *Kasyapa* gotri, the great-grand-daughter of *Aditya*, the grand-daughter of *Savá* and the daughter of *Arka*; then follows the caste, name, &c., of the real bride. A thread is then wound ten times around the *arka* accompanied each time by a mantra and again around the neck of the *kalasa*. To the north of the *arka*, a fire-altar is raised and the *dghárát-homa* is made to *Agni* with gifts and dedication. Next comes the *pradhán-homa* with the mantras, "*Om sangobhi*" and "*Om yasmaitrva*"; the *Vyádhriti-homa* with its own mantra and the *Bhúrádí navádhuti-homa* with its nine mantras closing with the *púrnápátra* and dedication. After this a second circumambulation follows and a prayer and hymn. Four days the *arka* remains where it has been planted and on the fifth day the person is entitled to commence the marriage ceremonies with his third wife. If, however, she be already a widow he can take her to his home without any further ceremony.

The *Kumbh-viváha* or marriage to an earthen vessel takes place when from some conjunction of the planets the omens for a happy union are wanting, or when from some mental or bodily defect no one is willing to take the boy or girl.¹ The ceremony is similar to the preceding, but the dedication enumerates the defects in the position of the planets in the worshipper's horoscope and states that the ceremony is undertaken to avoid the malign influences of the conjunctions of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental defects of the native as the case may be. The nine planets are honoured and also Vishnu and Varuna, whose forms stamped on a piece of metal are amongst the furniture of the ceremonial. The *anchala* or knot-tying is made by connecting the neck of the girl or boy with the neck of the vessel, when the aspersion is made from the water of the *kalasa* with a brush made of the five leaves.

Several ceremonies are prescribed for alleviating (*sánti*) the evil effects of accidents, bad omens, portents, unlucky acts, &c., which may be briefly noticed here. Thus, if in ploughing, the share injures or kills a snake, a short ritual is prescribed to appease the lord of the snakes. Ganesha, the Mátris and Kshetrpál are first worshipped on the spot : then the figure of Mrityunjaya is drawn on cloth and with it that of the snake-god, and both are worshipped with the invitation, &c., and the *sarp*-mantra is recited and a *homa* made. One-

sixteenth of the value of the cattle should be paid as a deodand to Brahmins. Another ceremony known as the *vrishabhapatana* takes place when a bullock dies while ploughing or is injured. It is believed that if the *Megha-sankránt* comes within the conjunction of the planets

noted in the horoscope, the native will die within six months, and similarly if the *Túla-sankránt* come within the horoscope the native dies before the next *Megha-sankránt* : to avert these evils a special ritual is prescribed in which Gobind is the principal deity invoked. A more elaborate service takes place on the occasion of an eclipse

¹ The *Vishnu pratimá-viváh* is similar to the *Kumbh-viváh*. The girl is first married to a picture of Vishnu when the conjunction of the planets would show her to become a widow or a bad character in order to avert their influence.

when numerous articles are placed in the *kalasa* and the image of the snake-god stamped on metal is worshipped and the usual gifts are made. The ceremony of being born again from the

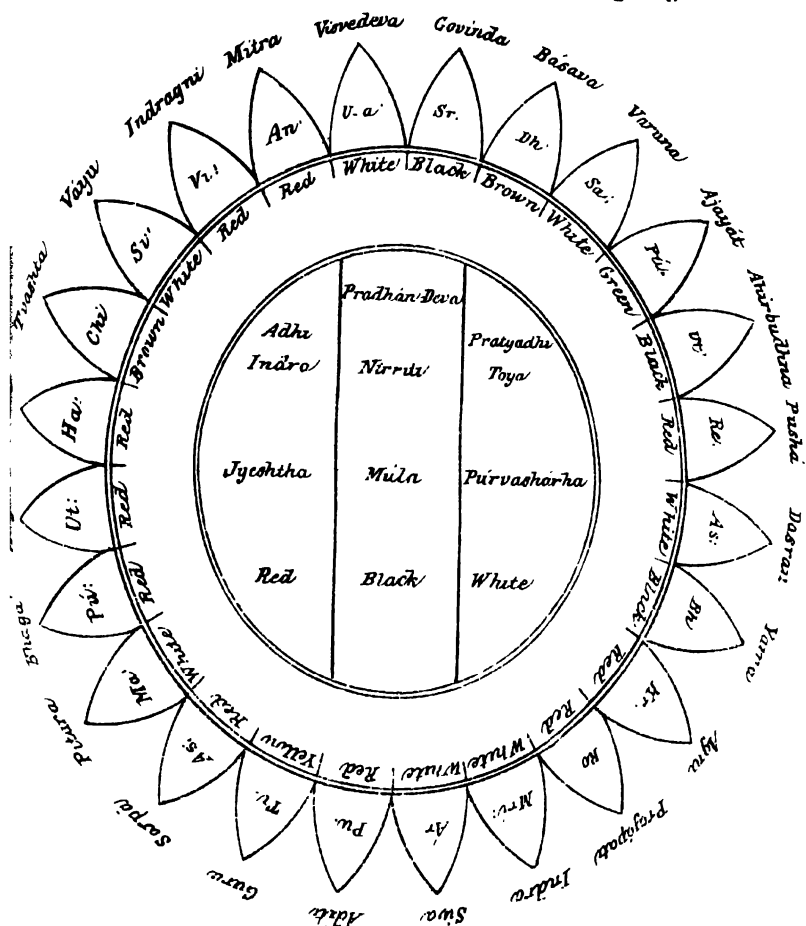
Born again from a cow's mouth (*gomukhaprasava*) takes place
 cow's mouth.

when the horoscope foretells some crime on the part of the native or some deadly calamity to him. The child is clothed in scarlet and tied on a new sieve which is passed between the hind-legs of a cow forward through the fore-legs to the mouth and again in the reverse direction signifying the new birth. The usual worship, aspersion, &c., takes place and the father smells his son as the cow smells her calf. This is followed by various burnt offerings and the usual gifts, &c. Ceremonies are

also prescribed when the teeth are cut
 Dentition, &c. irregularly, when the father and son are born in the same lunar mansion, when three children are born at the same time or in the same lunar mansion, when snakes are seen *in coitu*, when a dog is seen during a ceremony, when a crow evacuates on one's clothes, on seeing a white crow, when gifts of land, money or grain are made and when building a house, &c.

The misfortunes that are supposed to follow any one born in
 the *mūla-nakshatra*, which is presided over
 Mūla nakshatra. by Nirriti, the goddess of evil, are such that the parents are advised to abandon such a child, whether boy or girl, or if not to go through the ritual prescribed for the occasion with great care and circumspection. The *mūla-sānti* commences with the Ganesha-*pūja* followed by the setting up of the *argha* and the dedication. Then sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water are taken and the *pradhān-sankalpam* is recited and also the *Mātri-pūja*, *Punyāha-vāchana* and *Nāndi-srāddh* are gone through. The celebrants are then appointed and duly revered and the person who causes the ceremony to be performed stands before them with the palms of his hands joined together in a submissive attitude and asks them to perform the rite according to rule. The celebrants consent and proceed to the *grihasāla*, or as usual in Kumaon to the place where the cows are tied up. A place is selected and purified either with holy-water (*i. e.*, water which has been consecrated by using the names of the sacred places of pilgrimage) or the mixture called *panch-garya*. To the south-west a hollow is

made and a fire is lighted therein, and this is followed by the ritual contained in the formal appointment of the Brahman to the aspersion. An altar is then made and on the top a lotus of twenty-four petals is drawn and coloured and named as in the following diagram¹:—



¹ The name on the petals is that of the initial letters of the *nakshatras* or lunar mansion, above which is the name of the regent of the mansion and below the colour which should be given to it. The names in order commencing with the mansion over which the Visvedevas preside are as follows:—

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Uttarā-āshārha. | 10. Krittikā. | 19. Uttara-phalguni. |
| 2. Śrāvāṇa. | 11. Rohinī. | 20. Hasta. |
| 3. Dhanishthā. | 12. Mriga-siras. | 21. Chitrā. |
| 4. Satā-bhishaj. | 13. Ārdrā. | 22. Svātī. |
| 5. Pūrva-bhādrapadā. | 14. Punarvasū. | 23. Viśākhā. |
| 6. Uttara-bhādrapadā. | 15. Tishya. | 24. Anurādhā. |
| 7. Revatī. | 16. Āśleshā. | 25. Jyeshthā. |
| 8. Āśvinī. | 17. Maghā. | 26. Mūla. |
| 9. Bharanī. | 18. Pūrva-phalgunī. | 27. Pūrvashārha. |

} In the middle.

A handsome metal vessel is then placed in the midst of the figure and four other vessels are placed one at each corner of the principal altar. A figure of Nirriti stamped on metal is placed in the centre of the altar on its vessel and small pieces of gold, silver and copper on the other vessels after having been washed with the five nectars applied with the usual mantras. Next comes the address to Nirriti prefaced by the *vyāhṛiti*-mantra :—‘Come hither and remain here o Nirriti mistress of the *mūla-nakshatra*, grant our requests and accept our reverence.’ Her companions and the twenty-four deities residing in the petals of the lotus are similarly invited with the same formula.

Three of the vessels are dedicated to Brahma, Varuna and the nine planets who are invited to attend. Then the meditation on Nirriti and the deities to whom the altar is dedicated follows :—‘Nirriti, black in colour, of beautiful face, having a man as thy vehicle, protectress, having a sword in thy hand, clad in shining robes adorned with jewels.’ A similar short meditation on Indra and Toya is given and for the remaining deities, the recital of their names is held sufficient. Nirriti then receives the formal invitation, &c., with the mantra :—‘*Om moshūna*,’ &c., whilst the others are merely named. Then those deities invited to occupy the three vessels above named receive the invitation, &c., and commencing with Nirriti all are in order worshipped with flowers, sandal and water. The vessel placed to the north-east of the altar is dedicated to Rudra and on it are laid the five varieties of *svastika* and below it, a *drona* of grain. On the covered mouth of the vessel the image of Rudra stamped in metal is placed after being washed in the five nectars as before followed by the dedication, meditation, hymn of praise and invitation, &c. Then the *anganyās* to Rudra is repeated six times and the *Rudrādhyāya*, eleven times, &c., &c. Next incense formed from the burnt horns of goats is offered to Nirriti and also wine, barley-cakes, flesh and the yellow pigment from the head of a cow (*gorochanā*); flesh, fish, and wine, however, should not be used by Brahmans, who should substitute milk with salt for wine and curds with salt for flesh. Lamps are now waved to and fro before all the deities and a fire is lighted on the altar and a *homa* made. Next the *āghāraṭv-homa*, the *krisara-homa*, the fifteen-verse *homa*, fuel,

rice, &c., with the *Sri-sakta* mantra, the *páyasa-homa*, the *púrná-huti-homa*, and the *Agni-homa*, are made, after which the fire on the altar is extinguished and Agni is dismissed. The vessel on the principal altar sacred to Nirriti is now filled with various materials and whilst these are stirred round several mantras are recited. The parents of the child and the child then bathe outside in a place prepared for the purpose and ornamented with *svastikas* and all are sprinkled with holy-water. Some hundred verses are then repeated with the prayer that the evil influences due to birth in the *Múla-nakshatra* may be effectually prevented. A similar ceremony is performed on account of any person born in the *Aslesha-nakshatra*.

The ceremonies to be observed at funerals are found in the *Preta-manjari*, the authority on this subject which obtains in Kumaon. This work opens with the direction that when a person is in *extremis* his purohit should cause him to repeat the hymn to Búsudeva and the *smarana* in which the names of Ráma and Siva occur, and after these make the *dasdán* or bestowal of ten things in accordance with the *sútra*¹:— ‘The learned have said that cattle, land, sesamum, gold, clarified butter, apparel, grain, molasses, silver and salt are included in the ten gifts.’ In bestowing the *dasdán*, the sick man or in his stead the *purohit* first rinses his mouth and consecrates the *argha* and then repeats the *pránáyám* as already described. The meditation or *dhyána* appropriate is that known as the *Sríparameswaransmritwa* or meditation on the Supreme being as distinguished from and above his particular manifestations as Siva and Vishnu. This is followed by the *sankalpam* or dedication of the gifts with the same mantra as used in the *Ganesha-púja* (*Om Bishnu*, &c.), ending with the prayers that there may be a removal of all sins committed wittingly or unwittingly by the dying man during his life-time and that he may obtain the fruit of the good act. For this purpose on the part of the moribund each of the gifts and the Brahmans concerned are revered and the gifts are then presented. First the *kapiládán* or a gift of a cow of a yellowish-brown colour with the five mantras² beginning with :—*Idam vishnurvichakrame tredhánidadhe padam*

¹ *Go bhé tilahiranyajyam bāsodhanya guránicha raupyam lavanamityádhur dāna-dānāpanditā.*

² The manuscript consulted is evidently very carelessly transcribed, but I have retained the readings as I found them.

samúrhamasya pá gvan sure—and in practice this alone is recited. Then the *argha* is presented to the Brahman with a mantra¹ praying him as best of men to be present at the sacrifice and accept the *argha*. Then sandal-wood is given with a mantra² and rice with another mantra.³ Flowers are then presented with the mantra :— ‘Glory to thee, O Brahman.’ Next the cow should receive veneration with the appropriate mantra :— ‘Glory to thee O Kapila,’ and each of its members, the fore-feet, mouth, horns, shoulder, back, hind-feet, and tail with a salutation and the gift of sandal, rice and flowers. A covering is then presented with food, incense, light, and the installation hymn :— *Yá Lakshmi sarvalokánán*, &c. Then the moribund takes sesamum, *kusha*-grass, barley, and gold in a pot of clarified butter and with them the cow’s tail in his hand over which water is poured and all are dedicated to the removal of the guilt of his sins and for this purpose are given to so and so Brahman in the name of Rudra. The cow is first addressed, however, with the mantra :— *Kapilesarvva-barnánám*, &c. The cow and Brahman then circumambulate the moribund, who with clasped hands repeats a verse⁴ in praise of the cow.

Next comes the *Bhúmi-dán* or gift of land. The installation hymn (*prásthana*) beginning :— *Sarvabhú-tásrayábhúmi*, &c., is first addressed to the earth. Then a ball of clay is made from the soil of the land which is intended to be given away and is worshipped and dedicated as in the previous gift and then after consecration, is given away for Bāsudeva’s sake to the Brahman. The *Tilá-dán* or gift of sesamum follows with the mantra :— *Tiláh svarna samdyuktá*, &c., and the usual consecration and dedication in the name of Vishnu and the hymn of praise :— *Tiláh pápahará nityam*, &c.

Next comes the *Hiranya-dán* or gift of gold with a mantra⁵ :— and the usual dedication, &c., in the name of Agni. The *Ajya-dán* or gift of clarified butter is next made with the mantra :— ‘Sprung from Kámadhenu, &c.,’ and the dedication in the name of

¹ *Bhémidevággrajauśas*: *twam vipra purushottama pratyaksho yajna purushah arghyam pratigrihyatám.*

² *Gandhadwārán durádharehán nityapushlán kari-shintám Isvarin sarvabhútánán tányaho (?) pahuyesriyam.*

³ *Namobrahmanya devdya go bráhmuna hitáyacha jagathitáya Krishnáya govindáya namonamah.*

⁴ *Om gávah surabhayo nityam gávo guggula gandhiká, &c.*

⁵ *Hiranyagarbha garbhatwam hemabájám vibhá vaso ananta punya phaladdmatah sántim prayach-*

chhame.

Mrityunjaya. The procedure is the same all through, the mantras used alone being different. For the *Bastra-dán* or gift of apparel we have the mantra:—‘*Píta bastram, &c.,*’ and the dedication in the name of Vrihaspati. The *Dhanyáni-dán* or gift of grain of seven kinds has the mantra:—‘*Dhanyam karoti dátáram, &c.,*’ and is presented in the name of *Prajāpati*. The *Gur-dán* or gift of molasses has the mantra:—‘*Guramanmathachápotlu, &c.,*’ and is given in the name of Rudra. The *Raupya-dán* or gift of silver has the mantra:—‘*Rudranetra samudbhúta, &c.,*’ and is offered for the sake of Soma, the moon, with the prayer that any laxity in morals may be forgiven. The *Lavanu-dán* or gift of salt follows with the mantra:—‘*Yasmá-dán rasáh sarve, &c.,*’ and is presented on behalf of all the gods.

The moribund next presents the fruit of all the ceremonial observances that he has undertaken during his life to plead on his behalf with Isvara. Last service for the dying. He also dedicates sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water and enumerates all the penance that he has performed during his life and commits it with an oblation to the mercy-seat in the name of Agni to plead on his behalf. He then prays that for the sake of the good Bāsudeva whatever errors he may have committed in ceremonial or other observances knowingly or in ignorance, in eating or drinking and in his conduct towards women or men may be forgiven, for which purpose he offers gold. A similar gift of a cow is sometimes made to clear off all debts due to friends and others, but the practice has fallen into disuse, as the heir, according to the usage of the British law-courts, must pay his father’s debts if sufficient assets fall into his hands.

Another cow should be presented in Govind’s name to prevent the retribution due on account of evil acts of the body, evil speech in words and evil thoughts in the heart, and again another cow in the hope of final liberation (*moksha-dán*) through the loving-kindness of Rudra and in his name. As a rule, however, but one cow is given, and this only in the *Vaitarant-dán* which now takes place. For this rite a cow of a black colour is selected and worshipped as prescribed in the *kapilá-dán*, and the gift is dedicated to help the spirit of the moribund after death in its passage across the Vaitarani river,

and with this object it is formally delivered over to a Brahman. The installation verse for the cow is—'Glory to thee, o cow, be thou ready to assist at the very terrible door of Yama this person desirous to cross the Vaitarani,' and for the river is the verse :—
 "Approaching the awful entrance to the realms of Yama and the dreadful Vaitarani, I desire to give this black cow to thee, o Vaitarani, of my own free-will so that I may cross thy flood flowing with corruption and blood, I give this black cow." Selections from the *Bhagavad-gita* are then read to the sick man and the thousand names of Vishnu are recited. His feet and hands are bathed in water taken from the Ganges or some other sacred stream whilst the frontal mark is renewed and garlands of the sacred *tulsi* are thrown around his neck. The ground is plastered with cow-dung and the dying man is laid on it with his head to the north-east and if still able to understand, verses in praise of Vishnu should be recited in a low, clear voice suited to the solemn occasion. The priestly instinct is even now alive and the family astrologer appears on the scene to claim another cow that the moribund may die easily and at an auspicious moment.

When the breath has departed, the body of the deceased is
 Preparing the body for the pyre. washed with earth, water and the fruit of the *Emblica officinalis* and then anointed with clarified butter whilst the following mantra¹ is repeated :—
 "May the places of pilgrimage, Gya and the rest, the holy summits of mountains, the sacred tract of Kurukshetra, the holy rivers Ganges, Jumna, Sarasvati, Kosi, Chandrabhāga which removeth the stains of all sins, the Nandābhadrā the river of Benares, the Gandak and Sarju as well as the Bhairava and Vārāha places of pilgrimage and the Pindar river, as many places of pilgrimage as there are in the world as well as the four oceans enter into this matter used for the ablution of this body for its purification." The body is then adorned with *gopichandan*, the sacrificial thread, yellow clothes and garlands. Gold or clarified

¹ *Gyādnicha tīrthāni yecha punyāḥ śilochchayā kurukṣetramcha gangācha yamunācha sarasvatī kausīkī chandra-bhāgācha sarvopapapranāśini nandābhadrācha kāśhīcha gandakī sarayū tathā bhairavancha vārāhancha tīrtham pindarāham tathā prithivyām yāni tīrthāni chatvārāḥ sāgaras tathā savasyāsya viśudh dhartham asminstoye vissantvui.*

butter is then placed on the seven orifices of the face and the body is wrapped in a shroud and carried to the burning-ghát. The body is placed with its head to the east and the face upwards whilst the near male relatives are shaved. In the meantime *pindas* or small balls of barley-flour and water are offered according to the rule :—*Mritasthāne tathā dwāre visrāmesku chitopari kukshaupindāḥ pradātavyā pretapindā prakṛtītāḥ*—‘ When the man dies, at the door (of his village), where the bearers rest, at the pyre when ready to be lighted, these (five) *pindas* should be offered by rule ; if they are not offered, the spirit of the deceased becomes a *Rākshasa*.’ Each *pinda* should have its proper dedication with definition of time, place, and person (*mritasthān, dwāra, &c.*) First some water is thrown on the ground with a dedication, and then the *pinda* is taken in the hand and after the recital of the dedication, it, too, is thrown on the ground and again water is sprinkled on the same place with a third dedication. This is repeated at each of the five places. The wood of sandal, cedar, *bel*, or *dhák*, mixed with ghi, are laid on the body, which is placed on the pyre with the head to the south. The son or nearest male relative bathes and dedicates the rite to the release of the soul of the deceased from the company and region of sprites and its exaltation to the heaven of the good, after which the *kuksha-pinda* is offered.

The fire is next applied by the nearest male relative to the wood at the feet of the corpse, if the deceased be a female, and to the wood at the head, if a male, with the mantra :—“ *Om* mayest thou arrive at the blissful abodes, thou with thy deeds whether done ill purposely or unwittingly have become an inhabitant of another world, thy body encompassed with its load of desire, weighted with its deeds of right and wrong has been completely resolved into its five elements.” Then comes the *Tilamisra-ajyádhuti* or *homa* with sesamum mingled with clarified butter accompanied by the mantra :—*Om lomabhyah sváhá twache sváhá lohítáya sváhá om má gvan sebhyah sváhá om medobhyah sváhá om tvagbhyah sváhá om majjábhyah sváhá om retase sváhá om roditavyah sváhá*.—‘ Hail salutation to the hair, epidermis, blood, * * marrow, skin, the essential element of the body, the semen, and to him

who is bewailed.' Then follows the *sūtra* directing the circumambulation of the pyre whilst sesamum¹ is sprinkled over the burning body with the mantra :—' *Om*, glory to the fire of the funeral pyre.' When the body has been almost entirely consumed, a small portion of the flesh, about the size of a pigeon's egg, should be taken and tied up in a piece of cloth, and flung into a deep pool. Then the person who conducted the ceremony puts out the fire and bathes, anointing himself with the *pancha-gavya* and places a seat of *kusha*-grass for the spirit of the deceased with a dedication followed by water, a *pinda* and again water, each accompanied by its proper dedication.

Next the *bali-dán*, consisting of rice, sandal, &c., is offered to the goblins and sprites of the burning-ghát with the prayer that they will accept it, eat it and be appeased. Whoever wishes to preserve a portion of the bones to cast them into the sacred stream of the Ganges at Hardwár (*phúl syavauna*) will collect them between his thumb and little finger and wash them in the *pancha gavya* and clarified butter and placing them in a cloth bury them for a year before he attempts to carry out his purpose. All ceremonies performed for an ancestor must be carried through with the sacrificial thread over the right shoulder, all worship of the gods with the thread as usual over the left shoulder. The pyre is then cleaned and smeared with cow-dung whilst the dedication is made and water and a *pinda* are given followed by water as before. Then the mantra is recited :—*Ándi nidhano deva sankha chakra gadhúdar akshayah pundarikaksha preta moksha pradobhava*.—An address to the deity praying for the liberation of the soul of the deceased. A Brahman repeats this mantra with his face towards the south ; a Kshatriya looking towards the north ; a Vaisya to the east and a Sudra to the west, whilst the knot of the hair on the top of the head is unloosed. The sacrificial thread is then replaced and the *áchamanams* made. The thread is again put on the right shoulder (*avásavya*) whilst water is offered in the hollow of both hands to the manes of the deceased. The person who performs the rites bathes again before returning home and fasts for the rest of the day.

¹ The rich throw sandal, *tulsi*, sesamum and clarified butter on the pyre whilst the relatives cry out with a loud voice so as to attract the notice of the dwellers in paradise.

Lamps are kept lighting for the benefit of the manes for ten days after cremation either in a temple or under a *pīpal* tree or where the obsequial ceremonies are performed, according to the rule:—*Tilāhpradeyā pāntyam dīpodeyah sivalaye jñātibhiḥ sahaḥbhoktavyam etat pre-tasya durlabham*.—"The relatives of the deceased should in his name provide sesamum, water and lights for the temple since these necessary duties are impossible for a spirit."

The place where the obsequial ceremonies (*kiriya-karm*) subsequent to cremation take place is called *ghāt*. It is chosen, as a rule, near running water, but must not lie to the west of the house where the person for whom the rite is performed died. On the day following the cremation, the person who performed the principal part at the funeral pyre proceeds to the *ghāt* and selecting a place, clears it and plasters it with mud and cow-dung. A fireplace is then built towards the northern part and on one side, an altar of white clay smeared with cow-dung. The lamp is next lighted with the dedication to enlightening the manes now in darkness so as to alleviate its sufferings. Then with top-knot unloosed the celebrant bathes on behalf of the manes with the usual definition, of place, time, person and object which is the performance of the ceremonies of the first day.

Next the top-knot is tied up and the mouth is rinsed, after which he takes sesamum, water, *kusha*-grass and barley and with his face towards the south offers them in the palms of both hands on behalf of the manes with the usual dedication. The object declared is to allay the extremes of heat and thirst which the spirit must undergo and to perform the rites of the first day on its behalf. The ceremony known as the *Tilatoyānjali*.

toyānjali must be performed either thrice or once each day for the next ten days. Then rice¹ is boiled in a copper vessel and in it sesamum, *nāgkesar*, honey and milk are placed and afterwards made into balls about the size of a *bel* fruit; these are offered with a dedication in the name of the deceased and the object that the spirit should obtain liberation and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell called

¹ Kshatriyas and all other than Brahmans make the *pindas* of barley-flour and also the illegitimate children of Brahmans.

Raurab and also that the head of the new body of the spirit may be formed correctly. Before actually offering the *pinda* the celebrant should stand in silence to the left of the fire-place, and place a *pavitra*¹ on the ground and on it a *karm-pátra* or sacrificial vessel and on the latter again a *pavitra*. The vessel should then be filled with water, sesamum and perfumes whilst the altar is covered with *kusha*-grass. The celebrant next takes a *pavitra* and water in his hand and repeats the dedication as to laying the *kusha* on the altar in the name of so and so deceased as a seat for his spirit. After this, water (*avanajana*) is poured on the altar with a similar dedication and then the *pinda* is offered whilst the celebrant drops on his left knee and repeats the dedication already given. As already noticed the object of the *pinda* presented on the first day is to enable the spirit to cross the hell called *Raurab* and have a head for its new body. This is followed by an offering of water, one of very cold water, and one of sandal, rice, *bhinga-rája*² (*Eclipta prostrata*), flowers, incense, lamps and balls of rice and honey, each with its own proper dedication in the name of the manes. The thirteenth dedication is concerned with the consecration of the *karm-pátra* already mentioned. On the first day one *pinda* is offered: on the second, two *pindas*, &c., so that in ten days, fifty-five *pindas* are offered each with the same ceremony as here given. Then comes the prayer that the *pindas* already given may reach the manes, and the *karm-pátra* is turned upside down. The mouth is then rinsed with the usual formula and all the materials are thrown into the water with the mantra³:—‘Thou hast been burned in the fire of the pyre and hast become separate from thy brethren, bathe in this water and drink this milk thou that dwellest in the ether without stay or support, troubled by storms and malignant spirits, bathe and drink here and having done so be happy.’

To the south of the fire-place a small earthen vessel known as a *karuwa* is filled with water in which *kusha*, sesamum, barley and milk are placed and suspended from a tree, or if there be no tree, from a stake fixed in the ground with a tooth-brush of *ním*

¹ See before.

² In Kumaon the *Cinnamomum Tamala* or *teppát* is used.

³ *Chitánala pradagdhose parityuktosi bándhazvai idam niram idam káshiram mantra-
antkim idam piva ákshastho nirdlumbo vdyubháta sramárditah atra antwa idam
pitwa sntwa pitwa subhi bhuvah.*

(*Melia indica*). Then bathing and putting on clean clothes, the celebrant returns home and when eating puts a portion of the food on a leaf-platter and leaves it with water either where four roads meet or on that side of the village which is nearest to the burning-ghát, both places being the favourite resorts of disembodied spirits. This portion called the *preta-grás* or spirits' mouthful is offered with the usual dedication to the name of the deceased.

The proceedings of each day are the same, the only difference being the object of the *pinda*. The following list of the hells crossed before reaching paradise and the different parts of the new body of the spirit affected by each day's ceremony will suffice :—

Day.	¹ Hell met with.	Portion of the new body formed.
First	Raurava	Head.
Second	Yonipunsaka	Eyes, ears and nose.
Third	Maháraurava	Arms, chest, neck and members of the mouth.
Fourth	Támisra	Pubic region, penis, void and parts around.
Fifth	Andhatámisra	Thighs and legs.
Sixth	Sambhrama	Feet and toes.
Seventh	Amedhya krimi púrna	Bones, marrow and brain.
Eighth	Purísha bhakshana	Nails and hair.
Ninth	Svamánasa bhakshana	Testes and semen.
Tenth	Kumbhípáka	To avoid the wants of the senses.

The new body having been formed the natural wants of a living body are presupposed and the ceremony of the tenth day is devoted to removing the sensation of hunger, thirst, &c., from the new body. On the same day the clothes of the celebrant are steeped in cow's urine with soapnuts and washed, the walls of the house are plastered, all metal vessels are thoroughly cleaned, the fire-place at the ghát is broken and an *anjali* of water offered to the ether for the sake of the manes and to assuage its thirst. The celebrant then moves up the stream above the *ghát* and with his near relatives shaves and bathes and all present an *anjali* of water as before. Bathing again all proceed homewards,² having been sprinkled with the

¹ Most of these names of hell occur in the law-books or the Puránas. The first, third, fourth and fifth in *Manu*, IV. 88: the tenth in the *Bhágavata-purána*, and the remainder in the *Skanda-purána*.
² It is the custom to offer one more *pinda* on the road homewards called the *páthayaróddhi*, but this is usually made of uncooked flour and water.

pancha-gavya. The following rule lays down the period necessary for purification :—*Brahmano dasa ātreṇa dvādaśdhenā bhūmipāh vaiśyaḥ panchadasāhena śūdro māsenā suddhīyati*. The Brahman becomes pure in ten days, the Kshatriya in twelve days, the Vaisya in fifteen days and the Sudra in a month.

After the usual domestic prayers, on the eleventh day, Ceremonies of the the figures of Lakshmi and Nārāyan are eleventh day. worshipped and a covering spread for them on the *chārpāi* of the deceased and a cow offered in his name as *kapilā-dān*. Next vessels of water (*Udaka-kumbh*) are filled and food prepared in the name of the deceased. A bullock is also branded on the flanks with the trident and discus and struck three times with the hand and then let go,¹ followed by the *ekādasāha śrāddh*. The palm of the hand represents three *tīrthas*: the *Brahma-tīrtha* is the hollow at the wrist through which the rinsing of the mouth is effected, the *Deo-tīrtha* is between the fingers sloping downwards and is used in offering water to the gods, and the *Pitri-tīrtha* is the hollow between the thumb and first finger through which the water flows when offered to ancestors. For instance in the worship of Lakshmi-nārāyan, the water is presented through the *Deo-tīrtha*. First the covering is placed on the *chārpāi* and on it the images with a dedication to the sure admission into paradise of the manes, and for this purpose the figures of the deities Lakshmi and Nārāyan are worshipped. The installation hymn to the deities then follows and offerings of rice, water, sandal, flowers, incense, lamps and wearing apparel are made. To this succeeds the *dhyāna* or meditation in honour of Vishnu, who has in his right hand the lotus, in his left the conch, &c.; then come appropriate gifts, according to the ability of the donor, which eventually become the property of a Brahman with the prayer that as Siva and Krishna live in happiness and comfort so may the deceased abide, and for this purpose all these good things have been provided. The *purohit* then lies down on the couch for a short time and so sanctifies the gifts that have been made whilst the verse is read :—*Yasya smṛityācha nāmoktyā tapo yajnakriyādishu nyūnam sampūrnatām yātu sadyovande tam achyutam*.—‘May whatever errors that I have

¹ As a rule, however, this is a mere form and the irons are not heated.

committed in my religious observances be forgiven and the result be made complete, o Achyuta.'

Next comes the *kapilá-dán* as before with the dedication:—'O

Gift of a cow.

Kapila worshipped of all the four castes, best, containing all places of pilgrimages and deities alleviate my trouble.' The water vessels are next presented and there should be one for every day in the year and each should be accompanied by food and lights for the same period for the benefit of the spirit of the deceased¹ and then given to Brahmans with the verse:—'Yasya, &c.,' as in the preceding paragraph.

The loosing of the scape-bullock (*vrishotsarga*) is seldom ob-

The scape-bullock.

served in Kumaon, though the ritual for it is given. First an altar is erected of earth and the fire is lighted thereon and Agni is installed and worshipped. The altar is then dedicated to the rite of the *pradhán-homa*. This homa is begun by throwing clarified butter into the fire with the mantra:—'Om *iharati sváhá idam agnaye om iharamadhvam sváhá idam agnaye om ihaghríti sváhá idam agnaye om ihamasva sváhá idam agnaye*; and again *Om prajāpataye, indráya agnaye somáya sváhá*. Next curdled milk is thrown on the fire and the nine gods are saluted:—Agni, Rudra, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Asana, Bhava, Mahádeo and Isána, all old names. Then comes the *Paushnacharu-homa* or oblation of rice, barley and pulse boiled in milk and clarified butter and presented with the mantra:—*Om púshá anvetunah púshá rakshasva sarvatah púshá vājánmanotunah sváhá*; and again *Om agnaye svishṭa kṛite sváhá om bhuvah sváhá om svah sváhá*. In these mantras the ancient deities Púshan and Agni are invoked. A bell is then suspended from the neck of the bullock and small bells are tied round its feet, and it is told that it is to be let go in order to save the spirit of the deceased from the torments of hell. The following mantra is then whispered in its ear:—*Vrishohi bhagwándharma chatushpádah prakṛtítah vrinomi tam aham bhaktyá samán rakshatu sarvadá*. Then follows the verse:—'Om *ritancha, &c.*,' as in the *sandhya*. The bullock is addressed as the four-footed representative of the Supreme and asked to preserve for ever his votary. The *bailgáyatṛi*

¹ As a rule the poor can only afford one.

is then recited :—*Om tīkshna sringāya vidmahe vedapāsāya dhīmahi tanno vṛishabhah prachodayāt.* Sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water are taken in the hand and also the bullock's tail, whilst water is poured over all with the mantra :¹—'To fathers, mothers and relations both by the mother's and father's side, to the *purohit*, wife's relations and those who have died without rites and who have not had the subsequent obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation arise by means of the unloosing of this bullock.' The bullock will then be loosed with a dedication. The right quarter is sometimes branded with a trident and the left with a discus and the animal becomes the property of some of the low-caste people in the village.

The *ekādasāha-srāddh* commences with a bathing and dedication

Ekādasāha-srāddh.

to the first *srāddh* in honour of the deceased.

Hitherto only the ceremonies known as *kiriya-karm* have been performed whilst the spirit of the deceased remained a *pret*, but now in order that he may be numbered amongst the *pitris* or ancestors, the formal *srāddh* is undertaken in his honour and for his benefit. Dry, clean clothes are worn and the celebrant proceeds to the *ghāt* and rinses his mouth with the usual formula. Then rice is cooked and five small bundles of *kusha* are washed and anointed with oil and set up to represent the Brahman on the part of the deceased with the *nimantran* or invitation :—*Gatosi divyaloketwam kritānta vihītāyacha manasā vāyubhūtena vipretodham nimantrayet.*—'You have reached the blessed abodes having finished your course, be present though invisible at this rite.' Similar bundles are consecrated to represent the spirit of the deceased and water and the *argha* are offered with the prayer that they may be accepted. In silence the *karm-pātra* is placed on the ground and offerings of sandal, &c., made as before.² The dedication is then made for the purpose of performing the ceremony as if it were the *ekodishtha-srāddh*.³ For this purpose a seat is placed and the *argha*

¹ *Om svadhā pitribhyo mātṛibhyo bandhubhyoṣṣe triptaye mātṛi pakeśheṣṣe ye kechit yekechit pitṛipakeśajāḥ guru svasur bandhūnān ye chānye kula sambhāvāḥ ye preta bhāvān pañcāḥ ye chānye srāddha barjītāḥ vṛishotsargena te sarve labhātān triptimuttamān.*

² See previous page. ³ The *ekodishtha* or *tithi-srāddh* is that performed on the anniversary of a father's death, whilst the general ceremony which takes place during the dark half of Kṛāṣ is called the *pārvan* or *kanyāgat-srāddh*. If the father dies during this part of Kṛāṣ the ceremony is called *Khyā-srāddh*. In the *pārvan* the usual fifty-five *pinḍas* are offered ; in the *ekodishtha* only one.

is consecrated and dedicated to the spirit of the deceased. Gifts are then presented to both the symbolised Brahman and *Preta* and both are revered. A brazen platter is then smeared with clarified butter and the rice placed on it and dedicated to the acceptance of the spirit. A circular altar a span in diameter is next made and smeared with cow-dung. Rice is also mixed with milk, sesamum, clarified butter, and honey and made into round balls about the size of a *bel* fruit and with *kusha*, sesamum and water are taken in the hand and dedicated to the first *śrāddh*. The altar is covered with *kusha* and on it a single *pinda* is placed, then water, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lamps, sweetmeats and woollen thread are each presented with a dedication as offerings to the spirit of the deceased. The bundles of *kusha* which represent the Brahman are then addressed and told that the preceding offerings have been made to the *Preta* and to grant that they may be accepted and for this purpose water is offered to him. Gifts are then made to the symbolised Brahman which are kept until the next day, as gifts made during the first eleven days cannot be accepted by a *purohit*. The water in the *karm-pātra* is then poured out at the feet of the Brahman and the *janeo* is changed to the left shoulder. This is followed by the usual rinsing of the mouth, after which the verse commencing :—‘ *Yasya*, &c.,’ is recited.

On the twelfth day the ceremony known as *Sapindi* takes place.

Ceremony of the twelfth day. The celebrant goes to the *ghāt* as before and commences with bathing and dedication to the day's rite. He then makes three altars of the same dimensions as before: to the north, a square altar called the *Visvadeva-bedi*: to the south, a triangular altar called *Preta-bedi*, and to the east a circular altar called the *Pitāmahādi-bedi*. Rice is then cooked and whilst it is being made ready, two Brahmans are formed from *kusha*-grass and placed at the northern altar as in the preceding ceremony with a formal invitation, during which barley is sprinkled over them whilst they are asked to take part in the *sapindi*. The following verse is then repeated :—*Akrādhanai sauchaparai satatam brahmachāribhiḥ bhavitavyam havadbhīcha mayācha śrāddhakārinā sarvāyāsavinirmukte kāmakrbhavivarjite*. Then the southern altar is approached and there the bundles of *kusha* representing the deceased are placed. These are addressed as above with the

verse—'Gatosi, &c.' to which is added the line:—*Pūjayishyāmi bhogena eva vipram nimantrayet*. Then follows the changing of the sacrificial thread to the left shoulder and purification by rinsing the mouth before approaching the eastern altar. This is consecrated to the ancestors of the deceased for three generations in the male line, all of whom are named and represented by blades of *kusha*-grass. If a mother is the subject of the ceremony the names of the father's mother, grandfather's mother, &c., are given here. Next the wife's ancestors for three generations in the male line are invited and some one accepts on behalf of all and their feet are washed with the mantra:—'Akrodhanai, &c.' This also takes place at the other two altars and is followed by the celebrant taking the *pavitra* or knot of *kusha* and sticking it into the folds of his waist-cloth (*nībi-bandhan*). Each of the altars in order are again visited and a dedication is made to the *kusha* representatives at each with the *argha*, seat, invitation, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lights, apparel, betel and a stone on which the rice is placed for making the *pindas*. The placing the stone and rice at the northern altar has the special mantra:—*Om agnaye kavyavāhandya svāhā idam agnaye om somāya pītrīmāte svāhā idam somāya*. At the southern altar the celebrant merely mentions the name of the deceased and that for him the food has been prepared, and at the eastern altar the stone and food are dedicated to the *pitrīs* who are named as before. The remaining rice is placed on another stone and mixed with honey, clarified butter and sesamum is divided into four *pindas*. A small portion of rice is then taken with a blade of *kusha* in the right hand and the hand is closed over the rice whilst this verse is recited:—*Asanskṛita prantānām tyāginām kulabhāginām ūchchhishta bhāga-dheyānām darbheshu bikarāsanam*. It is then cast on the ground near the *pindas* and is called the *bikara-dān*.

Then kneeling on the left knee with *janeo* reversed a *pinda* is taken with *kusha*, sesamum and water in the name of the father of the deceased with the prayer that the earth here may be holy as Gya, the water like that of the Ganges, and the *pinda* be like *amṛita*, and is placed on the altar. Similarly a *pinda* is taken and dedicated to the grandfather and great-grandfather of the deceased respectively. The last is dedicated to the spirit of the deceased that he may cease to be a disembodied spirit and become enrolled amongst

the ancestors. Next follows the usual gifts with dedication. The celebrant next divides the *pinda* of the deceased into three parts with a golden skewer and attaches one part to each of the *pindas* of the ancestors with the mantra :—*Ye samánáh samanasah pítaro yamarájye teshám lokah svadhá namo deveshu kalpatám ye samánáh samanaso jívá jíveshu mámakáh teshám srmayi kalpatám asmin loke sata gvan samáh*. The spirit thus becomes an ancestor and ousts his great-grandfather in the line of the *pitrís*. Water is then presented and the *pavitra* is thrown away ; rice is next sprinkled over the three *pindas* with the mantra :—*Om namovah pítaro rasáya namovah pítaro jíváya namovah pítaro sokháya namovah pítarah pítaro namovo grihán pítaro datta sadovah pítaro dveshmaitadvah pítaro vásah*. The same mantra is repeated whilst laying three threads on the *pindas* to represent their *janeos*. Next water, sesamum and *kusha* are presented with a dedication. Milk is then poured through the hand over the *pindas* whilst the preceding mantra is repeated. All now march round the altar whilst the celebrant recites the mantra :—*Ámárá-jasya prasavojagamyám deve dyává prithiví visvarúpe ámán gautám pítarámátará chárná somo amritatve jagamyám*. Then the celebrant gives himself the *tilak* with the mantra :—*Om pitribhyah svadhá ibhyah svadhá namah pitámahe bhyah svadhá ibhyah svadhá namah prapitámahe bhyah svadhá ibhyah svadhá namah akshanna pítaro mímadanto pítaro títtrimanta pítarah pítarah sundadhvam*. Next the *ásisam* or benediction occurs in which with hands clasped the celebrant prays for the increase in prosperity of his family, their defence in time of trouble, &c. The *pinda* of the father is then removed from the altar and in its place the figures of a conch, discus, &c., are drawn with sandal and on them a lighted lamp is placed and saluted whilst rice is sprinkled over it. The mantra used is :—*Om vasántáya namah om grishmaya namah om varshabhyo namah om sarade namah om hemántaya namah om sisiráya nameh*—forming an address to the seasons. The *pinda* is then restored to its place on the altar and the bundle of *kusha* which represents the Brahmins at the northern altar is opened out and one stalk is thrown towards the heavens whilst saying :—‘Praise to the ancestors in paradise. Then follow the verses.—‘*Śepturṇādhā dasārneshu, &c.*’ as in the

termination of the *Nandi-srāddh*, after which the materials for the ceremony are removed and gifts again made to Brahmans. Next the celebrant proceeds to a *pīpal* tree, or if no such tree be near a branch is brought from a tree and a dedication is made in the name of Vishnu of the water of three hundred and sixty vessels of water which are poured over the tree and then the tree is tied round with thread three times and whilst moving round, the following mantra is repeated:—"Glory to thee o king of trees whose root is like Brahma, trunk like Vishnu and top like Siva." The ceremony concludes with the usual gifts and dedication.

On every monthly return of the date on which a father dies a single *pinda* is offered to his manes as
 Monthly ceremony. before with a vessel of water to the *pīpal* tree. This continues for eleven months and in the twelfth month the *Hārshika-srāddh* takes place which is in all respects the same as the *ekodishṭā-srāddh* already described. The *nārāyana-bali* is offered when a father dies in a strange land and his relatives cannot find his body to perform the usual rites. A figure of the deceased is made of the reed *kans* and placed on a funeral pyre and burned with the dedication that the deceased may not be without the benefit of funeral rites. Then the *kalasa* is consecrated and the forms of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Yama stamped on pieces of metal are placed on the covering of the *kalasa* and are worshipped with the *purusha-sukta* mantra. Then sixteen *homās* and ten *pindās* are offered with the usual dedication and the latter are thrown into the water. Sixteen offerings of water from both hands (*anjali*) conclude the ceremony. A separate ritual is prescribed for a woman dying whilst in her courses or dying in child-birth. The body is anointed with the *pancha-gavya* and sprinkled with water whilst the mantra:—"Apohishṭa, &c.," is recited. The body is then taken and a small quantity of fire placed on the chest after which it is either buried or thrown into flowing water. For eight days nothing is done, but on the ninth day, forty-five *pindās* are given and the ceremonies of the remaining three days as already described are carried through if the people can afford it. There is also a separate ritual for persons who have joined a celibate fraternity as a Jogi, Goshāin, &c. His staff and clothes are placed on the

chárpaí as in the case of an ordinary person and the *arka-viráha* or marriage with the plant *madár* takes place, after which a *pinda* is offered in his name. *Fakírs*, lepers and women who die in child-birth are buried in Kumaon. It is believed that if any one dies during the Dhanishtá, Satabhishá, Púrvabhádá, Uttarabhádá or Rewati nakshatras or lunar-mansions, four others of his family will certainly die, and for the avoidance of this evil a *sánti* or préventive service is prescribed which must be held by the relatives and be accompanied by numerous gifts.

The observances connected with the preparation and cooking of food are classed amongst the domestic ceremonies and are known as *Balivaisvadeva*.
Bhojana-karm.

After the food has been cooked and before it is eaten the person takes a small portion of it in his right hand and offers it as a *homa* on the fire whilst repeating the mantra¹:—*Om* salutation to Agni, the vital air *prána*; *om* salutation to Váyu, the vital air *apána*; *om* salutation to Aditya, the vital air *vyána*; salutation to the same three deities, the same three vital airs; salutation to him who is fire produced from water, juicy nectar, Brahma, &c. The *gáyatri*-mantra² with the addition of the term *sváhá* after each section is then repeated as often as the person wishes. The *homa* or burnt-offering can only be made where the person can procure some clarified butter, where it cannot be obtained the *homa* must be omitted. Water is then taken in the hand and poured on the ground whilst the mantra³ is repeated:—‘If whoever eats remembers that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are present in the food impurity cannot accrue from eating.’ Where the water has fallen four small portions⁴ of the food are thrown one after the other with the following

¹ *Om bhúr agnaye práñáye sváhá om bhuvárodyave apánáye sváhá om svar adityáya vyáñáye sváhá om bhúr bhuváh sváh agnivyaváñádyebhyah práñápnávayamebyah sváhá om apojyoti raso’mrítam brahma bhúr bhuváh sváh om sarvan, vai púrva gvan sváhá.* Here the three kinds of vital airs are mentioned; *prána*, that which issues from the lungs; *apána*, from the anus and *vyána* that which circulates through the body. The usual number is, however, five and hereafter we have added, *samána*, that which is common to the whole body, and *uddána*, that which rises through the throat to the head. *Sváhá* has the meaning probably of a good oblation or offering, and is here used with the mystical *vyáñriti* mantra. ² See previous page.

³ The learned use the mantra:—*Om nábhya ástántariksha gvan sirshnau dyau samavartitah padbhyám bhámirdisah srotát tathá lokán ukalpayan.* The verse translated above is, however, far more common and runs:—*Annam brahmá raso vishnu bhuktá devo mahesvarah evam dhýatívdí yo bhunkte annadosho nadyate.* The ordinary cultivator seldom uses more than the three last words—*annadosho nadyate*. ⁴ *Om bhúpataye namaḥ om bhuvanapataye namaḥ om bhútáñpataye namaḥ om sarrebhyo bhútebhyo balanamah.*

mantra :—‘ *Om*, glory to the lord of the earth ; *om*, glory to the lord of created things ; *om*, glory to the lord of sprites ; *am*, glory to all beings.’ Water is again taken in the hand whilst a mystical mantra¹ is recited. The water is then drunk. Next about a mouthful of the food is taken in the hand and thrown away as the portion of dogs, low-caste persons, lepers, diseased, crows and ants.² The correct custom is to make one offering for each of these six classes whilst repeating the mantra, but in practice a very small portion is placed on the ground with the ejaculation :—‘ *Om*, glory to Vishnu.’ The food is then eaten whilst with the first five mouthfuls (*pancha-grási*) the following mantra is recited mentally :—‘ *Om*, salutation to the five kinds of vital air, viz., *prána*, *apána*, *samána*, *vyána* and *udána*.’ Then a little water is poured over the *bali* with the mantra :—‘ *Om* salutation to the *bali*,’ and at the end of the meal the same is repeated with the verse³ : ‘ May the giver of the meal have long-life and the eater thereof ever be happy.’

¹ *Om antascharasi bhúteshu guháyám visvato mukhah twam yajnatwam vashatkára apojyottaro'nritam svadhá.* The word *vashat* is an exclamation used in making oblations and *vashatkára* is the making it.

² *Sunámchapantitá mancha svapachám páparoginán váyasánán krimínáncha sanahair nirvapeibhuvih.*

³ *Aunadátá churanjiví annabhokta sudá sukhi.*

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